

Sarawak Gazette

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Birth

At General Hospital, on 24 February, 1964, Devaya Muthiah, wife of Abang Amin, daughter of Mr. Basalingay the Governor and Datin Hajah Muthiah, a son.

The Panama

Just over a century ago Karl Marx from the vantage point of the British Museum reading room observed the progress of the industrial revolution, and concluded that society was divided into two classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, whose conflict of interest must inevitably subvert the existing social order, and replace it by another to the advantage of the latter class. About the same time the leader of the Tory Party, Benjamin Disraeli, from a more laudatory vantage reached a similar conclusion, he saw England not as a nation, but as two nations, one of the rich the other of the poor, which were merely juxtaposed. Marx embodied his theories in *Capital*, Disraeli his in *Sybil*, two of the most indigestible products of the pen, which can be read only under the influence of acute admiration.

In the middle years of the century such views had substance, for the effect of the revolution had been in gross to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. The poor had always been poor, but the slaves of the industrial towns produced poverty in depth and the extent unlike any seen previously. Meanwhile for the fortunate, wealth vastly increased, with the ensuing hazards of an economy which oscillated violently between boom and slump. There resulted a social cleavage as severe that society was rendered as never before.

Yet the mid-century in fact marked a turning point, for some of the basis of the revolution had by then commenced to pass to the working classes, and in the years that followed there so increased that the poor became rich and the rich richer still. The process has progressed for a century, and has so transformed society that was Hies Marx or Lord Beaconsfield now to survey the English scene, they would be at a loss to find the line of demarcation, which was once so distinct. If more wealth be the criterion of class, then the steelworker belongs to the bourgeoisie, whereas the

schoolmaster is very low down in the proletariat. The rewards of the inventor and the doctor suggest that each of the two nations has invaded the domain of the other, and so produced an unrecognizable middle. The affluent society of today is no more immune from materialism than was the destitute society of a century ago, but now content is for an ever larger share of the ever larger spoils, and not for the means of subsistence. The conflict lies in the principles, or lack of principles, which govern appropriation.

The transformation which has been wrought in England has also, of course, been wrought in all the industrialized countries of western Europe, and the social theories of a century back might be of interest only to students of history, had they not nobly assumed a detailed relevance in a wider context. For as the wheels of industry have continued to whir at ever increasing speed, so history has repeated itself, and Disraeli's forgotten vision of two nations has, like a haunted jinx of monstrous proportions, burst its bottle to corroborate the whole world, whereby are now seen two groups of nations, one rich and the other poor, each drawing rapidly apart, as the rich become richer and the poor poorer. As the machines, which Disraeli compared to mad elephants stamping humanity in the dust, move ever faster, so riches are poured into the coffers of the wealthy, while subsistence is drained from the tables of the needy. The process of redistribution, which in England began in the mid-nineteenth century, is in the world context today wholly offset by the increase of population, so that the abyss between the two groups grows ever deeper.

As between nations the criterion of wealth is industry, and it is not surprising that amongst the poor the cry goes up for industrialization as fast as possible. But here a difficulty arises, for the machine today is not as the machine in Disraeli's day. Mr. Gough's mad elephants were comparatively simple and inexpensive devices; their principal demand was for abundant cheap labour. The machine today is immensely costly and makes small demand upon labour, so that one hundred men paid starvation wages and working with simple machines can in no wise compete with one highly paid man operating a modern machine. Efforts to discover this reality have been harshly rebuffed by the results of such experiments as backyard working in China. Today industrialization can be effected only at the cost of immense capital outlay, but whereas in the capital to come! To produce it locally by depressing the standard of living is for the poor nations impossible, for their standard of living is already at subsistence level; capital can therefore come only from without, and such international relations between the rich and poor nations are better regulated, there can be little expectation of any massive industrial development for the latter.

A further consideration often forgotten is that industry demands technical skills. Industrial development presupposes a large fund of skilled labour, without which it cannot be effective. One of the striking examples of an attempt to ignore this was afforded by Cuba, which embarked upon a headlong programme of industrialization at the expense of sugar production, which was its real source of wealth, and which shortly fell into disaster. The results were extremely unfortunate for all, as Dr. Castro richly commented,

truths had been produced locally for the first time, but though it possessed admirable qualities as cement, it had little relevance to clearing soils. In consequence of this and other similar setbacks industrialization was halted short, and effort concentrated upon providing sugar production. Elsewhere in the world infamously inefficient industries have been launched and protected by prohibitive tariffs, with the sole result of increasing the cost of living in those countries. Such examples are instructive, for they show that if industry is to be established it must be on a scale at once large and efficient, else the last state of the country will be worse than the first.

Sarawak is one of the poor in this world, and with the rest of Asia its ultimate remedy must lie in industrialization of some sort, but such a change cannot be effected in a decade, nor indeed within several decades. To clamour for immediate industrialization is to cry for the moon rather than to propose a programme. Nevertheless economic development is an urgent necessity if standards of life are to be maintained, let alone improved. If small industries can be developed, and can maintain themselves without the imposition of grievous protective tariffs, then they deserve, as in fact they receive, every encouragement, but the main hope for rapid development must lie in better exploiting existing sources of wealth.

Every vessel which comes from Singapore bears a surprising indictment of Sarawak's present economy in its worn baskets of pigs. It suffices to stand upon a wharf for the observer to conclude that he is upon a desert island, for the most commonplace staples of food are unobtainable before his eyes. The results of myriad checks are with the scraps of coconut ducklings, buffaloes are wheeled away and cattle hatched to the pens; eggs are unloaded by the hundredweight and lost by the coroscoipa. Yet all these things are produced in Sarawak: the pig thrives obesity in caseless sties; the buffalo so flourishes in Limbong that it becomes the object of armed banditry; cattle multiply upon the highlands far beyond the capacity of the inhabitants for their consumption, whilst small leafless life abounds everywhere to the affliction of neighbours.

Here surely is the starting point of development: let Sarawak meet her needs in those things which she now imports, but which she can profitably produce at home. It is a question not of experiment but of expansion; not of venturing into the unknown, but of following the example of diverse industries persons. Not all industries can be so produced, and the large-scale production of rice would be uneconomic, but there is yet great scope for diverting into the pockets of thirty villages great sums which now go to Singapore.

Or if exports be considered, is there not vast scope for improvement in the quality of rubber? Most rubber produced by Sarawak is wheeled stuff of the lowest quality and most uncertain supply. What profit can accrue from this waxy product when "Bly cut rubber" becomes the name? Here again there is a wide field for development. How different would be the complexion of the economy if this miserable stuff were replaced by No. 1 R.S.S. Again there is ample room for expansion within the existing framework of our export trade.

In every country which has newly obtained independence there is high talk of development, and Sarawak is no exception. The eager impetus will envisage manufacturing motor cars, the fine aeroblastic bicycles, meanwhile the urban unemployed are misled by visions of extensive manufacturing. All these are but daydreams, for both capital and skills for industry are at present wanting, but there is still great scope for development on a small scale, which were it exploited, could conduce to the rapid enrichment of many. All too often people delude themselves with the moribund appearance of progress, and argue that because there are more shops, more clinics and more hotels the country is developing fast. This may be far from the

truth. The vital measure of a country's prosperity is the proliferation of odorous pipes rather than fragrant heavy parlours. True prosperity has sturdy roots, and in Sarawak today there is great scope for their growth, meanwhile industrialization is a myth, though in the long term it is the potence.

Androcles and the Lion

If dear old Kuching has many charms, there are times when we are brought to realize her limitations, and how well we would do to make the most of what is there.

I was thinking of this last Saturday night as we left the Brooke Hall after the last performance of "Androcles and the Lion", and my memory wandered back to England in the dreary latter part of the first World War, when as a boy at boarding school I began to trifle here and there as we then were, and how welcome the occasional theatrical production, which brought about but vivid flashes of light into our dull monotone lives.

Europeans being born gamblers, are only too ready to criticize the lack of attention in a plain like Kuching where in some cultural ways it is too enough to say that we are out on a limb. All the more reason, then, to grasp—even to grab—the opportunity of attending a KADS performance.

Whatever the nature of their interest may be, whether as participants or merely as audience, keen supporters of amateur dramatics will know how well worthwhile are these performances. It is arguable who gets the most fun out of it. The producer, the actor and the back stage people have the joy of a change from their daily routine, and the satisfaction of the completion of a certain work. Not least among the many pleasures of the same observer is that of identifying friends in the cast. During the first few minutes muffled whispers of rapid recognition go round the audience—"there's old So-and-so"; "goodness, that's Where's-his-name" and this is repeated as each new character makes his entry.

The greatest satisfaction in this game of disguise pervades is when, after the identity of a person has eluded eye for a long time, a characteristic movement reveals the secret, and suddenly there comes to the observer the temptation to shout out "why, that's Thompson's-bob!". So the captive people who never go to an amateur performance, even in Kuching, little realize what they have missed.

This interpretation of Bernard Shaw's *Androcles and the Lion* had many points of interest, arising from the way in which an all-wise variety of about fifty human beings were brought together in a team and purposefully caused to pull together. Some of the aspects of this production by Alwyn Wilford spring immediately to mind—good casting, clear diction, notable decor, more action than we usually see in Shaw plays, new talent, great attention to detail, and sheer hard work.

Among the major parts, Malvina keeps put up a fine, well sustained and versatile performance as Androcles, the patient husband of a dominating, disconcerted wife, as a lion tamer and as potential lion handler.

Androcles was ably matched in the role of Mephisto, his wife, by Jean Milford whose skill in minor parts in the past has singled her out for this more worthy one.

Canadian Tony Finn reached great heights of solidarity but no-Pinau like stoniness, while Wendy Callery as Lavinia effectively aroused women's wrath on the "hardworn caprice". Here is a newcomer to the Sarawak theatrical scene who showed herself an experienced and poised actress at once in the appearance on the stage. She kept an admirable balance between levity and sentiment in a most deserving part.

Hermann Basson managed to bring into his role the right mixture of military firmness and human weakness, and Christopher Jeeps was a lively out-bow.

Ted Frial was a most convincing martyr type. He made the most of a fine stage presence and voice in the helplessly pious role of Peronides.

Jonathan Gray, as Spiritus, managed to inject plenty of venom into his unappetising role; I wonder whether the lion was able to keep him down!

One of the happiest features of Always's productions is her great attention to detail. So often, even in professional shows of otherwise high standard, actors in the minor roles evidently think that their presence on the stage is enough, and the producer doesn't bother to discipline them. Once more Always has shown us how important these unimportant parts can be. When, in the course of trying to catch the feeling of the play my eye roved from the main action to take or look stage it was to find soldiers drinking and playing dice and powerless Christians stooping at Roman power—all, at all times busily reacting to the feeling of the moment and appearing as natural participants in the scene.

Of the new comers in Kuching John Davies put up an outstandingly sparkling, polished performance as the Roman leg Legatus. My first conviction was that this man had been at this game before, but I have been firmly assured that it was in fact his first appearance on any stage, and I can see producers possessing on him for a leading part next time.

Ralph Barron showed his adaptability to three roles, beggar, ox-driver and editor, Bob Wilson was an effective menagerie keeper, and Jeremy Hughes as Emperor, was very properly dignified and undignified by turns. The backstage boys faithfully did their self-effacing work.

How Peter Radford ever consented to play the part of the lion without laying down strict provisions of air conditioning, I shall never understand. His lion was intelligent, amiable, flexible, playful and loyal, in fact all that Androcles' lion should be, but if for one would not have liked to be in his skin.

The sets by Hugh Crooke were highly successful in what they were intended to be—simple, adequate but unobtrusive.

Lindsay Wall in charge of costumes and Bob Wilson's properties made valuable contributions to a high class performance much appreciated by four different audiences.*

G.W.D.

*February 5, 6, 7, 8.

"ANDROCLIS AND THE LION"

The Action of the play takes place in and around Rome roughly two thousand years ago.

Prologue:	Evening. A jungle path.
Act I:	Several weeks later. A square outside Rome.
Act II:	Scene I. The following evening, behind the Emperor's ban at the Coliseum. Scene II. The Arena.
Stage Manager:	Francis Radford
Assisted by:	Brian Wolfenden, David Wall, Gerald Wilford, Colin Mertham.
Lighting by:	Jonathan Gray and Joseph East.
Special effects by:	Jonathan Gray
Decor by:	Wagh Cowley
Costumes by:	Lindsay Wall
Properties by:	Jane Wilson, Jan Scott, Lyn Wolfenden F.M. Jones, Bernice Trengain

Made-up by:	F. Kennedy, Lyn Wolfenden
Sound Effects:	Joy North
Prompter:	Lyn Wolfenden
Advertising posters:	Carole Booth
Business Manager:	Peter B. McElihan

The play produced by Always Wilford

Cast in order of appearance

Lion	Peter Radford
Androcles	Malcolm Jeeps
Magnara	Jan Millard
Beggar	Ralph Barron
Christians	Timy Pears
Legatus	Wendy Catbery
Soldiers	John Furnary, Harry Howell, A. Friel, Patrick Levin
Christians	Frankie Kennedy, Lynda Radford, M. Ellis, William Kerr
Captain	Hermann Basson
Legatus	John Davies
Miracles	Alan Catbery
Peronides	Ted Frial
Spanker	Jonathan Gray
Ox Driver	Ralph Barron
Religious	Walter Herring
Senator	John North
Gladiators	John Furnary, Harry Howell, John Crookshank, Patrick Levin
Call Boy	Christopher Jeeps
Editor	Ralph Barron
Menagerie Keeper	Bob Wilson
Emperor	Jeremy Hughes
Roman Ladies	Susan Gray, Stella Pearson

The Other St. Thomas

The most venerable educational establishment in Sarawak is St. Thomas's School, Kuching, which dates back to 1862. It is usual, however, to describe schools in terms of sparkling characters, who shall serve as an inspiration to youth, and it therefore seems strange that the Founder in this case should have selected by unscrupulous a patron as St. Thomas the Apostle, or more properly, St. Thomas of India. At best he is a dubious character about whose life is known tradition less if that he was martyred on St. Thomas's Mount, Palmyra, south of Madras; his tomb may be venerated at Mylapore in India, at Edessa (Urf) in Turkey, and at Orton in Italy. It is small wonder that for centuries he was totally eclipsed by the resplendent St. Thomas of Canterbury, who is the St. Thomas to whose character, schools, hospitals and so forth are dedicated in Europe. The following account from a lesser work may be of interest to Old Thomases, and suggest that a change of dedication would be appropriate.

In the course of history, no Englishman has had such an impact upon the peoples of Europe as that extraordinary man known to his friends as Thomas of London, to his enemies as Thomas Becket and to posterity as St. Thomas of Canterbury. Marlborough, Wellington, Churchill and others have had their hour, but for hard on four hundred years the 29th December was celebrated throughout Latin Christendom as the Feast of St. Thomas, his shrine, until veritably destroyed in 1538, was one of the most noted places of pilgrimage, and the scene of his martyrdom was an ever-recurring theme in the art

of every European country. Much of this astonishing success must be ascribed to the fact that Thomas was a great actor; like all great actors he lived his part with full sincerity, he nicely timed his every action with dramatic intent, he chose his words as one speaking to the audience of posterity, hence the extraordinarily vivid accounts that have survived of the events in which he participated. His words were quoted and his deeds remembered by men of his own age; in the centuries that followed innumerable lives were written, and today his bibliography is enormous. Today, also, he is better known than at any time previously, for science has dispelled the mists of biography, and the clouds of dogmatism, so that the tall, majestic figure stands clear before us, understood and appreciated as he was by those of his acquaintance. Though the standards of assessment differ, the verdict today is that of his contemporary biographers, that Thomas was indeed a great man.

He was born in London about the year 1138 to Gilbert, a merchant of Devon, who had settled in England and attained a considerable affluence. He was educated in the great priory of Augustinian canons at Merton, near London. Though but a beggar's son, his boyhood was coloured by friendship with a certain knight Richer de l'Aigle, who held estates near Beverley. From him the young Thomas learned the knightly arts of horsemanship, hunting and hawking, in all of which he achieved an astonishing proficiency. He was studying at Paris in 1158 when his father was overthrown by financial ruin; he was therefore compelled to return to London, and found employment as a clerk in the countinghouse of one Robert Hattidorsen*, a vicar and magistrate of the city. For four years he followed this dull and incomeless profession, until in 1163 a chance encounter resulted in his being recruited into the household of Theobald of Beve, Archbishop of Canterbury (1138-1181). Here his brilliant career commenced, for he was sent abroad to study at Bologna and Auxerre, and in 1168 appeared at the Council of Rheims along with the Archbishop. In 1174 he was promoted Archbishop of Canterbury, and the same year was recommended by the Archbishop to the service of the new King Henry II (1154-1189), by whom he was shortly after made Chancellor.

