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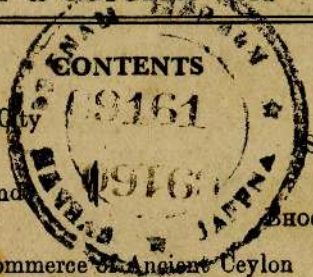
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# THE CEYLON HISTORICAL JOURNAL

VOL. II

JULY & OCTOBER 1952

Nos. 1 & 2



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SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

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 by  
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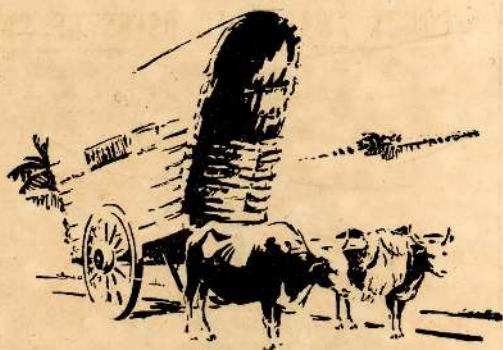
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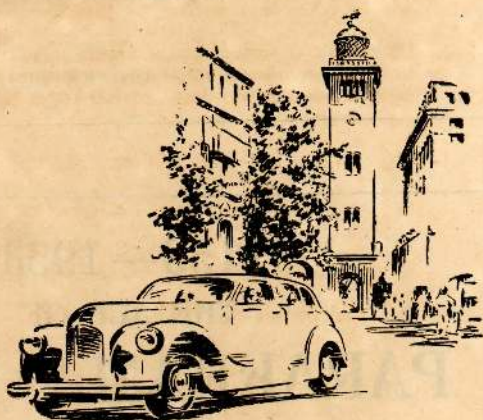
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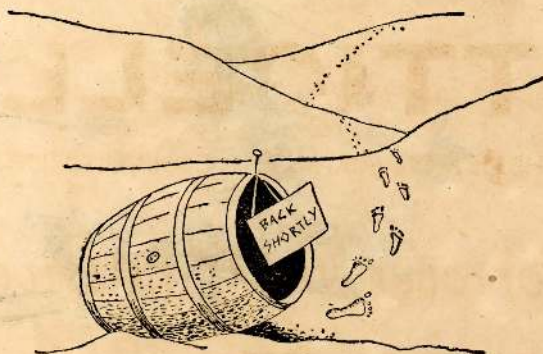
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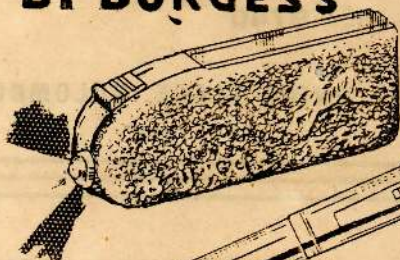
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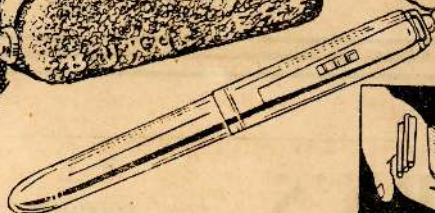
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SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

on the

THE GENERAL ELECTIONS IN CEYLON 1952

by

I. D. S. WEERAWARDANA

JULY & OCTOBER 1952

# The Ceylon Historical Journal

Vol. II — A Quarterly Review — Nos. 1 & 2.

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THE CEYLON HISTORICAL JOURNAL is a non-political review founded with the design of encouraging and facilitating the scientific study of the economic, social, political and religious history, as well as of the literature; arts and sciences or the past and present peoples of the island of Ceylon. The journal offers a broad hospitality for divergent views and does not identify itself with any one school. Responsibility for opinions expressed in articles published, and for accuracy of statements contained in them, rests solely with the individual authors. The Editor and members of the Committee do not necessarily subscribe to views expressed by contributors, and assume no responsibility regarding them, except the responsibility of publishing those contributions which are most helpful to the furtherance of the afore-mentioned aims.

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## OUR CONTRIBUTORS

- S. VAIYAPURI PILLAI, B.A., B.L., Professor of Tamil at the University of Travancore, former Professor of Tamil at the University of Madras and President of the Dravidian Culture Section of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Lucknow in 1951.
- BHOGILAL J. SANDESARA, M.A., PH.D., Professor of Gujarati at the Maharajah Sayajirao University of Baroda.
- B. J. PERERA, B.A., is a Graduate in Sinhalese of the University of Ceylon and an Assistant Editor of *The Ceylon Historical Journal*.
- WILLIAM E. WARD, Assistant in East Indian Art at the Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, U. S. A.
- REV. ROBRECHT BOUDENS, O.M.I., HIST.D. (ROME), GOLDEN MEDAL, (ROME, 1951,) Professor of History at the Scholasticate of Gijzegem, Belgium and Author of *Mgr. de Mazonod et la Politique*.
- E. REIMERS, M.B.E., Retired Government Archivist, Ceylon, and Editor and Translator of the Memoirs of several Dutch Governors of Ceylon.
- RT. REV. EDMUND PEIRIS, B.A., D.D. (ROME), Bishop of Chilaw ; Editor of the *Maga Salakuna* and Vice-President of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- RALPH PIERIS, B.A., PH.D., Assistant Lecturer in Sociology, University of Ceylon.
- A. P. BUDDHADATTA THERA, Author of *The New Pali Course*, *Palibhashavatarana*, etc., and Editor of *Buddhadatta's Manuals*, *Visuddhimagga*, *Apadana*, etc.
- T. VIMALANANDA, M.A., PH.D.; F.R.A.S., F.R.A.I., Lecturer in History and Archæology, University of Ceylon.
- A. S. KULASURIYA, B.A., DOCTEUR DE L'UNIVERSITE (PARIS), Assistant Lecturer in Sinhalese, University of Ceylon.
- I. D. S. WEERAWARDANA, B.A., PH.D., Lecturer in Political Science, University of Ceylon, and Author of *Government and Politics in Ceylon, 1931-1946*.

## LIFE IN AN ANCIENT TAMIL CITY— “ KVERIPATNAM. ”

By S. VAIYAPURI PILLAI

AT THE present day, Kaveripatnam is not a place of any importance. It is now a mere fishermen's hamlet. But in ancient days, it was a flourishing seaport of the Chola Empire and a far-famed emporium. The author of the *Periplus* and Ptolemy both refer to it under the names of Kamara and Chaveris respectively. Hioungsang calls it Charitrapura. We owe our knowledge of this ancient city to Pattinapalai, a poem of the Sangam period, composed in honour of King Karikala Chola. Pattinam means a seaport, and Pattinam in the poem refers to Kaveripattinam, the seaport *par excellence*.

This Pattinam stood, centuries ago, at the mouth of the river Kaveri, which made the Chola country, then as now, the “ Granary of South India ”. Its never-failing waters, says the poem, “ bubbled with gold ”. The banks on either side were studded with prosperous little towns. The green fields, the open yards nearby where large quantities of golden grain were spread and dried, the beautiful women keeping watch over the yard, scaring away with their ear-pendants the hens which tried to feed upon the grain and the little boys driving their toy-carts in the streets—these were some of the common scenes in this agricultural tract.

The seaport at the mouth of the river presented a different prospect. The first thing which caught the eye was the backwater with rows of vessels which had gone out laden with salt and returned with grain. A little behind the backwater were gardens and flowery groves, little pools and large lakes. The pool and its circling bunds looked like the moon's disc clasped by the constellation Magha. Further behind stood the city wall with close-jointed doors, bright with the Tiger Emblem of the Chola kings. Immediately behind the wall were the alms-houses. Here rice was cooked incessantly and the strained kanji water flowed like a river. The abodes of the Jaina and Buddha ascetics and the sacrificial halls of the Hindu hermits appeared next in all their grim austerity. At a distance stood a Kālī temple amidst trees hoary with age. The mounded expanse of sand which fronted it served as a playground for the fisher-folk. These sturdy coastlanders ate fish and meat, wore white lily flowers and enjoyed themselves in sham-fights with fists and weapons. They delighted also in witnessing cock-fights and bird-fights. Their huts were low-roofed. In the midst of the huts their fishing nets were spread on the white sand which seemed like moonlight criss-crossed with dark lines. In the vicinity and in the

shade of aloe shrubs, they would plant the sword of the sword-fish invoke the sea-god and offer worship. The full-moon day was observed as a festive occasion. Then the fishermen would go on a holiday and would celebrate it with drinking-bouts in the company of their women.

The life of the rich fisher-folk was altogether different. The ladies would take purificatory baths in the sea, in the company of their husbands, and then bathe in fresh water to wash off the salt. They would spend the day in teasing the crabs on the beach, wading through the shallow waters near the shore, in making toys for their children, and enjoying the pleasures of life with unabated gusto. In the nights they doffed their silks, and wore light fabrics of cotton. Intoxicated with love they would sing and dance in the moonlight. Their revels lasted till the last watch of the night, and they would fall asleep from sheer tiredness.

At this hour, the fishermen would return home from their hunt on the sea. Nearby on the sandy beach, the coastguards were still taking good care of the king's dues, shaking off their drowsiness. They were ever watchful and steady and never swerved from their appointed work, even like the fabled horses of the Sun's chariot. The traders too never evaded the custom duties and the volume of trade never decreased. The merchandise brought over the sea was landed and piled high in big store-houses, and the products of the country stored likewise were duly exported. The articles were packed in large bundles, and the king's tiger emblem was impressed on them.

By the side of the stone houses were seen lofty mansions built on elevated ground, with high verandahs all round, and ladders to reach them. In the bazaar streets women, possessed by the war-god, Muruga, danced in ecstasy. Flutes played, lyres twanged sweet melodies and drums resounded. Festivities were going on incessantly. Flags were flying all over the city—over the abodes of household gods, and over granaries and store-houses. Flags of challenge were raised by the learned exponents of the several schools of thought. Flags were hoisted over the ships in the the dockyard. Flags flew over meat-stalls and over taverns. Here, in the alleys of the city's outskirts imports poured in from all quarters. Horses were brought from overseas ; large cargoes of pepper from the western hills came laden in boats. Gold and precious gems from the north, fragrant sandalwood and eaglewood again from the west ; pearls from the south, and corals from the eastern seas, the products of the Gangetic valley and of the Kavery region, the food stuffs of Ceylon, and the wealth of the Eastern Archipelago—all these reached the great emporium of Kaveripatnam.



The local merchants engaged in the foreign trade lived a virtuous and strenuous life. They scorned at the dangers and difficulties attending overseas voyages in those days. They did not mind any discomforts. Wherever they reached, they slept soundly with a sense of safety under Karikala's long arm of protection. They ate no meat ; they stole not. They were pious men who worshipped gods, and helped the performances of sacrifices. They protected cattle and other animals. They were just, they were charitable. They took great care to safeguard the reputation of the Brahmins. They ever spoke the truth. It is particularly stated that they were thoroughly honest even in their business dealings.

There were a large number of foreign merchants too who came from various countries and spoke different languages. These mingled freely with the natives of the country and lived in peace and amity. Both must have benefited by the mutual contacts and relationships.

King Karikala Chola ruled proudly over this great emporium. In his boyhood, he was taken captive by his enemies. But he escaped fighting his way out, and wreaked vengeance upon them. He laid waste their territories. One incident is worth noting. Some of his enemies who made captives of the women of their vanquished adversaries, forced these high-born ladies to wash and clean the public halls of their capitals and light the lamps therein. These halls where they were thus subjected to these indignities were destroyed by Karikala, and they were so thoroughly ruined that they became the haunts of wild elephants. He was a terror to his enemies, and they dreaded that he might achieve even superhuman things. The Pandya kingdom was conquered by him and he overran other neighbouring countries. These acts of his were necessary to make his position secure ; but they did not engross all his time and attention. He cleared the forests and built goodly habitations for his people. He constructed tanks and reservoirs and the fertility of his land increased greatly. He extended the limits of Uraiyoor and made it a larger city, strengthening it with fortifications and other defence-works. People who had formerly fled the city because of its insecurity returned there during his reign and lived a happy secure and contented life.

## CEYLON IN THE LITERATURE AND TRADITION OF GUJARAT

By BHOGILAL J. SANDESARA

THE PROVINCE of Gujarāt is on the Western Coast of India. It consists of two parts—the mainland of Gujarāt and the peninsular Gujarāt comprising Saurāstra and Cutch. The earliest known reference to the speech of the Gurjaras or the people who gave their name to the province is as old as 778 A.D. ; since the *Kuvalayamālā Kathā*, a Jaina religious story in Prākṛit composed by Udyotanasūri in that year, hints at some linguistic peculiarities of the Gurjaras. The language of Gujarāt has a varied and voluminous literature right onwards from the eleventh century A.D., when the great savant Hemcandra wrote a grammar of the language of this province, which was generally known as Apabhraṃsa, and also quoted a large number of popular verses to illustrate his rules.

Gujarāt has a very long coastline, and the inhabitants of Gujarāt were a maritime people from very ancient times. Merchants from this part of India visited all the commercial centres of the old world, and in the same way it was a meeting place of many peoples who came there mainly by sea-routes. The traditions and legends of Gujarāt contain many a reminiscence of foreign countries, and the literature written in Gujarāt—either in a Gujarātī or Sanskrit or Prākṛit contains many references to the foreign countries.

This is especially true of Ceylon. In Sanskrit and derived languages Ceylon is generally known as Laṅkā. We have a famous proverb in Gujarātī, viz., *Laṅkānī lādī ne Ghoghā no var* ("bride is from Laṅkā and the bridegroom from Ghoghā".) Most probably this refers to the expedition of Vijaya to Ceylon where he might have been married to a Ceylonese bride. In his paper on "Prince Vijaya and the Aryanisation of Ceylon", (published in the *Ceylon Historical Journal*, Vol. I, pp. 163-71) Dr. A. L. Basham has conclusively shown that Vijaya had come to Ceylon from the Western, and not from the Eastern coast of India, as some scholars believed, and his arguments need not be repeated here. Vijaya was a prince of Siṃhapur or modern Sihor in Saurāstra, and the name Siṃhaladvīpa for Ceylon is probably connected with Siṃhapur, whence Vijaya came. Ghoghā or Gogo is a port near Siṃhapur on the eastern coast of Saurāstra on the Gulf of Cambay, and it was a flourishing centre of trade in ancient times. Naturally, Vijaya and his followers must have left for Ceylon from Ghoghā, and the Gujarātī proverb cited above furnishes an additional evidence to prove that Vijaya hailed from Gujarāt and that he went from Siṃhapur

to Ceylon *via* Sopārā, which is a port near modern Bombay. It is hardly possible that people sailing from Bengal for Ceylon would come all the way to Sopārā and make a halt there.

Gujarāt had brisk trade with Java, following the expedition of a Gujarātī Prince, Aji Saka (circa 603 A.D.), who most probably belonged to the Saka Kṣatrapa tribe, and who carved out a kingdom for himself there assuming the name Bhruvijaya Savelacala. The following proverb is current in Gujarāt from very old times :

*Je jāy jāve te kadī na pācho āve,  
Āve to pariā-nā pariā chāve eḷluṅ lāve.*

(“ One who goes to Java never returns, and if at all returns he brings enough to last for generations.”)

Tradition in Gujarāt mentions that Gujarātī vessels had always a halt at Ceylon *en route* to Java.

Siṃhala has been referred to in the *Vasudeva-Hiṇḍī* (circa 5th century A.D.) of Saṃghadāsa, a Prākṛit collection of Jaina religious stories, which appears to have been composed in Gujarāt or Mālvā, though nothing definite can be said on this matter. It is all the more remarkable that the *Vasudeva-Hiṇḍī* is a Jaina version of the lost *Bṛtkathā* of Guṇāḍhya, which was composed in the 1st or 2nd century A.D. and shorter Sanskrit versions of which are available in the *Kathā-saritsāgar* (which has been translated into English under the title *Ocean of Story*) of Somadeva and *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* of Kṣemendra, both belonging to the 11th century A.D. in short, the stories and legends preserved in the *Vasudeva-Hiṇḍī* are older than its author, Saṃghadāsa. In the *Gandharvadattā lambha* of this work, a merchant called Cārudatta is described as going to various foreign countries by the sea-route. He starts from a port called Priyaṅgupaṭṭaṇa, which may have been situated in South India as the name indicates. He first went to Chinasthāna or China, and to Suvarṇabhūmi or Sumatra. Then he visited the ports in eastern and southern directions. After that on his return journey he did business in Kamalpara, Yavadvīpa or Java and Siṃhala or Ceylon, and also in the Barbara and Yavana countries in the west, and amassed great wealth. Coming home, while he was nearing the coast of Saurāṣṭra and when he was almost within sight of land, his vessel was wrecked by a thunderstorm. After spending seven nights in the sea on a plank, he was thrown up by the waves on the coast known as Umbarāvati Velā, which has not been identified as yet but may be somewhere on the coastal line of Saurāṣṭra or Cutch.

The description throws some light on the trade with Ceylon and some other countries. Ceylon is situated at a strategic position in the Indian Ocean, and naturally it was a meeting place for traders from diverse countries.

Sīṃhala is also mentioned in the Sanskrit commentaries of the Jaina canonical works. The Jaina canon originated in Magadha, just like the Buddhist canon, but its commentaries—especially the Sanskrit commentaries were composed in Gujarāt and adjoining regions. In the commentaries on the holy *Kalpasūtra* of the Jainas—like the *Subodhikā* by Vinayavijaya, *Kiraṇāvālī* by Dharmasāgara and *Kaumudī* by Sāntisāgara (all the three composed in the 16th century)—we find a list of kingdoms (*Rājyadesanāma*) and in that list we find the name of Sīṃhala along with kingdoms in India such as Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, etc., and foreign kingdoms like Cīna, Mahācīna, etc.

We have numerous references to Ceylon in Sanskrit and Prākṛit literature so much so that a patient search would yield material enough for a monograph. But this is no place to deal with those references. Here we shall deal with an important legend found in the *Vividhatīrtha Kalpa* (completed in 1333 A.D. at Deṇai), of Jinaprabhasūri, a Jaina scholar from Gujarāt. The *Vividhatīrthakalpa* gives historical and legendary information about the various Jaina *Tīrthas* or places of pilgrimage in India; some part of the work is composed in Sanskrit, while the rest is in Prākṛit. In the tenth chapter of this book entitled *Asvāvobodhakalpa* (which is in Prākṛit) the author has given the legend of a Ceylonese princess who had come to Bharukaccha or Broach on the coast of Gujarat and accepted Jainism. The place where she attained salvation was previously known as *Asvāvobodhatīrtha*, because in earlier times a horse (*asva*) which was consecrated for the *Asvamedh* sacrifice attained the true knowledge (*avabodh*) there. Later on it became famous as *Sakunikāvihāra*. The following legend is narrated by the author :

“ In course of time this *tīrtha* became famous as the *Sakunikāvihāra* (‘ shrine consecrated to a kite’). It was like this—in the Jambudvīpa, in the Sīṃhala island, in the country called Ratnāsaya, in the city of Śrīpura, there was a king called Candragupta. His queen was Candralekhā. When she propitiated the goddess Naradattā, a daughter named Sudarsanā was born to her after seven sons. Sudarsanā learnt various arts and lores, and attained youth. Once when she sat in the lap of her father in the Royal court a merchant called Dhanesvara came there from Bharukaccha. In the act of sneezing, the merchant uttered the words *Namo Arihantaṇam* (‘ salute to the Arhats’). Having heard this the princess swooned and as a result the merchant received a drubbing. When the princess came to her senses, she remembered her former birth. She remembered that Dhanesvara was her spiritual brother, and made him free from bondage. When the king asked the cause of her unconsciousness, she replied, ‘ I swooned because I faintly recollected that I heard somewhere the words uttered by Dhanesvara. While unconscious, I saw my former birth. It was as follows : I was a female kite (*Sakunikā*) staying on a banyan tree in the Korāṅṭaka garden on the

banks of the river Narmadā, near Bharukachha. Once in monsoon time there was incessant rain for seven days. I was very hungry, and on the eighth day I caught hold of a piece of flesh from the yard of a hunter's house, and returned to the banyan tree. The hunter ran after me and wounded me with an arrow. The hunter took away the arrow as well as the piece of flesh that fell from my mouth. A *suri* (Jaina monk) saw me while I was crying. He sprinkled water on me, and chanted the *Navakāra mantra* which I heard with the utmost faith. Then I died and was born as your daughter.

“ After this Sudarsanā became indifferent to the pleasures of the senses, and taking leave of her parents who were reluctant to let her go, left for Bharukachha with the same navigator-merchant, taking with her seven hundred vessels. There were one hundred vessels full of clothes, one hundred full of wealth. In the same way there were vessels full of seasoned wood like sandal and black aloe, corn, water and fuel; varieties of cooked food and fruits; and also weapons. These made up a total of six hundred vessels. Then there were fifty vessels full of armed soldiers and fifty full of articles to be given away as gifts. With these seven hundred vessels they reached the coast of Bharukachha. The king of Bharukachha who saw this array of vessels thought that the king of Simhala had invaded the city and ordered his army to be prepared for defence. But that navigator-merchant, to allay the panic in the city, came and placed before the king the gift articles and informed him of the arrival of the Princess Sudarsanā. The king came to receive Sudarsanā and the princess gave some more presents and saluted him. There were festivities when she entered the city. The princess went to the sacred shrine and saluted and worshipped according to the prescribed rites. She also fasted on that day. She stayed in the palace presented to her by the king. Then the king gave her eight ports, eight hundred villages, eight hundred forts, and eight hundred cities. Sudarsanā accepted all these on account of the earnest desire of the king.

“ Once Sudarsanā asked the same teacher (who had chanted the *Navakāra mantra* before in her former birth as a female kite): ‘Revered Sir! What were my actions on account of which I became a kite? And why was I killed by the hunter?’ The Ācārya replied: ‘On the northern slopes of the mountain Vaitādhya there is a city called Suramyā. There was a king named Saṃkha, who was the lord of the Vidyādharas. You were his daughter, and your name was Vijayā. Once when you were going to Mahisagrāma, situated on the southern slope you saw a kukkuḍa serpent on the bank of a river. You killed the serpent in a fit of anger. On the same river bank there was a temple of the Jina, and you saluted the image of the Lord with great devotion, and became extremely delighted. While coming out from the temple, you saw a nun greatly exhausted

by travelling. You saluted her and ministered to her needs. You returned to the house after a long time. In course of time you died and became a she-bird in this Koranṭa garden. That kukkuḍa serpent became the hunter, and he killed you—the kite—in revenge which he owed to you in the former birth. But because you were devoted to the Jina in your former birth and had nursed the sick you attained true knowledge in the end. Now you should perform religious action of giving donations, etc., as enjoined by the Jinas.’

“ Having heard this speech of the teacher she spent all her wealth in seven Ksetras or places, as laid down in the true religion. She renovated the old temple (i.e., the *Asvāvośodha tīrtha*). She built twenty-four small shrines of all the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras, and also built the *Pausadhasālā* (‘the place for practising a religious vow called Pausadha’), *Dānasālā* (‘one place of giving donations’) and *Adhyayanāsālā* (‘a college’). From that time that place of pilgrimage has come to be known as Sakunikāvihāra on account of her former birth. In the end, doing religious fasting, she expired and went to the Isāna heaven on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Vaisākha.”<sup>1</sup>

The *Vividhatīrthakalpa* further notes that when Bāhaḍa, son of Udayana, a minister of the King Kumārapāla (1143–1174 A.D.) of Gujarāt, renovated the temple of Satruñjaya, famous Jaina tīrtha in Saurāstra, Bāhaḍa’s younger brother Āmbaḍa had renovated *Sakunikāvihāra* for the spiritual welfare of his father.

It is noteworthy that in the famous Jaina temple known as *Lunavasati* on the mount Ābu in North Gujarāt, built by minister Tejapāla of the King Viradhavala of Dholkā, in the year 1228 A.D., there is a beautiful sculpture delineating the legend of the Sakunikāvihāra, as given in the *Vividhatīrthakalpa*. It shows the ship and the ocean, the Koranṭaka garden, the hunter and the dying kite and the teachers. (see the illustration). There is a similar sculpture in the *Kumbhāriāji* temple of the Jainas—which is earlier than the *Lunavasati*—on Mount Ārāsura which is only a few miles from Ābu. The sculptures definitely show not only that the legend was much older than the *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, but also that it was quite well-known in this part of the country. It is quite possible that it may have been based on some historical event, similar to the legend of Vijaya.

The *Sakunikāvihāra* was the principal seat of Jainism in Broach for several centuries, and we find many references to it in later literature. Tejapāla had installed golden flag-staffs on the small shrines there,

1. This legend has been related with some variations in Parvan 7 of the *Trisastisalakapurusacaritra* of Hemeandra (12th Century) another scholar from Gujarāt.

CEYLON IN GUJARATI LITERATURE

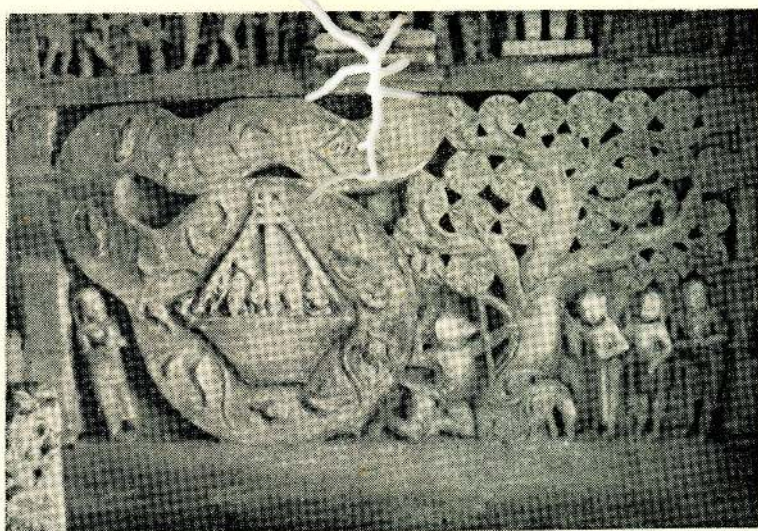


PLATE I

Sculpture of the Kite legend in the Luṇavasanti Temple (1228 A. D.) on the Mt. Abu.





as the historical chronicles tell us. With the impact of the Muslim invasion it was turned into a mosque which can be seen even to this day. It is, as it were, an embodiment of cultural contact between Ceylon and Gujarāt.

As mentioned earlier, the story literature in Sanskrit and Prākṛit contains many a reference to Simhaladvīpa or Laṅkā. The story-literature in old Gujarātī is mostly derived from these two languages, and naturally, it contains many such references. Of course, we must bear in mind that these references are of a fictional nature rather than historical or legendary. Sāmala Bhaṭṭ, a Gujarātī poet who lived in the 18th century, was a prolific writer of versified fiction and his stories often refer to Laṅkā. One of his famous story-book, *Siṃhāsana-batrīsī*, has a story of a *Padminī* lady, from Simhaladvīpa. This is true also of earlier Gujarātī fiction writers who flourished from the 14th century downwards. The *Karpuramañjarī* *Copāi* (1549 A.D.), an old Gujarātī fiction by Matisāra, has a character named Singhalasī, which naturally reminds one of Singhal or Sinhala.

Some old Gujarātī couplets refer to Laṅkā and its mythological King Rāvaṇa. Two of such couplets I am translating here. One is from the *Prabandhāvalī* (1234 A.D.) of Jinabhadra—it has been addressed by some bard to Yasovīra, the minister of the king of Jābālipura (modern Jhālor) in Rājasthān.

“O son of Dusāj! had you been in Laṅkā just as you are here, the kingdom of the great King Rāvaṇa would not have perished.”

Another couplet is from the *Prabandhcintāmani* (1305 A.D.) by Merutunga. It is put in the mouth of Muñja, the great King of Mālvā, who was captured and killed by Tailapa, the King of Tailaṅga. It is as follows :

“Laṅkā was a great fort; the ocean served as moat; the Lord of the fort was ten-headed King (Rāvaṇa). Even such a king was destroyed, when fortune was against him. So, O Muñja! you need not be dejected.”

In a work like *Kānhaḍade Prabandha* (1456 A.D.), an old Gujarātī saga by Padmanābha, the word Laṅkā has been employed in the general sense of “a wealthy place” (1-86). This usage may have its root in the belief that Laṅkā of mythology was full of gold. In modern Gujarātī the word *Laṅkā* is used for a very distant place. As for example—*e to lamkāmān che* (“it is in Laṅkā”)—that is, it is far off.

# THE FOREIGN TRADE AND COMMERCE OF ANCIENT CEYLON

## IV—THE EXPORTS AND IMPORTS OF ANCIENT CEYLON

By B. J. PERERA

WASSAF, THE medieval Arab geographer follows up his glowing description of Ceylon, which he deems to be God's compensation to Adam for the loss of Paradise, with the following statement: "If anyone supposes that these selected epithets exceed all bounds, and think the author indulges in exaggeration and hyperbole let him ask his own heart whether there has ever been a country, to which people export gold and silver, commodities and curiosities and in exchange bring away only thorns, drugs, dust, pebbles and various aromatic roots and from which money has never been sent out to any place for the purchase of goods".<sup>1</sup> In this statement we see the most important feature of Ceylon's foreign trade from the earliest times to the present day. That is, that Ceylon's exports have been, one might almost say exclusively, the natural products of the land.

### PRECIOUS STONES

From the earliest times Ceylon was famous throughout the then known world for its precious stones. This is seen from the names given to the Island. The Arabs called it Jezirat-ul-Yaqt or the Island of gems.<sup>2</sup> In ancient Indian Literature it was called Ratnadvipa.<sup>3</sup> Hiuen Tsiang (c. 629 A.D.) states that the Island was called Pao-chu or Island of gems.<sup>4</sup> That Ceylon exported gems to India in pre-Christian times is attested by several works. A passage in the *Sabha Parva* of the *Mahabharata* states that the King of Ceylon sent as tribute to King Yudhistira, "the best of sea-borne gems and pearls".<sup>5</sup> Ceylon is mentioned as a source of gems in Kautilya's *Arthashastra*.<sup>6</sup> In the reign of Vijaya, the ministers sent "people entrusted with many precious gifts, jewels and so forth, to the city of Madhura in Southern (India) to woo the daughter of the Pandu King for their lord"<sup>7</sup>. Gems were also included among the presents sent by Devanampiya Tissa to the Emperor Asoka.<sup>8</sup> All these references show that precious stones were among the earliest exports of Ceylon.