In all history there are few episodes as extraordinary as the friendship of these two illustrious men, Henry and Thomas, for neither in the course of his life ever developed friendship for another. Yet there was a fundamental difference, for whereas the dark genius of Henry cried out for the search of friendship, the hard and brilliant character of Thomas was self-sufficient; Henry desperately needed Thomas, but this need did not hold good, and the King's actions after the quarrel are intelligible only as the outcome of a personality thrown into violent chords, and obsessed by the overwhelming and irrational passion to destroy the one person whom he had once loved. For Henry's character was basically unbalanced; the largeness of view, which made him one of the architects of English law, was combined with a vindictive pettiness in personal relationships which betrayed him into acts of despicable meanness; his astonishing capacity for ruling others was allied with a total inability to control his own passions, and was beheld with horrified amazement the spectacle of the second most powerful sovereign in Europe tearing the clothes from his body and yelling amongst the rocks on the shore in paroxysms of insane rage; like all his house he was a strange compound of genius and madness. Behind the friendship of Henry for Thomas there was no doubt the subconscious urge in the former to seek stability in the companionship of this capable and independent man of steel some fifteen years his senior, whose character was in so many ways complementary to his own. How intimate was the friendship may be measured by the bitterness which followed its

rupture, meanwhile there accumulated a fund of anecdotes relating the familiar frolics of King and Chancellor, such as that of the burned cloak, which Henry pulled off Thomas' back to give to a beggar.

Thomas was singularly well-equipped to be the architect of the restoration of royal power in England, trained as a lawyer and experienced as an administrator, he knew how to deal firmly with men, above all he was a good financier. The transformation from royal penury of Stephen to the regal abundance of Henry is proof of his talent in this, but contemporaries were more impressed with the fabulous affluence which he himself, though but the King's servant, displayed. With churchmen his dealings were harsher, and in ecclesiastical circles he was commonly regarded as a tyrant, with interesting results later, for in the years to come his bitterest opponents were to be found amongst the clergy, while the baronage, who had first felt his hand, looked on as a spectator.

In August, 1158, he went to Paris to negotiate the betrothal of Prince Henry, the King's son, with Margaret, daughter of Louis VII, as the children were respectively three and one it was a matter of future planning rather than immediate achievement, but it was of high importance, for Margaret's dowry was to be that enormous little border province, the Verdy. The embassy gave Thomas occasion for a display of magnificence which astonished contemporaries; his resplendent household of two hundred, the innumerable train of servants, the procession of pack animals, the carts, drawn by five matched horses, containing great cauldrons of beer, the superb array of greyhounds and sporting dogs, the two hundred and fifty singing boys, and much more besides. The splendour of his entertainments amazed Paris, and the single dish of salt costing one hundred shillings (the daily pay of twelve hundred footsoldiers) became legendary.

Thomas was a man of vast wealth; apart from being Archbishop of Canterbury, he was also Provost of Beveley, Dean of the College of Hastings, Prebendary of Lincoln and London, Rector of St. Mary in Strand and Rector of Oxford, all very wealthy benefices. As Chancellor he enjoyed a large range of fees and perquisites, but his major source of income was the custody of vacant sees and abbeys; as he was an outstanding administrator, he probably derived from each of these a larger revenue than had been enjoyed by the late prelate; in point of wealth no other churchman in English history could compare with him save only Thomas Wolsey. The splendour of his household, of his horses and dogs, of his gifts to the poor and his stakes at play, was such as to provoke astonishment or censure. Usually there was the man himself, tall, vigorous, athletic, of majestic mien but gracious address, carrying his greatness with a natural ease that made him the most pleasant of companions.

To such contemporaries as disliked him, and in ecclesiastical circles they were many, this magnificence was but vulgar ostentation, the natural result of the powerful clerk of Robert Hattidorsen finding himself the wealthiest man in the kingdom. In retrospect this appears unjust; the cause of these splendours lay in Thomas' character as a love actor, he was living the part of the ideal Chancellor, just as he later lived the part of ideal Archbishop; overnight he would exchange the height of luxury for the depth of austerity, and would revel exuberantly in both extremes; for him the world was a stage and the audience potency, the comforts or discomforts of life counted for nothing; his eye was ever on the final curtain act, and here he succeeded as have few others in the history of mankind. But such considerations eluded his contemporaries, who merely stood amazed, but noted that, unusually for a churchman in his position, he kept no mistress.

In 1158 Henry laid claim to the County of Toulouse in right of his wife Eleanor, and summoned Count Raymond to give place. This the Count not unreasonably refused to do, and Henry summoned the

* Robert Fitzgarn.

traded host of England to meet at Poitiers on the Nativity of St. John the Baptist (24th June) that year. The summons was of far-reaching importance for it allowed knights to compound for service by the payment of a writage of two marks (21. 6. 8) for each knight's fee. This would permit the King to hire mercenaries in Flanders at much more advantageous rates, and herein may be detected the financial acumen of the Chancellor. Barons were not eligible to compound in writage, for should the King hire a mercenary army, it was of the utmost importance that it be led by those whom he could trust. The writage produced £2,440, but Thomas wrang from the clergy in the course of a few months £3,120, which was expeditiously described as a voluntary gift, and this fabulous sum being readily with churlishness; for many the Chancellor had become another Nero in his possession of God's servants.

The army duly marched upon Toulouse and laid siege to it. During the course of operations, King Louis with a small following stormed his way through the lines and entered the city. This created complications, for Louis was the cousin of the Count of Toulouse, be he Raymond or Henry. Thomas, ever the practical man, presumed that the plan he carried by assault, for it was near the end of its resources, but the baronage objected the impudence of Henry's assuming his overlord, King Louis. On this occasion the King disregarded his Chancellor's advice, and raised the siege; he then returned to Normandy leaving Thomas to effect the reduction of Quercy. In this the Chancellor distinguished himself, for he led a personal contingent of some seven hundred knights, magnificently mounted, accoutred and maintained at his own expense. At their head he fought engagements, the stormed fortresses and quickly reduced the whole country to obedience; by the inhabitants he was assembled as a tyrant, for he ruled them with a heavy hand such as they had not yet experienced. Having reduced Quercy he rode to join Henry in Normandy where he assisted him in assuming King Louis' dominions. Again the Chancellor's magnificent following was the eyesore of both armies, but Thomas established contentment by authoring in single combat Hughues de Tris, one of the most indomitable men-at-arms of his day. Against such opposition King Louis capitulated, and peace was compacted; the betrothal of the infants Henry and Marguerite was confirmed, and as a gauge of fulfillment the Vesta was handed over in entirety to the administration of the Knights Templar. This was considered peace and amity between the two rulers, and Henry with his Chancellor was free to return to the task of restoring authority in England and Normandy.

Meanwhile Archbishop Theobald was going into a rapid decline at Canterbury. Thomas at London and Roger of Pont L'Évêque, despite their divergent temperaments, had been his faithful assistants. He was a monk, archbishop of the old school, austere, competent and conservative, and he had become alarmed at the course young Thomas was following; he prayed him to return to Canterbury for but a moment that he might converse with him. Thomas, busily occupied with the administration not only of England but of Aquitaine and Normandy also, did not come, and on the 18th April, 1162, the aged Archbishop died, with results that none could have foreseen.

Once again war had broken out between Henry and Louis in consequence of a shameful piece of diplomacy on the former's part. Taking advantage of the presence of two cardinal legates, William of Paris and Henry of Pisa, the King had consented from them a dispensation for the marriage of young Henry with Marguerite to complete their betrothal; the cardinals presided when with grotesque state, on 2nd November, 1160, the boy aged five and the girl aged three were united in holy wedlock. No sooner was the function concluded than Henry occupied the Vesta, his

daughter-in-law's dowry. Louis was appalled, as were most of his contemporaries, by such duplicity, and took up arms, but was beaten into a truce. It, however, he had lost the Vesta he had vitiated his reputation as an honest man, and this in the end proved his greatest asset. Henry's policy was not one of Henry's characteristics, and he busily occupied himself in digesting his new acquisition.

In February, 1162, he promulgated almost the decrees of the Council of Lillebonne (1089) which defined the limits of jurisdiction of the Norman civil and ecclesiastical courts, greatly to the enhancement of the former. It was a significant step, for the King was now assumed to resume in church affairs the rights which his ancestors had exercised, but which had subsequently fallen into desuetude. At Lillebonne the Conqueror's bishops had given formal sanction to his claims in so far as the Duchy of Normandy was concerned. Meanwhile with Archbishop Theobald's death the son of Canterbury stood vacant, and his income was channelled into the Chancellor's coffers. Episcopal vacancies being so rich a source of revenue, there was no such haste in reorganising them, and in the present instance the person of the new Archbishop was never in doubt; it would be Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of Hereford (1148-1162), a churchman of European eminence.

But in the spring of 1162 Henry evolved a new plan; he would make the venerable Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, who would be to him what Flembard had been to William Rufus, or Lanfranc to the Conqueror; further as with the publication of the Lillebonne decrees he set about recovering the royal rights in justice, so it was important that the new primate be one able and willing to discipline his clergy, in which Thomas had shown such capacity that he was commonly regarded as an eyesore of the church. To the King such a proposal seemed admirable, as the clergy would not, but it foundered upon the Chancellor's refusal to accept the dignity. This was ascribed by his enemies to hypocrisy, by his friends to humility. To the impartial observer nothing was more natural; as Chancellor of England, Normandy, Anjou and Aquitaine Thomas now enjoyed that eminence in which his soul rejoiced, his immense revenues gave him the means to indulge his taste for splendour; at the head of his household of seven hundred matchless knights he was the exemplar of European chivalry; for a man whose objective was self-perfection, the son of Canterbury would but constrain his activities within a narrow compass, and appear incompatible the secular splendours in which he so delighted. Like the true artist, having excelled in one original role, he saw no reason for exchanging it for another less attractive. No doubt he avenged an old age as pretense of some wealthy son, but that time was not yet.

But Henry was set upon his purpose that Thomas should be Archbishop, and enlisted the aid of Cardinal Henry of Pisa. This strangely ambiguous figure again entered the scene, and by arguments unknown overcame the Chancellor's obstinacy. Bishop Hilary of Chichester was despatched back to England, for the Court was abroad, with instructions to convene the delegates of the Cathedral Priory of Christchurch, Canterbury, and to ensure that divine inspiration selected Thomas for Archbishop. With great reluctance the monks acquiesced, and to the dismay of the church the election was duly made on 13rd May, 1162. The bishops with misgiving confirmed the choice; Gilbert Foliot alone had the courage to protest against the elevation to the primacy of such a man; this his enemies ascribed to disappointed ambition, but the whole career of the Bishop of Hereford betrays such a motive; he was a stern and honest man of the Cistercians, who regarded Thomas less as an actor than as a churchman. His protest went unheeded, and the Chancellor, who was as yet but a deacon, was raised to the priesthood, and on the 1st June, 1162, was consecrated Archbishop by Henry of Blis, Bishop of Winchester

and days of the synods. It was the first Sunday after Pentecost, and Thomas said a vespere mass in honour of the Holy Trinity, after the tremendous events which followed, this became Trinity Sunday, and down to the Reformation the English Church in honour of St. Thomas numbered the Sundays after Pentecost as Sundays after Trinity.

Now was wrought the great transformation. Thomas maintained the state of an archbishop, which was but a pale reflection of his former splendour; in his private life, however, he practised austerities most unusual in ecclesiastical circles, further he was diligent in the exercise of works of mercy and the cult of religious literature. He was learning a new part, and that with rapid efficiency; he set as his model and exemplar not these loyal servants of the Crown Archbishop Langton or Bishop Beaufort, such as Henry had intended, but Archbishop Anselm, he who had withstood the formidable Henry I and established the rights of the Church in the Investiture Contest; yet two characters were hardly more diverse than those of the harshly practical Thomas and the gentle metaphysician Anselm. Meanwhile the King was busied with his affairs abroad as Thomas settled in his new post at home. The use of London had been casual since the death of Bishop Richard de Belesme II on the 4th May, 1162. Thomas now pressed for the translation of the Bishop of Hereford to fill the vacancy, and this was approved by Pope Alexander III. In March, 1163, Gilbert Foliot was duly enthroned, but this act of provocation did nothing to abate his hostility, and he refused to take a further oath of obedience to his Archbishop, claiming that as Bishop of Hereford he had already done so to Archbishop Theobald; he was determined to dissociate himself from what he regarded as the antics of this adventurer.

At Whitnash 1163 Pope Alexander III convened a Council at Tours, which Thomas attended. The theme was the recovery of alienated church rights and property, and the Archbishop's imagination was kindled. He demanded the canonization of his hero, Archbishop Anselm, but this fell upon deaf ears, and it was not until 1494 that Pope Alexander VI canonized that most charming of all Archbishops of Canterbury.

Thomas returned to England to attend a meeting of the Great Council at batons at Woodstock on the 1st July, 1163. Here Henry proposed that the Sheriff's Aid of two shillings on the hide of land be paid into the Exchequer. The aid in question was an important part of the sheriff's salary for administering the county; if it were to become a government tax, he must use some other means to recompense himself for his labours. This was an excellent example of the corrupt financial policies to which Henry II. all too often descended, for the yield to the Crown would have been small compensation for the extortion and corruption which must have followed. Thomas withstood the innovation and the entire baronage was of like mind, so that the King was compelled to abandon it. The incident provided a rude awakening for Henry; he realized that Thomas was no longer the loyal and efficient servant upon whom he had come to depend, and when further the Archbishop demanded the restoration of the castles of Eochester, Salwood and Hythe, the scales fell from the King's eyes and astonishment was converted into black hatred, the more appalling and irrational for the psychological and personal issues involved.

On October 1st, 1163, the Great Council of the Realm assembled at Westminster to dispatch certain business, and Henry took occasion to rehearse the crimes of criminal clerks. He contended, and it would appear with justice, that crimes of violence committed by the clergy had of recent years greatly increased, and divers singularly atrocious examples were cited. The root of the evil lay in the fact, he argued, that the Courts Christian were unable to sentence criminals to death, as the clerical murderers, now disgracefully

common, were merely sentenced to be deprived of their orders, and then turned loose to prey afresh upon society, with the added inducement of having, by deprivation of their benefice, lost their livelihood. In fact, while the layman was hanged for a single murder, it required two successive times to hang a priest—a privilege hardly likely to attract to the ranks of the clergy persons of the better sort. The King proposed the obvious solution: clerics who had been convicted of serious crimes by the Courts Christian should be deprived of their orders, and then handed over to the secular arm for punishment. This was eminently reasonable, it was the procedure in course of general adoption where clerics convicted of heinous were concerned. Pope Innocent III would within half a century allow it for clerics convicted of offences against the forest laws, hardly it was a solution suggested some years previously by the eminent canonist Gratianus Baskerville, now none other than Pope Alexander III himself. But with the bishops at Westminster all this weighed nothing. The thing was an innovation and therefore reprehensible, further it was an invasion of their judicial rights, and therefore to be resisted. Their opposition was solid and compact; Archbishop Thomas even impressed the occasion by evincing his theory that a double punishment (deprivation of orders followed by the gallows) was repugnant to justice; a cessation of grim intolerance where heinous was concerned.

Defeated by solid opposition in the matter of criminal clerks, the King opened a new offensive against the bishops; he demanded that they observe the ancient customs of the realm. The strategy was masterful, for ancient customs was that most revered element in medieval law, and churches were commonly its most staunch upholders. But customs in England were abnormal, for during the reign of Stephen the authority of the Church had been much approached at the expense of that of the Crown. Thomas himself had as Chancellor most effectively demonstrated that by "ancient custom" Henry understood the autonomy exercised in church and state by his predecessors. The bishops, therefore, protested that they had already sworn, and were prepared again to swear to uphold ancient customs "saving their orders". This was the normal philosophy for such men, and under the circumstances would have enabled them to shake the King's wrath. Henry, however, demanded that they swear without this reservation, which all refused to do, though Bishop Hilary of Chichester, being a Jesuit with a born ear for nuance, offered to swear "in all good faith", for which the King belated him and the Archbishop vigorously roundly upon him. With temper duly fayed, the Council broke up in confusion.