1. Elliot, *History of India*. Vol. II pp. 28—30
2. Baladhuri: *Futuh-al-Buldan*. Tr. P. K. Hitti. (New York, 1924) p. 215—216
3. *Manimekhalai*. Ed. Krishnaswamy Iyengar. Canto XI. V. 21—26.
4. Si.—Yu—Ki, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*. Beal, p. 235
5. Trans. Pratap Chandra Roy. *Mahabharata, Sabha Parva*; (1883) P. 146.
6. Trans. R. Shamasastri: *Kautilya's Arthashastra* (Mysore, 1919,) p. 83
7. *Mahavamsa*. Ch. 7. v. 49.
8. *Ibid.* Ch. XI. v. 16

The mining of gems was a royal monopoly. Individuals were allowed to mine for the gems on the payment of a fee, but the king had a prescriptive right over all gems which exceeded a certain weight. Abu Zaid writing in the 10th century states "There are men appointed to watch the getting of these stones on behalf of the king"<sup>1</sup> Ibn Batuta writing on the same subject states "The custom is that all rubies of the value of a 100 fanams belong to the Sultan who pays their price and takes them and those of less value belong to the finders"<sup>2</sup> Varthema gives us more information. "When a merchant wishes to find these gems he is obliged to speak to the king and purchase a braza of the said land in every direction and purchase it for five ducats and then when he digs the said land a man always remains there on the part of the king and if any jewels be found exceeding 10 carats the king claims it for himself and leaves all the rest free."<sup>3</sup>

#### PEARLS

Pearls as an export appear together with gems and were included among the presents sent to India during the reign of Vijaya and Devanampiya Tissa. The pearl fishery too was a royal monopoly and was run on the same lines as the gem monopoly. Fa Hien writing in the 5th century states "The king employed men to watch and protect and requires 3 out of ten pearls which the collectors find." According to Wang Ta Yuan the royal levy was five tenths of the whole.<sup>5</sup> During the time of Marco Polo it was one tenth.<sup>6</sup> From Hiuen Tsiang we get further information. According to this writer each pearl fishery was opened with a religious ceremony at which the king himself was present.<sup>7</sup> This royal monopoly continued till it was taken over by the Portuguese. Duarte Barbosa in the early 16th century states "The little pearls belong to the pearl gatherers and the great ones to the king who keeps his factor there. They pay him as well certain fees to obtain his permission to fish"<sup>8</sup> The same authority informs us that the king derived an immense income from the pearl monopoly. "And I can tell you that the king of that state has very great receipt and treasure from his dues upon these pearls". In the case of pearls too the king had a prescriptive right over pearls which exceeded a given size, even though a licence had been obtained for the purpose of

1. Renaudot, E., *Ancient Accounts of India by two Mohammedian Travellers* pp. 83—84
2. H. A. R. Gibb, *Ibn Batuta*. pp. 254—260.
3. *The Travels of Ludovico Varthema*, Hakluyt Series, Vol. 32 p. 189—193.
4. Beal, S. *Buddhist Records of the Western World* Introduction, pp. IXXI—LXXIX.
5. Notices of Ceylon in Tao I Chih. Luch, *J. R. A. S. (Cey. Br)* Vol XXVII, No. 73 p. 31.
6. Yule and Cordier *Marco Polo*. See Sec. on Ceylon. Vol. II
7. Beal S, *Buddhist Records of the Western World* Vol. II. P 251  
*The Book of Duarte Barbosa* p 109—120

fishery. Wang Ta Yuan writing in the 15th century has left a detailed account of a pearl fishery. "At the season when these pearl oysters are gathered, the tribal chieftain slays a human being and about a dozen animal victims as a sacrifice to the Sea God. On a specially selected day a number of boats with their crews are assembled for the pearl fishery. There are five men as a rule to each boat, of whom two act as oarsmen, while two are told to work the rope. A fifth hangs round his neck a bag fitted out with a bamboo ring to keep its mouth open, and then, having tied a stone round his waist, he is lowered on the rope line to the bottom of the sea. With his hands he detaches the pearl oysters from their bed and puts them in the bag. Then he grasps the rope and gives it a pull as a signal for the men in the boat to haul it in, and thus he is drawn up to the surface where he empties his bag of oysters into the boat. As soon as the boats are fully laden, they return to the government depot and are placed under a military guard. After the lapse of a few days, when the flesh of the oysters has rotted, the shells are removed and the putrifying flesh is thrown into a sieve where it is stirred round until the flesh is scoured away and only the pearls remain. These are again sifted in a very fine meshed sieve, half of them being appropriated by the Government, and the other half distributed in equal shares amongst the boatmen."<sup>1</sup>

Marco Polo too gives an account of the pearl fishery and is worth reproducing it as it would supplement the account already given. "The pearl fishers take their vessels great and small, and proceed into this gulf, where they stop from the beginning of April till the middle of May. They go first to a place called Bettelar, and (then) go 60 miles into the gulf. Here they cast anchor and shift from their large vessels into small boats. You must know that the many merchants who go divide into many companies, and each of these must engage a number of men on wages, hiring them for April and half of May. Of all the produce they have first to pay the king, as his royalty the tenth part. And they must also pay those men who charm the great fishes, to prevent them from injuring the divers while engaged in seeking pearls under water, one twentieth part of all that they take. The fish charmers are called Abraiaman (Brahmins) and their charm holds good for that day only, for at night they dissolve the charm so that the fishes can work mischief at their will. These Abraiaman know also how to charm beasts and birds and every living thing. When the men have got into the small boats they jump into the water and dive into the bottom, which may be at a depth of from 4 to 12 fathoms, and there they remain as long as they are able. And there they find the shells that contain the pearls and these they put into a net bag . . . . . As soon as the middle of May is past, no more of these pearl shells are found there."<sup>2</sup>

1. Tao I Chih Lueh op. cit p. 31.

2. Yule and Cordier, *Marco Polo* See Section Ceylon.

\* According to Duarte Barbosa the pearl fishery was carried on by the "Moors and Heathens of a place named Cael pertaining to the kingdom of Coulam".<sup>1</sup> According to Marco Polo the pearl fishery was carried on by the merchants of Mabar.<sup>2</sup>

#### CINNAMON

Cinnamon was an important export of Ceylon. But it is strange that none of the Roman or Greek writers have mentioned this commodity as an export from Ceylon. Two explanations are possible. Either that cinnamon was not exported from Ceylon prior to about the 12th century or that the South Indian traders successfully withheld from the Europeans all information regarding its existence in Ceylon. In support of the first explanation we may state that cinnamon grows best and is found in abundance in the south-west regions of the Island. This region was but sparsely populated in the period before the 12th century and consequently the kings would have paid less attention to this possible source of income. But in Ceylon it appears to have been used as a cosmetic. In the *Sikhavalanda* of the 10th century we find, I believe the first reference to cinnamon in local literature.<sup>3</sup> According to the reference in this work we find that cinnamon was a cosmetic used in bathing. One of the earliest references to cinnamon in foreign literature is found in the work of John of Montecorvino where it is stated that great quantities of it was carried to Mabar from Ceylon.<sup>4</sup> Although we do not have any definite evidence of cinnamon being grown on a plantation basis a statement in Ibn Batuta's work suggests cinnamon plantations. The above writer when he was at Puttalam the capital of Aryachakravarty found "the whole of its coasts covered with cinnamon".<sup>5</sup> In the earlier half of the 15th century we have a reference to it in the writings of the Venetian traveller, Nicola de Conti. He states that in Ceylon cinnamon grew in great abundance and that an odoriferous oil was extracted from it which was adapted for ointments.<sup>6</sup>

Cinnamon too was a royal monopoly. The statement in Ibn Batuta's work that the people of Mabar gave to the Sultan gifts of cloth and similar things suggest that the trade in this commodity was a royal monopoly. But we have definite evidence that it was a royal monopoly at least by the end of the 15th century. "In this Island is found the true and good cinnamon. It grows on the hill sides in bushes like bay trees. The king has it cut into fine branches, and the bark is stript

1. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa* p. 109—120.

2. Yule and Cordier: *The Travels of Marco Polo* Vol. II P. 314 ff

3. Ed. D. B. Jayatilaka, *Sikhavalanda Ha Sikhavalanda Vinisa*

4. Yule *Cathay and the Way Thither* Vol. III p. 62

5. H. A. R. Gibb. *Ibn Batuta* pp. 254—260

6. Major, *India in the 15th Century* pp. 77—78

and dried during certain months of the year. With his own hands he makes it over to the merchants who come to buy it, for no dweller in the country save the king only may gather it".<sup>1</sup> Gaspar Correa gives an account of cinnamon gathering in the 16th century. It may be considered as being true of conditions at the close of the 15th century or even earlier. "The people who cut and gather it are a kind of labourers who give the landlord a certain number of bundles, and the landlord causes it to be delivered to the king's collector who with their clerks demand from each landlord the number of bundles he is obliged to give, which is done in perfect order, and if the king wishes for more cinnamon than they are obliged to give, he pays them a sum for every 100 bundles, though it is but little. These bundles vary from 18 to 20 a quintal, and is delivered at the port of Colombo where the king has a large house in which it is put, and there it is sold by the king's factor".<sup>2</sup> Ribeiryro in his *Lu Fatalidade* gives us further information on the subject ". . . . chaliyas the people who collect cinnamon, each of these has to render the number of bahars at which each *paravenia* is assessed, for all of them are not subject to the same amount of duty, some paying more and some paying less. They carry at their waist a small knife with which they strip the bark of the trees, as they enjoy the privilege of not being subject to any other kind of duty; they will not perform any other kind of service except what they subject to, even if they bare to be condemned to the fire for they say that this would create a precedent".<sup>3</sup> Still another account of cinnamon collecting is found in the work of Ludovico Di Varthema, "The tree of the canella is the same as the laurel, especially the leaves; and it produces berries like the laurel, but they are smaller and more white. The said canella or cinnamon is the bark of the said tree in this wise. Every three years they cut the branches of the said tree and they take the bark off them; but they do not cut the stem on any account . . .".<sup>4</sup>

#### ELEPHANTS

According to Megasthenes, Ceylon was exporting elephants to India as early as the 3rd century B.C. "It has herds of elephants which are there very numerous and of the largest size. These elephants are more powerful than those of the mainland and in appearance larger and may be pronounced to be in every way more intelligent. The islanders export them to the mainland opposite in boats which they construct for this traffic from wood supplied by the thickets of the Island and they dispose of their cargoes to the King of Kalinga."<sup>5</sup>

1. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*. pp. 109—120
2. *Ceylon Literary Register* Vol. IV p. 152—153
2. *The Historic Tragedy of Ceilao* by Joao Ribeiro Trans. Pieris P. E. p. 31
4. *The Travels of Ludovico Varihema*. p. 189—193
5. J. W. McCrindle. *Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arruin* (London 1877) pp. 173—175

Nikitin the Russian traveller of the 15th century states that Ceylon exported "elephants and ostriches, the former by the size and the latter by the weight".<sup>1</sup> The evaluation of elephants by their height was in vogue even in the 5th century. Says Cosmas: "The elephants he pays for, by the cubic measure. For the height is measured from the ground and the price is reckoned as so many nomismata for each cubit, 50 it may be or even a hundred, or even more".<sup>2</sup> Francisco Rodriguez writing at the beginning of the 16th century alludes to the custom: "Elephants are sold by the cubit, they are measured by the fore-foot to the top of the shoulder."<sup>3</sup>

The capture and sale of elephants too was a royal monopoly. The Maharatmale inscription of Vasaba (127-171 A.D.) there is a reference to a tax called *hati pati*.<sup>4</sup> It is not possible to say whether this was a general tax on the possession of elephants or a tax paid by those capturing elephants. Barbosa states definitely that the sale of elephants was a royal monopoly. "These elephants are a valuable merchandise among them, they are worth much and are greatly esteemed by the kings of India. No one save the king may take them, who pays those that catch them".<sup>5</sup> Towards the end of the period under survey, the kings were not always strong enough to enforce the monopoly. An inscription at Gadaladeniya records an agreement entered into by the chieftains and people of the hill country with King Jayawickrema Bahu. It runs thus: "We shall not do (the following acts, viz.), trading in elephants, striking famams . . . digging for precious stones and the like."<sup>6</sup>

We are fortunate in having a description of the manner in which elephants were captured in the writings of Duarte Barbosa. "And the manner in which they take them is this: They place a female elephant as a decoy on the hill where they are wont to graze, which is fastened by the foot to a tree with strong chains. Around it they dig three or four very deep pits covered with very fine branches spread over the ground as cunningly as they can. The wild elephants seeing the females fall into these pits where they keep them seven or eight days without food and many men watch them night and day and speak to them so as not to suffer them to sleep, until they become tamed, and then feed them from their hands. When they are tame and broken in they surround them very softly with thick chains, and in order to draw them forth from the pit they throw in so many branches that the elephant gradually rises until he can come out. They then tie him to a tree

1. Major: *India in the 15th Century*. p. 20.
2. J. W. McCrindle: *Christian Topography of Cosmas*. p. 364-372.
3. *The Book of Francisco Rodrigues* pp. 84-87
4. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. I p. 67
5. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa* pp. 109-120
6. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*. Vol. IV p. 26

where they keep him for several days more, men with fires always watching him by night, coaxing him and speaking to him constantly, and giving him food in small quantities until they have him at their disposal. In this way they take both male and female, great and small. Sometimes two fall into one pit."<sup>1</sup>

It is surprising to learn that Ceylon while exporting elephants was at the same time importing them too. Cosmas writing in the 6th century informs us that the King of Ceylon imported elephants but does not state from where.<sup>2</sup> Among the reasons enumerated in the *Culavamsa* leading to the war with Burma in the reign of Parakrama Bahu I (1153-1186), we find that the king of Burma had plundered some merchandise which had been sent in exchange for elephants.<sup>3</sup> The import of elephants to Ceylon is further collaborated by Chau-Ju-Kua. In the list given by him of the goods which were exchanged by foreign traders for Ceylon products he includes elephants too.<sup>4</sup> Since Ramanna is the home of the highly prized tusked elephant, it was perhaps these that were imported to Ceylon. Tusked elephants would have been widely used in religious and royal ceremonies.

#### TEXTILES

Textiles was a major import of Ceylon. The chief sources appear to have been India and China. One of the earliest references to the import of Chinese cloth to Ceylon is found in the *Culavamsa* where it is stated that Parakrama Bahu I adorned the *Sarasvatimandapa* with Chinese stuffs and other materials.<sup>5</sup> Several Chinese writers have mentioned textiles in their lists of Chinese exports to Ceylon.<sup>6</sup> From an analysis of the Chinese references to the export of textiles to Ceylon, it is apparent that they were mostly luxury varieties for the royalty and the upper classes. For instance, according to Ma Huan the imported textiles were fine silk gauzes and embroidered taffetas.

India was another source for Ceylon's requirements of textiles. Here too the cloth imported may have been luxury varieties for the upper classes. Kasi shawls are mentioned in the *Guttala Kavya* and

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1. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Hakluyt Series, Vol. 44 pp 109-120
  2. Trans. J. W. McCrindle: *The Christian Topography of Cosmas* p. 364 ff
  3. *Culavamsa* 76-34
  4. *Chau-Ju-Kua*. Trans. Hirth and Rockhill, p. 72-73
  5. *Culavamsa*, Ch: 73, v. 85
  6. Ing-iai-Cheng-lan of Ma Huan, trans. J. R. A. S. (C. B.) Vol. XXIV No. 68 p. 97 ff. *Chau Ju Kua*. Trans. Hirth and Rockhill p. 72-73  
Notices of Ceylon in Tao I Chih Lueh, J. R. A. S. (C. B.) Vol. XXVII No. 73, p. 31



Gurjara cloth in the *Paravi Sandesa*.<sup>1</sup> Cambay exported to Ceylon a special variety of cloth which was called "cambaya" from the place of origin.<sup>2</sup> South India too was a source for Ceylon's textile requirements. Ibn Batuta states that the people of Mabar and Mulayabar gave gifts of woven stuffs to the sultan in exchange for the cinnamon they carried away from Ceylon.<sup>3</sup> Pulicat was also an important source for cloth.

There are several references to the export of cloth from Ceylon. The anonymous author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* states that Ceylon produced muslins.<sup>4</sup> The *Rajatarangani*, the Sanskrit chronicle of Kashmir mentions that cloth manufactured in Ceylon was worn by the queen of the land.<sup>5</sup> The Prakrit work *Tirthakalpa* states that a large quantity of cloth was taken to Barukacca by a merchant of Ceylon, Edrysy writing in the 12th century refers to the export of cloth from Ceylon.<sup>6</sup> These references are difficult to explain except by considering them as referring to the entre-pot trade which is clearly indicated by Procopius.<sup>7</sup>

#### HORSES

Horses were one of the earliest imports to Ceylon. The two usurpers Sena and Guttika (177-155 B.C.) were sons of a freighter who brought horses hither.<sup>8</sup> The South Indian invasion of Ceylon in the reign of Mahinda V (981-1029) was brought about by a certain horse dealer from South India informing the Chola King of the chaotic conditions prevailing here.<sup>9</sup> Horses were imported from the Indus Valley, whence the name Sindu and Saindava. The horse of Velusumana, one of the paladins of Dutu Gemunu was of this variety. Horses were also imported from Persia, and the king of the Island prized them so much that at one time at least, the traders who brought these animals were exempted from the usual taxes.<sup>10</sup>

1. *Guttika Kavva*. Ed. Batuvantudava, Colombo, 1950 v. 233. *Paravi Sandesa*, Ed. Siri Sunandasabha v. 158 See also *Ummagga Jatakaya* Ed. Welliwitte Colombo 1947. p. 77
2. *The Book of Francisco Rodrigues* p. 84-57
3. H. A. R. Gibb. *Ibn Batuta* p. 254-260
4. W. H. Schoff; *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*. p 47.
5. R. Sittaram Pandit, *Rajatarangani*, Sarga, 1. vv. 294-297.
6. *Ceylon*, by an Officer Late of the Ceylon Rifles, London 1870 Vol. I p 244
7. *De Bello Persico of Procopius*, Trans. H. B. Dewing (Bk I Ch. 2 See 9-13)
8. *Mahavamsa*, Ch. XXI v. 10
9. *Ibid.* Ch. lv v. 10
10. *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature* p, 165

## PORCELAIN WARE

Porcelain ware was another import to Ceylon. Remains of Roman porcelain ware have been discovered at Tiruketisvaram.<sup>1</sup> Shreds of Islamic porcelain ware were also found at Tiniketisvaram.<sup>2</sup> The chief source of porcelain ware however was China. Chinese porcelain were found during excavations at Tiruketisvaram, Dadigama, Yāpavu and other ancient sites.<sup>3</sup> The large scale importation of Chinese porcelain ware is attested by Chinese sources as well.<sup>4</sup>

1. *A. S. C. Annual Report* p. 15

2. *Ibid.*

3. *A. S. C. Annual Report* 1951 p. 33, 34,

4. *Chau Ju Kua*, op. cit p. 73- *Hsiao Ch'a sheng lan* 26, *Hui-lan Shan* trans. Rockhill in *Toung Pao*. Vol. XVI. p. 281—283

## SINHALESE MAKARA TORANAS IN CLEVELAND

By WILLIAM E. WARD

He saw the relic-temple—resplendent with doorposts and the like, made of the sandalwood of Mount Hari, with rows (of images) in coral ; of tigers with pendent pearlstrings, with emerald windows, with twinkling bells of gems, with golden (suspended) garlands at its angles ; having a spire of gems, (and) a roof lofty and shining with lapis lazuli ; abounding in paintings of seamonsters (*makaras*) —(and) a seat radiant with gems for the relic.—*Dathavansa* : II, 110-112.

The *makara torana*, which is so characteristic of Sinhalese decorative art, is indeed a most fascinating art form. The *torana* is seen throughout India, e.g., Sāncī, and, for that matter, throughout all the Orient. The *torana* in Japan and China plays a very important part in the temple scheme and layout. While some examples of *makara toranas* are to be found in India, this ornamental arch springing from the open mouths of *makaras* is developed and refined to its fullest by the competent craftsmen of Ceylon.

The *makara torana* style of the Sinhalese craftsmen is frequently seen in many of the countries of "Farther India". Two countries of interest should be mentioned here : Cambodia and Java. In the latter country, we note a change in the general construction of the *torana*, but the style remains quite similar to the Indian style. At the Borobūdur, for example, the flowing curved movement of the *torana* becomes angular. More emphasis is placed on the actual block construction of the building, thus, to a certain degree, dictating the angular form. At the Buddhist temple of Caṅḍi Kalansan, the *makaras* terminating the *toranas* have a tendency to lose their identity and become mere arabesques of floral forms. Curiously, the *makaras* terminating the *torana* form in many Cambodian examples are revised. Here we see the arched form, decorated with water vegetation, springing from the tail of the *makara*, rather than from its mouth. It is also interesting to note that the animal found at the spring ends of *toranas* at Bēntey Seri and other Cambodian sites, is a *nāga* and in many cases is multi-hooded.

These decorative architectural forms found in Java and Cambodia appear on buildings during the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries and later. This is the same period during Sinhalese history when Buddhist emissaries were sent to "Farther India" with the Law.

Thus followed an exchange of scholars, craftsmen and rich gifts between Ceylon and the countries of "Farther India". There are examples of architecture found in Ceylon dating from this period of exchange which quite definitely show influences of Indo-Cambodian architectural styles. The *Satmahal-Prāsāda* at Polonnaruwa, the *Gedige* at Nālanda, and the grand stairway at Yāpahu are three good examples worthy of further study. Not only did these architectural styles make their influences felt on the Sinhalese and Tamil craftsmen working for the court, but the sculpture of "Farther India" likewise became an important influencing factor. The dancing girls, sculptured in relief at Yāpahu, are a splendid example of this Indo-Cambodian style of sculpture found in Ceylon.

As we note in the passage from the *Dāṭhavaṃsa*, quoted above and in several passages in the *Mahāvamsa*, the *makara* is always included in the list of decorative objects, both printed and sculptured for temples and *veharas*.

The *makara torana* is much more than just an ornamental arch. It is filled with meaning and with elements of guardianship. The *makara* is a fabulous mythical animal-fish of the sea. In the *Rūpāvaliya*, we read an interesting description of this aquatic animal. "The *makara* has the trunk of an elephant, the feet of a lion, the ears of a pig, the body of a fish living in water, the teeth turned outwards, eyes like Hanuman's, and a splendid tail".<sup>1</sup> We note also that the *makara* is the vehicle of the god Varuṇa, deity of the sea (water). Realizing that water cosmology plays a very important part in Buddhist decorative art, we will better appreciate the appearance of the *makara* in the *torana* that figures so prominently in Buddhist temples in Ceylon. Varuṇa is the "universal encompasser, the all-embracer". One of the oldest of the Vedic deities. He is a personification of the all-investing sky; the maker and upholder of heaven and earth. As such, He is king of the universe, king of gods and men, possessor of illimitable knowledge, the supreme deity to whom special honor is due."<sup>2</sup>

In Ceylon, perhaps more so than in India, Buddhism has always been closely allied with certain Hindu deities. Is it, therefore, not possible that Varuṇa is represented here by his vehicle, the *makara*? Surely then, since He is the "maker and upholder of heaven and earth" and "king of gods and men", He becomes in the later Buddhist scheme, a door guardian or image guardian. We see the *makara torana* over the entrance to a temple or over the image of the Buddha, as is the case of the two *makara toranas* worked in metal, now in Cleveland.<sup>3</sup> (Figs. 1

1. Translation by A. K. Coomaraswamy.

2. John Dowson, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology and Religion, Geography, History and Literature*. London, 1928, p. 336.

3. Fig. 1 in the collection of George P. Bickford. Fig. 2 in the collection of the author.

SINHALESE MAKARA TORANAS IN CLEVELAND

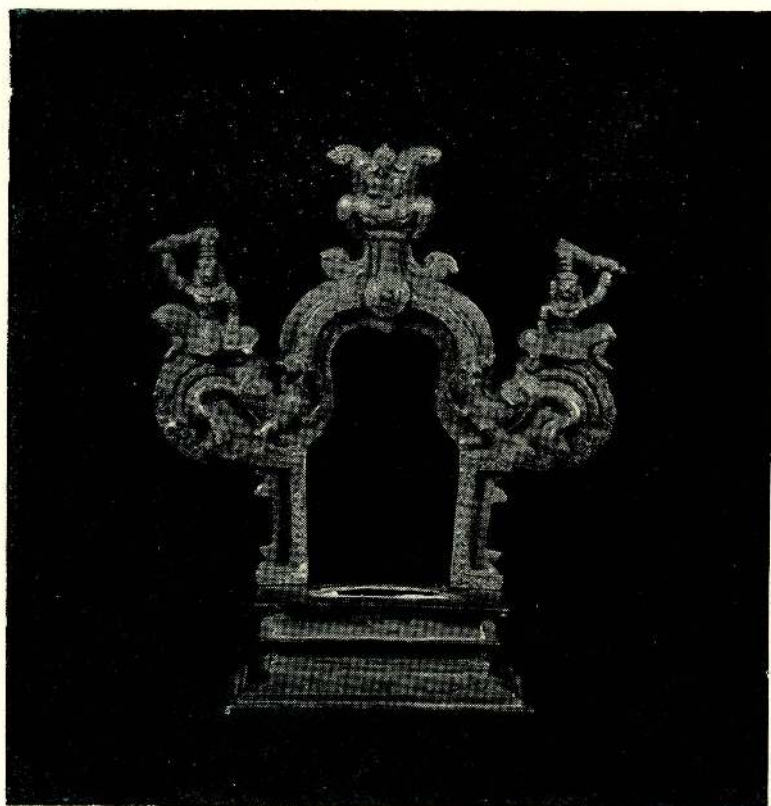


FIGURE I

MAKARA TORANA, VI<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

*George P. Bickford Collection, Cleveland*

SINHALESE MAKARA TORANAS IN CLEVELAND



FIGURE II

MAKARA TORANA, XIIITH CENTURY; BUDDHA, X-XIITH CENTURY

*Author's Collection.*

8 2). On the backs of the *makaras* in both of these pieces, we see *lokā-palas*. It is interesting to note that Varuṇa is a *lokā-pala*, the guardian of the west.

The *makara torana*, seen in Fig. 1, is of an earlier Anurādhapura style than the *torana* in Fig. 2. It is possible stylistically to date the earlier *torana* circa eighth century A.D. This *torana* is a fine example of the developed Sinhalese ornamental arch used for housing votive images of the Buddha. The *makaras* have all the qualifications set forth in the *Rūpāvaliya*.

Springing from the open mouth of the *makaras* is the ornamental arch of water vegetation (lotus rosettes and *Pala-peti*). At the top and in the center of the arch is a *kibihi mūna* (lion face) out of which comes a stream of water vegetation entering the arch under a large lotus rosette. Dr. Coomaraswamy mentions in his *Medieval Sinhalese Art* :

A very characteristic and fanciful motif is the setting of a branch or spray from the mouth of an animal or bird. A common example is the starting of many sprays of vegetable ornament from a *kibihi mūna*. These forms are evidently derived from earlier types in which a branch is clearly carried in the mouth, as in the case of geese on the Anurādhapura moonstones carrying lotus sprays. The original idea in such cases is probably that of flower offering, as in many Barāhat sculpture.

Surely then, the *makara torana* itself might well be a symbolic offering. As mentioned before, I feel that there is sufficient evidence to say that the *makara torana* contains elements of guardianship as well.

In the *makara torana* in Fig. 2, the feet of the two *makaras* appear to be standing on the heads of the two monks. The *torana* has at one time been damaged and when repaired the sections between the heads of the monks and the feet of the *makaras* have been taken out. Perhaps these sections were too badly damaged to retain in the piece. Nevertheless, the general proportion of the *torana* seems to have suffered very little. The two monks might well be the two chief disciples of the Buddha, Sāriputta and Moggallāna. They stand facing the image of the Buddha, which originally must have been a seated figure. The inner line of the *torana* suggests that at one time it housed a seated figure. However, since the repairs were made, the general inner area is not sufficient to contain a seated Buddha figure of the proper proportion set forth in the cannons. The standing Buddha, seen in the illustration, is a bronze of an earlier period (tenth-eleventh century, Anurādhapura style). The two monks hold lotus buds as if offering them to the Buddha.

The elongated ear lobes and the fine lines, indicating the folds in the robes of the two figures carrying lotus buds, would tend to indicate that this is an example of the eleventh through twelfth century. The style is that of the late Anurādhapura period. Beneath the two monks are two noblemen each holding a fly whisk (*caurī*). These could be the donors of this votive *makara torana* and the seated Buddha it once housed. It is rather unique that the tails of the two *makaras* seem to grow out of their backs as wings rather than as tails. This bit of evidence helps to place it in the late Anurādhapura period as mentioned above.

The technique used by the craftsmen who fashioned this piece is the traditional Sinhalese method used for casting metal images to this day. While the metals used varied somewhat the popular metal was bronze. The Sinhalese bronze maker cast his pieces solid, a technique seen throughout "Farther India". The images, or whatever was to be cast, were first worked in wax and then covered with a fireproof clay. A. K. Coomaraswamy gives a good, brief description of bronze casting in his book, *Medieval Sinhalese Art*. He mentions the interesting fact that, among other ingredients, white ants' nests were used in the preparation of the fireproof clay. After the piece had been cast, a certain amount of carving and incising would then be done in working out the refined details. Upon close examination of the *torana*, illustrated in Fig. 2, this final carving or incising can be clearly seen.

It is interesting to study the treatment of the Crown of hair and the vegetation flowing from the mouth of the *Kibihi* head; the "keystone" from which the arch (*torana*) forms. The motif used here is the traditional *liya vela*. In contrast to the *liya vela* design which tends to crown the *kibihi* head, we see the tail of the *makara* as little more than a series of ringlets. With very few exceptions, the tail of the Sinhalese *makara* is made of the *liya vela* motif formed into the full-blown tail of a bird rather like a peacock. In this piece the tail is of a simple design, not of the ornate variety commonly seen in the *makaras* of the later Medieval periods and in the decorative Sinhalese art of today.

Of the three examples of Sinhalese *makara toranas* in Cleveland, the third, in the "Farther India" collection of The Cleveland Museum of Art, is a painting of the eighteenth century. This painting (Fig. 3), probably unique in the United States, was given to the Cleveland Museum by Dr. Obeysekera Ukwattage. From a study of this painting's general style, it is possible to say that it is the product of a Kandyan craftsman. The subject of the painting is the Blessed Lord Buddha seated on the lotus throne (*padmāsana*) and painted over the central Buddha figure is a *makara torana*. The *makaras* are painted in



SINHALESE MAKARA TORANAS IN CLEVELAND



FIGURE 1

BLESSED LORD BUDDHA

(Painting on paper, Kandyan XVIIIth Century)

*Courtesy of the Cleveland Museum of Art*



a very realistic manner or at least as realistically as a mythical creature of the water could be painted from the imagination. However, imagination was hardly necessary for this eighteenth century painter, as there were many *makara* examples in existence in Ceylon for him to copy. But when the question may well be asked: "Were there fine examples for him to see?" The Cleveland painting shows quite definitely that this was a period of decadence. The refined proportions, line and drawing of the Anurādhapura and Polonnaruwa periods have disappeared. The proportion of the eighteenth century *makara torana* has become distorted and clumsy; the line has become static and dead rather than flowing and alive.

It is not fair, however, to say that all the art of the eighteenth century Sinhalese artists and craftsmen is entirely decadent, for even in the painting mentioned above, there is a certain naive; primitive charm to be enjoyed. Unfortunately, even this redeeming factor has disappeared from the Sinhalese religious art of the twentieth century.

# THE TREATY OF 1766 BETWEEN THE KING OF KANDY AND THE DUTCH (1)

By E. REIMERS

THE TREATY of February 14, 1766, between Kirti Sri Raja Sinha, King of Kandy, and the Dutch East-India Company, afforded the Dutch a welcome measure of relief from what may be considered to be the most critical phase of their history in Ceylon.

Up to 1760, when a revolt broke out in the Company's territory, conditions for them were by no means unfavourable; they controlled most of the coast, occupied the best cinnamon-yielding districts, and at moderate cost in the form of presents sent yearly to the king, obtained his permission for collecting cinnamon in his own territory. They had monopolised the trade in cinnamon, arecanuts and elephants in which the king had no share due to the restrictive measures adopted by the Dutch and his own isolation, an isolation which also made him dependent on them for necessaries from abroad. There was continual dissension between the Sinhalese nobles and ministers and the relatives and followers of the Nayakar king who exercised a predominant influence at the court. A plot by some of the nobles to assassinate the king and place a Siamese prince on the throne had recently been discovered by the king's father who was with him at the court, and the conspirators had been summarily executed among whom was the Second Adigar, Samenakody, while the prince who had led a chapter of monks from Siam who were brought here in 1753 by the Dutch at the request of the king, was secured together with his companions and delivered to the Dutch at Trincomalee who had them sent back to Siam.

All this was to the advantage of the Dutch, but the Lords Directors in Holland, the Supreme Government at Batavia, and the Governors themselves regarded the future with grave concern, due to the unrest that had prevailed for some time past both in the Company's and the king's territories. The king chafed at the restrictive measures under which he laboured and his inability to enter into trade relations with his relatives and friends on the opposite coast and particularly with the British at Madras, while his subjects complained that the prices for their products such as arecanuts, coffee, pepper, wax and cardamoms, which they were obliged to sell to the Dutch, barely covered the cost of transport. There was even more serious cause for complaint in the

1. With due acknowledgement to Dr. W. Zwier in his publication *Het verdrag van 1766 tuschen de O. I. Compagnie en den vorst van Kandi*.

Company's territory owing to the arbitrary methods employed by the Dutch and the new taxes imposed on the inhabitants. Their hereditary holdings had all been incorporated in the Dutch land-registers, or *Thombos*, and all arable produce in excess of a certain free allotment for services rendered taxed in kind, and their gardens had recently been resumed by the Company, which claimed the rights of the "Lord of the Land", and their coconut and other fruit trees uprooted to make way for new cinnamon plantations.

The revolt which broke out in the south towards the end of 1760 soon swept throughout the whole countryside "from Marawila to Matara". The Company's effects went up in flames, the cinnamon peelers fled to the king's territory after destroying the cinnamon which they had already collected, and the king, who had encouraged the insurgents in secret, now seized the cinnamon which had been collected in his territory and openly took up arms against the Company. *Katuwana*, a fortified outpost in the *Matara* district, was forced to surrender to the *Adigar* in command of the king's forces; the fort of *Matara* was so closely invested that it had to be abandoned by sea; *Negombo*, too, was besieged, and when the news of the surrender and massacre of the *Hanwella* garrison reached *Colombo* in March of the following year, the Government considered the necessity of having to abandon their outlying posts and fortifications and of retaining only their forts of *Colombo*, *Galle* and *Jaffna*. According to Governor *Schreuder* who wrote a year later: "Had we not during the recent disturbances promptly obtained reinforcements from *Malabar* and *Coromandel*, in which we might very easily have been disappointed, it would have fared very ordinarily with us, or, at least, we should have been much worse off than before."

The tide had turned in the Company's favour with the relief of *Negombo*, and *Lubbert Jan Baron van Eck*, who had succeeded *Jan Schreuder* in March, 1762, with more reinforcements of *Sepoys* and *French* and *German* mercenaries who had been released from the service of the *French* in *India* at the conclusion of the colonial war between *France* and *England*, soon had the hostilities under complete control. Severe reprisals, "with fire and sword", had been carried out against those districts where traces of disaffection still lingered, and the *Adigar* was forced to retire into the king's territory. By the end of 1762, *Matara* had been re-occupied, the salt pans at *Hambantota* seized, and the *Chilaw* and *Puttalam* districts brought under submission to the Company.

The king now appeared to wish for peace, and ambassadors arrived in *Colombo* in February, 1763, bringing with them a number of *Dutch* prisoners-of-war and deserters. They had come to welcome the new governor according to custom, and *Van Eck* availed himself of the opportunity to state his terms for the cessation of hostilities, viz., the

conclusion of a new treaty, a war indemnity, the restoration of the cinnamon which was seized by the king at the outbreak of hostilities and the surrender of the chief headmen who had seceded to the king. The ambassadors were also informed that a peace conference would be possible only with duly accredited persons. They returned two months later bringing with them a letter from the collective ministers of the court which contained no reference whatever to the terms suggested by the governor but only the request that both sides should live in peace and friendship as before. This also appeared to satisfy the Batavian authorities, and friendly relations were immediately resumed and the lost cinnamon restored. It was not long however before complaints were received by both sides of the violation of their promises. The king complained that the Company's troops had not been withdrawn from his territory, to which the governor replied that permission had first to be obtained from Batavia, and on a complaint being made by the Company that warlike preparations were being made at Kandy, the cryptic reply was received that it was a good thing to abstain from hostilities but not a good thing to speak of warlike preparations.

A fresh development now changed the whole current of affairs forcing the Dutch to break off their uneasy relations with the king and to take the necessary measures for their own security in the face of the danger that threatened them from Madras.

Some time before, a letter was received by the governor informing him that the Sinhalese ministers were considerably dissatisfied with the present regime and that the king was carrying on secret negotiations with the agent of the British East India Company, Pigot, at Madras. The English, according to the latter, were to blockade the Dutch by sea, and the king was to cut off all supplies by land and thereby force the Dutch to leave Ceylon. The governor was not greatly impressed by the letter at the time but sent it together with the bearer, "Galgiliawa Hamuduruwo", who said he was an attendant of the high-priest "Walewita Sangha Rajah" to Batavia. Van Eck now learnt to his dismay of the presence of an English envoy, Pybus, at the court of Kandy, and a letter was also received about the same time from the Governor of Coromandel informing the governor that Admiral Cornish, who commanded the British fleet in Indian waters, had embarked troops and sailed with 20 ships for an unknown destination, possibly Trincomalee. Orders were immediately given to the chief officer of Trincomalee, among others, to prevent the landing of any English in Ceylon, and substantial rewards were also offered for the apprehension of all suspects either entering or leaving Ceylon. The order provoked an angry protest from Admiral Cornish who claimed immediate public satisfaction for an incident that occurred more than a year before, viz., the firing of a warning shot at the British tender "Swallow" whilst attempting to enter the inner harbour of Trincomalee without permission. "I am at a loss", he said, "as to whether I should give

precedence to Your Honour's insolence or stupidity in giving such an order to your chief officer at Trincomalee, and it is therefore that I give Your Honour notice that should such an attempt be made should I consider it necessary to send any of His Britannic Majesty's ships within the bay of Trincomalee, or should Your Honour's chief officer at that place presume to fire one shot against the ships of Great Britain, I shall consider such action as a declaration of war and thereupon take such forcible measures as will perpetuate the memory of the foolishness and insolence of such an interdict . . . . That I had taken a gentleman from this place to the King at Candea, is a matter for which I am responsible alone to the King, my master . . . ."

Preparations had meanwhile been made for the invasion of Kandy at the beginning of 1764, when according to the usual seasonal changes four months of dry weather could be expected. According to the plan of operations, a force of 1,800 was to advance from Gonawila in the Negombo district, while five smaller detachments were to set out from Matara, Pitigala in the Kalutara district, Hanwella, Aripo and Trincomalee. Contrary to expectations it had rained all throughout January, and it was only on the 10th of February that Van Eck was able to take the field, advancing thereafter without opposition as far as Wisenawa where he was held up by a determined attempt by the Kandyans to check any further progress towards Kurunegala. The rain, too, which had kept off till then continued to fall, and the Dutch were forced to abandon the expedition retreating under continual pressure by the Kandyans to Gonawila which they reached on the 3rd of March. Orders were also sent to the ancillary detachments to return to their bases, which they all did successfully with the exception of the detachment of 150 advancing from Pitigala which fell into the hands of the Kandyans.

No further military operations were considered possible during the rest of the year owing to the intermittent rains, and preparations were immediately made on a much larger scale for an expedition at the beginning of 1765.

According to the plan of operations, two large forces were to advance from different directions, the main body under Colonel Feber, an officer of considerable experience who commanded the expedition from Gonawila, and the other from Puttalam along the ancient high-road leading from Puttalam to Kandy. Both forces were then to effect a junction at Kurunegala and continue their advance to Kandy. Weather conditions were favourable on this occasion, and Feber who had defeated the Adigar at Ettambi in what proved to be the decisive action of the whole campaign, had reached Wisenawa by the 16th of January, and established his forward base there, 1,800 coolies toiling day and night in transferring the ammunition and other necessaries from Gonawila to that place.

Here he awaited news of the column advancing from Puttalam which meanwhile had engaged the enemy and taken up its position 6 miles to the north of Kurunegala, forcing the Kandyan in fear of an attack from two sides to retreat through the pass of Weuda. The combined force numbering 7,000 including the coolies now continued its advance, and after a number of engagements the most important of which was one at Ohomiya in which the Kandyans lost heavily, approached the strongly fortified post of Galagedera which fell into its hands after a sharp attack, the garrison retiring in the direction of Kandy after blowing up a powder magazine at that place.

At Galagedera, on the 13th February, five Kandyan envoys sought an audience with the governor who had accompanied the expedition together with a few members of his council. They informed him that the king was willing to cede to the Company the Seven Korales as far as Wandurugala in the Kurunegala district if he would turn back and hold a peace conference at Colombo. Van Eck however pointed out to them that the war had already cost the Company more than ten million guilders, and that his successes up to the present entitled him to far heavier claims regarding which he would confer with them in eight days' time at Kandy.

Only the almost impregnable post of Giriagama at the summit of Balana now barred the way to Kandy, but Feber finding that it had been abandoned continued to advance without any opposition, and at last halted, on the 15th of February, at Katugastota on the banks of the Mahaweli-ganga.

On the following day a deputation of Kandyan dignitaries,<sup>1</sup> preceded by two attendants cracking their silver-mounted whips to announce its approach, waited on the governor. The deputation which included the First and Second Adigars, Gallegoda and Pilimitallawa, the Disawas of Uva, Udapalata and Matale, Gallegoda, brother of the First Adigar, Angammuna and Dumbara; brother of the Disawa of the Seven Korales respectively, the Maha Mohottiyar Miwatura, and the Captain of the Royal Lifeguards Moragama Mohandiram, informed the governor through their spokesman, the First Adigar, that the king was equally culpable for the out-break of hostilities, due to the bad advice he had received from his councillors, and courteously requested to know, in the name of the king, what his terms would be for the conclusion of peace. Van Eck replied that they would be read out one by one, and that he was prepared to discuss them with them if they produced their credentials signed and sealed by the king, whereupon he replied that they would first place them before the king and return the next day with his reply and a letter of credence. The governor then had them read out as follows :

1. A list of chief ministers and other officials at Governor Schreuder's departure in March 1762 appears in Schreuder's Memoir (translation), p. p. 31 and 32.



- (1) The king acknowledges the sovereignty of the States-General and the Company over the Dutch possessions in Ceylon and renounce all claim to them in future.
- (2) All prisoners-of-war, deserters, rebels, fugitive cinnamon-peelers and captured cannon shall be delivered to the Company.
- (3) The king shall cede all those portions of the coast hitherto not possessed by the Company, and, further, the district round about Chilaw and Puttalam, the Seven Korales, the Four Korales, the Disawany of Sabaragamuwa and the Nuwara Wanny. He shall also permit the collection of cinnamon in his territory.
- (4) The Company shall possess the right to govern all those territories according to its discretion, to erect forts and place garrisons there, &c. All Thombos and administrative documents of those districts shall be handed over to the Company.
- (5) The subjects of both sides may trade with each other, and all deserters and mischief-makers of both sides shall be handed over and punished.
- (6) The costs of the war incurred by the Company shall be made good by the king.
- (7) Both sides shall maintain a close friendship with each other, and the Company undertakes to protect the king and his subjects from foreign aggression, provided that the king also lent his assistance in its doing so.
- (8) The king shall enter into no treaty with any other foreign power.

On the Adigar remarking that many of the prisoners were dead and that more territory was demanded than what the Portuguese ever possessed, he was told that he could not discuss the claims as he had no credentials. He was however given a Sinhalese translation of the claims put forward by the governor, with which he left with the other members of the deputation, with the same ceremony as before, promising to return the next day with the king's reply and a letter of credence.

On the following day however only the Disawa of Udapalata appeared before the governor and informed him that the king had left Kandy on the day before. He added that it was not through set purpose that a letter of credence had not been brought by them but through ignorance as to how such a document had to be worded. He was thereupon given a draft of one with which he returned and came again the next day accompanied by the Disawa of Uva. He informed the governor's secretary who received them that the letter would follow later, and on a

question by him as to why the remaining portions of the coast were demanded, he was told that it was all due to the bad faith of the court in corresponding with the English at Madras, and that the control of the entire coast was necessary in order to prevent any negotiations in future. He was also informed that the governor would meet them on the next day at the palace at Kandy if they had anything more to say to him.

Early on the morning of the 19th of February, Van Eck crossed the river with his forces and entered the capital without any opposition. The city was deserted but it was immediately sacked by the impatient soldiery who also looted the palace of all it contained—rich cloth stuffs in abundance, minted and unminted silver, rare articles of value and elegant furniture, all of them wondering, according to an eye-witness, how a "black king" could have so magnificent a palace. All that Van Eck was able to secure for the Company was a large, bell-shaped silver "machine" weighing 210 lbs. which was found buried behind the palace. Its top compartment, which was supposed to have contained a jewelled casket in which the sacred Tooth Relic was preserved, was found empty. Mention was also made in an inventory of the governor's effects made after his death of a gold case in which there was a gold "ola."

Van Eck was now anxious to return to Colombo, but before doing so he appointed Marten Rein, former Chief Officer of Trincomalee, as Commander of Kandy, and issued a proclamation calling on all priests, officials and others to attend at the palace and make submission to the Company on penalty for default of forfeiting all their possessions and being degraded to the lowest caste. He arrived in Colombo on the 10th of March but was too ill to attend a meeting of his council on the 13th. He was able however to dictate a memorandum of instructions to be observed during his illness, from which he did not recover, dying of a "burning fever" on the 1st of April, 1765.

Dr. Iman Willem Falck who had been appointed to succeed Governor Van Eck arrived in Colombo on August 9, bringing with him instructions from Batavia to enter into peace negotiations with the king. A letter was accordingly written the next day addressed to the ministers of the court, which was now at Hanguranketa, informing them that the Company was prepared to sit at a peace conference with a duly accredited embassy if a reply to the letter was received in a month's time from its date of despatch. Nothing however transpired till the end of November, when a letter was received from the Kandyan intermediary at the time, the Disawa of Sabaragamuwa, Pilimalawwa, that ambassadors were being sent to welcome the new governor.

In the meantime, Van Eck's ambitious plans for bringing the entire island under Dutch influence had been completely defeated. The

occupation of Kandy, on which they were based, came to an end on the 31st of August. Marten Rein, the newly appointed "Commander of Kandy" had died a few days after his assumption of office, and the garrison numbering 1,700 who were faced with sickness, privation and daily attacks by the enemy had sent an urgent message for relief to Colombo, but were forced to leave the city by night before help came, after setting it on fire and destroying what was left of the beautiful palace—a portion of the buildings had been demolished earlier as it was exposed to attack from the hill overlooking it. A strong detachment, too, which had been despatched to relieve the beleaguered garrison had to return under the most difficult conditions without making contact with the retreating force. The Four Korales had to be evacuated by the Dutch forces and all hopes given up of sending a supply of cinnamon for the home market. Reports had also been received in Colombo that the Kandyans who had taken heart at the Dutch reverses were massing for the invasion of the low-country and that emissaries on their behalf were soliciting armed assistance from the rulers of Ramnad and Tanjore.

The Dutch, for their part, had cut off all supplies of salt to the Kandyans and had brought to Colombo from Ramnad a pretender to the throne by name Mutu Supera Narasinha, who claimed that he was the son of King Narendra Sinha who died in 1739 leaving no legitimate heir. They were now inquiring into his statement before taking action in his behalf.

It was therefore with feelings of considerable relief that the ambassadors were received in Colombo on December 12, and it was decided by the government to admit them to a conference, if they desired it, although it was found that they had brought no credentials, and the time limit of a month imposed by Falck's letter was considerably in arrear. Two commissioners were appointed to confer with the ambassadors, and they were directed to negotiate for a new treaty on the basis of the terms proposed by Van Eck to the Kandyan deputation at Katugastota, but to waive the war indemnity, demanding instead the provinces formerly occupied by the Dutch and, if found necessary, to withdraw all claims to the territory recently occupied by the expeditionary force in the Seven Korales and the district round about Chilaw.

After a prolonged discussion at the first conference, on December 16, agreement was reached on Van Eck's terms for acknowledgment by the king of the Company's sovereign rights over its territory and the surrender of all prisoners, deserters and rebels. The ambassadors however could not commit themselves to a decision regarding the claim for those portions of the coast hitherto not occupied by the Dutch, but promised to propose it to the king, although they feared that it would occasion much hardship, having in mind, as the commissioners surmised, the supply of salt from the salt-pans on the coast, but as regards the

claim for the inland provinces which had devolved on the Company by conquest from the Portuguese and which they had formerly possessed, they stubbornly refused even to discuss it.

At the meeting of the Dutch Council on the 17th, it was decided to inform the ambassadors that the king could retain the right to have salt removed from the salt-pans as before, and, in order to make the claim for the inland provinces more attractive, that he would be given a share of the profits of the trade in elephants.

The second conference, on the same day, was equally inconclusive, the ambassadors declaring that they would fight on rather than concede any inland territory whatever.

The commissioners were now directed to make another attempt to obtain agreement on the disputed point, and, should they fail, to inform the ambassadors that peace could not be concluded on those terms, but on no account to break off negotiations. They were also to bring up for discussions the claims of the pretender to the throne.

At the meeting on the 18th December, the deadlock persisted, the ambassadors denying at the same time that the pretender could possibly be the son of the last Sinhalese King.

At a meeting of the council on the 19th December, it was decided to abandon the claim for the inland provinces on the explicit conditions that the Company collected cinnamon everywhere in the king's territory and that the king made no requests in future for any expensive or troublesome services.

A draft of the revised terms was now handed to the ambassadors who promised to do their best to obtain the king's approval. It consisted of 14 articles, as follows :—

- (1) The king shall sign a new treaty that shall continue in effect as long as the sun and moon shine.
- (2) The king, for that purpose, shall send ambassadors furnished with proper credentials.
- (3) All prisoners-of-war, deserters and rebels shall be surrendered, and all captured cannon given back.
- (4) The king acknowledges the States-General and the Company as lawful sovereigns and sole overlords of all the territory which the Company thus far has possessed, and renounces all claim to the same.

- (5) The Company shall restore to the king all territory occupied by it during this war, with the exception of the coasts of Puttalam and Chilaw from the Kaimel (river) as far as Jaffnapatam.
- (6) The king shall cede all the coasts round the island to a depth of one Sinhalese mile.
- (7) The king's subjects shall have the right to remove salt from the salt-pans of Puttalam and Chilaw as well as from the east coast without first having to ask for permission.
- (8) The Company shall have the liberty of collecting cinnamon everywhere in the king's territory without having to ask for permission.
- (9) The Company may take the measures which it considers necessary for the protection of its cinnamon-peelers without the same being considered as an unfriendly act.
- (9) The subjects of both parties shall be permitted to trade with each other, and all offenders and deserters shall be surrendered.
- (10) The subjects of both parties shall be permitted to trade with each other, and all offenders and deserters shall be surrendered.
- (11) A close friendship shall be maintained between both powers, and the Company shall protect the king against foreign aggressions, provided that the king promises to lend his support thereto.
- (12) The king shall enter into no treaty with any other foreign nation.
- (13) The Company restores fertile territory to the king, and receives in exchange nothing but barren coasts, thereby increasing still more the Company's burdens for their protection. The king shall therefore undertake, under what pretext so ever, never to make any expensive or otherwise troublesome demands in future.
- (14) Should no reply be received to these conditions within 15 days, the Company understands that they have not been fulfilled.

At the audience preparatory to their departure, the ambassadors complained that the time-limit of 15 days was too short, but the government could not see its way to prolong it, fearing that any further delay would not afford them the opportunity for taking full advantage of the dry weather for military operations. The ambassadors left Colombo on December 22nd on their return journey to Hanguranketa, and a letter was received on January 6th from the Disawa of Sabaragamuwa, Pilimatallawwa, informing the government that ambassadors

would be sent as requested. The governor informed him that the ambassadors must hasten their departure, as the time-limit had expired and hostilities would accordingly be resumed. Information at length was received in Colombo that the ambassadors had arrived at Ruwanwella on the 25th of January, and were due at Sitavaca on the next day, whereupon commissioners were sent from Colombo to receive them at that place.

In the meantime it was decided, on January 13th, that a force of a 1,000 under Major Duffo should proceed to Wisenawa and begin the invasion of the king's territory on January 25th, while Colonel Feber with 2,000 men was to advance from Sitavaca through the Three Korales and Sabaragamuwa.

The claims of the pretender now received a certain amount of recognition notably by the Second Adigar and the Disawa of the Seven Korales who had been in communication with him, the latter pledging him his allegiance and support. His story that he was the son of King Narendra Sinha by his third wife, and that while still a child, he together with his mother, had been sent away from the court by one of the king's concubines, was remembered by some people, and one of the ambassadors had mentioned to a Dutch official that, although denied in public, it nevertheless was true. The same ambassador while riding in a state coach to the valedictory audience had put into the hands of the Dutch (official accompanying him) a note reading: "A prince, son of Narendra Sinha, was missed from the court while still a child."

In spite of all this, the government appeared to be reluctant to put his claim forward, as there was no possibility of establishing his identity after so many years, and as the Governor of Coromandel had written informing the governor that he was no other than a Coast Nayakar. He was later sent to Batavia.

The report of the first conference,<sup>1</sup> which is typical of several others which followed, is given below, as it affords a nearer approach to conditions at the time, the reasons for and against the terms of the proposed treaty, the diplomacy of the ambassadors and the proverbial "slimness" of the negotiators.

"In pursuance of our commission, we repaired today in the afternoon about 4 o'clock to the Uitvlucht<sup>2</sup> in order to negotiate with the Lords Ambassadors regarding peace and the conditions for the same. At our arrival, we were received at the front door and straightway conducted within by the Disawa of Matale and Moragama Mohandiram and invited to sit opposite the ambassadors on two chairs hung with white linen.

1. Minutes of the Secret Committee of the Dutch Council of Policy (Government archives.)

2. A residence reserved for Kandyan Ambassadors near the mouth of the Kelani, probably at Nahalagam Ferry.

• After the usual compliments regarding the health of Your Excellency and the gentlemen of the Council of Policy, the Lords Ambassadors informed us that the second ambassador, the Disawa of Udapalata, was somewhat indisposed owing to the rough weather and the strong winds but that he would join us before long.

Mention having thereby been made of the weather, the first ambassador took the opportunity by the rain which had just fallen of immediately coming to business by adopting a parable from it. 'This rain', said he, 'was a favourable omen for a happy outcome of our conference, as the heat of the earth is thereby extinguished and the arid country refreshed'; so hoped he that by our friendly conference and negotiations the fire of war which had caused so much calamity and devastation in the whole country both in the Company's and the king's territories and made everything droop and mourn would before long be extinguished, and land and people refreshed by a welcome peace.

We replied that no one was more willing to conclude peace than we, and that we were very glad to find that they were similarly disposed from what we might infer from their communications. Thereupon there followed over and over again manifold and repeated assurances of a hearty desire for peace and the utmost willingness to work for the same.

Accordingly, we came to the point by proposing to them at large, in order to attain the object so greatly desired by both parties, that it was above all necessary that the Lords Ambassadors who were willing to enter into negotiations with us thereover, received order from His Imperial Majesty and a written proof of such order to satisfy us that time and trouble were not wasted in vain, but that all that was transacted between them and us might be approved by His Imperial Majesty, and that the Lords Ambassadors could give no better proof of their earnest desire than by obtaining such a written authorisation from the king.

They replied that as they were chiefly sent to compliment Your Excellency in the king's name on Your Excellency's assumption of the government, and, as the court did not know what the intentions of the Company were with regard to the conditions, that they could not have brought such an authorisation; also that they were very well able to negotiate with us regarding peace, as they were well advised of what the king's wishes were in the matter, and that we might accordingly propose to them what we considered necessary for the proposed peace, and that they, as in duty bound, would reply to the same, and that they could previously assure us that the king's earnest intentions were to dispose of the disorders and to live in friendship with the gentlemen Hollanders.

We thereupon replied that already, two years ago, we had declared that we neither would nor could enter into negotiations without credentials, and that this was not only our steadfast intention but that we had also received orders from our superiors which absolutely required it, so that we could not deviate from them even if we were willing to do so, and that they should therefore frankly answer whether they would endeavour to obtain credentials from the king.

Their answer was that if they might be informed of what our real wishes and stipulations were, all of them together or one or two of them (of which they left the decision to Your Excellency) would hurry to the court and communicate them to the king who would then instruct them and provide them with credentials, the second ambassador adding that the formula for such credentials had already been given to the ambassadors at Katugastota by the late Most Blessed Lord Governor Van Eck.

We replied that Your Excellency did not wish to dictate what should be done in the matter, but that it was left to them as to who of them should go to the court, if only proper credentials followed. Thereupon they gave us the most binding assurances that they would be obtained, provided we informed them of what the Company's demands were in order to be able to communicate them to the king and thereupon receive his instructions.

We then said to them that the demands could not be unknown to them, as the Lord Disawa Bauert (of blessed memory) had already stated them on behalf of the Company by a letter of the 11th December, 1763, and the Most Blessed Lord Governor during his presence in the Kingdom of Kandia had handed the same in writing, consisting of eight material articles, to the ambassadors at that time among whom were the present second and third ambassadors, but that we, in ample proof of the same, had brought a copy which we at the same time presented to the Lord Disawa of Matala; but they requested that they might be read out to them, which was immediately done by the Maha Mudaliyar of Mature Don Joan Ilangakoon.

Thereupon they were silent for a while and when the first ambassador resumed the conversation, all that he said was that the king was well disposed towards ending the disorders and living in friendship with the gentlemen Hollanders on the old footing and to conclude a treaty such as the old one, but that the items which were read out were of such a nature that they dared not propose them to His Majesty the King, that they were indeed ordered by the king, after paying Your Excellency his compliments of welcome, to discuss the disorders and to bring about their cessation and the restoration of the former friendship, but that they could not imagine that we could come forward with such demands.



Whereupon we replied that we could not understand how those demands now were so strange to them, as they had already been proposed to them by the letter of the Hon'ble Lord Disawa Bauert (of blessed memory) dated the 11th December, 1763, and exactly ten months ago today by His Excellency Van Eck (of glorious memory); and thereafter we suggested to them that we should discuss with each other each article separately in order to discover which of the items gave them the most offence and whether we could devise ways and means to remove the cause of that objection.

They agreed to this, and the first article was then read out by Ilangakoon, rendered in Dutch as follows :

The king acknowledges Their High Mightinesses the illustrious States-General of the Free United Seven Provinces and the Mighty Dutch Company as lawful sovereigns and sole overlords of all the lands which the Company has so far possessed in this island and renounces all the right and title which he before this had to those lands.

Regarding the word by which 'sovereign' was expressed, the Disawa of Udapalata first questioned Ilangakoon as to what was its precise meaning because there was no synonym for it in the Sinhalese language. He replied that thereby was implied the supreme authority which no one in the world had above it, and accordingly that the meaning of the article was that Their High Mightinesses and the Company were independent supreme lords of the territory occupied by us, just as the king in the hill-country, and that the king must acknowledge this. All doubts regarding this article having accordingly been removed, the ambassadors after a short consultation declared as follows : 'The gentlemen Hollanders', said they, 'had already occupied those territories for more than a hundred years and during that time had performed many faithful services for the former kings, and therefore they could continue to occupy them in future without the king's concerning himself therewith !

We thereupon pointed out to them that that argument did not satisfy our conditions, but that we considered the first article as it literally read was absolutely necessary in a new treaty in order to avoid the difficulties which we had continually experienced in our dispositions in our territory and before long must again expect if they were not provided against by this article. 'If the king', we continued, 'was truly disposed towards peace and friendship, this article would meet with no objection, as it tended towards the prevention of all difficulties and the consolidation of friendship without the king's losing anything thereby, seeing, as the Lords Ambassadors had already remarked, that these territories had been occupied by us for more than a century !

They replied that they were now convinced of the reasonableness of that article and would do their best to obtain the king's consent to it, which they had no doubt whatever the king would accord.

Thereupon there followed an exchange of compliments, which, with Your Excellency's permission, we shall pass over.

Following that, the second article was read as follows :

All prisoners, both Dutch as well as Malay and Sepoys, all deserters, both European and native soldiers, and all rebels who had fled to the king's territory and now were there shall immediately be delivered up, as well as all the Company's cannon which were captured at Hanwella and elsewhere.

Thereupon they readily answered that all prisoners who were still alive, item, all deserters both European as well as Malays and Sepoys would immediately be handed over, but that they could not promise the transfer of rebels and that they indeed doubted whether the king would concede that item.

We then pointed out to them that that was unavoidable for a lasting peace, as those knaves were the cause of all the disorders and bloodshed, and also, if they were not handed over, that they would not rest before they sowed afresh the seeds of disunity, and therefore for the reassurance of both parties that they must be surrendered. They admitted that some of our subjects from the Siyana and Hapitigam Korales had made compliant to the court regarding certain new conditions which it was intended to impose upon them in addition to the old taxes, that the king had lent his ear to their bad advice, but if peace and friendship were restored, that no one would be in a position to stir up trouble anew between the court and the gentlemen Hollanders, and that it would therefore be unnecessary to give up those people who were but humble folk, all the more as during the war many of the king's subjects had come over to us, who then must also be exchanged.

We allowed the latter part of the reply to pass unnoticed and continued to persist in our demand by repeating the urgent reasons already adduced and concluded with the question as to whether anyone who trod on a thorn would in the first place allow the wound to flow and the thorn to remain, or would he not immediately take it out and then provide a remedy ?

This latter parable (of which they are great admirers) found greater appeal just because it appears in a greatly esteemed book called *Naweratne* (or *The Nine Gems*), of which the verses were immediately recited by the Disawa of Udapalata who was well versed in those writings. They agreed that those who were the ring-leaders were like a thorn in the foot and should like one be removed, and promised that they would do their best to obtain agreement on this point, of the necessity for which they were now convinced.

(*To be continued.*)

# THE SOURCES FOR A HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN CEYLON UNDER THE DUTCH RULE

By REV. ROBRECHT BOUDENS,

THE POSITION of the Roman Catholic Church in Ceylon under the Dutch Rule has often been misinterpreted. Both from the Catholic as from the Protestant side the situation has been presented under a too particular light, and the main reason of it seems to have been a insufficient knowledge of the available sources, Portuguese and Dutch, Catholic and non-Catholic.

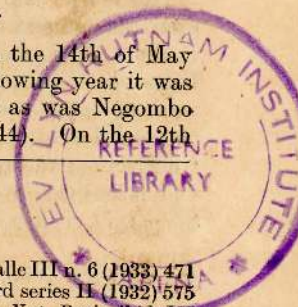
As far as I know a comprehensive study of the different sources has not yet been made. In 1907, Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, Government Archivist, published his *Report on the Dutch Records in the Government Archives at Colombo*.<sup>1</sup> About 10 years ago a more detailed *Catalogue of the Archives of the Dutch Central Government of Coastal Ceylon* appeared due to the diligence of Miss M. W. Jurriaanse.<sup>2</sup> For his part, Fr. S. G. Perera, S.J. gave supplementary indications of documents concerning Ceylon history, to be found in the Vatican Archives<sup>3</sup> and in other foreign archives.<sup>4</sup>

However, for what concerns the Church history none of these studies is very detailed, since they consider more the general history of Ceylon. Up to now a study limiting itself to the sources for a history of the Catholic Church in Ceylon under the Dutch—and to all of them—is still lacking. To indicate these sources—printed and unprinted—is the purpose of this article.<sup>5</sup>

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The first Dutch attacks took place in 1638. On the 14th of May Batticaloa surrendered. The 2nd of May of the following year it was the turn of Trincomalee. Galle was taken in 1640 as was Negombo (which was lost again but definitely occupied in 1644). On the 12th

1. Colombo 1907, pp. 138.
2. Colombo 1943, pp. 354.
3. *Ceylon Daily News*, 5 March 1936.
4. *Ceylon History and Foreign Archives* in the "Aloysian", Galle III n. 6 (1933) 471 n.; *Ceylon Documents at the Hague* in Ceyl. Lit. Reg., 3rd series II (1932) 575 n. and III (1933) 95 n.; *Sinhalese Documents at the Bibl. Nat. Paris*, ibid. III (1933) 192 n.; *Ceylon Documents in the Torre do Tombo*, ibid. III (1934) 330 n.; *Goa and its Archives* in D.N. 22-7-1935; *The Historical Archives of Lisbon* in D.N. 12-7-33. -See also the *Second Report of the Historical Mn. Commission* (Colombo 1935), pp. 50-58.
5. Consequently no analysis of a *literature* on the question is given here.



of May, 1656 the Portuguese who were defending Colombo hoisted the white flag, and two years later, by the capture of Jaffna on June 22nd, 1658, the last of the Portuguese were driven out of the Island.

The significance of these facts for the Catholic Church in Ceylon was enormous. The arrival of the Dutch meant the introduction of the Reformed Religion, while the right of existence was denied to Roman Catholicism.

What was the situation of the Catholic Church in Ceylon at the moment the Dutch took over power from the Portuguese ?

Indications of various importance concerning the number of Christians and Churches, concerning the missionaries and their activity are found in the following books, written by persons of whom many lived contemporaneous with the events :

—Fitzler, M.A.H. (editor), *O cerco de Colombo, últimos dias do domínio Portuguez em Ceilão. Rompimento das hostilidades pelos Holandeses até à rendição de Colombo (1652-1656)*. Coimbra 1928, pp. xxv-236.

—Maracci, Giovanni, S.J., *Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans les Indes Orientales en ses trois provinces de Goa, de Malabar, du Japon, de la Chine et d'autres pars . . . présentée à la sacrée congregation de la foy.*—Paris 1651, pp. 114.

—Queyroz, Fernão de, *Conquista temporal e espirital de Ceilão*.

This book was written between 1671 and 1687. The author has used the printed chronicles of Afonso Diaz da Lomba and Antonio Barboza Pinheyro, the manuscripts of Bento da Silva and Friar Francisco Negrão, and beside these some private manuscripts. It is a work of value, though it is marred by the fact that the author relied too confidently on certain sources. Under the patronage of the Ceylon Government an English translation was prepared by Fr. S. G. Perera, S.J. and published in Colombo, 1930, under the title *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylôn*, 3 vol., pp. xxviii-392, 393-810, 811-1274.

—Ribeiro, João, *Fatalidade Historica da ilha de Ceilão*.

The manuscript is found in the Bibl. Nac., Lisbon, inv. seccão xiii., ms. 638. A printed text appeared in the *Collecção de noticias para a historia e geografia das nacoes ultramarinas que vivem nos Dominios Portuguezes, on Lhes São Visinhas*, vol. v., Lisboa 1825. A French translation was edited in Amsterdam in 1701, under the title *Histoire de l'isle de Ceylan*. Several English translations appeared in Colombo.