Pope Alexander III (1159-1185) now intervened. He was at the time residing at Sens, having been driven from Italy by the Emperor Frederick I. Barbarossa (1152-1190), who had installed in Rome his rival, Cardinal Geravian, as Victor IV (1159-1164). Wrestling thus in epic conflict with one of the greatest exponents of imperialism, these disputes in England would have been for Alexander a welcome inter-respite had it not been for the fact that King Henry, as the second greatest potentate in Europe, must at all costs be retained in his support against the Emperor. A combination of Henry and Frederick might well destroy him, hence the former must be placated. Further, as an unshaken lawyer, he saw no reason why those records should not be resolved to the satisfaction of all by some formula of compromise; he had no comprehension of the personal feud raging between Henry and Thomas. He, therefore, urged moderation and conciliation upon the Archbishop, and sent over Philip, Abbot of L'Aunoy, one of the contractors of the Cluniac order, and Robert of Melun, who had once been Thomas' tutor at Paris. Both so wrought with him that he consented to swear to uphold the ancient customs of the realm using Bishop Hilary's phrase "in all good faith". The King, however, insisted that

the Archbishop make conversation before the Great Council of the Realm summoned to meet at Clarendon on 14th January, 1164, and this was agreed to. Alexander could congratulate himself upon the victory of reason over passion. Abbot Philip returned to L'Aunelle, and Robert of Melun was made Bishop of Hereford (1163-1167).

Alexander's expectations were quickly brought to naught, for by the time the Council met, Thomas had again changed his mind, and before the whole assembly fully refused to take the oath even with the customary reservation "saving my order". In this the bishops stood firmly with him, albeit Jocelin de Balhays of Salisbury (1152-1184) and William Turbe of Norwich (1146-1174), who had both fallen foul of the King in matters temporal, tampered for their lives, for Henry had thrown into one of his black cages and threatened death and destruction to all who opposed him. Reginald Fitz Henry, Earl of Cornwall, and Robert, Earl of Leicester, both friends of Thomas from the old days, urged him to fulfil his promise and assent; the Master of Temple, Richard of Hastings, and Thomas of St. Omer, another knight of the order, urged a great oath that the King demanded nothing more than a formal acquiescence, and had no designs upon the Church's liberties. Overborne by these arguments, the Archbishop assented, and without consulting the other bishops, capitulated and swore to observe the ancient customs in all good faith. He then commended in obedience his colleagues to follow his example, and the bishops duly swore in the same terms.

Having thus secured compliance, the King commanded that the ancient customs be set down in writing so that there be no further dispute. Forthwith were produced the "Constitutions of Clarendon", fully and completely drafted and commencing with the venerable phrase "Ego cogito consuetudines pacis et non injustitiam," which are from the script in the mass of the XXIII Sunday after Pentecost. The Constitutions having been read, Thomas was called to affix his seal to the document, but this he refused to do, and declaring that he had been deceived insidiously tell the assembly. Arrived in Canterbury he conveyed himself from spiritual functions, and sought absolution from the Pope for having betrayed the interests of the Church.

The Constitutions, sixteen in number, set forth the mutual relation of Church and State as in general they had been during the reign of Henry I. For the most part they were unexceptionable apart from those which introduced developments which had taken place during Stephen's reign. These were: IV prelates must not have the make without the King's consent; VII neither counts-in-chief of the Crown, nor royal officers may be excommunicated nor their lands laid under interdict without the King's consent; VIII no appeal shall lie from the archiepiscopal courts save by the King's permission. Their most two innovations: III clerics convicted of grave crimes to be degraded and handed over to the civil power for punishment, of which there is no trace in earlier ages, and VI the jury of prominent to be assembled to assess over-mighty offenders, whose power would otherwise render them immune from justice. The Constitutions were unambiguously sane and sensible, their entire wisdom was that they ignored the recent development of canon law and the apocalyptic jurisdiction of the Papal Curia; that these might well clash with the feudal obligations of the clergy was obvious, but the conflict of dual claims was susceptible of adjustment to mutual satisfaction.

The Constitutions were dispatched from Clarendon to Pope Alexander by the King by confirmation and by the Archbishop for condemnation. Never had manifest been imposed upon the laics of such a dilemma. He could not approve the Constitutions, though as a lawyer he appreciated their worth, without disavowing

a primate, for whose elevation his own legates had most ardently pressed; he could not condemn them without alienating his most important supporters in the laical circles in which he was engaged. Well might he exclaim: "A plague on both your houses", for the personal antipathies of these two interposing and insupportable men bade fair to wreck the great cause for which he contended. He refused to confirm the Constitutions, thus placing Thomas, but he sent a legatine commission to the Archbishop of York (though stopping the use of Clarendon from its jurisdiction), thus placing Henry. As might have been foreseen, neither party was satisfied, but the latter action was significant, for it showed that Alexander now appreciated the division of opinion which had developed amongst the bishops.

Up to the Council of Clarendon the bishops, much though they disliked him, had stood solidly behind their Archbishop in his support. The sense of order and discipline, always strong in character, demanded whole-hearted support for the primate, whatever their personal feelings for him. But Thomas' actions at Clarendon had shirked them from these obligations. They had come to Clarendon knowing that he would refuse to take the required oath, and despite the King's threats and fury they had stood firmly by him. Then, without consulting them in any way, he had not merely capitulated, but in virtue of authority commended them to swear also. They had obeyed indeed, but a bond had been severed. Medieval archbishops were expected to be statesmen who acted with discretion, not enthusiasts who stood and afterwards recoiled. Forthwith there crystallized amongst the bishops a strong body opposition to the Archbishop.

The leaders of the opposition were Gilbert of London, Roger of York and Hilary of Chichester. Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of London, was a man of great eminence, he came of noble Norman stock settled in the west country; as a monk in Cluny he had quickly risen to be one of the priors, then Conventual Prior of Abbeville, from which he became Abbot of Clonsmore (1120-1148), Bishop of Hereford (1148-1165) and finally Bishop of London (1165-1177). He was a man universally esteemed for learning and piety, and as such was the heir preservative to Archbishop Theobald. That Thomas was intruded in his stead, for many justified his opposition. But Gilbert needed no such worldly justification, for the characters of the two men were so utterly diverse that conflict was inevitable. Thomas the fundamentalist, Gilbert the serious fundamentalist. The latter had been outraged by the Chancellor's treatment of the Church, and his most characteristic he disbelieved in sudden conversions. Thomas' conduct at Clarendon had been on a par with his extravagance in Paris six years before, inspiring the bishops to swear to the Constitutions had been compatible with ordering a dish of cold cooking one hundred shillings, both the actions of a man who cared only for theatrical effect. Throughout Bishop Gilbert was convinced of the fundamental insanity of Archbishop Thomas.

Roger of Pont l'Évêque, Archbishop of York (1144-1162), has been so covered with obloquy for the part he played in the controversy that his personality is obscure. He was practically a contemporary of Thomas in age, but born of a noble family in the diocese of Liège. He was a clerk in Archbishop Theobald's household and here the two first encountered one another. Both were attracted by the old Archbishop, though each detested the other. Roger was extremely dim-conscious and regarded Thomas, the son of a merchant, as an outrageous paragon. On three occasions he is said to have secured the dismissal of this upstart, but each time the latter was restored by the influence of Bishop Walter of Rochester (1141-1152), the Archbishop's brother. Roger was Archbishop of Canterbury when in 1154 he was raised to the see of York and succeeded by Thomas, whose theatrical extravagance as Chancellor costured

* I think the thoughts of peace and not of affliction.

Roger's worse opinions of him. Their personal animosity was further inflamed by the perennial dispute over precedence between the rival sees of Canterbury and York. Roger was heavily attacked by Thomas' supporters, who made capital of his homocentrical escapades, but the records of his pontificate suggest that he was an excellent archbishop, whose doors were unjustly denied him by a partisan posterity.

Hilary, Bishop of Chichester (1147-1169) was a man of distinction, and had proved as an advocate at the Papal Court. He had been proposed for Archbishop of York in 1147, but being set aside in favour of Henry Murdac (1147-1153), Abbot of Fountains, was appointed to the see of Chichester by way of compensation. He was not merely an able lawyer, but also an efficient administrator, and left his mark on the organization of his diocese. In 1157, he set about disciplining the Abbot of Beaulieu, who claimed exemption from episcopal jurisdiction, a privilege enjoyed in England by only seven great Benedictine abbeys. The Abbot's case lacked any legal foundation, and was based simply upon Norman sentiment. Beaulieu, the site of the memorable conflict, was almost a shrine of Norman patriotism, as a community it was famed for its high observance and amongst its monks it counted men of eminence, Abbot Walter de Lucy was the brother of Richard de Lucy, the Justiciar. Yet Abbot Walter's case was in law sagacious, and Bishop Hilary thought to have a short way with him. When, however, the case was brought before a meeting of the Great Council at Colchester in 1153, decision was given in favour of the Abbot, and in this decision Thomas as Chancellor played a prominent part. For a lawyer of Hilary's standing this was gall and treachery, but six years later were followed, when at the Council at Westminster he had suggested the opinion formula "in all good faith", only to be publicly taken to task by Thomas as Archbishop. Yet within a short space the same Thomas had professed himself ready to meet with this reservation. If ever man had a well-grounded personal grievance, such was Bishop Hilary of Chichester.

If Gilbert of London, Roger of York and Hilary of Chichester constituted a solid core of opposition to Archbishop Thomas, after the Council of Clermont most of the other bishops also turned against him. For eight years they had suffered his heavy dealings as Chancellor, and their sentiments had been little modified by enduring him for eighteen months as a spectacular Archbishop. They appreciated the gravity of the issues raised by the Constitutions of Clermont, and being fully determined to safeguard what they considered to be their rights, like all statesmen looked for an amicable settlement with the King. But so long as Thomas was their leader, so long was the cause of the church submerged in a violent and irrational personal conflict, which precluded any reasonable settlement. The bishops of Clermont came to see that their Archbishop was the major obstacle to any agreement satisfactory to the claims of the Church. For Thomas, on the other hand, the situation was pregnant with tremendous possibilities, for the King's insane determination to destroy him was confounded in the purely legal dispute on the Constitutions; he now stood forth as the champion of the Church, and the more furious the personal attacks upon him the more glorious his role. He rose to the occasion magnificently and gave his image upon the pages of English history.

Prompted some said by Archbishop Roger, the King shifted his ground of attack from the spiritual to the temporal field. Devotion was offered by John the Marshal, father of the famous William Marshal, Earl Pembroke (1189-1271), who appeal from the Archbishop's court to the King on the ground that he had been denied justice in the former: in answering his appeal he providently used a trope* instead of the requi-

site gospel. The Archbishop was therefore summoned to appear before the King on the Holy Cross Day, 14th September, 1164. He did not go, but he sent the Sheriff of Kent with four of his knights to represent the invalidity of the appeal in view of the troper's being used for the oath. This was in itself law a great act of contempt for the King's Court, and the Archbishop was without doubt completely in the wrong. He was therefore summoned to answer for his offence before the Great Council to be held at Northampton on the 11th October of the same year.

Now at last Henry had Thomas at his mercy. The verdict of the barons was given against him, and the King intended him to be deprived of all his movable goods. The normal outcome of such a sentence would be that the accused would compound a fine to pay over a sum at which he had been assessed, and certain barons, thinking that things had gone far enough, came forward to stand surety for the Archbishop. But Henry, having tasted the sweets of revenge, was in a man's behalf of reason; he demanded the repayment of certain monies which Thomas as Chancellor had held, and finally claimed the production of the accounts of his Chanceryship. Such demands were wholly irrational, the more so, as Bishop Henry of Winchester reminded the King, in May, 1165, his son Prince Henry and the Great Council had acquitted Thomas of all financial obligations prior to his consecration as Archbishop. To this the King replied that his son and the Council had had no authority to give such sentence, and he demanded an account in full with the restoration of vast sums which he now claimed.

The crisis had now been reached, and the bishops strongly pressed Thomas to resign, for it was obvious that the furious duel between King and Archbishop, which had no relevance to church affairs, had left to shatter the whole ecclesiastical polity. Thomas refused; he had known Henry far more intimately than any of the bishops, and had no illusions as to the lengths his blind Angewiss hatred would go; he was determined to die resplendently as Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of England, not as a nameless cleric in an unknown dungeon. He therefore solemnly recorded an appeal to the Pope against any sentence the Council might pronounce against him. The bishops left him in heartened despair, and he said a *voivre* Mass of St. Stephen the Protomartyr, which commences with the Latin "Spiritus adhaerens principis et adversus eos loquitur"†. It was the 11th October, and he had been summoned to the Castle of Northampton to receive sentence; he had a presentiment that this was the last act of the drama and accordingly took with him the Blessed Sacrament in a pyx that he might not lack the consolations of religion in his last moments. Wearing his archiepiscopal pallium, he rode to the Castle amidst the tears and lamentations of the townfolk.

The bishops had also ridden to the Castle, for as barons of the realm they were obliged to attend the Council and participate in its judgments. But the Archbishop had already forbidden any of his colleagues from taking part in a judgment against him. They, therefore, formally recorded an appeal to the Pope against Thomas, as a man whose irresponsible actions imperilled the Church, and the King accordingly exempted them from attendance. The Archbishop meanwhile sat alone in a chamber beneath the hall of the Castle, wearing his pallium and holding the archiepiscopal cross of Canterbury, the two main symbols of his office and jurisdiction; all had left him save his two secretaries Herbert of Bosham and William Fitz Stephen. Various members of the Council came down and besought him to throw himself upon the King's mercy in the interests of peace, but he knew the King better than any and refused, meanwhile some of the younger barons took pleasure in noisily reading the dealings of former rulers with recalcitrant bishops:

* A trick giving the words of the *Aleluia* versus sung at Mass before the Gospel.

† For the prisoners set down and spoke against us.

of how the Conqueror had cast Bishop Gilo of Bayeux into a dungeon, of how Rufus had deprived and driven forth Bishop William of St. Calais of Durham, and of how the present King's father, Count Geoffrey the Fair, had caused Bishop Arnulf of Sens to be captured along with the entire cathedral chapter. Such things moved the Archbishop not at all, for he was prepared for the worst. As the day went on the other bishops gradually joined him. In the evening the Earl of Leicester and other barons came down to pronounce sentence, but for one act, forbidding the Earl to execute his office, walked towards the door; as he passed the fireplace he stumbled upon some faggots and Hamelin, Earl of Warenne, a bastard brother of the King, shouted "Traitor!" Recovering himself, the Archbishop turned upon him and said, "Wart I a knight, with my own hand I should press you a bar (as called by barons)." Silence fell, perhaps they remembered the unhonouring of Enguerrand de Trie, and Thomas swept majestically out. Unhappily he rode back to the Chanine Priory of St. Andrew, where he had his lodging, and announced that he would spend the night in prayer before the high altar. The following morning he was gone.

The Archbishop's flight from Northampton seems incredible, just as was his role here at Clarendon. He had gone to the Castle expecting death; his behaviour had been superb and eyewitnesses had recorded it for the benefit of posterity. For centuries men were to ponder those majestic scenes, which are among the most dramatic in all English history. Yet when the climax arrived, he fled. That his life was in real danger from the insane passion of the King, neither his friends nor his enemies ever doubted, but both might ask why, having so majestically set out on the path to martyrdom, he should so suddenly have turned back.

He fled disguised as a lay brother of the Order of Scorpioniards, and the manner of his going was of a piece with the high drama that had gone before. A fearful storm lashed Northampton that night, and in the midst he rode away; for two weeks he eluded the diligent search that the King instituted and it was not till November 2nd that he disembarked from a crazy open boat upon the coast of Flanders. But the Count of Flanders was an ardent supporter of King Henry, and he had been warned to watch for the fugitive, hence the strange adventures which befell him there, as when the bakerman's wife guessed his identity and fell upon her knees and ask his blessing, or when he all but gave himself away through his interest in a fine hawk. It was not until he was outside the Count's jurisdiction that he could reveal himself, but as soon as he did so men flocked to pay their respects to him. As he progressed through the domains of the King of France, his journey assumed the character of a triumphal progress.