→Saar, Joh. Jacob, *ost-indianische fünfzehnjährige kriegs-dienste und wahrhaftige beschreibung was sich zeit solcher Fünfzehn Jahr Von Anno Christi 1644 biss Anno Christi 1659 zur see und zu land, in öffentlichen treffen, in belagerungen, in strumen, in eroberungen Portugäser und Heydnischer Plätze und Städte . . . begeben habe auf der grossen und herrlichen insul Ceilon, Nürnberg, 1672, pp. 48+184.*<sup>1</sup>

To the dates found passim in these books we must add the informations obtained from the most important religious orders which were at that time evangelizing Ceylon: the Franciscans, the Jesuits, the Dominicans and the Augustinians.

The *Franciscans* were the first to arrive. The General Archives of the Order in Rome do not possess important documents about the apostolic work of the Friars in the 17th century. However, a valuable document has been found in the Vatican Archives (Lat. 7746). It is a manuscript by Paulo da Trindade: *Conquista Spiritual do Oriente*. The part referring to Ceylon consists of 221 folios (ff. 707-927).

Paulo da Trindade was the General Commissary of the Order in India. He must have written his account towards the end of the Portuguese period. Fr. S. G. Perera translated some pages of the manuscript in the *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*.<sup>2</sup> The Rt. Rev. Dr. Edm. Peiris, Bishop of Chilaw, is preparing the publication of the whole manuscript. Copies of large parts of it are found in the Ajuda, Lisbon, Cod. 51-ii-10, ff. 175-189. They are entitled: *Dos Religiozos Franciscanos Q Florecerão no oriête em virtude Tirados de hũ Lo Intitulado: Conquista spũal do Oriente—Autor F. Paulo da Trindade*.<sup>3</sup> Apart from this we can only indicate a manuscript which has been lost but which might have contained some references to the Franciscan Apostolate in Ceylon: *Apontamentos mui necessarios para obter o bem e conservacão da conquista da ilha de Ceilão, pelo Fr. Manoel de São Joseph, Definidor da Provincia Franciscana da madre de Deos*.

The first four *Jesuits* arrived in Ceylon in April, 1602. Since in 1594, Cardinal Alberto had granted the Franciscans, in the name of the King of Portugal, the exclusive right of evangelizing Ceylon, the Jesuits were not very welcome, and some difficulties arose. An

1. The memoirs of a soldier who spent 15 years in Ceylon (1644-1659). It would be possible to add here the books of some travellers but they are not of much importance for our subject.
2. *The Franciscans in Ceylon*, in the *Ceyl. Ant.* (3rd series) vol. 4 (8) 331-336. Some other pages, but less interesting for the religious geography of Colombo in the same review vol. 4 (May 1936 n°11) pp. 528-532. *The Fort and City of Colombo 1630*.
3. It may be useful to know that this is followed by *De Mtos Religiozos Q Podecrao em ceilao da prova de s. thoma* and *de alguns religiozos Stos Q jaze em n, sra dos milagres de Jafanapatao*.

allusion to those difficulties is made in a manuscript of the Bibl. Valli-celliana, Rome : *Varie Accuse contro li Padri Della compagnia di Gesū in Giapponia, Malaca, Ceila, Angemale e Goa*.<sup>1</sup> However, the matter was settled very soon ; it was established that the king's former decision was cancelled by the latter, and the Island was divided in two mission fields, the limit being the river of Caimal (Maha-oya). The Jesuits started their work in the northern part.<sup>2</sup>

The General Archives of the Society of Jesus at Rome contain many very interesting documents concerning the earliest apostolate of the Jesuits in Ceylon. They were partly translated and published by Fr. S. G. Perera<sup>3</sup> who also wrote a series of articles on the matter.<sup>4</sup>

Other documents are found in several Portuguese archives : the Bibl. Nacional, the Bibl. da Ajuda, the Arquivo Historico Colonial, the Torre do Tombo. From the latter we will mention in a special manner the *Cartario dos Jesuitas*, Maco 32, Malabar-Colombo, 1648.

A contemporary book that gives some informations is Fr. Barreto's *Relazione Delle Missioni e Christianità che Appartengono Alla Provincia Di Malavar Della Compagnia Di Giesū*, published in Rome 1645 (pp.132)

Of statistical interest is the *Catalogus operariorum societatis Jesu, qui in insula Ceylana aliquando laboraverunt*, by Fr. L. Besse, S.J., Trichinopoly 1913, pp. 34. This catalogue however is incomplete. A much more complete but ms. list of the Jesuit Fathers who have worked in Ceylon is found in the Perera-library, St. Aloysius College, Galle.

*A short account of the Missions under the charge of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus of the Malabar Province in the East Indies* has also been translated and published. The account was addressed by the Provincial to the Most Rev. Fr. General of the Society, in 1644. It contains useful details about Ceylon.

The *Dominican* Fathers probably did not arrive in Ceylon before 1605. In the General Archives of the Order at Rome nothing is found concerning their apostolate in the Island. Happily a precious non-published

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1. Bibl. Vallic., L. 22 ff. 122 a - 133 a.
  2. After the arrival of the Dominicans and Augustinians the division of the island was still better specified.
  3. *Historical Records of the Society of Jesus*. Translated from the Portuguese, in Ceyl. Ant. Vol. 2, 2, pp. 130 ss.
  4. *The Jesuits in Ceylon in the XVI and XVII centuries*, in Ceyl. Ant. 1 (1916) 217-226, II (1916) 1-28, II (1916) 69-90, III (1917) 19-35, IV (1918) 95-101, IV (1919) 150-156, V (1919) 81-89, V (1920) 196-201, VI (1920) 33-38. In 1941 Fr. Perera published a book under the same title (Madura 1941, pp. 171): not a new reprint of articles, but partially a new book, based on later discovered documents.

manuscript is preserved in the Bibl. Nacional, Lisbon<sup>1</sup> *Summario ro de que obrarão os religiosos da ordem dos pregadores na convercam das almas e pregacam do sancto euangelho em todo o estado da India e mais terras descubertas pellos Portuguezes na Asia, Ethiopia Oriental e das missoes em o actualmente exercitão.* The author of the manuscript is Jacintho da Encarnação, o.p. This letter is dated Goa, Dec.31st 1679 and gives a very good account of the state of the Order in Ceylon, about the time the Dutch invaded the Island. In 1722 Amaro de S. Thomas copied it, making some additions. This copy is found in the Bibl. Publica, Evora.<sup>2</sup>

The *Augustinians* arrived in Ceylon in 1606. It was Fr. Diego de la Trinidad who founded their first convent in Colombo. A brief account of the foundation is found in the General Archives of the Augustinian Ermites, Rome.<sup>3</sup> Several documents concerning their work and success are preserved there, especially in Codex Aa 42. Some of them were published in the *Analecta Augustiniana* (since 1911).

This has to be completed by manuscripts from the Portuguese archives. Diego de la Trinidad, the founder of the first Augustinian convent in Ceylon, mentioned above wrote a *Noticia das treze Igrejas, que a congregação da India dos Eremitas de Santo Agostinho, que teve em Ceilão, e das conversoes, que se fizerão.*<sup>4</sup>

— *Memorial das missoes da religião Augustiniana* by Fr. Antonio de Morais.<sup>5</sup>

— *Memorias da Congregação Augustiniana na India Oriental* (1690).<sup>6</sup>

— *Missoens da India dos Padres Agostinhos.*<sup>7</sup>

In 1659 the well-known Augustinian Fr. A. Lubin, published a book containing 82 maps and plans of the provinces and the most important houses of the order. He entitled his work : *Orbis Augustinianus sive Conventuum Ordinis Eremitarum S. P. Augustini Chorographica et Topographica Descriptio.*<sup>8</sup> Among the maps we find one of the *Vicariatus Indiae Orientalis* (depending on the Province of Portugal) on which we can see that in Ceylon the Augustinians possessed, at that time, one vicariate with 12 convents. Fr. Lubin also intended to

1. Bibl. Nac., F.A.177, especially ff. 35 ss.

2. Cp. Bibl. Miss. VI, 715.

3. Codex Aa 42 f. 324. cp. An. Aug. V 63.

4. Bibl. Miss. V 217. The author died in Goa, October 1675.

5. Bibl. Miss. V 227.

6. Lisbon, Bibl. Nac., 177 ff. 262-290.

7. Lisbon, Bibl. da Academia, Gab. 50 E 28 a-u 32.

8. Paris 1659. Without numbering of pages,

publish a general description of the state of the order over the whole world. He could not finish his work, but the information he had already collected are found in the Royal Library at Brussels, Belgium, under the title : *Titres, Etablissements et Situations de L'Ordre de S. Augustin dans les 2 Mondes, Recueillis par les soins du Savant P. Lubin Augustin*.<sup>1</sup> However, they are of less interest for the Church History in Ceylon.

The *other Orders* who established themselves in Ceylon, such as the Capucins and the Recollets do not seem to have taken a great part in the evangelization of the Island. They remained rather in their convents, having only the care of a church. At any rate, by collecting the information about the four most important religious orders, together with the above indicated contemporaneous books ; we can get a pretty clear idea of the state of the church towards the end of the Portuguese Rule.

This knowledge can still be completed by a study of the Portuguese and the earliest Dutch maps and plans of Ceylon, giving the situation of churches and convents. Those maps are very numerous. Yet in the Imperial Archives of The Hague more than 200 of them are found, the greater part of which having been copied for the Ceylon Government Archives. Of particular interest is a collection of Constantine de Sa's maps and plans. They were used by the Dutch who wrote a commentary on them.<sup>2</sup>

Most of the existing maps have been studied and even published in Colombo. Recently an outstanding work was edited by Mr. R. L. Brohier and J. H. O. Paulusz : *Land, Maps and Surveys. Descriptive Catalogue of Historical Maps in the Surveyor-General's Office, Colombo*. See especially the second volume.<sup>3</sup>

The Portuguese archives also contain a great number of maps of Ceylon. Their description sometimes is important, e.g., Cod. ilum. 140, Res. da Bibl. Nacional.<sup>4</sup>

A useful map of Colombo in 1635 is found in London : British Museum, Sloane Mss. 197.

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1. Manuscript Section, II 2590.
  2. The collection was found in The Hague in 1921, by Mr. E. Reimers, Government Archivist, Colombo. He published them in 1929 in photocopy with a transcription of the Dutch Commentary, an English translation and explanatory notes.
  3. Colombo 1951, pp. 195. One can also consult a series of articles by Mr. Brohier: *Ceylon in Maps*, in the Journal of the D.B.U. 31 (1941) n°3 pp. 45-54; 31 (1942) n°3 93-112, n°4 pp. 153-876, 32 (1942) n°1 pp. 20-30.
  4. For Portuguese maps, see Corteseo, A., *Cartografia e Cartografos Portugueses des Seculos XV e XVI*, 2 vol., Lisbon 1935. About Ceylon vol. II pp 291-294.



• Within a lapse of 20 years—the period taken for the conquest of the Island by the Dutch—all that Roman Catholicism had laboriously built was broken down, at least officially.

*Some Documents Relating to the Rise of the Dutch Power in Ceylon* (1602-1670) were published by Sir P. E. Pieris, Colombo, 1929, pp. XI-292-XXXVI.

The measures against the Catholics and the systematical introduction and propagation of the Dutch Reformed Church and related by a zealous Pastor, Philippus Baldaeus, in his book *Beschrijving Van Het Machtige Eyland Ceylon*, Amsterdam 1672, pp. 232.<sup>1</sup>

During the first years under the Dutch Rule the condition of the Catholics was very hard; Catholic priests were strictly forbidden, religious services could not be held, children had to attend Protestant schools. In later days, although the relations with the R. C. Church were never friendly, there was a greater toleration, even some concessions.

It is a well-known fact that during that long period (1658-1797) the Ceylonese Roman Catholics persevered in the Faith, and up to a point showed a real dynamism, due to a great extent to the activity of the Goan Oratorian Missionaries who since 1687 were continually working in the Island, first secretly, afterwards openly when they were tolerated.

What are the sources for the history of the Catholic Church during that period?

Let us first speak of the non-Catholic sources.

The following books contain some useful datas. However, they are spread amidst a multitude of facts and events of no interest for the Church. An exception is to be made for Valentyn's book, where religion is explicitly treated from page 366.

—*Dagh-Register Gehouden int Casteel Batavia van 't passerende daer ter Plaetse als over Geheel Nederlandts-India*, vitgegeren onder toezicht van J. A. van der Chijs, H. T. Colenbrander, J. E. Heeres, Th. van Riemsdijk en F. de Haan, 29 vol., The Hague 1887-1919.<sup>2</sup>

—Knox, Robert, *An Historical Relation of Ceylon*, London 1681.

1. The English translation appeared at Amsterdam in the same year: *A Description of the Great and most famous Isl<sup>ts</sup> of Ceylon*. About the author and his work, see D. W. Ferguson, *Philippus Baldaeus and his Book on Ceylon*, in *Beyl. Ant.* IV (1936) n.º, pp. 337-345; IV (1936) n.º. pp. 386-396; n.º 10 pp. 435-445.
2. A diary relating the events which have occurred in Dutch East India, from 1624 to 1680. The diary does not cover the years 1650-52 and 1654-55.

The author was a prisoner of Raja Sinha II, but escaped after 19 years (1679). The *Historical Relation* is not free from some misinterpretation, but gives some interesting details about Catholicism in Kandy, although not very much.

—Valentyn, Fr., *Oud en nieuw Oost Indien*, 5 vol.—About Ceylon in vol. V., Amsterdam, 1726.

The *Cūlavamsa*, the most recent part of the *Mahāvamsa*—does not contain anything valuable for our subject.

More is found in the *Rajavaliya*. The edition by Gunesekera closes at the accession of Wimaladharmasuriya II. in 1687. However, in the "Hugh Neville" collection of the British Museum is a palm leaf ms. of 158 folio that contains a continuation of the chronicle, and here are found some precious references on the persecution of the Catholics and the life of Fr. Vaz. A part of the last folio has been translated and published by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Edm. Peiris.<sup>1</sup> A copy of the complete text is found in his private library, Chilaw.

In the Imperial Archives of The Hague papers concerning religion are not kept together. They have to be searched under the papers of the East India Company and the papers of Batavia.

A much easier and more accessible source are the Archives of the Dutch Reformed Church at Amsterdam, Holland. They contain five big files (numbered from 60 to 64) where documents are found from the year 1657 to 1792. Some of them are very important reports concerning the religious state of the Island, from the *Kerkraad* (Church Council) of Colombo to the *Classis* Amsterdam. There are also other documents such as requests from the Governor, complaints, etc., but always in relation to religion.

In Ceylon itself the Dutch Reformed Church has some archives. The most important are attached at the Wolfendhal Church, Colombo. Here is found a large collection of letters: mostly local correspondence between the Churches of Colombo, Jaffna, Mannar, Galle, Trincomalee, etc. It is from these letters that the general reports to the *classis* Amsterdam were drawn up. Apart from this there are some notes concerning the health, the behaviour, the appointments or the resignations of the ministers, but this is less interesting for the history of the Catholic Church. I would like to mention in a special way three files with Dutch correspondence (from 1724 to 1741, 1743 to 1759 and 1759 to 1797), and two files with the minutes of the Dutch School Board proceedings (from 1712 to 1720 and from 1721 to 1727).

1. The Fame of Fr. Vaz in the Rajavaliya, in the Ceyl Cath Mess., 25 January 1942.

In the Dutch Reformed Church, Galle, are four files which may interest us : (1) A file with miscellaneous papers from 1776 to 1878 (containing very little concerning our period) ; (2) Some attestations (1769-1806) ; (3) The reports of two school inspections (*Rapporten der Schoolvisiten*) in the years 1754 and 1767 ; (4) A list of members of the church (*Rolle der Leedematen*) from 1770 till 1840.

The most important non-Catholic sources for the history of Catholicism are the numerous Dutch records in the Ceylon Government Archives, till 1942 in Colombo, presently in Nuwara Eliya. However, information about the church has to be searched from various documents concerning kinds of matters. The section reserved for ecclesiastical affairs does not contain much that is useful for us : only a file with the declaration of allegiance by the Roman Catholic priests, in compliance with a council decision of 1774, April 9th,<sup>1</sup> and some annexes to a secret letter of 1718, March 31st, from Governor Rumpf to the chief of the Madura coast,<sup>2</sup> but this manuscript is damaged to such an extent by corrosion that it can hardly be read.

We will try to indicate here other places in the Government Archives where information is found.

In the *Ordinary* Political Council minutes : the files 42, 53, 54, 62, 70, 92, 94, 98, 100, 104, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 117, 130, 138, 143, 144, 151, 153, 162, 168, 188, 189, 192, 193, 195, 207.

In the *Secret* minutes : the files 741, 742, 743, 757, 754.

Both sections are of great importance, because they give us a first hand information about the religious policy of the Dutch. There we also find the echo of the Catholic activity and the reaction it provoked in the Dutch leading circles.

Like the Council minutes, the correspondence is divided in *ordinary* and *secret* correspondence. The *ordinary* correspondence rarely deals with problems directly concerning Catholicism. The most common subject treated to trade and navigation. Every year about February a long letter was sent to Batavia reporting the general state of affairs in the Island. Every time the Dutch Reformed Church was mentioned. But only in the years in which from a Catholic point of view something special happened, we find a small echo of it in these ordinary letters.<sup>3</sup>

1 .D. R. 3192.

2. D. R. 3188.

3. For e. g. in the files 1172 and 1174 (for the years 1750-52.) That so little is found is also explained by the fact that the greater part of the correspondence conserved in the archives, only starts in the second half of the 18th century: 1751 for Jaffna and Mannar, 1760 for Tuticorin, 1759 for Trincomalee and Batticaloa, 1786 for Mullaitivu. 1759 for the Colombo outposts and Kalpitiya. Only Patria, the Cape of Good Hope, Batavia and Galle start in the first half of the 18th century.

The *secret* correspondence is of much greater importance, especially the correspondence between Colombo and Batavia. Among the Batavia letters references are found in the following files : 2223, 2227, 2229, 2230, 2232, 2235, 2253, 2255, 2257, 2258, 2263, 2266. For the other towns the information is rather scarce. We might cite the files 2275 and 2276 containing correspondence between the outstations and Colombo.

In relation with the correspondence we can also mention some copies of letters from the High Commissioner to Batavia.<sup>1</sup>

References to Catholicism are also found in some files containing translations of *olas*, namely, in the Nos. 3117 and 3128. In connexion with a special case we have to mention No. 2875 : translations of Tamil complaint *olas* of the Paravars of South India, addressed to the Governor and sent to the Special Commissioners Scholts and Van der Sleyden, against the chief of Madura, Noel Anthony Lebeck.

It was a tradition in the East India Company, that any high official, such as governor, commander, etc., when handing over office, wrote a memoir for his successor. The Ceylon Government Archives possess more than 30 manuscript copies of those memoirs.<sup>2</sup> Many of them contain a paragraph concerning the policy of the government towards Catholicism. Some of the memoirs have been translated into English and published by the Ceylon Government. In a first series, giving only the translation, we find :

—Memoir of Hendrick Becker, Governor and Director of Ceylon, for his successor, Isaac Augustyn Rumpf, 1716. Translated by Sophia Anthonisz. With an Introduction and Notes by the Government Archivist, Colombo, 1914, pp. V-57.

—Memoir by Anthony Mooyart, Commandeur of Jaffnapatam for the information and guidance of his successor, Noel Anthony Lebeck, 1766. Translated by Sophia Pieters. With an Introduction and Notes by the Government Archivist, Colombo, 1910, pp. 14.

—Memoir left by Jacob Christiaan Pielat to his successor, Diederik Van Domberg, 1734. Translated by Sophia Pieters. With an Introduction and Notes by the Government Archivist. Colombo, 1905, pp. 61.

—Memoir left by Ryclof Van Goens, Jun., Governor of Ceylon, 1675-1679 to his successor Laurens Pyl, late Commandeur, Jaffnapatnam. Translated by Sophia Pieters. With an Introduction and Notes by the Government Archivist, Colombo, 1910, pp. 34.

1. D. R. 4954

2. D. R. from 2668 to 2711

—Memoir of Cornelis Joan Simons, Governor and Director of Ceylon, for his successor Hendrick Becker, 1707. Translated by Sophia Anthonisz. With an Introduction and Notes by the Government Archivist, Colombo, 1914, pp. 35.

—Memoir left by Gustaaf Willem Baron Van Imhoff, Governor and Director of Ceylon, to his successor William Maurits Bruynink, 1740. Translated by Sophia Pieters. With an Introduction and Notes by the Government Archivist, Colombo, 1911, pp. 86.

—Memoir of Thomas Van Rhee, Governor and Director of Ceylon, for his successor, Gerrit De Heere, 1697. Translated by Sophia Anthonisz. With an Introduction and Notes by the Government Archivist, Colombo, 1915, pp. 62.

The three following translations are of a different nature :

—Memoir of Hendrick Zwaarderoon, Commandeur of Jaffnapatam, 1697, for the guidance of the Council of Jaffnapatam, during his absence at the coast of Malabar. Translated by Sophia Pieters. With an Introduction and Notes by the Government Archivist, Colombo, 1911, pp. 130.

—Diary of occurrences during the tour of Gerrit de Heere, Governor of Ceylon, from Colombo to Jaffna. July 9 to September 3, 1697. Translated by Sophia Anthonisz. With an Introduction and Notes by the Government Archivist, Colombo, 1918, pp. 39.

—Instructions from the Governor-General and Council of India to the Governor of Ceylon, 1656-1665. To which is appended the memoir left by Anthony Pavilhoen, Commandeur of Jaffnapatam, to his successor in 1665, Colombo, 1903, pp. 126.

When Mr. E. Reimers became the Government Archivist, he started a new series in which the Dutch text was given joint to the English translation. The series contains the following memoirs :

—Memoir of Joan Gideon Loten, 1752-1757. Translated by E. Reimers, Colombo, 1935, pp. 109.

—Memoir left by Joan Maetsuyker to his successor Yacob Van Kittensteyn, 27, February, 1650. Translated by E. Reimers, Colombo, 1927, pp. 68.

—Memoir of Rijckloff Van Goens, 1663-1675. Translated by E. Reimers, Colombo, 1932, pp. 112.

—Memoir of Jan Schreuder, Governor of Ceylon, delivered to his successor Lubbert Jan Baron Van Eck, on March 17, 1962. Translated from the original by E. Reimers, M.B.E., Colombo, 1946, pp. XII-202.

It is evident that also the laws, the orders and instructions issued by the Dutch Government in Ceylon, are a valuable source for the history of the Catholic Church in the Island.

The following collections of *placcaat*,<sup>1</sup> contain authentic copies of different proclamations against the Roman Catholics : 2438, 2439, 2440, 2442, 2443, 2445, 2447. A "compendium" of *placcaats* and orders for Jaffna was collected by Governor Simons in 1704. A copy of it—dated 1706, March 15th—is found in the Archives, bound up with an English translation and an index.<sup>2</sup>

Alteration in the existing legislation was often introduced by orders from Patria or Batavia. Those orders were collected in different forms, either in Colombo or in the outstations. Among the files with collected orders issued at Batavia<sup>3</sup> the following contain useful information about the Catholic religion : 2412, 2413, 2414, 2417, 2418, 2420. Something is equally found in No. 2403, a digest of permanent orders contained in letters received from Patria, and covering the years 1680–1774. Among the collections of orders from the outstations issued in Patria, Batavia and Colombo (compiled in the outstations and sent to the Central Government) the following are important for our subject : 2422 and 2423 (Jaffna), 2424 (Galle), 2425 (Tuticorin), 2432 and 2433 (Mannar), 2434 (Trincomalee and Batticaloa), 2436 (Kalpitiya), and 2432 (outstations in general).

One other file containing relatively much concerning ecclesiastical matters is worthy of special mention : 2454, being a collection of Instructions and Rules, on various subjects, issued in Batavia and Colombo.

On the same point we have to mention the *Statuten Van Batavia* or Batavian Code for the V.O.C. on the 5th of July, 1642, this compilation was declared to be the code of the Dutch East India Company.<sup>4</sup> Three copies are preserved in the Government Archives under the Numbers 2387, 2388, 2389. In 1764 a new digest was ready, alphabetically arranged and known under the name of the New Statutes of Batavia. The manuscript must have consisted of three volumes. However, the second volume (E–N) containing the ecclesiastical affairs is unfortunately lacking.

Specific Protestant documents in the Government Archives, although more interesting for a history of the Reformed Church, sometimes

1. See also J. A. Van Der Chijs, *Nederlandsch—Indisch Plakkaatboek*, 17, Vol. Batavia, The Hague 1885—1900

2. D. R. 2393

3. They were called in Dutch *Positieve en Circulaire Orders*

4. M. W. Jurriaanse, *Catalogue of the Archives of the Dutch Central Government of Coastal Ceylon 1640—1796*, p. 121.

contain useful references to Catholicism or to the situation of Catholics. This is e.g., the case for the one remaining copy with minutes of the *Scholarchale Vergadering* of Colombo<sup>1</sup> and some minutes of the *Diaconie*, or board of deacons.<sup>2</sup>

These were the non-Catholic sources for a history of the Catholic Church in Ceylon under the Dutch Rule. Let us now try to give a survey of the Catholic sources.

The Vatican Archives do not contain very much. Some very small references to Ceylon events are found in the *Nunziatura Di Lisboa* (letters written to Lisbon) and in the *Nunziatura Di Portogallo* (letters from Lisbon). The Archives of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith do not contain much more. The series *Scritture Riferite Nei Congressi, Indie Orientali*, starts in the year 1623, but here also we find only now and then some allusions to Ceylon. In some reports we see that the Island was a Portuguese colony but that *Gli Olandesi Eretici* now occupy the country, and the Catholic religion is not allowed to exist. Not very much more is found. Besides, the reports are very irregular, especially in the earliest times, and Cochin (on which Ceylon juridically depended) was for a long time without a Bishop.

The main reason however, why so little is found in the Central organizations of the Church in Rome, is the fact that since the 16th century the Portuguese missions had the privilege of the *Padroado*. Almost the whole of the correspondence was sent to Lisbon.

So it happens that most of the information is found in the different archives of Portugal's capital.<sup>3</sup> The most important documents are those concerning the Oratorian Mission in Ceylon. It is a well-known fact that Catholic Missionaries, belonging to the Oratory of St. Philip Neri's at Goa, under the impulse of Fr. Joseph Vaz, came to evangelize Ceylon, notwithstanding the prohibition of the Dutch. From 1687 till long after the arrival of the British, their work in the Island was uninterrupted, and since they were the only evangelizing body in the Island, the documents relating their work, are of the greatest interest. In 1936 Fr. S. G. Perera started their publication. At the moment of his death 55 documents were published, in which the history of the Oratorians is told, up to 1742.<sup>4</sup> He had already translated the 45

1. D. R. 3959, covering the years 1765 (Dec. 3rd) to 1779.

2. D. R. 4093.

3. Mostly in the Torre do Tombo and the Bibl. Nacional. It is to be noticed however that a few complementary documents are also found in Goa, State Archives, especially in the *Livros Das Moncoes* Vol. 54, 59, 64, 66, 70, 73, 74, 77, 78, 79, 84, 85,) containing correspondence between Goa and Lisbon.

4. *The Oratorian Mission in Ceylon*, Colombo 1936—38. 270 pages in 6 booklets.

remaining documents—from 1762 till 1787—which are now in the possession of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Edm. Peiris, who is preparing a critical edition.

In Portugal are found some other unpublished Oratorian documents.<sup>1</sup> We will mention in a special way three manuscripts of the Biblioteca Nacional :

—*Relação Dos Progressos Da Missão De Ceylão, E Alguns Casos Prodigiosos Nella Acontecidos Desde Anno 1720, Atte A De 1722.* Fundo Geral, ms. 175, ff. 297-299.

—*Noticia Sumaria Do Presente Estado Da Missão De Ceylão, Que Por Ordem De S. Mage, Que Deos Guarde, E Do Illmo E Exmo Sñor Marques V. Rey Da India Da A Pe Custodio De Mello Prepozito Da Congregação Do Oratorio De Goa.* *Ibid.* Ms. 6434.

—*Noticias Que dá O. P. Frco Vas, Pref. Da Congr. Do Oratorio De Goa Ao Conde De Vila Mayor.* *Ibid.* Ms. 177.

Concerning the history of the Oratorians one should also consult :

—*Noticia Compendiosa Da Fundaçào Da Congregação Do Oratorio Da Santa Cruz Dos Milagres Da Cidade De Goa Na India Oriental.—Dos Principios E Progressos Da Missão De Ceylão Cultivada Pelos Padres Della E Das Vidas Virtuozas De Alguns Dos Ditos Padres.*<sup>2</sup> Torre do Tombo, Livraria 636.

Concerning the life of Frs. Joseph Vaz and Jacome Goncalvez, we should mention their first biographies, manuscript and printed. However there is no need to study them in a special way since this has carefully been done by Fr. S. G. Perera who wrote a synthesis of both lives.<sup>3</sup>

In Ceylon itself very few Oratorian documents exist. In the archives of Archbishop's House, Colombo, is a file containing documents since 1755. The file consists of 3 parts, the first one giving the nominations of the Superiors of the Mission of Ceylon (*Registo Das Patentes Do Superio Rado Desta Missão De Ceylão*), the second containing the

1. A copy of some of them is found in the Perera-library, St. Aloysius College Galle.
2. Those Fathers are : Paschoal da Costa Jeremias, Custodio Leitad, Bernardo Coutinho, Manoel da Cruz, Pedro Ferrao, Bazilio Barreto, Joze Vaz o Mozo, Joze de Menezes, Joze de Faria, Joze de Carvalho, Miguel de Melo, Antonio Francisco, Joze de Jesu Maria, Pedro da Saldante, Aleixo Affonso, Jacome Gozalvez.
3. *Life of Fr. Jacome Goncalvez*, Madura 1942, pp. XII—150. *Life of the Venerable Father Joseph Vaz*, Ranchi 1943, pp. IX—324. A new edition is actually in print.



reports of the Council (*Assentos Da Junta*), the third being an enumeration of the privileges granted to the Missionaries (*Os Privilegios O Logrão Os Missionarios*).

The archives of Bishop's House, Jaffna, contain some copies of earlier Tamil documents. However they do not stretch back further than 1775. There is also a list of the Jaffna Oratorian Missionaries since 1778.

A serious study of all those documents reveals that a judgment on the situation of the Catholic Church in Ceylon under the Dutch should be very nuanced. It is impossible to speak about "persecution" or "toleration" without making a distinction between the Dutch Government, the East India Company and the Dutch Reformed Church in Ceylon. Moreover one should distinguish the time, the circumstances, and the personal temperament or convictions of the different governors. It is e.g., evident that the attitude of Valentyn Stein Van Gollenesse was not the same as Van Imhoff's behaviour. May be we will have the opportunity to come back to this subject.

## THE FISH TAX IN CEYLON

By The RT. REV. EDMUND PEIRIS

“ THE FISHERIES OF CEYLON ”, wrote Pridham in 1849, “ are one of the most important of the capabilities of the Island ; its coasts on every side may be said to teem with fish of the best kinds for all the purposes of home consumption and exportation and a more ample field for lucrative speculation cannot possibly present itself.”<sup>1</sup> Although, in the past, there has never been a serious attempt on the part of Government to improve the industry, ways and means were always found to exploit it for the benefit of the exchequer.

Under the Sinhalese kings, the levy on fish was more in the nature of a tribute than of a rent or tax. The fishermen of Puttalam, for instance, paid yearly to the king 700 dried fish worth 14 larins, whereas the boats from the South Indian coast, which took part in the fishing, paid on their arrival a license fee of 2 larins each and a tenth of each catch. The petty traders, in whose hands was the sale of fish, paid to the king 3 fanams for each 100 fish.<sup>2</sup> At Chilaw, for each vessel, old or new, sold, 10% calculated on the purchase price was given as *Melviri* (Tam. prime tax) ; on each vessel newly built, 10% calculated on the remuneration promised to carpenters, was paid by strangers, the native inhabitants being exempted as they rendered service to the king.<sup>3</sup> Twice a year, in April and November, the fishermen of Grand Street, Negombo, waited on the king with their chieftains, and, in acknowledgement of vassalage offered to him 10 *kacci* (bales of cloth) and 10 pingo of dried fish, the people of Sea Street, acting separately, did the same.<sup>4</sup> The annual tribute of the chief fishermen of Kalutara North was 200 fanams in place of *kacci* and 30 pingo of dried fish ; while, those of the South paid 10 pingo.<sup>5</sup> The fishermen of Galle gave to the King 20 zerafins on deep sea boats and a fifth of their catch for the *padda* boats.<sup>6</sup>

The Portuguese improved on the existing arrangement by introducing a system of rents with headmen to supervise it. The *dāl panam* or “ net money ” was paid in October, when the nets were first cast into the sea. Besides this, the fishermen paid *oru panam* or “ boat money ”,

1. *Account of Ceylon and its Dependencies*, I. p. 409
2. *The Ceylon Littoral, 1593*, by Paul E. Pieris, p. 2
3. *Ib* p. 7
4. *Ib* p. 27
5. *Ib*. p. 39
6. *Ib*. p. 73.

*karavādu panam* or "dried fish money" and *padimālu*, one fish in ten.<sup>1</sup>

The Dutch continued to levy the tax as "shore dues" *strandsgeregteineid*. The yield was "not inconsiderable in value and together with the renting of the various fish markets amounted to 4,000 or 5,000 *larins*. These rents were levied on fish caught in lakes and rivers, as well as those from the sea. It varied in amount in different places from one-third to one-fifth of the value of fish caught after deducting 5% which went to the headmen. There was difference always made in favour of fish caught by nets over those caught by lines, the latter paying more than the former."<sup>2</sup>

The fish rent was farmed out at the general sale of rents in February.<sup>3</sup> In 1697, the revenue from rents was computed to be this : in Colombo, Rds. 2,300 ; in Matara, Devundara and Mirissa, Rds. 337 ; in Vāligama, Rds. 255 ; in the nine salt lakes of Jaffnapatam, Rds. 256 ; in Navanturai, Rds. 446 ; Kakativu, Rds. 126 ; Araly, Rds. 166 ; Koyilakandi, Rds. 390 ; and from the fishery on the borders of the Vanni, Rds. 2,600.<sup>4</sup> The money realised from the Jaffna rents was used for the support of the Jaffna Seminary.<sup>5</sup> About the year 1757, the fish rents were in operation at Colombo, Mutwal, Galkissa, Moratuwa, Maggona, Paiyagala, Beruwala, Alutgama, Galle, Gandara, Mahamodera, Pitigala, Sittattoe (Hikkaduva ?), Koggala, Ahangama, Vakgalmodara, Vāligama and Matara, and in Jaffna.<sup>6</sup> As some little concession to the fishermen, the Dutch Government permitted them to cut *jak* and *del* trees for their boats, without the payment of duty.<sup>7</sup>

The British followed the policy of their predecessors and saw to it that the revenue from the fish tax increased. During 1799-1805 the yield was Rds. 152,000 a year, averaging fully Rds. 190,000 in the last three years of Governor North's rule. From 1806-1812 the revenue from this source averaged Rds. 123,231 and from 1813-1820, Rds. 128,000.<sup>8</sup>

Hitherto the mode of collecting the tax had been to farm out the rents annually on well defined conditions. In 1320, Governor Barnes thought it "expedient to alter the mode . . . for the collecting of the revenue . . . from fish caught by boats . . . and to substitute an arrangement

1. *Ancient Land Tenure & Revenue* by Codrington, p. 48.
2. *J.C.B.R.A.S.* No. 3, pp. 178-9
3. *Memoir of Van Goens, 1663-1675*, transl. by Reimers, p. 24.
4. *Memoir of Thomas Van Rhee* trans. by Sophia Anthonisz, pp. 30, 48, 49,
5. *Zwaardcroon, 1697*, translr by Sophia Pieters, p. 54
6. *Memoir of Jan Schreuder 1757-62*, transl. by Reimers, pp. 87-88
7. Petition of Galkisse Fishermen, 27 Oct. 1832
8. *Ceylon Literary Register*, Vol. II No xi, p. 481

less likely to occasion delay and detriment to the persons employed in the fishery". The new system demanded "that no boat of whatever description shall put to sea for the purpose of fishing either with nets or lines or otherwise from any part of the district of Colombo unless the same shall have been previously licensed so to do, by a written license under the hand of the Collector of Colombo, for which licenses, which shall be renewed annually and be in force till the 31st day of December in every year, the said Collector is authorised to demand and receive for the use of His Majesty, such sums proportioned to the size of the boats and other circumstances . . . . Any boat which shall be discovered to have put to sea . . . not being previously licensed, as aforesaid, shall be, with all her sails, masts and other rigging, fishing tackle, appurtenances and everything on board, confiscated, and the person shall be liable to pay a fine . . . in default of payment, or of there being sufficient property to levy the fine, such offender shall be committed to goal, and employed at hard labour for a term not exceeding six months".<sup>1</sup> The experiment was confined to Colombo.

In introducing the new measure, Governor Barnes' intention was to assist the fishermen. If he could have had things his own way, he would have abolished the tax altogether, for he was fully alive to "the bad policy of a tax upon fish caught by the natives on their own shores".<sup>2</sup> But he had not the power to forego so large a revenue. To encourage the preparation of salt fish within the Island, he increased the duty on imported salt fish and abolished the duty on the exported article.<sup>3</sup>

But the new system far from being productive of benefit to Government or to the people gave rise to universal dissatisfaction and became the unexpected cause for a rapid fall in the revenue.<sup>4</sup> For one thing, the assessments fixed were too high and the license fee was not proportionate to the actual exercise of the industry or to the income derived therefrom for another, the fishermen, who were too poor to have reserved funds, were called upon to pay in a lump what they had been accustomed to pay as they went along. The threat of prosecution and distrains on their boats, tackle and property, for failing to obtain licenses, made the system more hateful. The result was that Government lost in 1821 and 1822 on the revenue from the fisheries of the Colombo district the sum of £ 2,261.8.3.<sup>5</sup> The experiment was, therefore, given up by Sir Edward Paget after barely two years' trial, in October, 1822.

1. Regulation, No. 21 of 14th Dec. 1820.

2. Barnes to Bathurst, 7 Nov. 1820.

3. Regulation No. 6 of 17 March 1821

4. Collector of Colombo to Commissioner of Revenues, 21 Oct. 1822.

5. Statement of Forbes, Collector of Colombo, 27 Oct. 1832.

With the reversion to the renting system the revenue from the fisheries rose to £ 12,142 in 1832, but fell away thereafter to £ 10,716 in 1824, £ 9,270 in 1825 and £ 8,629 in 1826.<sup>1</sup>

The licensing system, however, was theoretically far superior to the renting system, since it gave less opportunity to tax-farmers to exploit the fishermen and prevented the use of boats for illicit purposes, like smuggling. Attempts were, therefore, made to evolve a scheme, which would obviate its unsavoury and oppressive features. One such scheme, proposed by Hendrick de Soysa, "a Mohandiram of the Mahabadda and the Interpreter of the sitting Magistrate's Court", found favour with Government, and, in 1827, Governor Barnes returned to the licensing system. But it was once more doomed to failure. On the 29th of September, 1828, the Collector of Colombo informed the Commissioner of Revenues, "that the system of Fish Licenses, which has been in operation since the commencement of 1827, has hitherto proved unsuccessful, and the revenue promises rather to fall than to improve". He recommended some other arrangement for the ensuing year.

There were several factors that contributed to the failure of the scheme in this instance. In the first place, Government entrusted the management of the licensing system to its originator, an arrangement which the fisher headmen opposed. Secondly, there was a fear that if a number of fishermen were pressed for Government service, their employers would be deprived, for a time, of the means of sending their boats to sea; a situation, which would not be so objectionable in the case of a general rent.<sup>2</sup> Lastly, as the license fees were collected in small sums, it was difficult for the Collector to keep a strict eye on the collections and check up the accuracy of the accounts submitted by the headmen. "Nearly every fisherman is inclined to dispute the accuracy of his account with the Cutcherry. And there being necessarily on one side only the assertion of the headmen and on the other of the fishermen, I have hardly any chance of ascertaining their accuracy."<sup>3</sup>

In spite of a new plan drawn up by the Collector of Colombo, which, though in part retaining the principle on which the license system was adopted, appeared to him to be better suited to the habits and feelings of the fishermen.<sup>4</sup> Government considered it prudent to go back to the renting system. These experiments, however, discouraged the industry in the Colombo district and the revenue from it decreased annually. The returns were: Rds. 69,700 for 1823; Rds. 68,770 for 1824; Rds. 64,200 for 1825; Rds. 61,226 for 1826; Rds. 51,682 for 1827;

1. *Ceylon Literary Register* l.c.p. 483

2. Collector of Colombo to Commissioner of Revenues 29th Sept. 1828.

3. id. 19th Nov. 1828.

4. rf. Anstruther to Boyd. 29th Sept. 1828-

and Rds. 48,547 for 1828. With the reversion to the renting system it rose to Rds. 59,710 in 1829 and Rds. 61,025 in 1830, but fell again to Rds. 59,830 in 1831 and Rds. 55,781 in 1832.<sup>1</sup>

When the Royal Commission of Inquiry under Colebrooke came to Ceylon, the fisheries of the Island was one of the matters investigated. "The Fish Rents", says its Report, "are a duty (generally one tenth) levied on all fish caught. This duty must originally have been part of the general contribution to the State from all produce of whatever description, which was not monopolized by Government . . . . The duty on fish was collected by farmers of the revenue, the farm of each station on the coast being annually sold. From the perishable nature of the commodity this mode of collecting is extremely vexatious, the fishermen being unable to dispose of their fish or to cure it until the farmer has taken his share. In some places a small deduction is made for the native headmen, whose duty is to call out the fishermen for public service, when required. The fishermen have complained to us of the restrictions to which they are still subject; and on account of their poverty I would recommend that licenses for boats should be issued monthly instead of annually, so as to enable the fishermen to pay the duty from the produce of the fishery; and further to encourage the fisheries, a drawback equivalent to the whole duty should be allowed on salt fish exported. The revenue from fish rents is estimated to produce £ 7,888 per annum, and, as it is raised on the subsistence of the people it will be desirable to remit it altogether, when other and less objectionable taxes are sufficiently productive to enable Government to relinquish it. From the salt monopoly and other restrictions in the Island, the fishermen of the continent are enabled to come over and to carry on the fisheries of the northern coast of Ceylon with greater advantage than the natives of the Island."<sup>2</sup>

After perusing the Commissioner's report, Lord Goderich, then Secretary of State, informed Governor Horton that it was his intention to recommend to His Majesty the repeal of the Fish Tax and of all other restrictions, which crippled the fishing industry, for instance, restrictions on the free collection of salt for fish curing; but, at the same time, he instructed the Governor to revert to the ill-fated licensing system.<sup>3</sup> The same instruction was repeated in Despatches No. 107 of 14th March, and No. 114 of 23rd March, of 1833. But Horton was in no hurry to carry out the wishes of the Home Government in this matter, for neither the fishermen nor the Commissioner and Collector of Colombo nor the Executive Council were favourable to the new experiment. The fish rents for the first three months of 1833 were sold on the condi-

1. Statement by Gisborne, 22nd April 1836.
2. Report 2, 31 Jan. 1832
3. Goderich to Horton, No. 53, 4th May 1832

tions then in force, to give time for a full consideration of the instructions of the Secretary of State.<sup>1</sup>

In the meantime, the Commissioner of Revenues was requested to submit a full report of his opinion and of his Collector on certain matters pertaining to the new proposal of the Secretary of State, especially whether the Royal Commission had discussed with his department on the practical working of the license system and whether the fishermen would agree to go back to the license system. The Collector of Colombo replied: "The Commissioners of Inquiry have not entered into any investigation with me for the purpose of making themselves acquainted with the practical working of the license system, nor have they as far as I know, inspected the books of this department connected with this branch of the revenue or examined myself or, as I am assured, any other officers on the Cutcherry establishment qualified to give correct information on the subject".<sup>2</sup> He went further and accused certain "interested, needy and rapacious persons, one individual especially" (Muhandiram de Soysa), "who by their malpractices have benefitted from the measure in contemplation", of having misled the Commissioners of Inquiry<sup>3</sup>. As to the attitude of the fishermen he pointed out that he had assembled those of Colombo, Negombo, Galkisse, Moratuwa and Ratmalana on various days and that they had unanimously condemned the new proposal as oppressive and ruinous, and that they had demanded the abolition of the tax or at least a substantial reduction of it.<sup>4</sup>

The mind of the fishermen may be gauged from the following petition presented by the people of Negombo to the Collector of Colombo, on the 26th October, 1832:—

"The humble petition of the undersigned who carry  
on the occupation of fishing at Negombo,  
Sheweth:

That ever since the surrender of this Island to the English Government the petitioners continued to pay certain duties on fish caught by them, viz., the renters, *accommodessan* and auctioneer's fees, whereby the petitioners have suffered much loss and inconvenience. The people . . . who exercise other trades on land with greater ease have only to pay a tax of 1/30th to Government, and that tax is recovered once or twice a year, but the petitioners who with much difficulty catch fish in the sea have to pay a tax of 1/5th and 1/6th on the same and that tax is recovered daily from them, thereby the petitioners are prevented from using the fish caught by them for any

1. Anstruther to Boyd 29th Oct. 1832
2. Collector to the Commissioner of Revenues, 29th Oct. 1832
3. Another letter bearing the same date
4. *Revenue Dsary*, 19th 22nd and 23rd Oct. 1832.

purpose they require and are subject to the restrictions of the renters. The headmen of other communities receive salaries from Government, but those of the petitioners' are paid by them out of the fish caught and they have likewise to pay fees of the auctioneer, with which circumstances, though the petitioners have not troubled Government, they have suffered considerable loss and much inconvenience, and had Government only levied 1/10th from the petitioners all this time they would not have been reduced to such poverty.

That by the introduction of the license system, a person who takes out a license shall have to pay for the whole twelve months though he uses his boat or net twelve or less times during the whole year, as had taken place formerly, and that by the family afflictions of the licensed person or in consequence of some deficiency in the fishing utensils or by the delay for repairing any defects in, if he were to be thus prevented from going to fish for any number of days, no allowance will be made by Government, but the amount of the license will be recovered without leaving a price and the persons who have not been able to pay the amount of the same, having been prosecuted, their property was sold upon writ of execution for the recovery of those arrears and costs, whereby many may have been reduced to poverty and some became prisoners, all of which circumstances are well known to the Collectors who have been here ; the petitioners, therefore, are of opinion that the re-introduction of the license system will be the foundation of their ruin.

The petitioners being given to understand that it is the intention of His Excellency the Governor to abolish entirely the tax on fish, which if true, the petitioners pray that they may be made partakers of that indulgence, and, in case it is an unfounded report, that your Honour may be pleased to represent to Government the hardships of their occupation and obtain for them even greater relief as is allowed to others who carry on their profession on land. For which the humble petitioners as in duty bound shall ever pray."

On the 9th of December, 1833, Horton wrote to the Home Office pointing out that the licensing system had been tried once in 1820 and abandoned in 1822, and again in 1827 and abandoned in 1829, that each experiment had caused loss to the Revenue and to the fishing industry and that the concession to issue licenses monthly instead of annually would not improve the position because even the attempt to levy the license fees by weekly and daily instalments had failed. He maintained that the Commissioners of Inquiry had erred in stating that generally 1/10th was the duty levied on fish, for the fact was that it amounted to 1/4th on all fish caught by nets and 1/3rd on all fish caught by hooks in addition to 1/40th to the headmen and a further fee to the auctioneer. It was clear, he said, that the Commissioners had not acquainted themselves with the real situation before advising the Secretary of State to



revert to the licensing system. He favoured the immediate reduction of the tax to 1/6th and the granting of further exemptions in favour of fisheries carried on exclusively for curing.<sup>1</sup>

But the Home Government was so strongly persuaded in favour of the licensing system that it declined to accept the Governor's views and reiterated its former instructions.<sup>2</sup> The Secretary of State appears to have been firmly convinced that the licensing system would "remove some of the vexations attending the collection from the poverty of the fishermen, who were dependent upon the headmen and farmers of the tax . . . and that it would give considerable encouragement to the prosecution" of their industry.<sup>3</sup> There was, however, agreement between the Governor and Lord Goderich on one point that every relief should be granted to the fishing industry and that the tax should be abolished as soon as the financial position of the Colony would permit it.

By a resolution of the Executive Council held on the 2nd of December, 1833, the fish tax was reduced to 1/6th because there was "every reason to expect that the reduction of this excessive rate of taxation would by no means lead to a proportionate diminution of revenue—on the contrary it might fairly be expected to prove beneficial rather than injurious, the more so as under the high rate of taxation the fish revenue has been annually on the decline, and therefore that the relief so granted would cost nothing".<sup>4</sup> In March the same year, the fish *accommodessans* were abolished, but the headmen were compensated with pensions totalling £ 996.15 *sh.*<sup>5</sup> Also, both the fish and salt taxes were remitted in "some parts of the coast of the Island, where fisheries were carried on almost exclusively for the purpose of curing."<sup>6</sup>

On the 31st of March, 1836, Anstruther, the Colonial Secretary, wrote to the Government Agents of Colombo, Galle, Jaffna and Trincomalie, for their views on "the subject that, a reduction of the fish tax to 1/10th would be more satisfactory to the fishermen than any other measure short of the total relinquishment of the tax, and that such a reduction would not be attended with any ultimate diminution of the revenue". Gisborne, the Government Agent of Colombo, was of opinion that Government should decide at once to reduce the tax to 1/10th as the existing rate of 1/6th was a very high rent and cramped the industry of the fishermen.<sup>7</sup>

1. Horton to Stanley.
2. Spring-Rice to Horton, No. 38 of 28th Oct. 1834.
3. Goderich to Horton, No. 114. of 23rd March 1833.
4. Minutes, 2nd. December 1833.
5. Horton to Stanley, 9th December, 1833.
6. Minutes of Executive. Council, 2nd Dec. 1833
7. Gisborne to the Colonial Secretary, 22nd April 1836

When the Executive Council met on the 8th of June, 1836, it was "resolved that Government Agents be directed to notify forthwith that the tax is to be reduced to 1/10th from the 1st of January next. "The full proceedings of the Council were forwarded to the Home Government. Lord Glenley, the Secretary of State, communicating his assent to the measure, says : "Notwithstanding the abundance of salt and fish to be procured on the coast of Ceylon, salted fish is annually imported into the Island for consumption, the value of the impost for 1835 is stated to be £2,208. Should it be found practicable to relieve the natives in the manner which has been suggested, I anticipate that they will be able not only to cure fish for the consumption of the Island, but that it will also become an article of considerable import."<sup>1</sup>

On the 5th of December, 1839, Governor Stewart Mackenzie, availing himself of the permission granted by the Secretary of State, placed before the Legislative Council an Ordinance to abolish the tax upon fish. *The Ceylon Government Gazette* No. 2,089 of 11th January, 1840, published Ordinance No. I, "for abolishing the tax upon fish, commonly called the "Fish Rents", and for repealing the Regulation No. 24 of 1822. The text is as follows :—

"Whereas it is expedient to abolish the tax upon fish commonly called the Fish Rents. It is therefore hereby enacted by the Governor of Ceylon, with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council thereof that the tax upon fish commonly called the "Fish Rents" shall be abolished, and the Regulation No. 24 of 1822, entitled "For repealing the twenty first Regulation of 1820, and reviving the former system of collecting the revenue derived from fish in the district of Colombo", shall be and the same is hereby repealed, except in so far as regards any offences committed, or any fines, penalties, dues, forfeitures of liabilities incurred thereunder and except in so far as the said Regulation No. 21 of 1820 is thereby repealed.

Given at Colombo, this fourth day of January, 1840.

By His Excellency's command,

GEORGE TURNOUR,  
*Act. Colonial Secretary.*

The request for the Queen's assent was made on the 10th February, 1840,<sup>2</sup> and that assent was duly communicated to the Governor by the Secretary of State on the 22nd May, 1840.<sup>3</sup>

Thus perished "this most inconvenient and oppressive tax", begotten in imperial policies, maintained by rapacious tax-farmers and tolerated for the benefit of the Colonial Exchequer.

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1. Glenley to Mackenzie, No. 18 of 2nd Oct. 1837.
  2. Mackenzie to Russell, No. 27
  3. Russell to Mackenzie, No. 82.

# SOME NEGLECTED ASPECTS OF BRITISH COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

By RALPH PIERIS

## I—THE ANTECEDENTS : GOVERNMENT BY MERCANTILE COMPANIES.

A COMPARATIVE study of colonial policies of the Great Powers illustrates convincingly that colonial philosophy, or absence of philosophy, is but a manifestation of the ideas of the administrative class. Imperial administrators do not always constitute a homogeneous group, but generally, the dominance of a certain body of persons whose conduct and ideas set a standard for others and eventuates in a "cultural pattern", is unmistakable. Corruption and tyranny, for instance, are infectious, and from the leaders the social disease spreads down the administrative hierarchy leaving few wholly immune. Thus Adam Smith objected to the government of mighty empires by trading corporations such as the East India Companies of Holland and England on the ground that their mercantile habits made them unfit to govern; they merely sought profit for themselves, and "the sneaking arts of underling tradesmen are erected into political maxims for the conduct of a great Empire".<sup>1</sup> It is beyond the scope of this paper to make a comparative study of colonial government,<sup>2</sup> but it is interesting to consider at the outset the colonial philosophy of the Dutch East India Company—a tradesman's administration *par excellence*.

Whereas Portuguese imperialism was characterised by religious fanaticism, the activities of the Dutch in the East were largely actuated by considerations of economic advantage and political expediency. The Dutch in Ceylon did have their religious and educational establishments, but they eventually came "without question, to regard the native as simply one of the factors entering into the making of money, a factor to be treated in the same objective way as water, soil, or any other non-sentient or inanimate element".<sup>3</sup> The character of the Dutch Company's employees was largely responsible for this colonial philosophy. It is interesting therefore to consider the social and educational background of the Dutch administrators.

1. cf. *Wealth of Nations*, Bk. 4, Ch. 7 for an outspoken critique of Company administration.
2. cf. the numerous comparative studies, e.g. Lord Brougham; *An Inquiry into the Colonial Policy of the European Powers* (Edinburgh 1803. 2 Vol.)
3. A. G. Keller: *Colonization* (Boston 1908) p. 428.

The employees of the Dutch East India Company, besides Hollanders, included a motley collection of refugees, vagabonds, criminals and adventurers from neighbouring European countries—the “Dutch” society in Ceylon, for instance, included Germans, Bavarians, Danes, Swedes, Austrians, Poles, Frenchmen, and a few Englishmen.<sup>1</sup> It is not because the Company regarded the Eastern Empire as a cess-pool for the moral refuse of Europe, but rather on account of the scarcity of volunteers offering to emigrate to the Indies under its auspices that the character of applicants was not looked into. The journey to the East was long and perilous. Schweitzer has left an account of the horrors of the long sea voyage; the ship was attacked by Turks, and the holes made in the vessel by the enemy had to be stopped; the chief distempers were dropsy, scurvy, and small-pox, and with the unsavoury food and the heat daily increasing “our ship became a mere Hospital.”<sup>2</sup>

As we would expect, in such circumstances, men had to be lured into the Company's service. The recruiting agents of the Company were called *Ziel Verkoopers*, or Soul Sellers, and enticed people by relating strange stories of the Indies and the great fortunes awaiting those who went there “and are not ashamed to go so far as to put a Hammer into their Hands to knock the Diamonds out of the Rocks they shall meet with”. The Soul-Sellers entertained strangers in their houses, clothed and fed them until they were ready to embark, and received, for each man they handed over to the Company, a note of 150 guilden and two months ready pay which the prospective employee had to “earn out”.<sup>3</sup> Many of those who enlisted were men of ill-repute, like the “comical fellow” whom Fryke met in the Cape, who had beaten a man to death in a quarrel at Tyrol and, forced to fly the country, enlisted as a soldier in the Dutch Company.<sup>4</sup> Likewise Haafner describes the character of a baker he met in Ceylon who spoke “a mixed dialect of Dutch and German, thickly interspersed with oaths”; he had four wives in different European cities, who were all alive unknown to one another when he left for India. In fact it was the fourth wife who betrayed him to the Soul-Sellers, and he came to Negapatam. In India he became a habitual drunkard, and married “a black Pariah girl of the Roman Catholic faith”, and found a sixth—a half-caste woman—in Ceylon.<sup>5</sup>

1. R. G. Anthonisz: *The Dutch in Ceylon* (Colombo 1929) Vol. I.
2. C. Schweitzer: *A Relation of a Voyage to and through the East Indies 1675-’83* (London 1700.)
3. Schweitzer op. cit.
4. C. Fryke: *A Relation of a Voyage made to the East Indies* (1692. English Ed. 1700).
5. J. Haafner: *Travels on Foot through the Island of Ceylon 1792-94* (English Ed. 1821).

Indeed the moral character of the Dutch in the East was such that as Lord Valentia commented, "not a Dutch tradesman would put his son into the service of the East India Company, unless he apprehended that he would disgrace his family by staying at home".<sup>1</sup> Captain Percival paints a sorry picture of Dutch society in Ceylon—the men's indolence, their fondness for alcohol and gambling, for gross and heavy food, their prolonged social visits, and so on.<sup>2</sup> Contemporary Dutch sources are not more flattering. In 1658 Van Goens wrote to the Governor-General of India that the acts of superior officers in Ceylon were deplorable. They robbed poor soldiers to make them look like beggars and vagabonds.<sup>3</sup> Four years later the Council reported that "the bulk of our colonists were formerly soldiers or sailors, and therefore uneducated people, knowing no trade; they are good only for opening taverns and selling arrack".<sup>4</sup> In 1663 Van Goens wrote of the rapacious character of both native and Dutch officials who treated the poor people no better than beasts. "Should these poor people's rights not be maintained by the Dissava, and, especially by your high authority, I fear that God would most seriously be offended with us".<sup>5</sup> In the sixteen eighties, the President of the Council of Eight which governed Ceylon, was the Chief Merchant, who was once a cabin boy. "The best part of them could neither Write nor Read; nor could the Captain I am speaking of, tho' he was the Third of the Council".<sup>6</sup> As late as 1757 Governor Loten advised his successor that there were too many refractory officials who aimed at leading an easy life of idleness and indulged in "mischievous practices" at the expense of the Company,<sup>7</sup> and five years later Governor Schreuder informed his successor that efficient officials were few and that the majority had to be roused "as from a sleep of indolence and indifference which had totally crept over them, by continual urging, earnest admonition, threats and even imposition of fines."<sup>8</sup>

Dutch administration was buttressed by a ruthless criminal code. Punishments meted to refractory natives were barbarous in the extreme.

1. Lord Valentia: *Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon etc.* (London 1809) Vol. 1, 307.
2. R. Percival: *An Account of the Island of Ceylon* (London 1803) According to Viscount Valentia, Percival's scathing account of Dutch society in Ceylon had been plagiarized from Stavornus' account of Batavia, but he admits that the supposed Dutch source could be perfectly relied on.
3. Van Goens to the Council of India, July 6th 1658 (in P. E. Pieris: *Some Documents Relating to the Rise of Dutch Power in Ceylon* (Colombo 1929) p. 262.
4. Report of Van Goens and his Council on the State of the Island. Feb. 1662 (ibid., p. 281.)
5. *Memoir of R. Van Goens* (1663). Trans. S. Pieters, 1910.
6. Schweitzer, op. cit.
7. *Memoir of J. G. Loten* (1757). Trans. E. Reimers, 1935, p. 48).
8. *Memoir of J. Schreuder* (1762). Trans. E. Reimers, 1946, p. 84).

Criminals were whipped, hanged, and "broke on the wheel" (i.e., tied by their legs and hands to four posts and their limbs broken with an iron bar).<sup>1</sup> Fryke describes the cruel torture suffered by a Javan who blew up a gunpowder magazine: he was pinched with red-hot tongs from morning till dusk and then cut up into quarters, "so that that day was spent in torturing of that fellow only". Two Moors in the Ceylon Pearl Bank were soundly whipped and the executioner rubbed their wound with pepper and salt and kept them in fetters as property of the Company. A mulatto in Bavaria was hanged for theft; eight seamen were whipped for stealing and burnt on the shoulders with the Arms of the Company. In Ceylon punishments included cutting of the ears, "whipping on the bare back until blood appears", and hard labour in chains.<sup>2</sup>

It was from the annals of the "completely destructive" policy of the Dutch Company that men like Adam Smith urged a new deal for the colonies. It would be an exaggeration to say that Dutch policy was always ethically contemptible. Some of the more atrocious criminal punishments were abolished in the latter part of Dutch rule in Ceylon. Their laws were equally severe where Hollanders were concerned—Schweitzer writes of how two Dutch soldiers who absented themselves from the Guard were forced to run the gauntlet. Nor must we forget their attempts to "educate" the natives, although at its worst, instruction was imparted by "broken mechanics" such as bakers and shoemakers "who have no more book-learning than just to make shift to sing the Psalms of David, and at the same time can perhaps say the Heidelberg catechism by heart together with a few passages from the Bible, and are able to read a sermon from some author; or else they are some wretched natives, that can scarce make a shift to read Dutch intelligibly, much less can they make a good hand, and in arithmetic are still more deficient."<sup>3</sup>

The activities of the British East India Company in many ways resembled the Dutch, and led Adam Smith to conclude that "in the manner in which they govern their new subjects, the natural genius of an exclusive company has shown itself most distinctly".<sup>4</sup> It is not surprising that the Company objected to the employment of aristocrats, since its sole concern was trade and profit, and the character of the gentleman, even if he took to business, was markedly different from

1. For this data of J. C. Wolf: *Life and Adventures* (English Ed. 1785), and the accounts of Fryke and Schweitzer. Petrus Vuyst, Governor 1726-29 "had recourse to a system of barbarity fortunately rare in the annals of civilized nations" (P. E. Pieris; *Ceylon and the Hollanders*, Colombo 1918 for details.)

2. cf. translations of Dutch Proclamations in C. O. 54/124

3. P. Eschelskroon: *Description of the Island of Ceylon* (1782. English Ed. 1795)

4. *Wealth of Nations* (Modern Library Ed., p. 600)

that of the professional tradesman. The true tradesman lived for profit alone and had no higher ideals. He had little interest in the arts and sciences, which were patronized by gentlemen. This was recognised in aristocratic England, and in the early nineteenth century opposition was offered to a man who sought membership of the Royal Philharmonic Society on the ground that he was a tradesman, but his proposer succeeded in explaining that his nominee did not actually serve behind the counter.<sup>1</sup>

With the tradesman element predominating during the regime of the British East India Company, "gentlemanly" ideals were unknown or forgotten, and corruption was rife. It must be said in extenuation of the lax principles of most of the Company's employees that they were ill-paid—as Adam Smith remarked, those who clamoured loudest against them would probably not have acted better themselves in the circumstances. The fact remains, however, that in the years following the Regulating Act of 1773, a dominion had been founded in India "by methods of doubtful morality, but by men of great vigour and boldness".<sup>2</sup> There were black sheep in the best families. Clive and Warren Hastings were sons of impoverished Tory gentry from the Welsh Marches, and went to India to make their fortunes, and did so without scruple or principle. "Gratuities measured by *lakhs* of rupees were commonly given to conclude a deal."<sup>3</sup>

In Ceylon, as in India, the early administrators were not precluded from private trading. One of the pioneer civil servants Gavin Hamilton was found to have embezzled £19,675 for private trade, and the amount had to be recovered from his estate after his death.<sup>4</sup> In Governor North's private letters to Marquis Wellesley (the Earl of Mornington) he repeatedly exposed the worst abuses of the Company's employees; he complained of "Andrews and his rogues" ("the Madras faction"); MacDowell was guilty of "peculation and malversation", and Garrow of maladministration and tyranny. The "horrid peculation" by dishonest officials involved "seven lacs of pagodas". Hugh Cleghorn cheated the Pearl Fishery of 80,000 pagodas "the sum equal to that brought into the Treasury". North considered that "Cleghorn cannot be forgiven for telling the world that he procured the pearls for Lady Jane Dundas". Perhaps it was true that Lord Dundas (later Viscount Melville) merely wanted him to buy the pearls cheap, but there is little doubt that Cleghorn, a former Professor of Civil History at St. Andrews University, was on intimate terms with the Secretary of

1. cf. R. Nettel: *The Orchestra in England. A Social History* (London 1946)
2. Carrington: *The British Overseas* (Cambridge 1950) p. 167.
3. Ibid.
4. cf. J. R. Toussaint: *Annals of the Ceylon Civil Service* (Colombo 1935)

State, to whom he dispatched "reams of pretty papers" against the Governor, employing the government clerks to transcribe them.<sup>1</sup>

But gradually a change in the moral basis of colonial administration can be discerned—a change which becomes evident even in the period of Dual Control by the Crown and the Company.<sup>2</sup> The authorities in England had realised that the augean stable of Company administration in India had to be cleansed. With this end in view, Pitt introduced his India Bill in 1784, and set up an unpaid Board of Control of six Cabinet Ministers and Privy Councillors who would have no motive for directing Indian affairs on narrow party lines. This was in contrast to "that spirit of click and party" to which North objected in the administration of Madras civil servants in Ceylon.<sup>3</sup> A royal Governor-General was to be appointed in India, with authority, in case of necessity, to override his Council, the Commander-in-Chief, and the Governors of Bombay and Madras. The Directors of the Company were left in possession of all remaining patronage. Under this dual control British India was administered for seventy years.