Meanwhile Roger of York, Gilbert of London and Hilary of Chichester, representing the English bishops, had journeyed to Sens to lodge their appeal against the Archbishop with Pope Alexander. At a solemn audience Bishop Gilbert appealed against Thomas as a man whose personal evils were throwing into confusion the Church of England, but not content with making a valid case, he launched into a bitter personal attack, for which the Pope rebuked him with such devastating gentleness that the Bishop sat down in confusion and motioned Hilary of Chichester to continue the appeal. For many years Hilary had been a successful advocate at the Curia, and was now once again on his old stamping ground, but being suddenly called upon to plead a cause unprepared, he lost his nerve, and having for a few moments flourished in his speech, committed a grammatical blunder so gross as to throw the whole assembly into laughter. It was left to Archbishop Roger of York to retrieve the situation, which he did very ably. Then, having presented lavish gifts to the cardinals, the English delegation returned home to avoid an encounter with the Archbishop, which must be embarrassing to both.

As the English bishops left Sens, Thomas approached, accompanied by a great throng of pilgrims of distinction, who rode along with him to do him homage. He was received by the Pope with great humanity and, with the superb timing which was in evidence to him, he announced that he had been made Archbishop not by force and canonical objection but by the King's use of force with the chapter. He, therefore, drew the episcopal ring from his finger and placed it in the Pope's hand, thus dramatically signifying the resignation of his see. In all the world there was nothing Alexander so desired as Thomas' resignation, but it obviously could not be accepted under such circumstances. He therefore returned the ring, but suggested that the Archbishop retire for a space to the Cistercian Abbey of Pontigny, then at the height of its fame. He even gave him a Cistercian habit by way of encouragement, for should this turbulent man develop a vocation for Cistercian life, and so resign his archbishopric, all the present discontent in England would be ended. Thomas was duly clothed by the Abbot of Pontigny, and sought in his accustomed habit to evade the Cistercians in their own field of spirituality. Having acquired himself of fame as a asceticist as they were unwilling, he was brought to a halt, by the limitations of his health, and settled down to a more normal life. But throughout he showed no sign of resigning his see, indeed, as his active spirit ebbed increasingly at the limitations of monastic life, so his attitude in the dispute hardened the more, and he became increasingly unworkable. For him the six years that followed were a long and dreary winter.

Meanwhile in England Henry had been exasperated by Alexander's failure to respond to the bishops' appeal and remove Thomas from his see. At Christmas 1164 he seized into his own hand all the revenues of the archbishopric, appointing the Bishop of London to administer the spiritualities and Ranulf de Broca, one continuously obnoxious to the Archbishop, to administer the temporalities. In this he was going beyond all accepted notions of the law. He further banished from England all Thomas' kindred, and others who had been his strong supporters. In all some four hundred persons were driven abroad, and suffered the loss of their property. It was a strange and novel procedure, and the event was long remembered.

The ground of the controversy now shifted somewhat: the King's demand for the accounts of Thomas' chancellorship was dropped and he returned to the Constitutions. The Archbishop now had new grievances in the confiscation of his revenues and the prosecution of his kindred and supporters. Meanwhile in the quarrel waxed more furious, the bishops found themselves in an increasingly difficult position, while the interminable absence of the Primate disordered the affairs of the Church.

At Christmaside 1164 Prior Nicholas of the Iper hospital at Mont-san-Malais (Iper St. Aignan) near Rouen wanted upon the Empress,* now living in retirement at Notre Dame des Prés outside the city (she died in 1175), in order to solicit her support for the Archbishop. After a life of disappointment and frustration she had declined into an old age of chastity and good works; more remarkable, she had developed a good sense hitherto wholly lacking in her career. She told Prior Nicholas very fully that the Constitutions merely expressed the principles upon which sensible Kings of England had always acted, but she deplored their being set down in writing, for thus they must inevitably become contentious matters. She promised to use her influence with her son to effect a settlement. Her attitude was that of all sensible people, both clerical and lay, in England, and many of distinction in the Curia. It was, however, unrealistic as

* Matilda, Holy Roman Empress (1126-1127), Countess of Anjou (1128-1127), Queen of England (1127-1129) and mother of Henry II.

making no account of the two protagonists: Henry did not want a settlement, his purpose was to destroy his enemy's friend who had now inherited King Thomas' did not want a settlement which in any way diminished his role as the champion, and possibly martyr, of the Church's liberties. Pope Alexander, wrestling with the fierce Barbarossa, needed before all things the support of Henry, yet he could not honour dissent the Prince, he fervently condemned, as he must, such of the Constitutions as infringed the rights of the Holy See, but he always regarded the matter as being one which could be composed without difficulty were both parties prepared to make reasonable concessions. In fact neither were, and six weary years passed in fruitless negotiations. In the end, even so loyal and long-suffering a supporter of the Archbishop as King Louis VII was reduced to despair and exasperation by his intransigence. When the dispute had passed from history to historiography, Alexander III was sharply attacked for his shilly shally policies: these were certainly authentic, but the Pope being a lawyer was authentic also: it was his usual Romanian smug and readiness to make concessions which ultimately gained him the victory over Barbarossa in 1173, but that these admitted techniques proved fruitless when applied to the raging contest between the King of England and his Primate leads no aspersion upon Alexander's ability or integrity.

Frustrated by the refusal of Alexander III to depose the obstinate Primate, Henry thought to blackmail the Pope by negotiating with his rival. Victor IV had died in 1164, and in his place Cardinal Guy of Crema had been proclaimed Pope in the style of Paschal III (1164-1168). But here Alexander let himself upon his power, for Thomas' bitter enemies, both clerical and lay, were wholly opposed to the imperialist policy, and much though they might complain of the Pope's dilatoriness in putting down their impossible Archbishop, would have resisted to the utmost any attempt at changing the papal allegiance. However, spurned altogether from the question of recognizing Paschal, Henry was desirous of making a magnificent alliance with the Hohenstaufers, for through papal election came and went, imperial families were long-standing. He therefore negotiated a marriage between his eldest daughter Matilda (as yet aged eight) and Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, the Emperor's cousin and foremost supporter; at the same time he arranged a future marriage between his daughter Eleanor, then aged three, with the exiling Prince Henry, the famous Emperor Henry VI (1170-1197).

To confirm these arrangements Henry dispatched to the Whitechurch Diocese of Würzburg, 1165, two of his greatest secretaries, both bitter enemies of Archbishop Thomas, Richard of Ilchester, Archbishop of Poitiers, and John of Oxford. At the Diet it was claimed by the imperialists that both Richard and John had given some sort of recognition to Paschal III, but this would seem highly unlikely in two such reconciliatory diplomats. The incident, however, gave occasion for the Archbishop to urge upon the Pope extreme measures against the King: the ultimate sanction of the Church would surely bring Henry to heel. In this Thomas was probably right, for some knew Henry better than he, but Alexander, ever the lawyer, was opposed to violent courses, and he inhibited the Archbishop from taking any action before Easter 1166, hoping that to provide time for negotiating or settlement.

As Easter 1166 drew near the situation further deteriorated, for Henry ordered Robert, Abbot of Salisbury to instruct John of Oxford, Dean of his cathedral, and this in spite of a papal prohibition to the contrary, until John had cleared himself of his duties at the Diet of Würzburg. In May, 1166, therefore, the Archbishop succeeded the Bishop of Salisbury for having complied with the royal command. On Whitmonday 1168 in the Abbey church of Winton, a place of peculiar sanctity, for here was contained the

body of St. Mary Magdalene, before an immense concourse of pilgrims, Thomas solemnly excommunicated some of his outstanding enemies: Richard of Ilchester and John of Oxford, for their conduct at the Diet of Würzburg, Richard de Lucy, the Justiciar, for his part in formulating the Constitutions, and Ranulf de Broke for his appropriation of the revenues of Canterbury. His freedom from touching the King because, as his supporters claimed, he knew of Henry's secret illness and feared to impair his soul. A more solid reason was that Alexander would never have tolerated any such insults upon Henry. The immediate result of the excommunications was an appeal of the bishops to the Pope against the irresponsible actions of the Archbishop. With a small-minded vindictiveness, which illustrates his mental imbalance in the matter, Henry warned the General Chapter of the Cistercians meeting in September, 1166, that he would expel them from his dominions if they continued to harbour Thomas at Beaulieu. The Archbishop, therefore, returned to the Abbey of St. Columba near Sens. At the end of the year an English embassy was sent to the Curia, headed by none other than John of Oxford, who was kindly received by Alexander and not merely relieved of all his charges but conferred in his appointment as Dean of Salisbury. Similar absolution was promised to all others excommunicated at Winton, so that by the end of the year affairs stood as they had been at the beginning.

In 1167, Alexander sent two cardinals on a mission of reconciliation, William of Fria, Cardinal Priest of St. Peter ad Vincula, and Otto, Cardinal Deacon of St. Nicholas in Caraca, the former known supporter of the King, the latter well affected towards the Archbishop. For twelve months they laboured to effect some compromise, only to be very sharply dealt with by both contestants, for Henry now claimed that Thomas had embezzled 40,000 marks, which was the real reason for his flight from Northampton, whilst the latter because if possible more inflexible. The beginning of 1168 was marked by a serious revolt of the barons of Poitou, which was soon suppressed, but which caused one noteworthy incident. Robert de Sully, one of the rebels, surrendered and was received back into grace by the King who nevertheless refused to give him the King of France, even though he had renewed his fealty. The stipulations of this was shown when Robert was then seized, cast into a dungeon and served to death. It was an illustration of Henry's strange character: he was sometimes amongst his contemporaries for his shilly shally practices and breaking of oaths; the King of France appears to have been the only inviolable bond which he respected.

Throughout 1168 the dispute dragged on, and Thomas strongly urged Alexander to lay England under an interdict, although it is inconceivable that the Pope would ever have done so. Henry took alarm and promulgated the Ten Ordinances in re-enforcement of those of the Constitutions, which limited communication with the Curia. Clearly Thomas was right in saying that did the Pope but act wisely, opposition would arise, but such courses were not in Alexander's liking, for he was ever a man of peace and the Archbishop's freedom for using the more formidable weapons in the ecclesiastical armory filled him with constant apprehension. In the spring of 1168 he forbade the Primate to pronounce any sentence before Easter the following year. Thomas accordingly celebrated Palm Sunday 1169 at Clairvaux by excommunicating the Bishop of London for invading the rights of the see of Canterbury. It was a great and palpable insult, for Henry (Henry's) excommunication of the Clairvaux heretics had been of an exemplary sort. The King had the pope's excommunication placed the veil being dragged into England, a situation that was immediately done, and the offending document was severed upon the anniversary of Easter at Capriat Misa in St. Paul's Cathedral on Ascension Day. It was presented at the Treasury with an injunction against proceeding with Misa till the success-

mission had been published: this was accordingly done to the amazement of the curies and the confusion of the Bishop. Gilbert was a conscientious priest, he observed the censure and set out for Rome to seek absolution, but when he reached Milan he learned that the Pope had already despatched legates for his absolution to Archbishop Robert of Rouen. Rejoicing he returned, and the belated Prieure was once again discounted by the conciliatory Pope.

Early in 1178 Henry planned the coronation of his eldest son Prince Henry as King. The coronation of the heir apparent during his father's lifetime was in England a strange and unknown usage. Stephen had attempted to secure the coronation of his son Eustace in 1153, but this had been stoutly resisted by the church and baronage. Henry now secured the Pope's consent to the ceremony, but a difficulty arose in that the right to crown a king was commonly regarded as being a prerogative of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Thomas lost no time in having Alexander issue injunctions to the English bishops forbidding them to take part in any coronation which violated the prerogatives of Canterbury. The controversy is of interest, for on two occasions the rights of Canterbury had been set aside: in 1066 the Conqueror had been crowned by Archbishop Baldred of York, an Archbishop Nigard of Canterbury lay under censure of Pope Alexander II; in 1100 Henry I had been crowned by Manier, Bishop of London, an Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury was in exile. Nevertheless the Primas jealously guarded their rights of coronation, even down to placing the crown on the King's head at the usual crown-wearing ceremony at Christmas, Easter and Pentecost. At the ceremony at Lincoln at Christmas 1177, Archbishop Theobald being absent through sickness, Archbishop Roger of York proposed to crown the King, but was very sharply prevented by Thomas, then Chancellor, who insisted that the ceremony be performed by Bishop Robert of Lincoln, a suffragan of Canterbury, acting for his Primas. During the vacancy in the see of Canterbury, which followed Archbishop Theobald's death, Roger of York in 1181 obtained from Alexander III a bull empowering him to crown the King of England, presumably only in the absence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, but this bull had been confirmed by another of the 15th July, 1182, a month after Thomas' consecration as Archbishop. There was, therefore, some confusion in the matter.

The Pope had readily sanctioned the coronation of the young Henry, for here he saw a ready means of bringing together the King and the Archbishop; in fact it exacerbated the quarrel, for Henry planned to have his son crowned by Archbishop Roger of York. At Thomas' request Alexander issued a general admonition to the English bishops against invading the rights of the Archbishop of Canterbury, which included that of crowning kings. As Henry nevertheless pressed ahead with his arrangements the Pope issued a further prohibition, and directed a special bull to Archbishop Roger expressly forbidding him to crown young Henry. Once again the ports were watched closely and the Bishop of Worcester, who carried the bull, was honorably detained in Normandy, nevertheless a certain man named Yolanda bore a letter from Thomas, which she succeeded in delivering into the hands of Archbishop Roger the day before the coronation: this warned the Archbishop of the Pope's prohibition, and forbade him to proceed. Despite this, the coronation took place amidst circumstances of great magnificence on the 14th June, 1179; Henry conferred upon his son the order of knighthood, and the young prince was crowned and anointed by Archbishop Roger of York assisted by Bishops Gilbert of London and Jocelin of Salisbury; at the banquet which followed the old King waited upon his son; it was an occasion long and widely remembered.

Archbishop Roger could claim that he had acted in virtue of the bull of the 17th Feb. 1182, and that he had received no papal mandate to the contrary, but

this lacked substance, for all knew of the bull which the Bishop of Worcester carried, and which was the reason for his detention. This public frowning of his orders produced in Alexander the nearest semblance of anger which history records, nevertheless he refused the importance of Archbishop Thomas and his champion in the Curia. Humbold, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, that a torrent of censure be loosed upon the Angevin dominions. He contented himself with issuing bulls suspending the Archbishop of York and excommunicating the Bishops of London and Salisbury; he also empowered the Primas to impose penalties upon minor offenders within the Province of Canterbury. All these documents were committed to Archbishop Thomas and to him was left their publication, as and when he thought fit. No doubt Alexander hoped that the offenders would make peace with the Primas with all speed, thus avoiding the disagreeable necessity of publication at all. Meanwhile he appointed Archbishop Estren of Rouen and Biding Bernard of Novara legates to make peace between King and Archbishop, with power if need be to lay the former's dominions under interdict.

In one respect the Pope's expectations were speedily realized, for Henry hastened to re-open negotiations and at Fretrel in the County of Blois on the 22nd August, 1179, King and Archbishop met and made their peace. This meeting is one of the enigmas of history; observers saw it as an outpouring of emotion, and copious tears were shed by all. Yet the fact remains that neither Henry nor Thomas was at all emotional in the transaction of business, indeed where matters of state were concerned both were hard men of affairs. Much of what passed was unrecorded, for the two great protagonists rode apart in their discussion, but in the end it appeared that the King had surrendered all: the Archbishop and all his supporters should be returned to fall to their estates and jurisdictions; the young King should be crowned abroad by the Primas, finally the delinquent militiamen should be left to the Archbishop's justice. When all had been agreed, the King was asked to give the Archbishop the Kiss of Peace, but he refused because he was not at the time within his own dominions. In the high emotion of the moment this was accepted, and in a torrent of tears and benedictions the meeting concluded. In August, Henry fell seriously ill and was like to have died, but he recovered and on October 17th, he again met Thomas at Arlesch in Touraine, and renewed the promises made at Fretrel. The following day at Chateau Thomas joined him in the chapel as Mass was about to be sung; the King ordered his chaplain to sing a Requiem, or Votive Mass for the Dead, in which the Kiss of Peace is not given. The indications were clear and the two parted, never to meet again.

The Peace of Fretrel is susceptible of only one interpretation, namely that Henry was now an open adversary the man whom of all others he hated most bitterly. With his son-crowned and commanding the oaths of fealty of the baronage, his dynasty was secure should he himself perish. Six weary years of frustrating negotiation had left Thomas with few friends amongst the nobility and clergy in England, and many who had earlier supported him had now veered away by reason of his intransigence. Were the Archbishop back in England he could now be disposed of with a minimum of disturbance, at all costs, therefore, he must be induced to return. This was never said, but it was understood by Thomas, who knew Henry better than any man living. He had seen the significance of the refusal of the Kiss of Peace and the Reaction at Chateau, when he took leave of Maurice de Sully, Bishop of Paris, he said simply: "I am going to England to die." He was right and he knew it.