Pitt's intention was that the office of Governor-General "should always be held by some great nobleman, exalted by rank and wealth over any temptation to corrupt practices, a man actuated by honourable motives. Surely, if ever aristocracy is justified it is in this series of great rulers".<sup>4</sup> It is the celebrated line from Marquis Cornwallis to Earl Mountbatten. From an administration by a trading corporation, British rule became a government by notables.

1. North in turn sent his complaints to his friend Wellesley. "Cleghorn will shortly be fit for no place but Bedlam. He cannot hear one ask him whether he will have any *fish* for dinner without falling into a tremour and cold sweat. The committee of investigation is going on vigorously and making dreadful discoveries" To prove the "ordinary good sense, of Cleghorn, North relates how at a "great dinner", Fraser, the accountant-general, was saying that he had been much shocked to hear that a Dr. Greenfield, an old acquaintance of his, had been obliged to fly the realm for an unnatural crime. "And a old friend of mine too", exclaimed Cleghorn; "for I slept ever night for two years together in the same bed with him." North concludes; "Can you conceive a greater idiot. I hope the Report of the Committee will authorize me to suspend him". It did. (cf. North to Wellesley, Sept. 3rd., 1799 "private, secret and confidential". *Wellesley Mss* 13867).
2. cf. A. K. Ghosal: *Civil Service in India Under the East India Company* (Calcutta, 1944)
3. North to Wellesley, Oct. 27th., 1798 (*Wellesley Mss.* 13867.) North was always "determined to break the neck of the infamous faction (of Madras civilians) here" (North to Wellesley August 21st, 1799)
4. Carrington, op. cit.



## 2—GOVERNMENT BY PATRONAGE.

The English Gentry, comprising urban rentiers and petty nobility, monopolised political office until at least 1868, and saved England from the bureaucratization which characterised continental governments. In consequence, the administration of the British Empire, one of the most expansive polities since Imperial Rome, was basically an administration of notables.<sup>1</sup> The empire provided a vast system of public assistance for the British governing classes. Ever since the Elizabethan Age the colonies absorbed a good proportion of those problem-children of English social life—the younger sons of landowning families.<sup>2</sup> It is true that the East India Company was at one time against the employment of aristocratic gentlemen on the ground that they were prone to fight rather than trade, and were not amenable to discipline, and when George II negotiated for a place for a penurious knight, the Company petitioned the King to “be allowed to sort their business with men of their own quality”.<sup>3</sup> But the galaxy of illustrious names from Raleigh to Wellesley were the notables of an age of patronage, and were almost without exception younger sons of the English gentry. For the ruthless English family system endowed the ancestral estates to the first born, and left the younger sons to “make good” in trade, the professions, the church, the army and navy, and above all, in the colonies.<sup>4</sup> The eclipse of these notables had to await Civil Service Reform and the inauguration of the competitive examination which brought in the professional civil servant-for-life, the “competition wallah.”<sup>5</sup>

In the early nineteenth century, members of the imperial political elite were unmistakably creatures of a system of patronage. The “spoils system”, as it came to be known in America, had its origin in the mother country, but survived as a living institution in the United States long after it had been replaced by a professional Civil Service in England. In the early nineteenth century, the spoils system in all its glory was the pride of English political oligarchies. “Booty politicians” who dominated the English political scene bestowed their “gifts” on henchmen, friends, and poor relations. Rev. Sydney Smith was at least half in earnest when he defended a statesman who had been accused of nepotism :

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1. cf. Max Weber: *Essays in Sociology* (Trans. Gerth and Mills. London 1948) p. 210.
  2. cf. D. B. Quinn: *Raleigh and the British Empire* (London, 1947) p. 10
  3. D. Kincaid; *British Social Life in India* (London, 1938) p. 15
  4. cf. R. H. Tawney: *The Rise of the Gentry* (Econ. Hist. Rev. XI/1, 1941)
  5. cf. G. O. Trevelyan: *The Competition Wallah* (London 1866.) The term “Civil Service” was first used by Sir Charles Trevelyan who borrowed it from the British administration of India and applied it to the English system.

“Such a disposition of patronage is one of the highest inducements to a man of high rank and large fortune to abandon the comforts of private life for the turmoils and disappointments of a political career. Nor does the country suffer by it; on the contrary, a man is much more likely to be able to judge of the competence of his relations for office than any one else. Indeed, I feel so strongly on this point that if by any freak of fortune I were placed in such a position, I should think myself not only authorised but compelled to give a post to every man of my own name in the country.”

When Wellington's administration collapsed in 1830 and the Whigs came into power Rev. Smith was delighted that all his old friends were turned into official dignities, and forthwith drew the attention of the new Lord Chancellor, Lord Brougham, to his aspirations :

“I want another living instead of this and as good—about £700 a year clear; and I want a prebend of about a thousand per annum . . . . These are my objects in the Church . . . . Now Nature, time and chance have made you one of the greatest men in the country, and it will be very much in your power from time to time to forward my views. I appeal therefore to your justice, in consideration of the bold and honest part I have acted in the Church—and next to your kindness, from long acquaintance and friendship—to lend your assistance at convenient sessions, and to aid me with your voice and just authority.”<sup>1</sup>

These were the “democratic” ideas of the Whigs who were responsible for the Reform Act of 1832. “His good manners will keep people in good humour and in order” was the Duke of Wellington's only comment when a nobleman of doubtful ability was appointed to the Governorship of Bombay.

### 3—NOTABLES IN THE EASTERN EMPIRE.

In 1823 the Duke of Wellington wrote to Earl Bathurst on behalf of the family of his mistress, Harriet Arbuthnot :

“By the time this will reach you, you will probably have heard that Huskisson has resigned the agency of the island of Ceylon.

“If you should have made or intend to make any disposition of this office for the benefit of your family, I beg you to burn this letter and not consider for a moment the suggestion which I am about to make to you; but if you should not think of disposing of it in that manner, allow me to suggest to you to make an arrangement for filling it which will be beneficial to Arbuthnot's family by the appointment either of himself or preferably of his son.”

1. cf. H. Pearson: *The Smith of Smiths, being the Life, Wit and Humour of Sydney Smith* (London 1934)

There was some doubt whether the Earl of Liverpool had this particular office in his gift, but he assured Bathurst that he considered it exclusively in the latter's gift: "Nothing can be more gratifying to me than your determination respecting Arbuthnot. In quitting the Treasury, all the world must know that he made a considerable sacrifice of income, which he could by no means afford". In a private and confidential letter to Lord Bathurst, the Earl of Liverpool suggests that the salary attached to the office should be reduced to £800 a year: "I do not think that even Jos. Hume would carp at this arrangement". But Arbuthnot himself ultimately declined the office since it was "not exactly suited to my station in public life". Besides, he could not hold the agency together with his pension and, above all, he confided to Bathurst—"to you and to you alone I will own I could not consent to be under any obligation to Canning . . . . *Pray do not breathe this to anyone.*"<sup>1</sup>

Carrington contends that three distinct sets of British people, and three only, came to India—the officials, drawn exclusively from the gentry; the merchants and planters who lived a life apart, ignoring the Asiatics around them; and the private soldiers "recruited from the rootless poor".<sup>2</sup> These three groups had different attitudes towards the colonial peoples. Since the merchants and planters were intent on trade, and the soldiers were birds of passage, the influence of the gentry in moulding imperial attitudes and policies was out of all proportion to its numbers.

"The instinct of aristocracy has its ancestral roots in the English mind", says Maunier.<sup>3</sup> The gentleman was the standard of culture and good taste, but he was not merely a polished fop: he must know to rule. And he must be able and willing to use force, if necessary. Besides being able to dance elegantly in the ball-room, the true aristocrat was skilled in fencing and hunting.<sup>4</sup> In fact, the privilege of ruling was

1. for these letters vide the Report on the Mss. of Earl Bathurst preserved at Cirencester Park (*Historical Mss. Commission, H. M. S. O. London 1923*).
  - (i) Duke of Wellington to Earl Bathurst, from Stratfield, November 23rd 1823.
  - (ii) Earl of Liverpool to Earl Bathurst, from Fife House, November 27th 1823
  - (iii) Earl of Liverpool to Earl Bathurst, from Fife House, December 16th 1823
  - (iv) Charles Arbuthnot to Earl Bathurst (No date.)
2. Carrington, *op. cit.*, p. 1027. He leaves out an important group—the missionaries.
3. R. Maunier, *The Sociology of Colonies* (London 1949) I. 245. The significance of the aristocratic ideal in England has been repeatedly pointed to by Continental writers ever since de Tocqueville. cf. also Dibelius: *England* (London 1936)
4. Boxing was originally an aristocratic pastime, prominent patrons of the sport being Lord Althorp and the Marquis of Queensbury. A fashionable "coach" in Byron's day was nicknamed "gentleman Jackson".

supposed to belong to the strong and the righteous. The *imperium* of the gentry was a combination of duty and power. The twin ideas of authority-as-power and authority-as-duty which permeated English colonial attitudes and policies in the early nineteenth century, were products of an ancient aristocratic tradition. In the colonial service the higher administrative posts were held by an elite of men who obtained office through "influence". The characteristics which distinguished these notables from the lower orders are not easily defined.<sup>1</sup> A public school education was perhaps a *sine qua non*, and was usually followed by a classical education in one of the ancient universities.<sup>2</sup> With this admirable educational background few dared question their competence to rule at home or abroad.

An empire ruled by notables differed fundamentally from the impersonal officialism of the modern administrative machine. We speak today of "Whitehall" as a soulless organization, but in India the policy of "benevolent paternalism" gave way to one of indifference and even hostility only after the Mutiny.<sup>3</sup> The personal influence of colonial administrators was an important factor in British overseas government in the early nineteenth century. In Lord North's correspondence with Marquis Wellesley, official and unofficial letters are delightfully juxtaposed: "Mrs. Floyd has been here this month past, madder than ever . . . . Not content with drinking a considerable quantity of General MacDowell's madeira, she used it regularly unmixed in her most secret ablutions". In the same letter North reveals some-

1. cf. the study of T. H. Marshall: *Les Noblesses. L'aristocratie Britannique, de nos jours (Annales D'Histoire, Economique et Sociale 45, 1937. The aristocratic stereotypes have been immortalized in the novels of P. G. Wodehouse.*
2. At the end of five years (at Eton) the pupil had read Homer twice through, almost all Virgil and an expurgated Horace; he could turn out passable Latin epigrams on Wellington and Nelson. The taste for Latin quotations was then so pronounced, that Pitt in the House of Commons being interrupted in a quotation from the *Aeneid*, the whole House, Whigs and Tories alike, rose as one man to supply the end. Certainly a fine example of homogeneous culture". (Andre Maurois: *Ariel*. London Penguin Ed., 1935, pp. 11-12). That culture was in evidence in the colonies. The editor of the *Colombo Journal* complained in 1832 that correspondents were "rather too much addicted to the incorrigible vice of quoting Latin; it is luck for our subscribers that there are no Greek types in our office". Governor Maitland was a prominent exception in an age when Latin quotations were the recognised mark of an educated gentleman, and never broke into Latin in parliamentary or official correspondence (W. F. Lord: *Sir Thomas Maitland*. London 1897) His predecessor, the Earl of Guilford was a classical scholar who founded the Ionian University at Corfu, and spent his latter years as Chancellor at Corfu, eschewing European dress and habitually wearing classical costume (cf. G. Wint: *The British in Asia*, London 1947)
3. cf. Thompson & Garrat: *Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India* (London 1935) The negation of the human element in the administration of British India after the Mutiny is discussed in E. A. Wodehouse *Racial Feeling in India* (The Nineteenth Century, 398, 1910)

thing of the public school *esprit* when he refers to a young official Marshall—"a young fellow of good parts and considerable erudition, but a little of what we used to call at Eton a *pretending fellow* owing to his having lived too much with *fine folks* in that noisy chaos, Devonshire House."<sup>1</sup>

These notables bestowed office in the colonies on friends and relations—Marquis Wellesley came to India with two of his brothers, and Lord North brought a regular retinue to Ceylon, including the Corsican Bertolacci. The British imperial elite constituted a closed community in the colonies and, unlike the Portuguese and the Dutch, frowned on racial mixture.<sup>2</sup> The mediaeval dichotomy of mankind into Christian and Heathen was soon superseded by new colonial philosophies which defined the relations between the rulers and the "natives."

#### 4—MOTIVATIONAL DETERMINANTS OF IMPERIALISM.

The scientific study of imperialism has suffered in no small measure by propagandist misuse of political abstractions. Indeed, many

1. North to Wellesley, Feb. 3rd 1800 (*British Museum Wellesley mss.*) In a semi-official letter of March 16th, 1800 (marked "private") North informs Wellesley of the embassy he sent to parley with the Kandyan King's Adigar Pilama Talauwe; "Only fancy if one of our Ministers were to behave so about King George and oblige the Abbey Sieyes to stipulate for his life. I hope that I have not done wrong. But I am not yet certain whether I have acted like a good Politician or a great nincompoop". This curious mixture of the private and the official continued well into the present century. Thus an English planter writes to the Deputy Inspector General of Police Ceylon regarding the deportation of an "undesirable" Australian: "His views are rather Communistic...Could you let me know the name of the people he is with? If they are a decent lot I wouldn't mind so much but as he has been living here and came over to me the idea that he is staying with any sort of Ceylonese reflects on me" Again: "Dear Banks...I will be coming to Colombo on Dec: 13th. and if this chap doesn't sail on the 12th. as arranged will call and see you. This is really a bad show ...etc" (cf. the illuminating "Productions" in the *Bracegirdle Commission Report*, S. P. XVIII, 1938.)
2. In the early days of the British factories in Malabar, intermarriage was encouraged and a dispatch from the Court of Directors of the East India Co. to the President of Madras in 1687 states: "The marriages of our soldiers to the native women of Fort St. George, formerly recommended by you, is a matter of such consequence to posterity, that we shall be content to encourage it with some expense, and have been thinking for the future to appoint a pagoda to be paid to the mother of any child that shall hereafter be born of any such future marriage, on the date the child is christened" (India Office Records, in E. B. Reuter: *Race and Culture Contacts*, N. Y. 1934) The reaction had set in by the early nineteenth century, and Valentia wrote (*op. cit.*, I. 241): "The most rapidly accumulating evil of Bengal is the increase of half-cast children...I have no hesitation in saying that the evil ought to be stopt; and I know no other way of effecting this object, than by obliging every father of half-cast children, to send them to Europe, prohibiting their return in any capacity whatsoever". For the sexual problems of European settlers, their concubines and marital infidelities, vide H. Williams: *Ceylon* (London 1951)

popular discourses on "imperialism" turn out to be no more than disingenuous manipulations of such abstractions. It is unhelpful, for instance, to say that "imperialism" promotes "its age old aim of extracting the super-profits of colonial exploitation."<sup>1</sup> Let it be said at once that imperialism can in no way extract profits: nor can it blow its nose. Instead of considering imperialism *in abstracto* as an unholy power, it is more fruitful to analyse the ideas of the personnel concerned in colonial administration.

The inarticulate major premiss of writers who allege that imperialism appropriates the "super-profits of colonial exploitation" is that colonial administrators and policy-makers all represent mercantile interests. But even in the days of the Dutch East India Company, when the mercantile element was almost supreme, it would be far-fetched to say that the school-teacher and clergyman were henchmen of the trader. Their activities may have been nullified by the rapacity and greed of the tradesman element, but their powerlessness does not entitle us to conclude that they were in sympathy with the system. In an age of disenchantment and disillusionment we have become prone to the unhappy custom of decrying all humanitarian or altruistic colonial philosophies as hypocrisy, or mere cant. In this branch of social science one cannot analyse the inner workings of the minds of people of a bygone age in order to discover whether or not they were sincere in their utterances. We can only relate the ideas and ideals of individuals to their interests and actions.

Lenin once declared that the opinion that railway construction is a cultural and civilising enterprise is "the opinion of bourgeois professors, who are paid to depict capitalist slavery in bright colours".<sup>2</sup> Certainly, if businessmen who require railways to further their trade interests claim that they ask for railways for the benefit of the inhabitants of the colonies, they are insincere. But it would be a distortion of evidence to suggest that all "imperialists" were "paid to depict capitalist slavery in bright colours". Viscount Torrington, for example, declared in no uncertain terms that expenditure on railways in Ceylon benefited the planters, rather than the people.<sup>3</sup> Likewise, James Steuart repeatedly accused the government of enacting "class legislation" which favoured British planters and merchants at the expense of the people.<sup>4</sup>

1. R. Palme Dutt: *Britain's Crisis of Empire* (London 1949) p. 12. "The dying wild beast of imperialism has not become a lamb"; "imperialism will not commit suicide"; and other colourful but meaningless formulations
2. V. I. Lenin: *Imperialism' the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1920. Preface to French and German editions.)
3. Viscount Torrington: *The Future of Ceylon in Connection with its Railway System. (A Letter to His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, London 1860.)*
4. J. Steuart: *Notes on the Monetary System and Cinnamon Revenue of Ceylon* (Printed for private circulation, London 1850.)

A vital problem in the study of colonial administration is the identification of the various imperial interest-groups, their ideas and the influence of those ideas on colonial policy. In a regime of "colonial booty capitalism", as Max Weber terms it, capitalist interest-groups can reap high profits by forcibly enslaving the inhabitants, or tying them to the soil (*glebae adscriptio*), and exploiting them as plantation labour. Sir Edward Barnes considered that the existing system of compulsory labour in Ceylon (*Rajakariya*) would facilitate such a device.<sup>1</sup>

But "capitalist interests" are not always supreme. Indeed, imperialism is a much older phenomenon than capitalism. Yet, although the motivational determinants of colonial expansion are numerous, the current obsession with economic aspects of imperialism has obscured other significant factors. As early as 1585 Hakluyt classified the "Inducements to the liking of the voyage intended towards Virginia", as follows —

- (a) The Glory of God by planting of religion among those infidels.
- (b) The increase of the force of the Christians.
- (c) The possibilities of the enlarging of the dominions of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, and consequently of her honour, revenues, and of her power by this enterprise.
- (d) An ample vent in time to come of the Woollen clothes of England . . . to the maintenance of our poore, that els starve or become burdensome to the realme . . . .<sup>3</sup>

Apart from the utilitarian aspects of colonial expansion, Maunier contends that "imperialism, very early took on a mystic tinge, and allied itself to the idea of *election*, the idea of a mission".<sup>4</sup> Hence the notion of "the White Man's Burden", a phrase which originated with Kipling, but an idea which is very much older. At the beginning of the Roman Empire, Virgil wrote :

1. Barnes to the Colebrooke Commissioners, Sept. 10th., 1830 (C. O. 54/112)
2. cf. J. A. Schumpeter: *The Sociology of Imperialisms* (in *Imperialism and Social Classes* Oxford, 1951), and E. M. Winslow: *The Pattern of Imperialism* (New York, 1948 p. 232.)
3. Taylor: *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the two Richard Hakluyts* (Hakluyt Society, London, 1935 II. 327.)
4. Maunier, *op. cit.*, I. 30. B. Russell; *Power* (London 1938 p176) says; "The late W. A. S. Hewins, who was instrumental in the conversion of Joseph Chamberlain to tariff reform, told me that his ancestors had been ardent Roman Catholics, but that his emotions attached themselves to the British Empire as theirs had to the Church. This was a typical development."

“ Let others better mould the running mass  
 Of metals, and inform the breathing brass,  
 Plead better at the bar ; describe the skies,  
 And when the stars descend, and when they rise.  
 But, Rome 'tis thine alone with awful sway,  
 To rule mankind, and make the world obey,  
 Disposing peace and war thy own majestic way ;  
 To tame the proud, the fetter'd slave to free ;  
 These are imperial arts, and worthy thee.”

And towards the close of the Western Empire, Claudian wrote : “ She alone has received the conquered into her bosom. Like a mother, rather than a mistress, she fosters the whole human race under one common name. She calls her captives citizens . . . .”<sup>1</sup> This is the mystic tinge which Maunier detects in colonial expansion.

#### 5—THE IDEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND OF BRITISH COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION.<sup>2</sup>

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century leading economists and politicians were struck by the incoherence of British colonial ideas. Adam Smith contended that whereas colonization in the Ancient World had been actuated by definite notions of military security or pressure of population, the British Empire was being built without adequate motive or intention. He proposed a close and equal union with the colonies, an united parliament, a common system of taxation, and free trade within the Empire—ideas which involved a complete departure from the Old Colonial System.<sup>3</sup> By the close of the century Adam Smith's approach to the colonies from a higher plane than mere economic expediency gradually won approval with the intelligentsia.

In general it can be said that the twin ideas of authority-as-power and authority-as-duty were almost always present in colonial philosophies in the early nineteenth century. Thus C. E. Trevelyan wrote in 1838 :

“ If our interest and our duty were really opposed to each other, every good man, every honest Englishman, would know which to prefer. Our national experience has given us too deep a sense of the true ends of government, to allow us to think of carrying on the administration of India except for the benefit of the people of India

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1. Translations in Sir A. Grant: *How the Romans Governed their Provinces (Bombay, 1862)*
  2. For an authoritative presentation of British Colonial Philosophies, cf. K. E. Knorr: *British colonial Theories 1570-1850* (Toronto, 1944)
  3. cf. E. A. Beniens: Adam Smith's Project of an Empire (*Cambridge Historical Journal*, 1/3 1925)



. . . . Whether we govern India ten or a thousand years, we will do our duty by it : we look, not to the profitable duration of our trust, but to the satisfactory discharge of it, so long as it shall please God to continue it to us. Happily, however, we are not on this occasion called upon to make any effort of disinterested magnanimity. Interest and duty are never really separated in the affairs of nations, any more than they are in those of individuals ; and in this case they are indissolubly united . . . .”<sup>1</sup>

Likewise Mitchell said in 1805 :

“ For others it may be enough to have conquered and to possess but to Britons it belongs, with characteristic magnanimity, to enquire how they may improve and bless the vanquished . . . . It is for an humane and enlightened government to use higher and more correct views of policy ; to adopt nobler measures ; and, by attempting to ameliorate the condition and exalt the character of those whom the fortune of war has thrown under their protection, to lessen the evils of conquest, to secure the grateful attachment of their subjects, and to set an example of magnanimity to the world.”<sup>2</sup>

It was this conviction of the feasibility of civilizing heathen people through education and Christianity that made some of the proposals of colonial reformers seem so optimistic. Even the ideas of missionaries were adapted to the “ sane opportunism ” of British colonial philosophy which subdued the influence of anti-imperialists like Bentham, whose tract entitled *Emancipate Your Colonies* addressed to the French National Convention (1793) was not published until 1830, by which date anti-imperial opinion in England had become aggressive and vocal.<sup>3</sup>

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1. C. E. Trevelyan: *On the Education of the People of India* (London 1838)
  2. J. Mitchell: *An Essay on the Best Means of Civilizing the Subjects of the British Empire in India* (Edinburgh 1805) A Similar Essay written by Rev. F. Wrangham. cf. also J. Mac Donald: *Some Short Argument and Plain Facts Showing that the Civilization and Instruction of the Natives of India Furnish the Surest Means of Upholding the Stability of our Oriental Empire* ... (London 1820)
  3. Cf. R. L. Schuyler: *The Rise of Anti-imperialism in England, and The Climax of Anti-imperialism in England* (*Political Science Quarterly* 36/iv 1921 and 37/iii 1922)

## ON A BURMESE MISSION TO CEYLON IN 1896

By A. P. BUDDHADATTA THERA

A GEM-STUDED gold casket about three feet in height, in which some smaller caskets including the Tooth-Relic are deposited, was brought from Burma in 1896 A.D. by a group of Burmese pilgrims headed by the Venerable Vajirārāma Sayādaw, whose real name was Paññāsiri, and who had received the title *Rājādhirājaguru*.

This Elder was born in 1828 A.D. in a wealthy family of the village Kontha in Upper Burma. In his boyhood he entered the Order under the tutorship of an Elder named Kalyāṇadhaja, and ere long became a pupil of the famous Elder Aggadhammalaṅkara, who was a Royal Preceptor and known in Burma by his village name, "Thengaja Sayādaw". The novice being very intellectual, learnt *dhamma* and *vinaya* in a short time under that able teacher and received *upaśam-padā* when he was twenty, and soon became a well-known Elder through his erudition.

Mandalay, the last metropolis of Burma, was established in 1857, by the Great Burmese King, Mindoon, who was the wisest and most devout of Burmese kings. His chief queen, "Sindun Miphaya"<sup>1</sup> or Vajirakkhandha-Mahādevī, built a golden monastery together with fourteen smaller monasteries in that city in the year 1862. It was known as "Vajirārāma" after the name of the donor. This Royal monastery was dedicated to the Elder Paññāsiri, who was then 34 years old. From this time onward he was known by the name of his residence, *Vajirārāma*. Two years after this event he received the title of *Rajaguru*<sup>2</sup>, from the Burmese King.

Buddhism flourished very brilliantly in that country during the reign of this illustrious king. He lavished his wealth on religious works. Thirty million rupees were spent for his own monastery, Atulamahāvihāra or "Atu-mashi Kyoung"<sup>3</sup>, and he had inscribed the whole *Tiṭṭakā* on 745 marble slabs, each measuring about six feet in height and three in width,<sup>4</sup> for which he spent a hundred and fifty millions.

1. *Sindun* is a lamp of diamond; a large diamond was set in her diadem. *Miphaya* means a 'queen'. This diadem was received only by the chief queen. Her Pali title was *Susiripabha Ratanadevi*.
2. His full title was: *Pannabhisiri-saddhamma-kavidhaja-mahadhamma-rajadhi-rajaguru*.
3. Incomparable monastery.
4. Each slab is fixed on a floor of masonry and covered by an arched roof. These are in several rows within a square in the middle of which is a pagoda of medium size.

Mindoon was the first King to introduce coined money into Burma. for up till then Burmans had either relied on barter, or weighed out lumps of copper or silver or lead. He summoned the Fifth Great Synod, and his proudest title to the day of his death was "Convener of the Fifth Synod" (*—Pañcama-saṅgāyanā-kāraka*).

He provided a new spire to the Shwe Dagon Pagoda, which is situated in Rangoon, the capital of Lower Burma, which was then under the British rule.

This king had 53 recognised wives by whom he had 48 sons and 62 daughters, of whom 59 children survived him.<sup>1</sup> Among the forty-eight princes there was one supremely fitted to mount the Lion Throne, and that was the Nyaung Yan Prince, who was learned, pious, and passed in the Three Pitakas. But unfortunately King Mindoon hesitated to declare him Crown Prince because he feared that his son's life would be in danger.

This pious king died in 1878, and through a conspiracy Prince Thibaw, who was not in the line of succession at all, was selected to the throne.

During the seven years when Thibaw sat upon the throne outrages were committed practically without pause. Thibaw did not feel safe while certain other members of the royal family were still alive, although in jail, at Mandalay. In 1879 some eighty people—Princes, Princesses and children—were killed on successive nights without any provocation.

When this unwise king was dethroned by the British in 1885 Mandalay<sup>2</sup> fell in utter disaster. Atulamahāvihāra was in flames, dacoits

1. See p. 35 *The Story of Burma* by F. T. Jesse. 1946.
2. Mr. Tennyson Jesse describes the city in his *Story of Burma* as follows:—  
 "Mandalay was above all others the city of two faces. The great trading town which surrounded the Gem City spread to the fishermen's houses by the river, and was shoddy and ugly except for the trees.....The moat covered in due season by red and white lotus blossoms, and bearing carved and gilded barges, surrounded the great square of the gem City, which was also protected by walls of mellow brick. The moat was spanned by white arched bridges, and on the top of the walls delicate spires with curling roofs rose up at intervals."  
 "Once over the white arched bridges and allowed to pass through a gate in the brick wall, one found oneself in the Gem City. Yet the Gem City, beautiful as it was compared with the *kala* town outside, merely surrounded the Golden Palace, which was its heart. The Gem City was laid out with streets that crossed the lawns at right angles.....Then came another barrier beyond which lived the most important ministers such as the War Lord, the Prime Minister, and the other Mingyis. The next and last barrier was the stockade that guarded Golden Palace.....In it there was a great red gate known as the *Tagani*, and there also stood two brilliantly white towers, the Tooth Relic Tower and the Water Clock Tower. Within the stockade was the Golden Palace with its gardens, its pavilions, its lawns and streams. The gardens were kept green and well tended, and

looted every thing that they could lay hands on. The Great Elders, in hundreds, left the fallen city and went wherever they had acquaintances.

Our Elder too went to Moulmein in Lower Burma. A wealthy lady in that city build a magnificent monastery, after the plan of the Royal Palace in Mandalay, at the foot of the hillock on which the golden Pagoda Kyakthanlan, is situated, and offered it to this fortunate Elder. At that time he would have been fifty-eight years old.

The ex-queen, who was the donor of Vajirārāma, too, came to Moulmein and becoming a nun, observing ten precepts, took her residence there. In 1889, this illustrious Elder together with about a hundred laymen, including the ex-queen and forty-six monks, visited Ceylon in order to worship the Tooth-Relic and other sacred places here. On that occasion more than sixty *sāmañeras* of Ceylon received full ordination from this Burmese community, at various places and dates.

Again in 1896 this Elder, followed by more than a thousand laymen and four hundred monks, brought here a gem-studded gold casket, valued at one hundred and twenty thousand rupees, and two cubits in height. When they arrived Colombo the Customs' officers demanded ten thousand rupees as the custom duties for the casket. This was an unexpected claim and no one of the pilgrims had such a big sum to pay for that. At this juncture a wealthy Sinhalese gentleman, Mudaliar Sri Chandrasekhara of Moratuwa, came forward and paid the sum at once and released the casket. As an obligation for this the casket was at first brought to the monastery built by him at Moratuwa, and was exhibited to the public.<sup>1</sup> Afterwards they carried it to its destination at Kandy, and offered it together with many other offerings to the Tooth-Relic, with great ceremony.

they were gay with little running streams which beautified the ugly modern cement edges and grottoes, while water tassels blew their crystal drops through the air."

"The Glass Palace was a hall entirely covered with mosaics of coloured glass, white, green and red; cheap stuff but set in beautiful patterns. Here ceremonies such as ear-boring were held. Above the great audience Hall the golden spire reared its seven tiers up against the blue of sky, and there was a small seven-tiered spire over the sleeping apartment of the King....."

"The feathery casuarinas, the mangoes with their dark pointed leaves, and the bright flowering shrubs all added to the beauties of the garden. When in their brief time of flowering the *padauk* trees flung their prodigal blossoms to make carpet of gold, the palace and its gardens must have been one of the most beautiful sights on the earth." (ch. IV.)

1. A photograph taken at that occasion is still to be seen in that monastery at Horetuduwa, Moratuwa.

This Mahāthera was not content even with this great offering. Later on he visited Ceylon for the third time in 1899, bringing with him a pedestal, made of silver and valued at 27,000 rupees, for that casket. On this occasion he was invited to consecrate *sīmas* in various parts of the Island. One of these places was Batapole, situated four miles east of Ambalangoda. The present writer entered the Order in the same year, and had the privilege of seeing this Great Elder, and some other distinguished Burmese Elders who followed him. As my teacher, Sri Dharmādhāra, had been to Burma before this event, he was well-known to the Burmese Elders. He had to work as an interpreter between the Burmese and the Sinhalese while the consecration was performed. Therefore the Great Elder often sent me to fetch my teacher whenever he wanted to tell something to him.

When he returned to Burma he left the palatial monastery at Moulmein and living in a bamboo hut at the middle of that range of hills which ran through the city gave instructions to build a pagoda on that hill, after the model of Thūpārāma at Anurādhapura. At that time, in 1903, my teacher, together with me, visited Burma and going to Moulmein we saw the Great Elder there, who received us cordially.

When the building of that pagoda and a monastery near by was finished, the Great Elder left Moulmein for Upper Burma and lived there in a forest dwelling in Sagaing up to the end of his life, and left the world in February, 1909. His cremation ceremony was held a year later on the 18th January, 1910, in an island of Irrawaddy between Mandalay and Sagaing. As I was then in Burma for the second time, I was fortunate enough to attend this grand ceremony which lasted for twelve days. Many hundreds of monks were daily fed; dancing and music continued day and night. His pupils and supporters had separately built temporary pavilions of various sizes and shapes, some spending thousands on them. One of his pupils had made a silver coffin, valued at three thousand rupees to receive the dead body of the Elder. Builders of each pavilion brought the coffin containing his remains to his own pavilion, and keeping it for an hour or more as he was allowed to retain it, made various kinds of offerings. After 12 days of such ceremonies the body was cremated on the 30th January. Over two thousand monks from every part of the country and many hundred thousands of people were present when the cremation was carried out.