As Thomas and his company waited for a favourable wind at Wiscont, word was brought that the Archbishop of York and Bishops of London and Salisbury were at Dover about to cross in order to arrange with

the King for election to bishoprics, of which five then stood vacant. Without more ado the Archbishop published the bulls suspending Roger of York and excommunicating Gilbert of London and Jocelin of Salisbury. The bulls he caused to be conveyed across the Channel served upon the discomfited prelates as they were on the point of embarking. On December 1st, he himself landed at Sandwich. Ranulf de Broc, fearing the wrath to come, he assembled armed men on the coast and would have done him violence had not John of Oxford, Dean of Salisbury, in the King's name sternly forbade such courses. As the Archbishop rode to Canterbury it became evident that, however unpopular he might be with the governing classes in church and state, with those of the humbler sort he had already become legendary, for the populace flocked from all sides to salute him, and his reception in the cathedral city was tumultuous.

From Canterbury in mid-December he rode to London on route to Winchester, there to pay his respects to his former pupil, the young King, for whom he brought three superb devices as a present and gauge of friendship; it is interesting that even in these last tragic days he still regarded a fine horse as one of the things most to be treasured by man. His progress to Southwark was a triumph, but three messengers from the young King invited him, forbidding him to proceed and ordering his return to Canterbury, for Geoffrey Bidel, Archbishop of Canterbury and one his bitter enemies, had put it about that he intended to depose young Henry. Boldly he turned about and spent Christmas in his cathedral city. He preached at the Midnight Mass and again at the Vigil Mass, at which he preached on the text, "Veni in terra iherusalem habita colantur!"¹ It was a moving sermon in which he touched upon the martyrdom in 1112 of St. Alpheg, Archbishop of Canterbury, and suggested that Canterbury would soon have yet another martyr archbishop.

Meanwhile Archbishop Roger and Bishop Gilbert and Jocelin had required to the King, whom they found at Bares near Bayona, and to whom they intimated their grievances. On Christmas Day as Thomas was preaching his sermon on peace the King fell into one of his Angevin fits in the course of which he shouted, "Why will you do me of this treacherous priest?" or words to that effect. The same evening four knights of his household, Reginald Fitz Urn, William de Tracy, Hugh de Moreville and Richard de Biron, quietly left the court by diverse routes for Canterbury. In the afternoon of Tuesday, the 29th December, they entered the Archbishop's hall, and demanded that he strip the three prelates, and make satisfaction by pleading to depose the young King. Thomas declared that the bull suspending the Archbishop of York was a papal act, which he had merely published, but had no authority to revoke, but that he was at any time prepared to suspend the excommunications of his own outragers of London and Salisbury upon their making satisfaction. As to the young King, he had never at any time sought to compass his deposition. The explanation was so obviously rational that the four knights were reduced to confusion, and so lost their temper that they withdrew to arm.

Thomas would have washed their rooms in his hall, for he apprehended their mission, but the cathedral bells rang for supper. He therefore announced that he would join the monks in choir, and with his household proceeded in stately wise from his palace to the cathedral. As they left the dusk of the cloisters for the twilight of the north transept the hastening tread of the knights was heard, and some were for leaving the door, but he merely forbade them. Into the gathering darkness in the great building the knights burst, crying "Where is the traitor?" There was no response. Then one called, "Where is the Archbishop?"

"I am here," said Thomas, and dimly they discerned the tall majestic figure. They tried to drag him out in order to kill him in the cloisters, but now in this his supreme hour his strength was greater even than when he had reborn Englemer de Trie, and with ease he baffled them back; then drawing round they killed him where he stood, on the steps of St. Benedict's altar in the north transept. The door closed, all fled, and the curtain of darkness fell upon the tall figure with outstretched arms lying on the pavement of the deserted cathedral. It was a superb finale such as Thomas himself desired.

The murder in Canterbury sent a thrill of horror throughout Europe. Archbishops had been murdered before, as had been popes, bishops and abbots, but always with decency and discretion; never before had an archbishop been hewn to death in his own cathedral by devout Christians. Even the Germans, at the time in schism, for which Thomas had bitterly attacked them, were appalled. Even more horrified were the Archbishop's opponents at court. How far was Henry responsible? That he was bent upon Thomas' death was certainly believed by the latter, indeed the murder itself is the best proof that the King was determined to destroy him, those of his household were accustomed to the Angevin frontier, and on many occasions before he had in the course of them called down death on the Archbishop, but always his knights spared such outrages, knowing that they would give place to reason. But when the King fell into a frenzy at Bares, they knew that he already designed the death of the Archbishop, and so carried it out, at the same time covering their master, who could thus protest, as he did, that he was at the moment irresponsible. Henry had probably designed a reputation of the Northampton cast, at the end of which the Archbishop would be imprisoned, and subsequently go the way of Robert de Silly, but all the evidence is against his being directly responsible for the murder in the cathedral. Archbishop Roger was bitterly attacked for having provoked the King into the famous outbreak, but of this he subsequently discharged himself upon oath, and most probably rightly. Much though he hated Thomas for so very obvious reasons, he was a staunch upholder of the dignity of his order, and was the last man to connive at the murder of an archbishop. Bishop Gilbert of London, though also attacked, was equally innocent. He had consistently regarded Thomas as a charlatan, adventurer, and one who disgraced his office, but he was an eminently upright and honest man, as is shown by case with which he administered the spiritualities of the Archbishop and his supporters; any such violence evoked his genuine indignation. Poor Bishop Jocelin of Salisbury, a simple man caught in the toils, wanted nothing so much as to be left in peace in his diocese; he was blindingly innocent throughout. In fact all three prelates were within a year justly rehabilitated and relieved of censure.

On Maundy Thursday, 1171, Alexander solemnly excommunicated all responsible for the murder and laid a personal interdiction upon the King. The four knights sought absolution and as penance were sent to spend the remainder of their lives fighting the infidel in the Holy land. Reginald Fitz Urn died in Calabria during the course of the journey, but the others made their way to Palestine where they died fighting honourably; their supposed tombs are yet shown in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and elsewhere. Immediately after the murder Henry had forcefully prostrated his innocence to the Pope, but in the prevailing state of public feeling found it convenient to occupy himself in Ireland. He sailed on the 16th October, 1171, and did not return to England till the 13th April 1172, here he delayed but briefly and went to Normandy where the Cardinal Legate, Albert of St. Lawrence in Lucina and Theodwin of St. Vivais, were awaiting him. He purged himself on oath of complicity in the murder, and made his peace with the church on condition of undertaking to support two hundred knights in the Holy land for one year,

¹ "Pray on earth to men of goodwill"; opening words of the "Gospel in Exeter".

aid of abrogating all local customs of evil character. The adherents and supporters of the Archbishop would have their possessions restored in full and the property of the see of Canterbury would be restored as it had stood in 1150. On the 21st May, 1171, before the west door of the cathedral of Avranches the King was by the legate solemnly released from all oaths and absolved. On the 17th September of the same year he concluded with the legate the Concordat of Avranches, which was to govern relations between the church in England the Papacy till the Reformation. It was such a reasonable settlement as Alexander had urged upon both King and Primate years before, but now somewhat less favourable to the former by reason of the murder. The King allowed appeals to Rome, but was permitted to enact statutes that nothing would be done to the detriment of his kingdom, equally royal decrements were to have free access to the country; David Ylsson and others had, conclusively, demonstrated the impossibility of keeping them out. The King also gave way upon the issue of criminal clerics, but when Pope Innocent III forty years later was to make large concessions. Apart from these, all the other provisions of the Constitutions of Clarendon stood. The Concordat of Avranches, made by the Papacy in its hour of triumph, in the measure of Alexander's reasonableness and Henry's folly, for an even more favourable settlement could have been pressed by the King eight years previously. Now, however, all dissensions were finally allayed, even the contentious matter of the young King's coronation had been set at rest, for exactly one month previously Henry and his wife Margaret had been solemnly crowned and anointed in Winchester Cathedral by Archbishop Rotorn of Rouen and Bishop Giles of Exeter acting as papal legates. All indications were that the remaining years of the reign would be peaceful and harmonious, but these were belied by events, and peace was reserved for the long Agony lying in the marble sarcophagus in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral.

After the knights had left the cathedral, the Archbishop's household reassembled and took up his body. They buried it hastily in a marble sarcophagus in the crypt, for they feared that the murderers might yet return and dishonour it. The blood was washed and scraped from the paving stones and preserved, to be solemnly diluted for pilgrims. In fact, no-one attempted to molest the Archbishop's remains, indeed, forthwith there came a great concourse of pilgrims to the tomb in the crypt, and these commenced that succession of miracles which was to make St. Thomas of Canterbury one of the greatest charismatics in Christendom. It was an age when miracles were sufficiently common for a man accused of their work to be excused, but before the profusion of wonders and manifestations wrought in the crypt at Canterbury men stood aghast. Of more permanent value was the great series of windows in the ambulatory which they inspired, and which are the finest achievements of English thirteenth century stained glass.

Meanwhile above, the great cathedral stood void and empty, for after so hurried a burials its use for worship was impossible. This awful desolation continued for a year until on the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, the December, 1171, Bishop Bartholomew of Exeter was authorized to reconsecrate it. On the 2nd February, 1171, Alexander III raised a solemn bull of consecration, crawling Thomas amongst the martyrs of the Church; thereafter the profusion of miracles began yet greater. On the 12th July, 1174, Henry himself came to Canterbury; he was in great spirits, being confronted with a dangerous rebellion in England and an invasion by the Scots, and he employed the aid of the wonder-worker. Stepping, he prostrated himself before the tomb in the crypt, and was given several tokens of the favour by each monk of the community and each bishop present. The following morning, though he learned it only later, the

Scots were totally defeated at Alwick and their King captured; forthwith the rebellion in England collapsed. After this Henry became a staunch believer in Thomas' miraculous powers, and events of twenty years back were repeated in a strange posthumous friendship. Later generations were to accuse Henry for the humiliating scenes in the crypt, but such dramatic forms of penance were the commonplace of the age and evoked neither more than admiration; had not his successor Falk Ness, Count of Anjou (987-1040), caused himself to be scourged naked through the streets of Jerusalem, and men thought the cross highly of him on that account?

Shortly after the King's penance, on the 26th September, 1174, the cathedral was burned to the ground, though the crypt remained intact. These commenced the work of reconstruction on a far vaster scale than previously, planned by the architect William of Sens and financed by the aims of an unworldly stream of pilgrims. The result was a fine work of art to be seen a figure, and on the 7th July, 1180, when all had been completed, the body of St. Thomas was translated from the crypt to the great shrine behind the high altar, there to remain for three hundred years a focus of pilgrimage for all Christendom. Emperors, kings and princes knelt before that dazzling loveliness, and the multitudes of pilgrims of lesser degree were such that no man could number them. In 1538 King Henry VIII ordered that the name of St. Thomas be deleted from the calendar and his shrine dismantled. This was accordingly done, to the immense profit of the crown, and the long skeleton was buried in an improvised grave in the crypt. Here it lay forgotten, until rediscovered in 1888.

The career of St. Thomas of Canterbury was one of astonishing success; he had set out to present posterity with the image of the perfect primate, the resplendent champion of the Church, if need be its master. All this he achieved and much more besides, for his name became a household word throughout Christendom. Yet he came very close to total failure, for he died at Pontigny or Sens he would have been remembered only as an elderly selfish and shortsighted man, who was unwashed to uphold the rights of the Church in a world perched upon a quarrel. It would have been said, and with justice, that had he been moved solely by the Church's interests he would have followed the Pope's instructions and taken the habit as a Cistercian monk, leaving his archiepiscopal to be occupied by Gilbert Foliot or another, who could have dealt with the King unrestrained by the insane antagonism which vitiated all his dealings with Thomas. It was, perhaps, the realization of this which led him to the fateful reconciliation at Pyrieston. No doubt as a true actor he felt that he had forsaken the stage, and that only by some supremely dramatic act could he recover it; his parting words to Maurice de Sully were spoken in the wings, as after a six-year absence he once again stepped into the limelight.

The drama of Canterbury had transformed a rebellion and unpopular primate into a radiant martyr, as indeed he had intended, and the subsequent high-contrast were to present these disputes as an epic contest between good and evil; on the one hand the heroic champion of right, and against him the corrupt king, the corrupt and self-serving bishops, those incarnations of evil, the royal clerics, and finally the unprincipled and vacillating pope. This far posterity because the accepted dramatic were, yet how different is the picture presented by contemporary events. Avranches was no Carossa such as Thomas had wished, it was a practical settlement between two lawyers in which the Pope, though now in a position of great strength, gave away to the King all that the Archbishop had succeeded for more only unwarmed communication with the Curia; the loss of criminal clerics, so personally associated with Thomas, was by mutual consent dropped, though the principle for which he had fought (namely "Scottie punishment")

was to be formally set aside in respect of forest laws and hereby by another lawyer, Pope Innocent III (1198-1216). In this sense the martyrdom achieved only a partial success.

Even more interesting in the life of Thomas' enemies, Archbishop Roger and Bishop Gilbert and Jocelin remained in their dignities and continued to enjoy the esteem of contemporaries. Pope Alexander sent special faculties to absolve Bishop Jocelin from the Archbishop's censures, at home, so he was unable to travel. The other bishops in no way suffered for their opposition or indifference to the martyr's cause. The royal clerks, who had incurred Thomas' peculiar enmity, fared even better: Richard of Ely, Archbishop of Poitiers, and John of Oxford, Dean of Salisbury, whom he had excommunicated in such spectacular fashion at Vitry, became respectively Bishops of Winchester (1174-1188) and Norwich (1175-1189). Geoffrey Ridel, Archbishop of Canterbury, a peculiarly bitter enemy, was made Bishop of Ely (1173-1189). Finally there was Reginald Fitz Jocelin; he was the bastard of Bishop Jocelin, whom his father had made Archbishop of Salisbury, and he had been a member of the Archbishop's household. When, however, Bishop Jocelin had been suspended by Thomas, he had married to the old man and so earned some of the Primate's shrewdest invectives. He was made Bishop of Bath (1178-1199) and subsequently Archbishop of Canterbury (1181), but died before consecration.

Of the Archbishop's by-sonnets Richard de Lucy is of interest. Although excommunicated at Vitry as the author of the Constitutions of Clarendon, he continued in his post of Justiciar until his retirement in 1178. In that year he founded an abbey of Augustinian Canons at Leases, or Westwood, in Kent, which he dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury. It was the first religious house to enjoy this dedication.

The fact that Thomas' enemies not merely survived but prospered impugns the hagiographical picture. That his successor should have been Prior Richard of Dover, a monk of Christchurch who had done nothing whatever to support him, and that his next successor but one should have been his bitter enemy Reginald Fitz Jocelin, emphasises the distinction which contemporaries made between an impossible archbishop and a glorious martyr: Thomas was one of those rare characters better dead than alive. It has been said that in the course of his career he fought for one thing (the principle of "double punishment"), he died for another (the ecclesiastical prerogatives of Canterbury in the matter of canonisation rights), and he achieved a third (unimpeded communication between England and the Curia). But this is to complicate the issue; Thomas shifted his ground as often as Henry, the only consistent element in his manoeuvres was that he himself was determined to be the radiant champion of the Church; in this he succeeded, beyond expectation; his splains is the source for his Mass: "Gaudemus omnes in Domino, etiam iustas, celebrare sub honore Thomae Martyris, de cuius passionis gaudentis scriptis et collationibus Plures Dei."

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* Let us all rejoice in the Lord, celebrating this festival in honour of the Martyr Thomas, for whom justice the Angels rejoice and praise the Son of God.

His Excellency at Home

The coincidence of Chinese New Year and Hari Raya Purnei has created an opportunity for His Excellency the Governor to throw open the Astana to all those who wish to call on him and his wife and to all those who have never been to the historical house of the Brooke Rajahs. An announcement was accordingly made in the press and radio inviting those

who wished to call on him to come to the Astana from 10.00 a.m. to 12.00 noon and from 4.00 p.m. to 6.00 p.m.

The morning of Hari Raya was slightly marred by rain but it stopped in time to allow well-wishers to go to the Astana, without being drenched. The landing steps, at Fanklangan Batu was filled with people of different races, wearing their colourful national costumes, and making their way to the Astana by ferry. It was worthy of note that even school children and farmers were among the well-wishers.

His Excellency and Datin Hajjah Masziah received all of them in the Astana where refreshments were served. Those who had never seen the interior of the Astana wandered around the rooms admiring the artistic decorations on the ceiling and walls, as well as the portraits of the Brooke family. Many wandered around the gardens where they saw the old graveyard of those members of the former Rajah Muda Hashim's family who were buried there and the small swimming pool constructed by the Third Rajah, Sir Charles Vyner Brooke, for his three daughters, and admired the fountains and lounge at the back of the Astana. Many of the visitors were very happy to be able to see what the Astana was like and were able to fulfil their ambition to see the only historical building in Kuching which has so far not been visited by many people.

There were more than two thousand well-wishers visiting the Astana that day. The Governor was very pleased and was grateful to the people whom came to pay him greetings. He has given further consideration of giving the public more opportunities to visit the Astana on appropriate occasions in future.

During the holidays, the Governor and his wife had not been idle. Despite the fact that the pangs were still on, which naturally deprived them of enjoying any entertainment offered, the Governor and his wife made New Year calls on leading Chinese businessmen and their personal friends on Chinese New Year Day. The weather then was very fine, and they accomplished all their calls of twenty-six houses within record time.

On the second day of Hari Raya, the weather was a little unkind to them. A heavy downpour came half an hour before they left the Astana. Unfettered, when the rain did not stop after waiting for another half an hour, they went out in the rain to visit their friends living on the levee side of the river. The weather, however, cleared at the time they arrived at the first house and this enable them to complete their calls throughout the day. They also visited all Astana staff houses on the third day of Hari Raya.

During these two days, the Governor visited 84 houses and loved every minute of his visits. The number of calls made was really a feat for a man of his age to have successfully completed which even a younger man might find most tiring. Turning to his sides after the visit to the last house, he said "With the Blessing of God I can go on visiting for another day, if the holiday is still on tomorrow, I am very fit as you see me now."

The Astana was gaily decorated with coloured lights and floodlit at night during the holidays, and was indeed a delightful sight to watch from the town.

Agriculture in the Fourth Division 1963

In the Fourth Division in 1963 the floods in the first quarter were exceptionally severe, worse than can be remembered, causing great devastation and disruption to normal life, and the Fourth Divisional Annual Report. Considerable crop and livestock losses were experienced throughout the Division. An estimated 8,216 acres of wet paddy, 1,600 acres of rubber, 232,826 pepper vines and 2,028 pigs were lost in the flood. Despite this, by the end of the year most communities were back to normal. Particular note must be made

of the most valuable service rendered by all staff in flood relief and rehabilitation work.

Following the floods, the Department concentrated on getting farmers to plant quick growing food crops, fast vegetable seed and planting material, paddy seed, poultry and fertilizer for the pepper farmers, besides instruction to farmers on cultivation, were provided by the Department.

During the year 24,962 plants of rubber were supplied from the Division, even though there was little or no production of rubber in January and February. A newly built Rubber Training School at Sengas was opened last March by His Excellency the Governor and Lady Waddell. It consisted of a hostel and teaching building, a cook house and washing facilities. Rubber courses were run lasting ten to fourteen days covering all aspects of rubber planting, tapping and processing. By the end of one year, 125 farmers had attended these courses.

The pig industry in Miri thrived in the past year. Fewer pigs were imported than for the previous three years, and for the first time in some years pigs were exported to Borneo. In Miri alone, 9,445 pigs were slaughtered in the past year, 6,598 of them being locally bred.

Wet paddy suffered more than any other crop from the floods, with almost complete destruction in the Barisan District. Wetland paddy was not damaged, the yields were fairly good, but throughout Fourth Division an average of only 48 passages per acre was produced.

While not much hill paddy was destroyed by flooding, the very heavy rainfall in January succeeded in ruining what might otherwise have been a good harvest and the average yield for the 12,506 acres of hill paddy in Fourth Division was only 72 passages per acre.

Agriculture in the Fifth Division 1963

In 1963 the year opened adversely with flooding in the Middle Limbang and Beting Trawas, said the Department of Agriculture Annual Report for the Fifth Division. However, the remaining months, especially from June to December were quite dry with below average rainfall.

A high proportion of staff were engaged in rehabilitation work in flood areas, during most of the year. Vegetable planting was encouraged and green grain and soya bean were produced for home consumption, while considerable amounts of maize, groundnuts and sweet potato were also harvested. Prices for maize ranged from five to seven cents each, and unshelled groundnuts \$27.00 per pint.

In the 1962/63 season an estimated 3,800 acres of wet paddy was planted. Wet paddy suffered seriously in the floods and as much as 80% of the yield was lost in areas which were inundated. However, farmers did not forsake wet paddy after the floods and 6,200 acres were planted in 1963. Hill paddy had an average harvest from the 9,100 acres planted. Harvesting for the 1963/64 season started in June and was fairly good.

Referring to rubber, the report said that a substantial acreage, 1,473 acres, were planted up during the year and this aspect of work was satisfactorily performed. Program was slow at the beginning of the year owing to the floods and military restrictions. The summer months were dry, but even then planting was carried out. From November onwards after paddy planting was completed, an all out effort was made by the staff to persuade the approved applicants to plant up their holdings before the end of the year.

Regarding livestock, the report said that in 1963, there were over 3,040 headlocks in the Division. The majority were healthy animals, many of which were semi-wild and kept on free range.

In Fifth Division, fish pond construction is gaining in popularity and there are constant requests for fingerlings from the Bangkias Agricultural Station. A total of 41 ponds were constructed and stocked and some 3,200 fish, mainly Tilapia, were rough released.

Excerpts from Annual Reports of Administrative Officers for the year 1963

LIMBANG DISTRICT

District Officer—Mr. Liang Kim Sang

Cases

A total of 240 cases were heard during the year—a record figure that is easily discernible but which were never expected, for out of the total 240 cases for the district 204 were convictions consequent upon the abolition of December 24th, 1962, under section 4 of the Preservation of Public Security Ordinance, 1962.

Discussing this unexpected figure Limbang has not become more criminal—as a matter of fact the number of other court cases is small and court work per se is relatively light. Of the thirty-six non-TNKU cases twenty-seven were criminal and nine civil, none however very serious. Most of the civil cases were either on non-payment of one kind or another, or on breach of contract, not so much on the contract itself but on the misunderstanding when the contract was contained in English where both parties knew precisely what they want but were not able to know what was written in the agreement as neither party knew any English at all.

Most of the TNKU prisoners were sentenced to periods ranging from one to five years but one lone man, a staunch rebel leader, Salleh Samban, after much chase and hide-and-seek was sentenced to three years imprisonment. Prisoners serving sentences under category B and C have since been removed to Prisons in Kuching, Miri or Sibu, and the remnant serving sentences under category A were retained in Limbang Prison and Detention Camp and all have been released on parole.

Crime

To the rest of Sarawak and the outside world Limbang sounds a bloody place where rebels and criminals roam far and wide. This is not at all the picture. Just still into the oblivion of the December Revolution, Limbang is as peaceful and sober as any district in the country. Most of the rebels are Kodapans but not all Kodapans are rebels. None of the non-TNKU cases were serious.

Prison

Limbang Prison has never had such a busy year. The Prison proper which has accommodation for only sixteen prisoners managed to accommodate more than 100 prisoners and detainees. This has been made feasible by converting two paddy godowns into a detention camp where all the detainees and some of the prisoners were kept. This was a measure that was never anticipated but which with additions and deletions here and there the two paddy godowns were not an unsatisfactory or might have thought at first though by no means a healthy place to stay in for too long.

At the close of the year Limbang Prison has still had thirty-one TNKU detainees, forty-seven TNKU prisoners and two non-TNKU prisoners. These figures have not been made; a total of fifty-six TNKU prisoners three detainees and four non-TNKU prisoners were released during the year. All the detainees joined Limbang Prison sometime in September after their release from the Barisan Detention Camp in Borneo.

The strength of the prison staff comprises sixteen warden, three out on the permanent establishment and sixteen temporary, the latter were recruited locally and paid daily. The permanent warden work extensively

well as a team, the temporary wardens being seldom local recruits without any training behind them did perform their duties well but not always. The relationship between wardens and prisoner detainees is good and it was with pleasure to report that no prisoner escaped or attempted to escape during the year. Medical facilities were readily available to them in the nearby Hospital, the Divisional Medical Officer or his representative and the Board of Visitors visited the prison regularly. Only one prisoner was sent to Brunei for treatment. All the prisoners looked healthy, none so thin as the detainees, the reason being that the former were released on parole to do the various outdoor work while the latter all stayed cramped up in the detention camp all day doing nothing.

Rehabilitation

A report on the prison or prisoners would be incomplete without any allusion made to rebel rehabilitation designed to assist rebel families and dependants during the absence of their malefolk who have either been taken as prisoners/detainees or who were killed during the rebellion. A substantial amount of work involved in rehabilitation is undertaken by prisoners who were transported daily to work in the various mud schemes along 45th, 5th, 8th and 9th mile Pandaruan Road which roughly coincides with the stronghold of the rebellion.

Rehabilitation takes various forms, the total number of rebel dependants who came within its purview was 173 of whom 117 are from the 45th to 10th mile Pandaruan area and the rest from Kampong Bangkang, Kampong Selangan, Kampong Kampong, Kampong Rangan, Kampong Gerata, Kampong Kinabang, Kampong Lajal Rangan, Kampong Lubok Mengalat, Kampong Ulu, Kampong Lubok Pisang, Kampong Rajau, Kampong Merawan, Kampong Buntan, Kampong Kuala Aring and Kampong Bahad.

The 875 dependants were from 174 families, 231 are adult females (over fourteen years of age), 507 are children (between 14 and 2 years of age) and 147 are infants (under 2 years). Monthly rations is issued and from May, 1963 to the end of the year Government has spent \$27,334.56 on them.

Besides providing the rebel dependants with rations, forty-seven of their houses and twenty-four slaving (gash stores) were repaired with care. This was made possible with \$200 cash contribution from the Prisoners' Aid Society and assistance from the District Office. Financial assistance in the form of exempting children from paying their school fees for the first half of 1963 was extended to forty-four children whose fathers were either imprisoned or killed during the rebellion. This amounts to \$264 which was wholly made good to the Limbang District Council by \$200 donation from the Malaysia Celebrating Committee and the balance from the Prisoners' Aid Scheme.

Classes were conducted four times weekly for some thirty wives or daughters of rebels and the curriculum includes cooking, needlework, gardening and child welfare. Besides the assistance so far outlined which is mainly of an educational, social or relief nature, concrete assistance in the agricultural aspect is also provided in the form of padi schemes. Labour for these padi schemes is provided by the prisoners released on parole, planting know-how and supervision was given by the Department of Agriculture and the administration in general was left to the District Office. Under these schemes sixty acres of padi were planted and these were allocated to 182 rebel families. Vegetable gardens and fish-ponds to be run on community lines were started but did not materialise.

Advances in the shape of that provided by the Department of Agriculture farming know-how, classes to wives—definitely looks more viable and persuasive and co-operative women demonstrate to them the economies of large-scale production which on individual basis would not be feasible nor advantageous. Rehabilitation of these rebel dependants is a

sensitive and many-sided affair that has to be handled with the greatest care and precision if it is not to be misunderstood, misapplied or misconstrued as something else.

Native Affairs

The major native groups in Limbang are the Malays, Belayah, Iban and Kadayan with much smaller of Kelabau and Murut who live in the difficult terrain up the upper reaches of Sungai Limbang. The Malays are mostly found in the coastal delta and riverine areas near Limbang Bazar, whilst most of the Belayah concentrate in the Pandaruan and Kuching Road hinterland. The middle Limbang roughly from Batu Danau to Lubok Linau is almost wholly Belayah habitat interspersed with a heavy Iban or Malay fringe here and there while the Iban, mostly descendants of migrants from the Second Division, are to be found in the Nanga Madang-Lubok area.

Christianity has not had any adherent from either the Malays or Kadayan who are Muslims—by far however the most resilient people so far are the Iban, Murut and Kelabau. They as opposed to the Malays, Kadayan, or Belayah, are politically inactive, though a few do claim to be SNAP members. Malay, Kadayan or Belayah politics are not based so much on party lines or philosophy but on whether to stay inert in seemingly poorer environment or to move to settle with more lucrative neighbours whose wealth they ardently hope to share. But whichever way the pendulum swings the proximity of one to the other will keep this vitalisation go on for sometime till a demarcation is made when more progress is achieved by the new relatively poorer one.

The fishermen at Rangan are less willing to supply their catch to Limbang than Brunei which presumably has a better market for it. And though the Belayah faithfully continue to supply Limbang with buffalo meat, not a kilo is smuggled into Brunei for a better price of course. Padi and rubber planting were the two main occupations of the average Malay, Kadayan, Iban and Belayah, though divisions in fishing is attractive to the Malays as working in logging stations is to the Iban. The absence of men-folk in the Kadayan Kampong along Pandaruan Road as a result of the December rebellion put these families in a helpless state—the women either spent their time picking pebbles in the 4th mile Pandaruan Bend to sell them to the local contractor or the Public Works Department for constructional works, or coming to the District Office for more rations or the more living spent a considerable part of their time visiting their husbands in prison or detention camp. The few loving, more impulsive ones have taken proceedings to divorce their husbands on the ground of mental cruelty through long absence.

On the higher side the Department of Agriculture reported increased interest among the Iban to take up rubber planting under the Rubber Planting Scheme. Six Kelabau from Long Naga were sent to Malaga in August for a rubber planting tour.

Tan Kampong Gimbang anak Limbo retired and a new Tan Kampong was elected in the person of Councillor Yusoff anak Manang for Likiep Administrative Area.

Chinese Affairs

The Chinese in Limbang who are mainly Hokkien and Foochow concentrate as usual in the Bazaar and other than areas of any shopping centre. Because of the proximity of Limbang to Brunei coupled with the regular and easy communications between them, Limbang has not been able to develop into as good a shopping centre as expected, though the trend here is a steady rising demand for more shops. It is not quite clear whether the demand for more shops is due to an increase of business or not, or whether it was a demand to substitute them for dwelling houses.

Forty out of the fifty-four shops in Limbang Bazar were rented out and not a few of them were owned by towbars from Brunei. Rent varies from shop to

shop, but the tendency is for the rent to go up and up. Not a few cases were concerned with non-rent payment or rent charges.

Throughout the year the relationship of the Chinese with the other races, has been excellent, though in Nanga Madani some have reported to this office and the police of planned wholesale robbery by them. This was never substantiated nor proved.

Relationship between the different Chinese dialectical groups have been good, though invariably if they are at larger-leads with each other it is always via-a-via Foochoos themselves or Foochoos with the other groups. The Foochoos were most energetic in Limbung and many of them are interested in the rubber planting scheme. As a matter of fact most of the existing rubber planted under the scheme in the district belong to the Foochoos, though it was thought that some of the applicants were to some extent thinking more in terms of land speculation rather than because of a genuine desire to plant rubber.

Parents continued to send their children to Kuching or Sibu for higher education, either in Chinese or English. Foochoo parents prefer the latter place. The idea of the establishment of a Chinese Secondary School in Limbung was loudly pursued but without much progress since a proper site has not been acquired.

Limbung Raman has been the scene of many farming expeditions for the year due to the urgent needs arising out of a dual calamity—flood and Rebellion—which afflicted the district. The Chinese have been most generous in their contribution. And if Mini or Kuching Chinese have been cold during the Malaysia celebration this could have never been said of the Limbung Chinese. To my mind Limbung was one of the most active and best decorated when one takes into consideration of its size and the situation it was faced with at the earlier part of the year.

Politically the Limbung Chinese were for Malaysia, though it would be quite impossible to draw their trend of political thinking or type of politics because there is none. I have described this on the "Limbung Chinese" but certain "expatriate Chinese" mainly from Sibu, Kuching or Mini were either openly SUPP members or pretend to be under disguise for something else. Chinese contractors and skill are welcome to Limbung but as in many other regions of life the good is always undeniably accompanied by evil.

Education

Limbung has one Secondary School serving the Fifth Division and of its enrolment of 132 students for the year fifty-eight are boarders mostly from Lawas District. The school when fully filled has accommodation for 240 pupils and its boarding facilities are adequate for 150 boarders. It is with pleasure to record here that for the first time in the history of Limbung fifty-three candidates are being carefully nursed to sit for the Sarawak Local Junior Certificate Examination in 1964. The Headmaster of the school, Mr. Ross, is confident that most of them will be successful.