## H. C. P. BELL AND ARCHAEOLOGY IN CEYLON 1890-1912

By T. VIMALANANDA

THE APPOINTMENT of H. C. P. Bell as Archæological Commissioner by the Governor, Sir A. H. Gordon, heralded a new epoch in the archaeology of the Island. Bell was not only a linguist and an epigraphist, but he was also a good surveyor and had a sound knowledge of architecture, as well as of history. He was further a good administrator. All these acquirements fitted him excellently for his new post, which he took up in July, 1890.

Bell's annual reports, as well as his preliminary progress reports and district reports are testimony to his genius. They set out the landmarks of the general archaeology of the country, and provide an abundant source of information on all matters concerning Ceylon's past. It is evident that Bell was more systematic, accurate and lucid in his reports than any of his predecessors. He published his observations on the Island's ancient sites under the following broad headings, viz. :—

- I.—Exploration.
- II.—Excavation.
- III.—Topographical Survey.
- IV.—Circuit Notes.
- V.—Conservation.
- VI.—Epigraphy.

Though it is very difficult to draw a line of demarcation between the above headings, they clarify the material greatly. It is obvious that all his works in these fields were closely linked in his mind. Here, only his contributions to the study of epigraphy are to be dealt with. But perhaps it is not out of place to mention that he brought to light a very large number of monuments, "by excavation of desirable or likely sites", and that he refers to former work as "haphazard."<sup>1</sup>

His technique was hardly scientific. A contemporary of Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie, with whom he had correspondence, Bell was not able

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1. *First Report on the Archaeology of Ceylon.* Anuradhapura, 1890.

to equip himself for scientific field work. Archaeology is a young science and Ceylon is not the only field where early excavations have proved unsatisfactory. His reports do not enlighten us very much. In certain cases, it is known that he entrusted the excavations to coolies, i.e., ordinary unskilled labourers, even to convicted prisoners, under the guidance of some local village headman.<sup>1</sup>

It must also be mentioned that the epigraphical section of Bell's reports furnish us with only very brief information of the inscriptions listed, perhaps because of financial restrictions which humbled the scale of his publications. On the other hand his lists were extensive and covered a very large area. The inscriptions he examined, copied and photographed, appeared in Annual Reports under the following columns, as a regular feature of these reports :—

- I.—Serial Number.
- II.—Korale.
- III.—Village.
- IV.—Site.
- V.—Class.
- VI.—Sovereign.
- VII.—Year.
- VIII.—Remarks.

With regard to the geographical location of the inscriptions, this method is satisfactory and must be reckoned as Bell's great contribution. Bell fully availed himself of the earlier reports of both Goldschmidt and Muller. Geographical locations of inscriptions were furnished. Field of the epigraphy of Ceylon may be set out as follows :—

- I.—In the year 1890 he examined 38 inscriptions including one Tamil inscription from Anuradhapura.
- II.—In his annual report for 1891, he first outlined a plan for the publication of "numerous inscriptions of the North-Central and other provinces collated and thoroughly edited in an *Epigraphia Zeylanica* worth the name".<sup>2</sup> He examined nearly 90 inscriptions in this year, being assisted in this work by D. M. de Z. Wickramasingha and B. Gunasekara Mudaliyar. As a result he was able to note with satisfaction that some of the earlier discoveries and interpretations of Goldschmidt

1. A. S. C. Third Progress Report, 1891

2. A. S. C. A. R. 1891.

and Muller, especially their identification of names should definitely be reconciled with the nomenclature applied to sovereigns and ministers in Pali and Sinhalese chronicles of Ceylon.<sup>1</sup>

III.—In the year 1892, he examined and took estampages of 3 inscriptions.<sup>2</sup>

IV.—In 1893, he made representations to the Government of Ceylon concerning the immediate necessity of editing and publishing all the inscriptions of North-Central Province, which he had *eye-copied* or photographed. Subsequently B. Gunasekara Mudaliyar, Chief Translator to the Government was entrusted with the work. This year he examined 109 inscriptions.<sup>3</sup>

V.—In 1894, he succeeded in securing the services of a man trained under Hultzsch, for a short period. He writes : “ He (trained man from India) taught the Head Overseer of the Ceylon Archaeological Survey details of the new and exclusively adopted process of copying inscriptions on stone and metal by estampages, i.e., impressions in ink on bibulous paper ”. By this new method, over 200 estampages were taken. Bell examined 55 new inscriptions in this year. He again emphasised the need for publishing the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* on the lines of *Epigraphia Indica*.<sup>4</sup>

VI.—In 1895, he examined 83 inscriptions. and the Head Overseer was instructed to take the estampages of all the inscriptions Bell discovered between 1891-93.<sup>5</sup>

VII.—In 1896, he examined 36 inscriptions. In view of the ever-increasing number of inscriptions, he says : “ Until an *Epigraphia Zeylanica* can be commenced and the most important records reproduced by photo-lithography, it is undesirable to publish more than the summaries of their contents.”<sup>6</sup>

VIII.—In 1897, he investigated the inscriptions of Polonnaruwa area. He reports : “ The exploration of Tamankaduva has yielded

1. A. S. C. A. R. 1891.

2. A. S. C. A. R. 1892.

3. A. S. C. A. R. 1893.

4. A. S. C. A. R. 1894.

5. A. S. C. A. R. 1895.

6. A. S. C. A. R. 1896.



a rich harvest of cave and rock inscriptions hitherto unknown lithic records of the Island". He examined 71 inscriptions.<sup>1</sup>

IX.—During the period from 1898–1900, over 120 new inscriptions were added to the list, and the materials for the first volume of *Epigraphia Zeylanica* were despatched to Mr. M. De Z. Wickramasingha, who was at this time lecturer in Sinhalese and Tamil at the School of Oriental Studies in London.<sup>2</sup>

X.—In his summary of archaeological operations, conducted by him during the period from 1890–1900, in the North-Central Province, Sabaragamuwa, Central Province, the North-Western Province and the Eastern Province, Bell for the first time gives an alphabetical index of the sites where inscriptions have been discovered by him.<sup>3</sup>

XI.—During the year 1901–1905, over 165 inscriptions were examined and copied in the North-Western Province and Northern Province. Some of these had been noticed earlier by Muller and Parker. However, estampages were made of nearly all of these inscriptions in addition to eye copies. Certain of these inscriptions proved invaluable in enabling the names of several very important ruin sites to be definitely fixed.<sup>4</sup>

XII.—Wickramasingha, the Editor of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, wanted all the estampages to be sent to the Oxford University Press for his use. Though his idea was not accepted, he was furnished with 287 estampages. The next proposal was to preserve these estampages in the Colombo Museum, but this plan fell through for want of space. Between the years 1906–1912, A. P. Siriwardhana, an assistant trained by Bell, toured in the Central, North-West, North-Central, the Western, the Southern and Sabaragamuwa Provinces, taking estampages of inscriptions and making eye-copies of these inscriptions at the same time. For the better preservation of inscribed pillars and slabs, Bell started a local museum at Anuradhapura. In all, about 50 pillars and slabs found a permanent resting place in this local Museum. All these inscribed pillars and slabs were numbered and labelled with a brief account of their provenance. The report of 1911–12 contains a large number of cave inscriptions and a short summary of rock, slab and pillar inscriptions at Mihintale.

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1. *A. S. C. A. R.* 1897.
  2. *A. S. C. A. R.* 1900.
  3. *A. S. C. Summary Operations*, 1890-1900
  4. *A. S. C. A. R.* 1905

Many of these cave inscriptions, which Bell published in the Report 1911-12 were not included in Muller's Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon. For Bell says: "His (Muller's) failure to secure and print a better collection of the cave inscriptions is the more regrettable, in as much as several of these old time records are of historical interest in perpetuating the names of early kings, their queens and their children."<sup>1</sup> This Report (1911-12) contains some inscriptions of Polonnaruwa. Bell says: "Early inscriptions of Polonnaruwa are, so far as known, limited to but two"<sup>2</sup> This year, he also published the cave inscriptions of Sigiriya outlining its antiquity. "The glories of Sigiri Nuvara, during the occupation in the 5th century of the *Lion Rock* as his citadel fortress by the parricide ruler Kasyapa I, 479-97 A.D., naturally divert attention from any older archaeological interest in Sigiriya. Yet the exploration of caves existing beneath the numerous massive boulders which lie off Sigiri-Gala on the west, proves, as was, indeed, to be expected that the site, almost up to its conversion into a stronghold, had been the abode of forest eremites, some of whose names may be read to this day below the brows of the rock habitations which once gave them shelter."<sup>3</sup>

XIII.—Here for the first time appeared an extensive list of 48 Tamil inscriptions in Ceylon. These were tabulated under the following headings:—

- I.—Serial Number.
- II.—Division.
- III.—Korale.
- IV.—Town or Village.
- V.—Site.
- VI.—Class.
- VII.—Sovereign.
- VIII.—Year.
- IX.—Remarks.

These Tamil records were found at the North-Central, the Northern and the North-Western Provinces. Bell expresses his surprise at the paucity of Tamil scholarship in Ceylon. As there was no competent Tamil scholar in Ceylon, he got

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1. *A. S. C. A. R.* 1911-12.
  2. *Idid.*
  3. *Idid.* p. 106.

these inscriptions translated through the good offices of Dr. Hultzsch of the Archaeological Survey of India. These inscriptions are of great historical value.<sup>1</sup>

XIV.—In his Archaeological Survey Annual Report 1911–12, Bell published his last list of 286 inscriptions remarking : “ In all, nearly 900 inscriptions have been examined, and copied by the Archaeological Survey in the period 1890–12.”<sup>2</sup>

XV.—Finally in the year 1911–12, he brought a resume index of all the work he had done in the cause of archaeology in Ceylon. This covers his work for the conservation of ruined sites, his epigraphical work, his discoveries of ancient historical sites, and his circuit notes, as well as the steps he took for the preservation of the general antiquities of the Island.

Finally, it may be said that Bell enjoyed the confidence of the people, which greatly facilitated his labour and enabled him to collect the data for his valuable reports. Without this he would not have been able to gain the collaboration of the people and his work could never have achieved the massive proportion it did. In 1912, he saw the completion of the first volume of *Epigraphia Zeylanica*.

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1. A. S. C. A. R. 1911-12, p. 109

2. *Idid*, p. 116.

## A CHANGING PHASE IN THE SINHALESE NOVEL

By ANANDA S. KULASURIYA

A DISTINCTIVE feature of the Sinhalese literature of the classical times is the absence of works displaying the authors' originality and creative power. Literature was conceived more as a vehicle of propaganda than as a medium of art. Literary works were either translations or adaptations of Pali or Sanskrit models. *Siya Bas Lakara* is almost a direct translation of *Kāvyaḍarsa* and *Sika Valanda* and *Vinisa*, a Sinhalese rendering of a Pali work of the Vinaya Pitaka. Subsequent prose works like *Amāvatura* and *Butsarana* were faithful to the sources they drew from, and if they deviated from the originals, often as a concession to popular demand, it was more the exception than the rule. Instances where the element of fiction has entered into the writings of Sinhalese authors are few and far between. Several factors have contributed to the paucity of fiction writing. Three of them may be chiefly noted :—

(i) The majority of authors were Buddhist monks. The monks were the guardians of literature. Their outlook on life was predominantly religious and the works they produced were bound to reflect their ascetic temperament. This is not to suggest that the monks were consciously opposed to the cause of the promotion of creative literature. In point of fact, the literary history of the country shows that they played a prominent part in the production of literature and the protection of literary works from the ravages of foreign invaders. There have been notable instances of creative writing produced by monks. *Saddharma Ratnāvaliya* of the Venerable Dharmasena, written in an easy, limpid prose, is an instance where originality is displayed in a subject which lends itself very little to original writing. A rustic simplicity pervading the whole work serves to lighten the high moralizing tone of the stories. Another is Venerable Vāttāve's *Guttala Kāvyaaya*, a poetical composition of the Kotte Period marked by imaginative writing of a high order no less than a grace of style and felicity of diction, which even modern writers would envy. Had it not been for the untiring efforts of the Buddhist Sangha, the extant classical literature of the Sinhalese might have been even more meagre than it now is. There is no doubt that the vandalism of the later periods of Sinhalese history was responsible for the destruction of many literary works. We hear of vast areas that were sacked and of numerous temples that were burnt. Temples and Pirivenas were then, as they are even now, libraries as well. Their destruction meant the destruction of books. To save what was left after a campaign of

devastation or some such crisis, was the sacred duty of the monks. The Sangha were further charged with preventing any more damage and loss. These duties they did discharge when they were called upon to do so. But in their capacity as custodians of literature they, unconsciously perhaps, determined to a large extent, the scope and quality of the literature.

(ii) The sources they drew from were religious in character, being chiefly the Pali canonical works. Thus the early works were mainly exegetical and commentarial and those that followed immediately after were mainly adaptations of the Pali Nikaya works. To mention only two examples: *Amāvatura* and *Abhidharmārtha-Samgraha Sannaya* were direct adaptations of Pali doctrinal works.

(iii) Literature did not have a mass appeal till very much later. It was only with the appearance of *Pansiya Panas Jataka Pota* that literature may be said to have become popular in the real sense of the word.

The cumulative effect of these factors was the building up of a literary tradition which was religious in tone and eclectic in character. There was very little in it which tended to give scope to the creative potentialities of subsequent writers. It is hardly necessary to mention that literature which has a popular appeal and caters to the desires and inclinations of the people develops and expands both directly and indirectly as a result of contact with the people. These conditions were not present. There were no seeds which were likely to sprout into creative fiction.

But elements of fiction were not entirely wanting. In the Sinhalese Jataka collection there are numerous instances of imaginative writing. It is in the Jataka stories that one finds the earliest beginnings of fiction in Sinhalese. It is interesting to see how most Jataka stories of the larger collection as well as a good number of stories from the smaller works like *Ummagga Jataka* provide excellent specimens of the short story.

Sinhalese prose fiction, however, as illustrated in the novel and the short story, is a comparatively recent literary form in Sinhalese. It was the product of a new set of conditions that arose within the country as a result of new forces that were brought to bear upon the general historical tradition.

#### Factors that Contributed to the Growth of Sinhalese Fiction.<sup>1</sup>

The factors that contributed to the growth and development of Sinhalese prose fiction may be directly traced to the impact of Western thought and civilization on native life and thought. It was the influx of new ideas, customs and manners, ways of life, etc., chiefly through

1. For this section I am indebted to Dr. Sarathchandra's *Modern Sinhalese Fiction*.

English, that brought about a transformation of the attitude to life of the active population. These foreign influences were the forces that created a new set of conditions within the country. They not only resulted in a change of the people's outlook but also in the disintegration of traditional beliefs and the traditional mode of life. The country became politically subservient to a foreign power. A new system of government and administrative machinery were set up. The technical improvements and industrial equipment that were introduced by a country that was technically far superior to the countries of the East, were bound to have an effect on the life of the country. They upset the balance of the agricultural economy of the rural population. Fresh problems were created which the people had to face. In the field of education, the activities of foreign missionaries were a new factor which had hitherto not entered into the educational system of the Island. Even the stories which they attempted to popularize in the readers which were prepared for the instruction and guidance of the young, were something new to the people. They were different from those to which the people had been accustomed. The changes that took place in the various spheres of life had their effects on literature as well. In fiction they produced works of two different kinds : (1) the works of the earlier writers who viewed the changes with disapproval ; and (2) the works of those that followed who regarded change and modernization as a fact and attempted to depict them in their works. Writers like Sirisena and M. C. F. Perera in whose hands the "novel" was an instrument which reflected the prevailing discontent at the disintegration of traditional beliefs and mode of life, are representatives of the former class. The "novel" also served as a means to a ruthless criticism of social life and for the propagation of religion. To the second category belong W. A. Silva and Wickramasingha who used it as a medium for the dissemination of new ideas and the depiction of modern tendencies.

Besides the above, we may note the following factors that contributed to the development of fiction :<sup>1</sup>

- (1) Literary Controversies.
- (2) Revival of Pirivenas.
- (3) English Education.
- (4) Newspapers and Periodicals.
- (5) Dramas, Ballads and Metrical Romances.
- (6) Translations.
- (7) Biographies.

1. The *Sav Sat Dam Vādya* ushered in a period of controversy, an important outcome of which was that it made the language more supple and rendered it a more plastic instrument for the use of the

1. See *සරසව්‍ය - සිංහල නවකතා* pp. 1-45.

writers of prose fiction, who appeared at the beginning of the 20th century. The controversy itself was not distinguished by any outstanding literary merit. It began as the result of a difference of interpretation of one single word. There was much misunderstanding and muddle-headedness on both sides. The view point of the opposite camp was not always understood and appreciated by the other. In fact it was frequently misunderstood and distorted. Towards the end the controversy degenerated. Contemporary journals helped to bring the views of the protagonists of each party within the reach of the general public by periodically publishing them. The controversy, like others of its kind, produced two important results. In the first place, as the journals were concerned with presenting the views of the rival parties to the people at large on a matter of topical interest, the writers had to express themselves in such a manner that they could be understood by the average man. They were thus forced to give up the customary classical phraseology and use a more modern idiom, instead. Although as a literary form of the medium of expression, there was much to be desired in the language they used, yet it lost some of its former rigidity and became more flexible. The other very important aspect of the controversy was that it drew the attention of the public and stimulated them to take an interest in it. We shall see later how the writings of Sirisena, too, served the same purpose.

2. A new revival of learning different from that of Vālivīṭa Piṇḍapātika Saraṇankara (1698-1778), was the spread of learning and the dissemination of knowledge among the people by the establishment of educational institutions, all over the Island. Prominent members of the Buddhist Sangha were in the forefront of the activities connected with the founding of these institutions, the Pirivenas. At a time when the country was suffering from the evil effects of a foreign government, which had been the direct cause of the disruption of the prevailing educational system,<sup>1</sup> there arose a band of enthusiastic monks who assumed the leadership in rebuilding the broken down educational structure. Four institutions that were founded in the 19th century deserve special mention :

- (a) Paramadhamma-cetiya Pirivena, Ratmalāna founded by Valāne Siddhārtha Thero, 1841.<sup>2</sup>
- (b) Sailabimbārāmaya, Dodanduwa, founded by Dodanduve Piya-ratana Tissa Thero, 1869.<sup>3</sup>
- (c) Vidyodaya Pirivena, Māligakanda, founded by Hikkaduve Sṛi Sumangala Thero, 1873.<sup>3</sup>

1. Sec. රාහුල - සිසුවන්ගේ උරුමය pp. 90-103.

2. රවුමුල්ල - සිංහල නවකතා pp. 8,9.

3. රාහුල - සිසුවන්ගේ උරුමය p. 104.

- කලාභාණ්ඩක මංගල ප. 129.

- (d) Vidyāṅkārā Pirivena, Peliyagoda, Kāḷaṇiya, founded by Dharmakīrti Sri Dharmārāma Thero, 1875.

The new institutions not only provided an educational need that was sadly lacking at the time but served as a training ground for future writers. Piyadasa Sirisena, himself, had his education in one of those institutions and was first a monk.

3. The new revival of learning combined with the English education brought about by the British occupation of the Island in 1815, introduced into literature new influences which, chiefly through the medium of translations moulded the literary temper of the modern period. Such a system of education was instrumental in the creation of an influential minority of people, whose literary tastes were largely, if not wholly, determined by English literary works. What was modern and up-to-date in literature came from the West. The criteria for the evaluation of literature were those employed in the case of European works, almost entirely English. Since what was modern in literature was to be found in English, everything else was measured in terms of it. Though cut off from the broad masses of the indigenous Sinhalese population this class of people were in close touch with Western literature. A Sinhalese intelligentsia, educated and reading in English, was in the making.

4. Newspapers and periodicals fostered the newly awakened spirit by the publication of the important controversies. Before printed books of real literary value began to appear, the journals performed a useful function by publishing a large number of articles of social, religious and literary interest.

5. The *Nādagama* and the *Nāṭya* were both in form and content, the source of the novel in Sinhalese. They also brought in Western influence into our literature. It is interesting to note the similarities between the *Nāṭya* and the European Opera. The *Nādagama* popularized European tales and romance among the people and brought with it much new material; and the metrical romances though begun earlier, reached the peak of their popularity in the end of the 19th century and were the direct forerunner of the novel of today, for they too were, in a sense, meant for recitation.

6. Translations of the well-known Indian popular epics and fable literature were produced. The "Arabian Nights" was early translated into Sinhalese. Western novels and religious tracts were published by Christian writers. The following works, in chronological order, are examples :



- (a) *Kutumba Samksepam* of Namasivayam (1867)
- (b) *Itihāsaya* by Vāligama Sri Sumangala Thero (1876)
- (c) *Hitopadesaya* by Vāligama Sri Sumangala Thero (1878)
- (d) Publications of the Religious Tract Society (1885)
- (e) *Rāmāyana* re-told by C. Don Bastian (1886)
- (f) *Vandanākārayāge Gamana* by Solomon Fernando (1886)
- (g) *Pancatantraya* (Namasivayam) (1899)
- (h) *Gulliver's Travels* (Marambe) (1906)
- (i) *Arābi Nisollāsaya* (Albert de Silva) (1894)

7. *Biographies*.—Numerous biographies and life stories of saints and religious teachers came into vogue, chiefly through the influence of Christians.

We have seen why there was no fiction in our early literature and why the conditions prevailing then were not likely to foster the growth of such a literary form. We have seen, however, the isolated existence of fiction writing. We have also drawn attention to the main factors that helped in the building up of the novel (and the short story) as well as the several factors that indirectly contributed to them. We shall see later how these various factors combined to give rise to the type of fiction that was produced in the subsequent period.

### The Prose Romance I : The Romantic Fable.

Sinhalese fiction, before it culminated in the novel proper, went through a course of development where the emphasis was laid on the romantic element as opposed to the realistic. The type of work that was produced during this period was the Prose Romance. This may be broadly divided into two categories :

- (1) The Romantic Fable.
- (2) The Historical Novel.

The most representative examples of the first group are the works of Piyadāsa Sirisena. To the second class belong the works of W. A. Silva.

Before attempting to estimate the contribution made by Piyadāsa Sirisena in the creation of the Sinhalese novel, it would be necessary to note the two main sources that gave rise to the novel. The first was the large mass of metrical and dramatic fiction. This included the early "Nāḍagamas" and the "Nātyas." They were an intermixture of prose and verse. The dramatic portions were not infrequently liberally interspersed with popular songs, which "were sung

according to a few elementary *ragas*." Although the earlier "Nāḍa-gamas" were, in most cases, dramatisations of popular Jataka stories, and the "Natyas" dramatic representations of episodes from Sinhalese history, the element of fiction found in them is remarkable. Thus, one of the earliest "Nāḍagamas", *Ahālepolā Nāḍagama* of Pilippu Singho, which was inspired by a familiar incident in recent Ceylon history, is marked more by its imaginative quality than by its historical accuracy. What is important to note is that, although the basis of the work is historical or allegedly historical, the imagination of the writer is uppermost. The second was the voluminous mass of polemical literature, sustained to a great extent by newspapers and periodicals. This latter factor which contributed to the growth of the novel was touched upon earlier. These writings were, by no means, of the nature of fiction. They were concerned with bringing before the people at large the controversies that were conducted at that time in different parts of the country. The controversies, whatever their origins were, whatever may be said concerning the manner in which they were carried on, had undoubtedly assumed great importance in the social life of the people. The questions they attempted to solve were sometimes literary, sometimes religious or doctrinal (as for example the proper method of wearing the robe) and sometimes even inter-religious. In most cases the debates were not carried on to a conclusion. Answers were not found to the questions which the participants proposed to solve. In some cases, the character of the debates changed and they ended up with something quite different from which they originally began. But the effects of these controversies were undeniable. They focussed the attention of the general public on the problems at issue. The degree of importance which these controversies assumed and the extent to which they influenced the course of fiction are further seen by the fact that they were continued even in the novels.

Piyadāsa Sirisena's works were patently didactic. They were not novels in the strict sense of the term, but elaborate prose romances. In this respect a parallel to them can be drawn in the Sanskrit prose romances like *Dasakumāraçarita* of Daṇḍin and *Kādambari* and *Harsaçarita* of Bāṇa. But there is this important difference between the two. Whereas the Sanskrit prose romances gave the writers scope for the free-play of figurative expressions, stylistic exercises and other literary devices, the Sinhalese prose romances were narratives which served as vehicles for the expression of conventional morals and, religious beliefs. Pages and pages of moral discourses, sometimes running into long chapters, are not uncommon in the writings of Sirisena. The long sermons to be met with in *Sucaṛitā-darsaya* are a case in point. The author himself resents the word "novel" being applied to his works and remarks that there is nothing in them apart from moral instruction.

The didactic purpose being uppermost in the author's mind, plot and characterization occupy a very minor place. The characters are not drawn from life, but from the "ideal man" and the "ideal woman" of the Hindu Epics, the *Rāmāyana* and *Mahābhārata*. Besides conforming to the Hindu ideal, his characters, both male and female, are liberally endowed with the moral virtues as recognized in Buddhist ethics. A noble character would be a paragon of virtue, the ideal *par excellence*. If it were a man, he would be the ideal husband, caring for his wife, seeing to her comforts and satisfying her desires. If he were a father, he would look after his children, bestowing his affection upon them and seeing that they were brought up and educated according to the highest traditions to which he was accustomed. In addition, he would be a talented scholar, a champion of the poor and the depressed and an unyielding fighter in the cause of justice. If it were a woman, she would be a faithful wife, distinguished for her fidelity, and a loving mother; she would undergo much inconvenience and self-sacrifice if only to please her husband. Neither the one nor the other has any faults. The love that exists between them is treated on an idealistic plane. Often they are not only ideal human beings and pious Buddhists, but exponents of the doctrine as well. The characters of Jayatissa, Rosalin and Vikramapāla are good illustrations. Sirisena's evil characters are examples of base types; inasmuch as the noble ones possess all the virtues they possess all the vices. They are wicked and dishonest. They are schemers and conspirators. By evil means they plot to overthrow the good. They drink and they gamble; they are immoral as well. In fact they are guilty of all the vices one could think of. But what is important to note is that the characters, whether male or female, good or evil, are far removed from actual life.

Sirisena's works may also be considered symbols of the reaction to the proselytizing activities of Christian missionaries. His works are essentially Buddhistic in tone and temper. There is a high moral purpose reflected in them. Through the discourses which he puts into the mouths of important characters, the author expresses the prevailing dissatisfaction and resentment of the people. Ruthless attacks are made on Christian beliefs and practices. In the case of plot and character it was remarked that they had no basis in real life. But it must be observed that in the case of the resentment shared by his leading characters such a basis in life was to be found. The efforts of the missionaries, in their various spheres of activity, had a direct influence on the life of the country. Different beliefs and practices had been introduced. A change in the attitude to life had been brought about. The history of the country during the last few decades confirms this point. The works reveal not only attempts to counteract alien beliefs and practices, but also the counter-position of Buddhist doctrine and the dissemination of its ideas, instead. A conscious effort was made to explain and popularize those ideas. In this sense the works may be considered as having a propagandist aim.

Sirisena's works may also be looked upon as a reflection of the time, and a determined effort to maintain the traditional mode of life in the face of increasing foreign influence. They depict the resentment of the people to the many innovations which came as a result of the country's subservience to a foreign power. New methods of government, systems of administration and courts of justice were not always opposed. But when they came into conflict with the existing mode of life as a result of which arose a class of de-nationalized Sinhalese people popular indignation was roused. Several vices entered into the lives of ordinary people, which were considered the result of association with them. Changes were not recognized as inevitable.

*His Works.*—The ideas and opinions expressed above were brought within the reach of the general public by Sirisena in such works as :

*Rosalin Saha Jayatissa.*

*Adbhūta Āgantukayā.*

*Vikramapālage Vikrama.*

*Sucaritādarsaya.*

*Vimalatissa Hāmuduruvange Mudal Peṭṭiya.*

The author's contribution to the making of a reading public must also be noted. By means of his writings, public attention was focussed on the people themselves and on society. The demand for his works may be roughly gauged by the fact that 25,000 copies of his first work were sold by 1916. The limited facilities for publication at that time must be taken into consideration. The well-to-do citizen was not yet in the habit of reading any new works, still less those that savoured of the "nava-katha". The author's stories, however far removed from life, were not uninteresting. In fact it is very probable that they exercised a strange fascination in the minds of the readers whom he addressed. To the modern reader, his works may not be so interesting. He lives in a different environment from that in which Sirisena lived. His standards of judgment are different from those which the author held. The sentiments he expressed and the opinions he had would be regarded as conservative by those of today. But Sirisena wrote for a generation that was in sympathy with his ideas and ideals. His voice was the eloquent expression of their hopes and aspirations. In this respect he was representative of his times. This is a possible reason why he was able to arrest their attention and capture their imagination.

Two other points of interest may be noted. It would be interesting to observe to what extent the author's works are a reflection of his own life. For such an inquiry more details of the author's private life and his associations would be helpful. The other feature is the presence of a powerful lyrical element in his writings.

### The Prose Romance II : The Historical Novel.

The title of "The Prose Romance" could well be retained even in a discussion of the historical novel in Sinhalese, because in all the fiction-writing of W. A. Silva, only a small part of which is discussed here—that is in the historical as well as in the non-historical novels—the romantic quality is outstanding. In his early non-historical works like *Lakshmī* and *Hingana Kollā*, the author never fails to impress the reader by the rich romantic content of his work. Even in such a social satire as *Radala Piliruva*, which is written in a humorous vein, the romantic element is clearly apparent. The chief character, the puppet nobleman himself, is an object of ridicule. His character is clearly drawn. Not only is the language humorous, but there are humorous situations as well. In this satirical comedy, which sometimes borders on the farcical, the author's characteristically romantic background is unmistakable. As the same quality is present in his two historical novels—in *Vijayabā Kollaya* and to a greater extent in *Sunetra* or *Avicāra Samaya*—the latter works, too, can be brought within the category of the Prose Romance.

These two works may be termed historical *novels* (this latter term, it may be recalled, was not used in referring to Sirisena's writings) because, although they have a strong romantic flavour about them, yet possess the characteristics of a novel.

The second stage in the development of the prose romance is marked by the appearance of the historical novel. A distinct difference is noticeable in the attitude to his work of the most powerful exponent of this form of literary fiction, W. A. Silva. The author of the romantic fable with its unquestionably didactic purpose, regarded the changes which resulted from European influences as a hindrance to "national progress". Stern nationalist that he was, he viewed all such changes with disapproval. To change one's customary mode of living, manners, etiquette, dress, etc., and substitute foreign ones, were regarded as a weakness. The author attempted to curb those undesirable traits in the national character. W. A. Silva's works are marked by a different attitude. To him change was inevitable. His writings reveal a clear recognition of modernization as a fact.

If there is one single feature that distinguishes the writings of W. A. Silva from those of Sirisena, that is modernity. This is brought out in nearly all his works, in spite of the fact that the author, in many matters, adopts a conventional attitude. Even in his non-historical novels like *Lakshmī*, *Hingana Kollā* and such others, where the standpoint he takes is yet conventional and where the standards of good and bad, right and wrong, are those held by his contemporaries, his characters are marked by this quality. In his stories the hero is less of a moralist and the heroine is less of a prig than in the writings of Sirisena.

His characters are not very varied, in nearly all his works. Though there appear a considerable number of characters, both male and female, they do not represent a great diversity of human types. Generally speaking, one could say that the hero of the story and his associates are not very different in character. Noble qualities and admirable traits such as courage, valour, intrepidity, physical strength, moral rectitude and so forth are possessed by a good number of them. In the hero, however, they are present in a greater degree. The few shortcomings that the minor characters have, serve not only to mark them out from the hero but also help to foil the latter's character into the foreground. The heroine of the story, similarly, possesses such refined and virtuous qualities to such a degree that she is distinguished from the other female characters. Villains there may be of either sex, jealous women or blood-thirsty scoundrels. It is difficult to find characters who possess both good and evil qualities of human nature. But the majority of his characters which appear in the non-historical novels, are more truly human than those of Sirisena. In the treatment of the theme of love, he is very much in line with Western writers like Sir Walter Scott and Rider Haggard. He seems to have been directly inspired by them. One of the most striking features of his descriptions of this human emotion, is the romantic back-ground in which he sets his characters. This is done with exceptional skill. One is sometimes reminded of the strange, inspiring atmosphere and the enchanting splendour of the Arabian Nights.