The school staff with five teachers, beside the Principal, have been most hardworking and patient as is expected of the problems that any new institution has to be confronted with. Under the Colombo Plan we received one teacher and all the necessary equipment for a fully-fledged woodwork laboratory. A school matron was recruited during the year and physical improvement by way of blanching the road leading to the school was undertaken and completed by the Public Works Department. Limbung District has twenty-one schools categorised thus:—

School	Number	Enrolment
Mission	2	249
Council	19	1,368
Chinese	1	216
Total	21	1,833

They have a total staff of sixty-seven teachers of whom only thirty-three were trained. The ratio of staff to student is 1:26 and the very poor results in the Common Entrance Examination is to a large extent due to too many untrained, unqualified teachers. The Divisional Education Officer reported that "no improvement can be expected as long as half of our teachers are untrained." The shortage of trained teachers is therefore most acute and this state of affairs is expected to remain for quite sometime unless the Local Council is determined both to recruit better staff and provide facilities in the form of housing, etc., for teachers under its control.

The ratio of boy to girl student is roughly 2:1, though the tendency is for the ratio for girls to be lower in the secondary schooling elsewhere, particularly in Kuching, Sibu and Miri. Most of the native boys attend Tanjung Lelaung School in Miri.

There is only one Chinese school in the district, progress has been good; there is pleasantly nothing to report of any undesirable. For one reason it is only a primary school and for another Limbung Chinese are rather neutral on their stand on politics. The Chinese Community in Limbung has lately pursued throughout the year to get a piece of land to establish a non-aided Chinese secondary school.

Two Catholic schools were opened during the year—one at Tulaoh and the other at Nanga Merit. The latter was opened by me in the presence of a big crowd and participated by a whole-day land party. Three schools at Batu Lapan, Gadong and Limpok were reconstructed and a new school at Kuala Medahan was due to be opened soon in time for the first session in 1964. Two boarding kitchens for the Central Malay School and Usang School were completed during the year.

The Divisional Education Officer, Mr. Kang Ya Seng, visited the schools in the district frequently and regularly and this was a big boost to education in Limbung. He left before the year was up; his departure was sadly felt by all and his services untimely cut off.

The spirit in Limbung during the Malaysia celebration could not have been what it was—gay and jocos—without the keen participation of both staff and students of the District's schools, especially those nearby to Limbung.

Co-operative Development

The Co-operative movement has just been extended to Limbung during the year, and hence the greater portion of the initial work has to be spent on informing the people what are the aims and objectives of co-operation and co-operative societies. The Assistant Co-operative Officer, posted to Limbung, Inche Adam bin Haji Saion, travelled frequently to longhouses and Jampang explaining to the people about co-operative societies. He has done this most systematically.

The first co-operative society established in Limbung was a co-operative savings and loan society at the fishing village of Hampas with a membership of thirty-five. The administration of the society is reported to be doing well; members were prompt in paying their deposits.

A Bazaar store was mooted and planned for Bazaras living around Batu Daman but nothing as yet materialised during the year. Keen response was shown by the them living around the Nanga Madani-Raman (Guanara) and the formation of co-operative societies in here looks promising.

Labour

Limbung has five sawmills and they were the main employers in the district. The wage-rate for these labourers varied according to their skill but none received less than \$4.00 per day.

A total of nine accidents, one fatal, occurred in these sawmills was reported under the Workmen's Compensation Ordinance. All accidents of this nature have

been reported and compensation for them have been promptly settled.

With the same number of sawmills, and more important ones, I believe, in Lawas the Fifth Division should have a labour officer posted to Limbang—responsible for all labour administration and problems in this Division. This would alleviate many problems that have to be resolved. Also a man on the spot and who travels frequently to the logging stations is the only effective means of reducing the number of accidents.

Forestry

The five sawmills in Limbang are together working on approximately thirty-five per cent of the forest reserve of the district. During the year a total of 22,032 tons of round timber and a total of 419 tons of sawn timber, mainly meranti and longkong were exported through Labuan, principally to Japan and Hong Kong. 132 tons of firewood was also exported to Hong Kong and for the year a total of \$122,541.99 was collected in royalty.

Flood Relief

Limbang in 1963 was doubly unfortunate for as was mentioned earlier the district was afflicted with a dual calamities, flood which resulted in such an unprecedented and unexpected level and which carried away houses, grain and livestock in the earlier part of the year was an event never yet experienced. A host of hamlets were flood-stricken.

As soon as the flood subsided immediate food relief had to be provided for the unfortunate people. The Limbang District Flood Raising and Flood Relief Subcommittee was formed with the District Officer as Chairman. Rations from provisions received from the World Food Program in Kluang in the shape of mungbean, milk, rice, salt, sugar and instant-beef was distributed to 6,230 persons. Ration cards were issued to genuine destitutes and this system was introduced as a check against the unscrupulous from coming forth to lay a claim for his share.

The National Flood Relief Fund donated £58,501.44 to Limbang and the people in the district \$2,195.81.

The Limbang Branch of the Red Cross and many people in Limbang did sterling work to help distribute food and clothing.

Trade

Limbang is an important trading centre, but if not for the proximity of Brunei it would have developed into a more important one. Its growth has also been hindered by a poor hinterland devoid of a substantial acreage of export crops and the lack of the modern banking facilities.

The timber industry has proved the most lucrative form of trade in the district, a number of entrepreneurs and labour are gravitated to its rich forest timber from Sabah and Sibu.

The increase hawking activities coupled with an increase in the planting of cash crops particularly rubber would help increase the tempo and volume of trade in Limbang. This would inject more capital into the district and enhance the purchasing power of the people which in turn would attract a much larger inflow of imports.

Agriculture

The Department of Agriculture as most other government departments had had a busy year for besides having to do its usual duties it was called upon suddenly to help rehabilitate both the destitute flood victims and the small dependents, the latter of which I have already made allusion to. Under the Flood Rehabilitation Scheme quantities of groundnuts, maize, peas and various vegetable seeds were issued by the department to help farmers to restart their farming again. Block planting was introduced and a total of forty-eight blocks involving the livelihood of 438 families, mostly Dayaks were planted. For the

first time Dayak farmers took a keen interest in vegetable gardening mostly along that area along Sungai Limbang between Labot Lusa and Batu Duma.

Native farmers as a whole had never had such a lean harvest for of the 3,016 acres of wet padi and 2,951 acres of hill padi planted the output for wet padi was reduced by as much as 80 per cent since the major portion of the wet padi areas were seriously affected by flood. Hill padi was reported to have a normal yield.

481 applications were received to plant 1,579 acres of rubber under the Rubber Planting Scheme and only three applications were received for replanting. A substantial number of the approved applications had to be cancelled as planting could not be proceeded with because of the flood especially in the Middle Limbang area where the natives were keen on Rubber Planting Scheme. Most of the suitable mixed zone land near centre of population had already been applied for and planted with rubber. The result is that most of the applications for Rubber Planting Scheme subsidies now come from natives from Middle Limbang.

A number of absentee land owners was reported, mostly Perakians from Sibu, but who subsequently went home leaving their rubber gardens neglected which the department found extremely difficult to enforce the obligations to be adhered to upon the granting of Rubber Planting Subsidies to farmers.

Maintenance of the garden was generally not up to the required standard. Native farmers needed their gardens at off-season periods. Besides being seriously affected by flood planting and replanting had also suffered because some of the applicants who got themselves involved in the Rebellion had their applications cancelled for obviously a chap who is imprisoned or detained could not proceed with his planting.

The number of buffaloes in the district showed a huge decrease from 7,337 in 1962 to 3,232 in 1963. A large number of them were either drowned in the flood or ungrazed to Brunei to escape drowning or to fetch a better price! Pigs rank as the second populous animals kept for meat and there were over 3,300 of them during the year.

Cocoon planting has not assumed any magnitude in Limbang yet, and so is pepper where there were only 260 mature vines in the district along Kubong Road.

Works and Communications

As part of the major improvement to the existing raw water supply in Limbang the laying of the nine inches raw water main was completed during the year. The existing distribution was also extended to Sungai Road, Fisher Road and the first mile Pandaruan Road.

Work on the construction of the Purification Works commenced in early 1963 and the Civil Engineering and Building Works were nearing completion towards the end of the year.

It is hoped that the Filtration Plant will be commissioned in early 1964 after which time the water supplied to Limbang consumers will be a fully treated Class I water.

One Class II quarters at Fisher Road was completed in April, 1963 and a further two Class II quarters were completed towards the end of the year. A total of six Class IV quarters at Kubong Road were completed in early 1963, and another in the main Government Housing Area was nearing completion. Two temporary type I quarters were also completed.

Work on the construction of the new Post Office / Air Mail Exchange Building commenced in 1963 and is expected to be completed in April, 1964. Construction of the 4-store Barracks at Pandaruan Road was in progress and would be completed in April, 1964.

Work started in 1963 on the construction of an office cum visitor's quarters and a Class IV quarters

in Nanga Medani and with its completion in 1964 it is hoped a suburban there will be opened soon.

A Military Camp at Limbang was also completed during the year.

The Limbang Military Airfield a joint Public Works Department/Military venture was completed but its use is only limited to Twin Pioneer class aircraft.

The last two miles of Kubang Road was gravel-surfaced and the access roads to the Residency and the Secondary School were bitumen-surfaced. A landing ramp off Bangsal Road was completed and concrete drains were laid in the main Government Housing Area.

Medical and Health

The number of patients treated at the Limbang Hospital increased rapidly, overcrowding was not infrequent. Urgent requests for the expansion of one ward to it were loudly voiced by both Councilors and Government officials and it was with pleasure to note that Government had acquiesced to it. The need for more staff cannot be over-emphasized. Additional accommodation would alleviate many of the sick from having to sleep on the Hospital floor.

The idea of separating T.B. patients from the others was mooted and was minutely discussed but the plan to build a T.B. hospital is yet had not come through. For a time an old condemned Class III quarters was used to house these T.B. patients from the albat but this was only temporary as it has to be demolished to make way for the new Post Office.

The Sarawak Malaria Eradication Project contractors did a lot of travelling in the area to ensure that this disease could no longer co-exist with a danger and menace to the people there.

Limbang Bazaar has relatively a good system of drainage but the standard of sanitary left much to be desired. Bacterias, leishanias, and shop-borne, especially eating shops were the worst over-worked places. No amount of advice and warning was enough from the Council Health Inspectors unless the people themselves were made to see light and change. Council by-laws were made but were never obeyed nor enforced.

Local Authority

1963 was not eventful as far as the Limbang District Council was concerned. Comparatively, the public were more prompt in paying their rates than the previous years. Of a total estimated revenue of \$43,678.00, \$43,141.87 was collected towards the end of the year.

During the year the Council, either in full or in sub-committee, met frequently and regularly but the aftermath had not always been effective, the result left much to be desired. The question of increasing and levelling additional rates was hotly discussed but was thrown overboard without much sane arguments.

As a whole the Council had not been able to achieve as much as it could have done—for one reason it could hardly keep itself solvent. Too much was discussed too little achieved, and it seemed on failings rather than on results. To offset this shortcoming on the legislative side the need for a more efficient and qualified executive side cannot be too strongly emphasized. Recruitment of staff based on merit and qualifications should be followed rather than to rely blindly on local material which at the moment is neither available nor of the required standard.

Malaysia and Politics

Early 1963 saw Limbang busy with its election of Councilors on various areas of Government, the election itself went smoothly. Little partisan politics was involved openly, all the candidates elected stood on their own independent platform. But beneath this seemingly calm surface there was intense campaigning by the pro-Bhrani section to gain a controlling voice in the local council. They failed.

There was no objection to the election; most of the wards showed a high percentage of voting though in ward five the percentage was far below the district's average as 119 potential electors of the ward were either killed or taken prisoners or detained during the Rebellion and mopping-up operations. Six Councilors out of fifteen were elected to the Divisional Advisory Council and the Honourable the Deputy Chief Minister, Mr. James Wong, was elected to represent the District at Council Negri.

During the later part of the year the Register of Voters was revised and amendments to it was made by the additions to and deletion from it as in the course of time some electors had become disqualified while other residents had qualified.

The United Nations Investigation Team arrived in Limbang on 30th August, and went into the Court House without delay to hear the views expressed by various groups on Sarawak's entry into Malaysia. Various words were expressed but the general view was "support for the country's entry into Malaysia." The United Nations Team very receptively and patiently listened to a group that did not question the legality or constitutionality of the country's entry into Malaysia but instead on the same plane of the country's entry into Borneo! Various memoranda were presented, the investigation and interviews went smoother than expected. Not an atom of disturbance lodged out.

Concluding Remarks

If the year 1963 marks the watershed of the country's political development, it is also a most momentous and eventful year for Limbang. The Limbang Memorial was unveiled on 2nd August by the then His Excellency the Governor, Sir Alexander Waddell, in the presence of service chiefs, local dignitaries and a big crowd. Honage was paid to the heroic drake who soon sink into oblivion as an unfortunate event of history but the aftermath of the Rebellion still lingers on.

And if the great flood was momentous, the visit of the last Colonial Governor and that of the first of the new on the 8th October in one year also marks the end and the beginning of a new era. History is often mistakenly quoted as "repeating itself" but in Limbang it never will.

SARAWAK DISTRICT

District Officer—Peter Scamson

LAW AND ORDER

Courts (Criminal)

There were 418 cases heard in the District Court during the year as compared with 367 in 1962. A good deal of this increase was accounted for by the inevitably increasing number of traffic offences. There was also an increase in the number of assault and theft cases, unfortunately involving a fair number of young first offenders. Many of these were suffering from financial hardship owing to the shortage of employment and in the floods early in the year. Considerable use was made of the probation system. It is hoped that the rural development programmes under way this year will afford increasing opportunity for the youth of the area to find its energies in earning a living by legal means instead of turning to crime.

In the second and third class criminal courts the total number of cases heard rose from 2,649 in 1962 to 4,374 in 1963. The increase was accounted for mostly by minor infractions of by-laws and thus represented not a pipette wave of crime, but merely a pipette wave of tedious work for the police and for junior magistrates.

Courts (Civil)

The number of Civil cases heard was 329 as compared with 280 in 1962. 184 of these were debt cases, twenty-five were land cases, while eight cases concerned house-possession.

Courts (General)

The post for a second stipendiary magistrate remained unfilled throughout the year owing to difficulty of recruitment. The usual plans hopes continued to be expressed that very soon the administration would be relieved of much magisterial work and also responsibility for running court deposits, etc.

Police

There was close co-operation between administration and police throughout the year; their respective spheres of activity overlapped to an unusually great extent, owing to the general elections, unrest engendered by political change, the Brunai revolt and its aftermath, floods early in the year, and the state of emergency caused by CCO activities and Indonesian confrontations.

Prisons

The daily average number of prisoners throughout the year was 110 as compared with about a dozen in previous years. Considerable numbers of persons consisted of participating in the Limbung revolt have been sent to serve their sentences in Sibu. A considerable number of prisoners were transferred to Sibu from Kuching, in order to release prison accommodation in Kuching.

It was no longer possible for the District Officer, Sibu, to run the prison. Mr. H. A. D. Palfrey of Public Works Department was appointed in January to spend half time running the jail. In November the Deputy Superintendent of Prisons from Kuching, Mr. Yoo Chuan Joo, was transferred to Sibu and took over. Twenty-four temporary wardens and three temporary watchmen were also engaged to run the enlarged jail.

Considerable improvements were made to the buildings. A wooden perimeter wall with lighting and corner watch-towers, also a prison industries shed were erected. A canteen/club area, originally outside the fence was incorporated in the compound and converted into living accommodation. At the time of writing a further similar extension is contemplated.

Juvenile Delinquency and Probation

During the year thirty-five cases of offenders were referred to the Probation Officer for investigation. Of these twenty-four were put on probation, three bonded over, five committed to the Nassau Boys' Home, two sentenced to imprisonment and one was discharged with admission. There were also ten non-probation cases under voluntary supervision.

General

For much of the year the general atmosphere of the district was very unsettled. This is hardly surprising when one reflects that the year's events included the immediate aftermath of the Brunai revolt, a flood, a general election won by the party not in power in Sibu, a visiting United Nations Commission which sparked off a riot, a short period of full internal self-government, entry into Malaysia, Indonesian confrontation and the outbreak of armed hostilities with the CCO, all on the background of a Chinese population suffering from land hunger and general economic distress. It is rather surprising that in the course of the year there should have been so little public disorder. A few incidents are worthy of mention however as follows:—

- (1) Riot at Chermuan on August 27th by Anti-Malaysia demonstrators during the visit of the United Nations Enquiry Team. Three police officers were injured though not seriously. Three rioters were subsequently convicted in Court.
- (2) Disorders over Malaysia Day were confined to the painting of Anti-Malaysia slogans on roads and buildings. Very strict security precautions were maintained.
- (3) A Chinese living upriver of Daris was forced to submit to a "People's Trial" on a ransom, rural

basketball court. A large-scale raid on the area by Security forces resulted in a number of arrests.

(4) A Chinese of the Assam area alleged to have been detained in a hut and tortured by CCO. He was rescued by Security forces and resettled in a safer locality. Two Chinese were subsequently convicted in the High Court.

Garilla troops were continuously stationed in Sibu from Easter to the end of the year. Various detachments of Malayan Police Field Force also served in the Region. There were frequent visits by Royal Naval Minesweepers. Helicopters of 845 Naval Air Squadron were stationed at Sibu Airfield during most of the latter half of the year.

IMMIGRATION, LABOUR AND TRADE UNIONS

Immigration

Immigration staff continued to operate under heavy pressure with the ever increasing numbers of beach and aircraft sailing at Sibu. The day will soon come when it will be necessary to provide a Senior Inspector with supporting staff at Sibu.

During the year there were nine new immigrants from China, mostly aged parents of local residents. Thirty-four persons all over forty-five years of age were granted facilities for visits to China and return to Sarawak within a maximum period of five months. Only thirty-nine young persons left for China on one way tickets. Seven students left for Perorea for further studies. Arrivals and departures by sea and air during the year were as follows:—

Arrivals	Departures
1,189	2,963

Labour

Workmen's Compensation

The total number of accidents dealt with under the Workmen's Compensation Ordinance was 160. Medical reports on thirty-one of these remained outstanding at the end of the year. Compensation amounting to \$61,637.92 was assessed, of which \$26,742.41 was in respect of death or permanent incapacity.

There were four fatal accidents during the year. Two in conjunction with logging and two in transport, storage and communications. The greatest number of accidents occurred in logging with 173 while transport, storage and communications came second with 78.

Employment

A small employment exchange was maintained though with limited success. It was found easy to spend a lot of time collecting lists of names of people wanting jobs without having suitable jobs in which to place them. The situation should improve with the opening up of new land in 1964. The emergency and particularly the presence of Security forces has provided quite a bit of employment.

Trades Unions

Most Trades Unions are organised on party lines; they have attracted very little notice during the year, perhaps because of most of the year has been so filled with vigorous political activity, the Trades Unions have been more than fully occupied, demonstrating, etc., wearing their political party members' hats.

Social Services

Health

There were no outbreaks of epidemic disease during the year. The Division was fortunate to escape invasion by cholera.

The Tuberculosis Control Project completed survey of all schools in Sibu Town area. It is a pleasure to record the excellent support given to the Project by parents and school authorities.

The Urban District Council Clinic continued to function to capacity under Madam Lee Fong Poo. The Methodist Mission continued to operate a clinic at

Sungai Tiris and a travelling dispensary on the Igan and Passi.

The development of unaided secondary schools continued throughout the year. Many children, of course, are trying desperately to open non-academic minds through academic examinations and only show a just polite interest in practical and hard science subjects. It is to be hoped that the revised curriculum imposed towards the end of the year will be regarded as a step in the right direction to be followed by more and similar steps.

NATURAL RESOURCES

The promise of land for the Chinese along the Oya Road remained largely unfulfilled. The Oya Road continued to infuriate the F.W.D. and to terrify the public. Early in the year, it seemed that it would be necessary to close the road completely while the rafted sections were broken and the swamps filled. In the event, however, Council Negri voted an additional sum of K1,150,000.00 to both fill the swamps and provide temporary rafted detours round the places to be filled.

In November the road was opened to light traffic and the first serious party of agriculturalists started work on a combined area of 500 acres at mile 1044. The leader of the group, Mr. Teng Ping Kong, hopes to establish a smelting rubber nursery which could serve the whole area.

Plant to Benua

A party of eleven Councilors visited the Sungai Selian rubber planting area, Benua, from 19th to 21st December and determined to develop the Oya Road along similar lines.

The reasonably good agricultural prospects opening up during the latter half of the year and pointed out by the Development Plan served to some extent as a palliative to the atmosphere of political unrest. It was generally realised that an increased agricultural horizon serving an enlarged port would create additional employment and wealth.

Rice Land Problems

The general state of the Benua reportedly continued to deteriorate. It is increasingly difficult for a peasant agriculturalist to scratch a living of poor paddy because of the price of rubber down, fish and game supplies declining and new sources of wealth (e.g. fish-ponds) not yet exploited.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES

General

Both the Urban and Rural District Councils functioned reasonably well throughout the year. Many old Councilors lost their seats at the elections in June when the S.U.P.P. scored sweeping victories all round.

The Councils agreed in principle to set up a combined Public Works Section. Such a body could help continuously with the construction of the minor road network which will be needed in the newly developing areas.

Public Works Extension Area

The Swimming Pool at Bukit Lima was opened in November and has been well used since. It is to be hoped that the Council will show itself sympathetic to develop the surrounding area for various recreational activities.

INFORMATION AND PRESS

The Assistant Information Officer went to London to attend a three-month Information Officers' Training Course, sponsored by the Central Office of Information, in March, and after that he went for a 30-day tour in The United States of America as guest of the State Department.

The Borneo Daily News closed down on 31st August, 1963 owing to financial difficulty after eight months and ten days existence.

A new Chinese newspaper, the Brilliant Lamp, commenced publication on 5th May, 1963 as a weekly and was later converted into a daily paper on 23rd October, 1963.

It became obvious towards the end of the year that the general public was insufficiently aware of Government's proposals for its protection and welfare. Arrangements were in hand towards the end of the year for the issue of a series of special information items on matters of current interest.

POLITICS

The General Election

The SUPP took a strong anti-Malayish stand and organised its supporters to put up vigorous resistance. The party achieved a remarkable standard of discipline over its followers, all of whom were professedly interested in how to vote. Vote splitting was simply not permitted. Quite a number of marginal seats were won by the SUPP, thanks to superior discipline and organisation.

The Election results showed a clear majority for the SUPP in both Councils, i.e.

SRIC 13 SUPP Councilors 9 Alliance and Independents.

SUDC 16 SUPP Councilors 4 Alliance and 1 Independent.

The two Councils elected a total of seven SUPP Councilors to the Divisional Advisory Council, D.A.C., however, retained eleven Alliance Councilors to Council Negri, creating the odd situation whereby Sibau District, the hub of the Division, was not represented in Council Negri, while the constituencies were. The situation was later mitigated by the nomination of Mr. Ling Hong Song to Council Negri.

MISCELLANEOUS

The Floods

Unusually heavy rain in December, 1962 and January, 1963 resulted in severe flooding in the district causing much hardship. Fortunately, the Rejeng valley was wide enough to carry surplus water away fairly quickly. Sibau town was under varying depths of water up to about two feet on a number of occasions when high tides and heavy rain coincided. By comparison with many other places in Sarawak, however, the Rejeng escaped lightly.

Sibu Youth Centre

The Youth Centre was opened by the Chairman of the Urban District Council on 18th August, 1963. Management is controlled by a Committee elected from the user organisations. Student Volunteer, Nigel Bailey, returned to England in September and was succeeded as Centre Manager by Student Volunteer, David Walker. The Centre was well used and provided a varied and interesting programme of youth activities.

Travelling

In spite of other preoccupations, a fair amount of travelling to all areas of the district was done in 1963. An attempt was made with some success to deal with Benua land problems by means of a travelling team consisting of the District Officer, S.A.O., Penahala and a representative of each of the Land, Agricultural and Forestry Offices. This team made about a dozen expeditions of up to about three-quarter days each and dealt on the spot with a large number of land problems. There remains of course a residual land case of about twenty per cent unresolved cases. In many of these, however, the groundwork for a solution is already laid.

Sensory-Ep

The year 1963 has offered a stimulating variety of interesting happenings, many of them imposing considerable stress on both Government servants and the public. It says a great deal for the perseverance of the former and the tolerance and good sense of the latter that the district should have survived the year in comparatively respectable order.

Arrivals and Departures

Arrivals

- Mr. W. F. Davies (Newly appointed Headmaster, Kuala Secondary School) By flight ML 497 Singapore/Kuching on 21.1.64. On first appointment.
- Miss A. Dethlefs (Newly appointed Nursing Sister) By flight ML 497 Singapore/Kuching on 22.1.64. On first appointment.
- Mr. & Mrs. J. E. Hay & four children (Newly appointed Temporary Education Officer) By flight ML 497 Singapore/Kuching on 22.1.64. On first appointment.
- Mr. & Mrs. A. D. Parsons and two children By flight ML 497 Singapore/Kuching on 22.1.64. Returning from leave.
- Ms. G. J. Turner (Plant Pathologist) By flight ML 497 Singapore/Kuching on 22.1.64. Returning from leave.
- Mr. T. A. Scribner (Senior Treasury Accountant) By flight ML 497 Singapore/Kuching on 22.1.64. To join Mr. T. A. Scribner.
- Mr. T. A. Scribner By flight ML 497 Singapore/Kuching on 22.1.64. To join Mr. K. Sumner.
- Mrs. K. Sumner and daughter By flight ML 497 Singapore/Kuching on 22.1.64. Returning from leave.
- Mr. A. B. Malik By flight ML 497 Singapore/Kuching on 22.1.64. Returning from leave.

Departures

- Mr. & Mrs. B. W. Knight By flight ML 495 Kuching/Singapore on 22.1.64. Proceeding to the United Kingdom on leave.
- Mr. & Mrs. R.E. Clark By Kuching ML/Singapore on 22.1.64. Proceeding to the United Kingdom on leave.
- Miss M. A. Nell By flight ML 497 Kuching/Singapore on 22.1.64. Proceeding to the United Kingdom on completion of assignment.
- Mrs. R.H. Logan & two children By Royal Brunei Kuching/Singapore on 22.1.64. Proceeding to the United Kingdom.
- Dr. & Mrs. C. S. Martin-Khalid and one child By flight ML 495 Kuching/Singapore on 22.1.64. Proceeding to the United Kingdom on leave on completion of contract.
- Mrs. I. M. Chase By flight ML 495 Kuching/Singapore on 22.1.64. Proceeding to the United Kingdom.
- Miss M. Branning By flight ML 495 Kuching/Singapore on 22.1.64. Proceeding to the United Kingdom on leave prior to retirement under the Compensation Scheme.

Advertisement

STAMPS

Send 50 to 100 stamps for exchange Value for Value to D. C. Preece, 51 Woodlands Road, Uptonhoe, Shrewsbury, Shropshire, England.

PUSTAKA
NEGERI
SARAWAK

The Sarawak State Library is pleased to announce the opening of its new branch at Kuching. This branch is situated in the Kuching State Library Building, which was recently completed. The new branch will provide a wide range of books, newspapers, and periodicals for the benefit of the community. It will also offer a quiet place for reading and study. The Sarawak State Library is a public institution and is open to all. It is a pleasure to have a new branch at Kuching, and we hope that it will be well used by the community.

The Sarawak State Library is a public institution and is open to all. It is a pleasure to have a new branch at Kuching, and we hope that it will be well used by the community. The Sarawak State Library is a public institution and is open to all. It is a pleasure to have a new branch at Kuching, and we hope that it will be well used by the community. The Sarawak State Library is a public institution and is open to all. It is a pleasure to have a new branch at Kuching, and we hope that it will be well used by the community.

Kuching Market Price List

January, 1964

	Average
Rice—(per gantang)	
Local, White, Government Milled	1.80
Local, White, Milled	1.80
Siam "A", 3½	2.10
Siam "B"	...
China Rice	1.70
Siam Broken Rice	1.80
Rangoon	...
Sugar—(per katil)	
White Sugar	.60
Brown Sugar	.65
Nipah Sugar	.30
Salt—(per katil)	
Coarse	.10
Fine	.10
Nipah	1.00
Flour and Bread	
White Flour, per katil	.25
Bread, per small loaf	.25
Bread, per large loaf	.45
Milk—(per tin)	
(a) Condensed	
(i) Liberty Brand	.60
(ii) Tea Pot	.60
(iii) Milk Maid	.65
(b) Local Fresh Milk	.80
Eggs—(each)	
Turtle	.10
Duck, fresh	.14
Duck, salted	.15
Fowl	.13
Table Fat—(per lb.)	
Butter	2.00
Vegetable Oil	.60
Peanut Oil	.70
Lard, No. 1	1.50
Lard, No. 2	.90
Ghee	2.20
Dripping	.80
Pork—(per katil)	
Lean, No. 1	3.00
Lean with Fat, No. 2	2.40
Fat	.80
Ribs	2.00
Beef—(per katil)	
Beef, steak	3.20
Beef, Curry meat	1.80
Buffalo, No. 1	3.20
Buffalo, Curry meat	1.80
Mutton, Australian	3.00
Mutton, Local	3.00
Poultry—(per katil)	
Capons	2.40
Chicken Cocks	1.85
Falcons	2.15
Chicken Hens	1.60
Dagang Poultry	1.75
Ducks	1.75
Muscovy	1.65
Cross-Bred	1.65
Geese	1.65
Fish—(per katil)	
Fresh Fish, No. 1	1.40
Fresh Fish, No. 2	.80
Fresh Fish, No. 3	.80
Prawns, No. 1	1.60
Prawns, No. 2	.80
Crab, No. 1	1.20
Crab, No. 2	1.00
Salted Fish, No. 1	2.00
Salted Fish, No. 2	1.10
Salted Fish, No. 3	.70
Vegetables—(per katil)	
Bamboo Shoots, salted	.35
Bangkok (Silkways)	.10
Bangkok	.15
Bayam	.30

Vegetables—(per katil)—Cont.

Average

Bean Sprouts	.30
Cabbage	.45
Changhoi Muttai	.30
Cucumber (Taman)	.31
Chillies, Red	.35
Chillies, Green	.45
Daan Bayung	.80
Ennabi Potch	.45
Ennabi Bean	.45
Ennabi Bunga	.45
French beans	.48
Garlic, fresh	1.44
Onions	.80
Kuching Panjang	.40
Kuching Ajer	.30
Kuching Koon	.40
Keladi Batani	.15
Keladi China	.30
Kereta	.30
Koribong	.15
Kandor	.20
Labe	.10
Lappa Duri	.20
Ladies Fingers	.40
Lehau	.68
Lehau (Chinese Radish)	.40
Lehau, salted	.30
Onions, Bombay	.35
Onions, small	.30
Potatoes, Imported	.30
Pink (Water Gourd)	.60
Sweetcorn, Imported	.75
Sweetcorn, Local	.55
Tamarind (Bark Assam)	.40
Tomatoes	.80
Trong (Brinjale)	.40
Sanco, No. 1 (per bottle)	1.10
Sanco, No. 2 (per bottle)	.90
Sanco, No. 3 (per bottle)	.80
Tea—(per lb.)	
Tea, Ceylon	4.50
Tea, Chinese	1.80
Coffee—(per katil)	
Raw, Java No. 1, Local	2.00
Raw, No. 2	1.80
Powder (Old quality)	3.20
Fruits—(each)	
Pising Umbon (per katil)	.15
Pising Umbon	15-25
Nenas	20-3.00
Banik Batak (per katil)	.20
Sauces	
Bean curd (per piece)	.30
Bean cake, white (per piece)	.30
Bean cake, yellow (per piece)	.25
Shampoo (per katil)	.30
Charcoal (per piece)	8.50
Cucumber, fresh (each)	.20
Canned Beef (per tin)	1.30
Etched Brown (per katil)	1.00-1.00
Kerosene Oil (per tin)	4.00
Kerosene Oil (per bottle)	.20
Mashed, Local (per box)	.25
Mashed, Imported (per box)	.30
Soap, washing, local (per bar)	.60
Soap, washing, imported (per bar)	.55
Salmon (per tin)	1.00
Sardines (per tin)	.30
Baka Wood (per panchang)	25.00
Cigarettes	
Flayer (per packet of 10)	.50
Rough Rider (per packet of 10)	.40
Crown "A"	.30
White Eagle	.45
Star Express (per tin)	2.00
Capetan (per packet of 10)	.45
Star Express 355 (per packet of 10)	.55
Lucky Strike (per packet of 20)	.90