W. A. Silva wrote many works besides his historical novels, simple romances, burlesques like *Radala Piliruva*, short stores like *Deyiyanne Rate*, detective stories like *Jūli Hatha*, and later even a play with a contemporary social significance, *Māyā Yogaya*. But it is in the historical novel that the author is at his best, although very striking and significant portions are certainly not wanting in his other works. We would do well to turn our attention to his historical works. Of the two, *Vijayabā Kollaya* has been selected, chiefly because it is not marred by the defects which *Avicāra Samaya* has. Despite the fact that in many respects *Vijayabā Kollaya* falls short of *Avicāra Samaya*—in the development of the plot (except the last chapter of the latter), in the delineation of character, in descriptive passages, in the portrayal of the contemporary social and historical milieu and in sustained interest,—as a finished product it surpasses the latter, and is perhaps the best of its kind in Sinhalese.

The story begins with the advent of the Portuguese in Ceylon in the year 1505. They consolidate their position and pitch camp not far from the Sinhalese Kingdom. The story deals with the battles between the Sinhalese and the Portuguese and the terrible hardships the Sinhalese had to undergo at their hands. The Portuguese are led by a blood-thirsty, avaricious general named de Lasarda, who incites his men to loot, plunder and devastation. He himself, in a frenzy, con-

siders no act too outrageous and commits the most damnable deeds of violence and cruelty. The command of the Sinhalese army is entrusted to Nayanānanda, who, however, loses his life in the course of conducting the battle and Asanga his friend, assumes the rank of Commander-in-chief. After a relentless and uncompromising struggle, in which Asanga having mobilized all his forces, both in the low-country and up-country, which was under the sway of Vikramabāhu, subdues the conspirators among his own people, defeats the Portuguese and emerges triumphant, a victor in battle. In his exploits he is aided by Māyādunne, who, however, in one of his insensate fits slays the aged king Vijaya Bāhu of Kōṭṭe. The story gets its name from this assassination of the king. The chief romantic interest lies in the author's description of how Nilamaṇi, a royal princess is disposed towards Nayanānanda and Asanga with both of whom she was in love. With characteristic indecision she directs her affection from one to the other.

This is the simple story which the author turns into an elaborate historical novel. In the course of his narrative he gives some excellent character studies. Nayanānanda and Asanga stand out as noble examples of Sinhalese military leaders brought up and trained in the highest military traditions. Of the two, Asanga emerges the hero of the story. This is partly due to the untimely death of Nayanānanda. He combines the best features of military leadership with some of the most exalted traits of human character. His courage in war is unflinching even in the face of innumerable odds. In love he is soft and tender-hearted as he was in his affection towards Nilamaṇi, but when it comes to a matter of necessity he is even ready to kill as he does de Lasarda at the instigation of Hamidummā. He does not let his affection interfere with his friendship and admiration of Nayanānanda. Then there is Nilamaṇi herself who represents the flower of Sinhalese womanhood from the royalty. She is only too human when she is unable to decide which of her two lovers she is to choose. Of a different type is Māyādunne, lion-hearted and daring but impetuous and extremely impatient. When under the influence of one of those violent, raving fits, to which he very frequently fell a victim, no crime is too brutal or inhuman for him. Laying aside all scruples he rushes headlong into what his insensate madness leads him. Again he describes with poignant effect the intrigues and conspiracies which were carried on by those like Kañdurē Baṇḍāra, the plots that were hatched, and how the conspirators were overthrown. The character of the Portuguese general, de Lasarda is skilfully and effectively drawn.

Historical narrative combined with fiction writing have found expression in this work. The author combines a knowledge of historical facts and an imaginative quality that would be envied by others in the field of fiction writing, in such a manner as to bring before the minds of his readers a faithful portrayal of Sinhalese history during the Portuguese era. He not only paints with gorgeous colours the regal

splendour of the Sinhalese Kingdom and the dazzling brilliance of the warring armies in the battlefield, but has also imbibed the spirit of the age. With a calm and sober dignity he describes the prevailing atmosphere—the lust for wealth and power, the avarice, the burning desire for loot and plunder, for hate and revenge displayed by the Portuguese. In contrast, he describes the unflagging determination of the Sinhalese patriots, the generals of the army and common masses to fight and overthrow, what they considered, the forces of evil and rid the country of Portuguese domination.

W. A. Silva is a great story-teller. *Vijayabā Kollaya* illustrates this. Even when the plots of his stories have been influenced by Western writers (as in *Lakshmi* inspired by Rider Haggard's "She" and this work which, it is said, has been influenced by Sheridan's "Pizarro" and sometimes by Sir Walter Scott) he never loses his gift of story-telling. In this department his talents are enviable. For sustained interest in fiction he is perhaps unrivalled. It is his special gift that even in describing the common place he never ceases to be interesting. Few other writers can make this claim. He is more skilful in objective narrative than in the treatment of the subjective. In this respect, Arthur Koestler's "Darkness at Noon", where the author is concerned with analysing the mental processes of the characters, offers a striking contrast to his work.

His style is vigorous and forceful. Language in his hands is a flexible medium. The influence he has exerted on later writers is far-reaching.

### The Emergence of the Realistic Novel.

With the writings of Martin Wickremasingha a new stage in the development of fiction is reached. The romantic quality of the historical novel is replaced by what has been termed the "realistic". This is partly because the interest and intentions of the two writers are different. Whereas W. A. Silva's chief interest was in the portrayal of the happenings of a past epoch, Wickremasingha is concerned with the life of the present day. The plots of his works deal with aspects of modern society life.

Wickremasingha's *Gam Peraliya* is a landmark in Sinhalese fiction. It may be considered a mature work where the interest has moved from the romantic to the realistic. The focus of attention is shifted from society as it should be or from the episodic struggles of the Sinhalese against foreign invaders in a past period of their history, to society as it really is. In *Gam Peraliya* the reader is presented with the story of a stage of rural society which is fast disappearing.



The story deals with a conservative, upper class, caste-conscious, Sinhalese family who strive to maintain the traditional mode of life, conventional habits and customs, moral and social standards and prejudices in the face of a changing environment. Muhandiram Don Adirian Kayisāruvattē represents the type of feudal overlord dominating a rural society. The setting of the story is in Koggala, a southern coastal town. Kayisāruvattē lives with his wife, Mātara Hāminē and three children; two daughters, Anulā and Nandā Kayisāruvattē and a son, Tissa Kayisāruvattē. Nandā would have married her first lover Piyal, who plays the role of family teacher as well, if only her mother had given her consent. That her mother is unwilling to do because Piyal's grandfather is said to have been a vegetable vendor who carried on his trade with a pingo. That is a sufficient disqualification to rule him out. At long last Nandā gets married to Jinadāsa Lamāhevā, who in nearly every respect falls short of Piyal except that he is of sufficiently high social standing. But bad days are in store for them. Her first-born child dies. Much money is spent during her illness until the family funds are nearly exhausted. Forced by economic circumstances resulting from dwindling finances, Jinadāsa is compelled to leave his wife and home and set out for Bibile where he hopes to earn some money by carrying on a small business of his own. He is taken ill. The rumour is conveyed to Nandā that he died at the Badulla Hospital. An intimacy now develops between Nandā and Piyal who has now become a wealthy man and a most eligible bachelor in the eyes of the mother. Subsequently the two get married. It is later known that Nandā's former, and till then legally married husband Jinadāsa came to Ratnapura having been taken ill. Nandā receives a telegram, one day, after she has been married to Piyal (and when the latter is away), that her husband is seriously ill at the Ratnapura Hospital to which place she immediately sets out, in a car, together with her new mother-in-law, only to discover to her amazement that just a short while ago a patient by the name of Jinadāsa had died. She later learns that the person who was said to have died at the Badulla Hospital was someone else by the same name.

The story is written to illustrate the effects of the social environment in modifying the character of individuals. In the writings of the earlier prose writers factors of society and environment played no part. The possibility of society shaping the lives and destinies of individuals is almost completely ignored by Sirisena. Reading his stories, one would get the impression that the characters appearing in them do not appear to be bothered about the external world. All that was necessary was to conform to a certain accepted form of social morality. That form was determined, in large measure, by religious considerations. Innate qualities of men and women were much more important than anything else. Wickremasinghe strives to show that the character of men and women is influenced, modified and changed by the external environment. A person's good name, his reputation in public life is of much

greater importance than his private life. This feature is emphasized in nearly all the short stories of Wickremasinghe as well as in the present work.

The chief interest of the story is the study of an upper-class family, set in the context of a rural society in transition. How caste-consciousness, caste prejudices and caste pride are the dominant considerations which guide the mode of thinking and the manner of living of the two elderly worthies, Muhandiram Kayisāruvattē and his wife are cleverly described. How caste pride (*kula garvaya*) enters into the life of Nandā and how she reacts to it, how it exists in her in a somewhat modified form and how the course of her behaviour is determined and dominated by caste considerations—all this is admirably portrayed.

There is hardly any action in the story. This may be perhaps due to the fact that life in the village described is not characterized by action and exciting situations so commonly to be met with in urban life or perhaps because the author is intent on concentrating his efforts in delineating some particular feature of society, as for example the part played by caste feeling in the life of village folk. The story itself does not have anything in it to grip the interest of the reader. This makes it rather dull and monotonous. Not until the last chapter does an element of suspense enter into it.

The work ranks much higher as a largely faithful commentary on rural life. Not only are the externalities of life described but the workings of the minds of the villagers and the chief characters, their feelings, their moral standards, their loves and hates, their petty jealousies, die-hard superstitions and prejudices are all portrayed with commendable skill.

A few of them may be noted in passing. The practice of consulting astrologers and charmers (*āduran*) to ward off evil, the naive faith of the village folk in the efficacy of *anjanam eli* and *tovil* and how nearly all this is done with the assistance of trustworthy, elderly women bring home to the mind of the reader those practices, yet prevailing but fast disappearing in rural society. Superstitions are conveyed, at first, with the utmost secrecy from mouth to mouth in the form of rumours. The belief that Nandā was afflicted with a demoniac malaise very gradually takes hold of her mother and then her father.

The character studies of Muhandiram Kayisāruvattē and Mātara Hāminē are sympathetically and skilfully drawn. Can the same, however, be said of two other important characters, Piya and Nandā? The impulses and behaviour of Piya may be explained by the different influences to which he was subject. He moved about not only in the village but in town as well, in business circles and thus had an opportunity of acquiring certain features of modern urban life. In addition

he had had an English education, thus opening the door to European influences. Can the same, however, be said of Nandā, who was brought up under different conditions ?

Piyal was subject to many influences to which Nandā was not. Factors of environment, would therefore, necessarily play an important part in the former. But Nandā's upbringing was quite different. She was not subject to any of the major influences of an urban life or an English education. She was largely what she was owing to her home-education. She possessed nearly all the individual character traits typical of a woman of her age, class and social position. Environment and acquired factors should be less important than individual, hereditary qualities. Her very upbringing would rather tend to accentuate those personal qualities than others. The writer seems to think that when all that has been acquired from tradition and environment, up-bringing and whatever education she had received, is removed, human nature is fundamentally base.

But not much further it is shown how women born and bred in family homes are innately capable of practising and perpetuating family and social customs, etc.

Even after Jinadāsa having left Nandā goes to Bibile and settles down there and Nandā gradually begins to develop an attachment to Piyal she is not able to say so owing to her family pride. When her sister Anulā suggests that since Piyal is now established, their mother would not object to her marrying Piyal, Nandā says : " How can I get married to him even if mother approves of it ? By speaking with him we only lose our reputation."

The question is not whether any particular impulse or character trait is ignoble or virtuous but whether a picture of her as being so much dominated by caste consciousness and so much under the influence of environment and other such factors that she has nothing in herself which could be called character or will, is true or not. Could such inconsistencies be explained on the basis of external and acquired factors alone ?

If the work appears to be loosely knit and lacks sustained interest, it still offers one of the best descriptions of a phase of rural society in transition and some remarkable character studies, the like of which is rarely to be met with in Sinhalese fiction.

### Conclusion.

Until the contribution of Piyadāsa Sirisena to the development of the Sinhalese novel is correctly assessed it is extremely difficult to note what distinctive contribution was made by W. A. Silva and Martin

Wickramasinghe. Sirisena, it is known, wrote no novels, in the accepted sense of the term, but stories with a romantic interest, ill-constructed and with no intention of a faithful delineation of character. Nor did his stories attempt to give a true picture of contemporary life. They were vehicles of propaganda. But he effected a tremendous change in the minds of the reading public by awakening in them a national consciousness and giving them a sense of national unity. He correctly sensed the tastes of the people and gave them what they wanted. He evoked in them a fondness for reading. By the end of his literary career or, even before, he had built up a reading public of considerable proportions.

Instead of the religious themes and the moral edification to be inculcated thereby, W. A. Silva offered his readers stories invested with a strong element of mystery and novels dealing with historical episodes of the Sinhalese. A gradual transformation of the earlier romantic quality of his writings, where fantasy and an "Arabian Nights" atmosphere prevail, into a historical sense is observed. The later feature is clearly to be found in his more mature works like the one that has been referred to in this paper. Yet for all, the element of mystery is not wanting. Some-times it enters, quite unfortunately, only to mar the beauty of an otherwise consistent narrative. To be expected to take in the incidents as they occur in the story would be to tax the reader's credulity too much. One important difference between Silva and his predecessor is worth noting. The amorphous nature of Sirisena's stories is absent in the novels of Silva. Instead he gives them a concrete form.

If Martin Wickramasinghe lacks the concreteness of form which W. A. Silva possesses, he comes closer to the portrayal of actual life than Silva. There is hardly any of the unrealistic and the mysterious in his writings. Though his early works like *Lilā* share some of the romantic quality of the novels of Silva yet in his mature work, *Gam Peraliya* he displays a remarkable aptitude for describing life as it really is. The story of a changing village is depicted with rare poignancy. *Gam Peraliya* marks a further stage in the development of the novel. Though in *Yugāntaya* the author goes even further, so far, in fact, that he outsteps the possibilities of the novel and the work therefore remains an unsuccessful experiment, the earlier work shows a stage of the development of the novel very different, more advanced and more directly connected with life than the works of both Sirisena and Silva.

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

THE  
GENERAL ELECTIONS  
IN  
CEYLON 1952

by

**I. D. S. WEERAWARDANA** B.A. (CY.) PH. D. (LON.)

Lecturer in Political Science, University of Ceylon

Author of *Government and Politics in Ceylon 1931—46*.

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## P R E F A C E

This essay was made possible largely owing to my students in the University who collected for me election literature from throughout the country. To them all I am most grateful. I must make special mention however of Miss S. Ariacutty who helped me to understand the main arguments in Tamil election literature and Mr. B. Subasinghe who helped me to complete Appendix II.

I have taken the population figures from the *Census Report of 1946* except where it is otherwise stated. For the election returns of 1947., I have used Sir Ivor Jennings' essay in the *University of Ceylon Review* of July 1948. The statistics of the 1952 election returns are from the *Ceylon Daily News* reports.

I. D. S. WEERAWARDANA

University of Ceylon  
Peradeniya  
11.12.52.

# THE GENERAL ELECTIONS IN CEYLON, 1952

By I. D. S. WEERAWARDANA

## 1—Constituencies

THE DISSOLUTION of the first Parliament of Ceylon under the Dominion Constitution came with a suddenness which took many by surprise. It was preceded by a series of events both planned and unplanned. The Colombo Exhibition had run for almost a month although its grand opening by the then Princess Elizabeth was made impossible by the death of King George VI. But before the Exhibition was able to run its full course, the Prime Minister (Mr. D. S. Senanayake) died in office.

It is not necessary here to enter into the arguments regarding the constitutionality or otherwise of the election of the new Prime Minister. Soon after the death of Mr. D. S. Senanayake, his son, the Minister of Agriculture and Lands was called upon to form the government. Within a few days of his appointment, Mr. Dudley Senanayake decided to appeal to the country.

The general elections for the second Parliament were held in circumstances which left much to be desired. The general elections were held in May, 1952. The elections therefore should have been based on the latest annually revised register. The Elections Order in Council provides that the Electoral Register should be revised on or before the 1st day of June of each year and this task is the responsibility of the Commissioner of Parliamentary Elections. According to this provision the Ceylon Electoral Register should have been revised and certified by the 1st of June, 1951, which would be the operative register till June, 1952. In short the law provided that the General Elections of May, 1952 ought to be held on the 1951 Electoral Register. This, however, was not the case. The elections were held on the 1950 register. In effect this decision disfranchised the considerable group of young people who reached the age of 21 between 1st June, 1950 and 1st June, 1951, as far as the 1952 elections were concerned.

The other question of vital significance was the effect of the Citizenship Laws on the Ceylon electorate. The Ceylon Citizenship Act of 1948 and the Indian and Pakistani (Citizenship) Act of 1949 decided the terms on which a person could become a Ceylon citizen. An amendment to the Elections Order in Council in 1949 made citizenship of the country an essential qualification for the franchise. No person would quarrel with the decision of a government to confine the right to exercise

the vote to the citizens of its country. The quarrel in some quarters is with the terms on which citizenship rights should be granted on which subject however, it is not the purpose of this article to dwell.

But the effect of these laws was a vital element in the country's elections. The Citizenship Act of 1948 confined citizenship by descent to those, who if born in Ceylon prior to the appointed day, could prove that the claimant's father *or* paternal grand-father *and* paternal great grand-father were born in Ceylon.<sup>1</sup> If the claimant were born outside Ceylon, his or her father *and* paternal grand-father *or* paternal grand-father *and* paternal great grand-father should have been born in Ceylon.<sup>2</sup> If a person is born in Ceylon after the appointed day, that person will be a Ceylon citizen if that person's father were a Ceylon citizen ; but if the claimant were born outside Ceylon, in addition to the claimant's father being a Ceylon citizen, his or her name should have been registered in the appropriate manner within one year of his or her birth.<sup>3</sup>

Citizenship by registration is available to a person whose mother was, is or would have been a Ceylon citizen under certain other circumstances ; to a spouse of a Ceylon citizen and to those who were citizens but have renounced citizenship to become citizens of another country.<sup>4</sup> Citizenship by registration was also available to members of the Ceylon Indian community, under the Indian and Pakistani (Citizenship) Act of 1949, who prior to 1-1-1946 were continually resident in Ceylon for 10 years if single and 7 years if married with temporary absences not exceeding twelve months provided they—(1) applied for citizenship within 2 years of the appointed day (5-8-1947) ; (2) proved assured income of reasonable amount ; and (3) satisfied the Commissioner that where an applicant was a male married person, his wife and minor dependent children had been ordinarily resident in Ceylon.<sup>5</sup> In addition to these conditions the semi-judicial process before an application could be finally disposed of made it an extremely complicated procedure.

The essential point of these Acts was the spirit of their administration. While in the case of Sinhalese and Burghers, for instance, citizenship was almost automatic, the position was different with the Ceylon Indian community. Since citizenship for the members of this community was granted on application, all of them were considered non-citizens prior to the acceptance of such applications. The closing date for the latter was the 5th August, 1949. By that date over 237,000 applications

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1. Sect 4. Citizenship Act of 1948.
  2. do do
  3. Sect. 5. do
  4. Sect. 2. do
  5. Sect. 6. Indian & Pakistani (Citizenship) Act of 1949.



had been made covering over 650,000 persons.<sup>1</sup> But as late as June, 1952, only about 2,300 applications had been considered and about 7,500 Ceylon Indians were made Ceylon citizens.<sup>2</sup>

The effect of these administrative delays was that in the electoral registers of 1950, there were hardly any Ceylon-Indian names. The point of the discrepancy is that prior to 1950 a large number of Ceylon-Indians were exercising the vote under various provisions of the electoral laws of the country. Since 1931, a certain number of Ceylon-Indians were able to exercise the franchise by registering either under the domicile qualification<sup>3</sup> or under the system of certificates of permanent settlement.<sup>4</sup> The latter procedure was vigorous and the former tended to be a little lax,<sup>5</sup> but in the late thirties the government became strict with regard to the registration of Ceylon-Indians. In effect therefore those who were in the electoral register of 1949 and who were taken off the roll in 1950, were those who had passed rigorous tests. That is why while in 1939 the Ceylon-Indians in the electoral registers were about 225,000, in 1943 they were only about 168,000.<sup>6</sup> These were the persons who were disfranchised in 1950. Since there is a very reasonable prospect of a large number of these applications being accepted, the situation amounted to the disfranchisement of a group of people who had the necessary qualifications to be Ceylon citizens and were denied the right to decide the future of their country because of administrative delay.

In view of these qualifications the total electorate in the 1952 elections was 2,971,012 distributed almost equally between males and females. This electorate considered from the provincial angle was distributed as follows :—

TABLE I.

Province.	Population. 1946	Voters, 1952
Western .. ..	1,867,904	915,970
Central .. ..	1,135,290	334,225
Southern .. ..	961,418	492,601
Northern .. ..	479,572	267,067
Eastern .. ..	279,112	144,956
North-Western .. ..	667,889	341,426
North-Central .. ..	139,534	76,461
Uva .. ..	372,238	106,689
Sabaragamuwa .. ..	745,382	301,487

1. *Madras Hindu* 18.5.52.

2. *Madras Hindu* 11.6.52.

3. Art 7. Election Order in Council of 1931.

4. Election Order in Council of 1931.

5. Sessional Paper 14 of 1938. p. 7.

6. Weerawardana 'Minority Problems in Ceylon' *Pacific Affairs*. Sept. 1952.

If the basis of representation was purely according to population on a provincial scheme the 95 elected seats should have been distributed as follows :—

TABLE II.

Province.	Population, 1946.	Proportional No. of Seats.
Western Province	1,867,904	27
Central Province	1,135,290	16
Southern Province	961,418	14
Northern Province	479,572	7
Eastern Province	279,112	4
North-Western Province	667,889	9
North-Central Province	139,534	2
Uva Province	372,238	5
Sabaragamuwa Province	745,382	11
		95

If the number of seats were allocated according to the number of voters in each Province the basis should have been as follows :—

TABLE III.

Province.	Voters.	Seats Propor- tional to Voters.
Western	915,970	30
Central	334,225	11
Southern	492,601	16
Northern	267,067	8
Eastern	144,956	4
North-Western	341,426	11
North-Central	76,461	2
Uva	106,689	3
Sabaragamuwa	301,487	10
	Total	95

Neither of these systems could be followed in distributing the seats. The basis of the scheme as adopted in the Soulbury Constitution is different. This was that the 95 elected seats should be distributed on a provincial basis with one seat for every 75,000 of population and one seat for every 1,000 square miles.

The purpose of this scheme was to give weightage to the minorities without adopting the principle of communal representation. The minority communities largely inhabit the sparsely populated provinces like the Northern and Eastern Provinces. It was thought that by giving weightage to "area," weightage would be given to the minorities, although in the actual result of the 1947 elections the scheme only helped to give the minorities representation in proportion to their numbers.

But the tendency of this scheme is not confined to shifting the balance of representation in favour of the minorities as against the purely population principle. Firstly it tends to favour the rural areas as against urban areas. Whether this is progressive or not is debatable. It is possible for some to argue that the rural areas of Ceylon had been neglected for so long, it was time that more representation was given to these areas. But generally history has shown that when weightage is given to rural areas, these areas tend to elect not necessarily the people who are most interested in rural welfare as those whose economic power is held in the form of land-ownership.

In weighting rural areas, the scheme is in fact placing a premium on conservatism. No one doubts that in general the rural population is more wedded to the status quo than the urban. Rural populations being less amenable to organisation and steeped in tradition, are also less prone to accept modern ideas. They are in the mass, less enlightened than their brethren in the towns. As a corollary the scheme also discriminates against the working class elements who generally reside in urban areas. Working classes are in the large better organised, more politically conscious and are more progressive in outlook. To place a handicap on them is not without its evil consequences in the body politic of the country.

In view of the special emphasis placed on area in a situation where the most thickly populated provinces are not the largest in extent, the constituencies as arranged under the constitution have serious variations in regard to numbers. A study of the constituencies in 1947 illustrates this point very clearly. Of the 89 constituencies electing 95 members 15 had more than 50,000 voters, of which 4 elected more than one member. As an example of one of the latter type of constituency, Colombo Central, with an electorate of 53,285 elected 3 members. On the average therefore if Colombo Central were divided into 3 separate constituencies, the number of voters in each would be about 17,762. Hence this constituency cannot be treated as one where the number of voters per member was over 50,000 but as below 25,000. On this calculation, of the 95 members who were elected, 12 were elected by electorates of over 50,000 in strength of voters; 55 by electorates of between 50,000 and 25,000 and 28 by electorates of less than 25,000 voters. Of the latter 8 had less than 15,000 voters as follows:—

Mannar, Vavuniya, Medawachchiya, Anurādhapura, Horowupotana, Polonnaruwa, Bandarawela, Haputale.

The total effect of this disparity of voting strength in the various constituencies was to give an extra advantage to rural and "conservative" areas, and also weight the electoral system against working-class elements. The sting of this disparity was reduced to some extent in the earlier election since in 1947, the Ceylon-Indian estate workers still had the vote. Although the electoral scheme discriminated against the urban population in the Western Province, it gave sufficient weightage to the Central and Uva Provinces which enabled Ceylon-Indian estate workers to elect their representatives.

The Citizenship and other Acts discussed earlier in this essay have removed these estate workers from the electoral roll. On the one hand the compensation the working classes received by the emphasis on the Central and Uva Provinces has been removed. Secondly the removal of a large number of voters from the 1950 electoral registers has aggravated the disparity between electorates in terms of the number of voters. In 1947 all electorates had a voting strength of below 60,000 and there was no electorate with less than 5,000 voters. The number of electorates with less than 15,000 voters was nine. In the 1952 election one constituency had over 60,000 (viz. Negombo). The number of constituencies with electorates of between 55,000 and 60,000 went up from four in 1947 to seven in 1952. At the same time the number of constituencies with less than 15,000 voters increased to fifteen while for the first time there was a constituency with less than 5,000 voters (viz. Talawakelle with 2,912 voters.) (See Appendix I).

The reason for this is not far to seek. The constituencies are demarcated with reference to the population and area of each province. For the 1950 electoral register the population taken into consideration was that of the 1931 census. In the result the seats were allocated according to the 1931 population although the population had somewhat shifted in the meanwhile. The following table illustrates this point :—

TABLE IV.

Province	1931 Population	1946 Population
Western Province ..	1,445,034	1,876,904
Central Province ..	953,388	1,135,290
Southern Province ..	771,204	961,418
Northern Province ..	398,874	479,572
Eastern Province ..	212,421	279,112
North-Western Province.	546,966	667,889
North-Central Province	97,365	139,534
Uva Province ..	578,368	372,238
Sabaragamuwa Province	303,243	745,382

Although seats were demarcated according to population all of them did not qualify for the vote. The anomalous position of giving seats according to area and population while 12% of the latter are disqualified from exercising the franchise has come into being. The position can be best illustrated as follows :—

TABLE V.

Province	Seats	Voters	No. of Voters per Seat
Western Province	20	915,970	45,799
Central Province	15	334,225	22,282
Southern Province	12	492,601	41,050
Northern Province	9	267,067	29,675
Eastern Province	7	144,956	20,708
North-Western Province	10	341,426	34,142
North-Central Province	5	76,461	15,292
Uva Province	7	106,689	15,241
Sabaragamuwa Province	10	301,487	30,148

It is clear from this table that while in the Western and Southern Provinces on the average a constituency has over 40,000 voters, in the Central Province it has 22,282 and in the Uva it has a figure as low as 15,241. Part of the explanation is the weightage to area ; part of it because the 1931 and not the 1946 census was used in demarcating constituencies and the removal of the Ceylon-Indians from the electoral register has been responsible for the rest. To put the same problem in another way, while in the Western Province a candidate on the average will need over 22,900 votes assuming that every one votes and that there is a straight fight, in the Southern Province the votes needed are over 21,000 ; in the Central Province over 11,200 ; and in North-Central and Uva Provinces only over 7,700. This is where the more advanced and urbanised provinces like the Western, Southern, and North-Western Provinces are at a disadvantage as against the Eastern and the North-Central Provinces. On the other hand the electoral system has produced a number of " pocket boroughs " like Talawakelle, Nuwara Eliya, Kotagala, Maskeliya and Haputale. (See Appendix I).

This was the electoral system on the basis of which Ceylon had to choose 95 elected representatives to the Ceylon Parliament.

## II—Parties

A large number of political parties and groups entered the electoral fray. They were the United National Party, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, the (Nava) Lanka Samasamaja Party (Trotskyite), the Communist Party-Lanka Samasamaja Party United Front, the Tamil

Congress, the Federalist Party, the People's Republican Party, the Labour Party, and the Buddhist Republican Party. The list was completed by a large number of Independents some of whom were supported by various parties. Of these the Tamil Congress and the Federal Party were campaigning almost solely for the Tamil votes; the People's Republican Party, the Labour Party and the Buddhist Republican Party were too small to be of national significance. The U.N.P., S.L.F.P., N.L.S.S.P. and the C.P.-L.S.S.P. United Front were the parties of real national significance.

The policies of the various parties can best be seen in the manifestoes they issued to the electorate. But it will be seen further on that there was a difference between the official manifestoes and the issues actually raised in the campaign. But before the issues that were emphasised in pamphlets, speeches, canvassing, etc., are analysed, it is necessary to consider the various official manifestoes of the chief parties.

#### U. N. P. :

The U.N.P. was the government party at the time of the dissolution of Parliament. A good part of its Manifesto was therefore devoted to a statement of its stewardship during the first four years under the new Constitution.

The Manifesto emphasised the role played by the late Mr. D. S. Senanayake in achieving Dominion Status. He was described as "the dominant figure in the political scene" who was "a seer of visions and a dreamer of dreams with a firm grasp of practical problems". He was painted as a man who "moved with kings", but "did not lose the common touch". In fact he was the man who "showed the way."

The main emphasis of the manifesto however was on the achievements of the party. It claimed that Ceylon had been given the "inestimable gifts of peace and stability". The party had bequeathed a "sound financial position". It had carried out development schemes like Gal-Oya and Laxapana. It claimed that the social services under its regime had made "spectacular progress", that the welfare of the public services had always received "the earnest consideration of the government", "Ceylon's present rate of literacy", the manifesto added, "is second only to that of Japan." In a similar strain the party achievements in Health and Education, in easing the lot of the under-privileged were discussed. The party was fighting the 1952 general elections, the manifesto declared, for the ideals of a new Lanka "whose people, free from want, from sickness and ignorance, through the functioning of democratic institutions, could take their place once again in the country of the free and happy peoples of the earth."

**S. L. F. P. :**

All the opposition parties had to confine themselves to what they would do were they to be returned to power. The S.L.F.P. manifesto demanded a constituent assembly to consider afresh the problem of drawing up a better Constitution for the country. It would cancel the defence agreements, but be friendly with all the nations of the world. It would make "Swabhasha" the official languages of the country and help develop Ayurveda. It would give state help to religious development. It would protect Ceylonese interests in trade and commerce. It would tax only those who could afford to pay, solve the unemployment problem and develop agriculture. It would nationalise large estates and basic industries like Transport and Banks. It would create an adequate Old Age Pensions scheme, and reduce the cost of living.

**N. L. S. S. P. :**

The N.L.S.S.P. in its Manifesto asked the people to elect a Sama Samaja government. It started with a severe attack on the U.N.P., its "corruption and nepotism", its "dispensation of personal patronage", its "passage and maintenance of a series of repressive laws against free speech, meeting and organisation which even the Colonial Administration never introduced in peace time". The N.L.S.S.P. criticised the U.N.P. for the increase of "unemployment", "landlessness", and, the "grave shortage of schools and hospitals." The N.L.S.S.P. claimed that it was "the only party which stands before you in this General Election clearly and definitely pledged to an anti-capitalist programme . . ." This was the 14-point programme. The 14 points of the N.L.S.S.P. stated that the party would withdraw from the Commonwealth, abrogate the Defence Agreements, implement Swabhasha as official languages, grant citizenship to all who wish to be permanent residents, repeal repressive legislation, confiscate and run as state enterprises all banks, estates of over 250 acres, buses and create a state monopoly of the export-import business, fix a ceiling of Rs. 2,000 per month on all personal incomes, establish a 40-hour week, seek friendly relations "with all states" on the basis of respect for Ceylon's national independence (*e.g.*, India, Burma, Pakistan, China), refuse any facilities to "imperialists," in their intervention activities in Asia and give "no aid whatsoever to", or get entangled "in the war plans of the Anglo-American imperialists against the Soviet Union, China and their allies."

**C. P.-L. S. S. P. :**

The C.P.-L.S.S.P. United Front criticised the U.N.P. for compelling 70% of the country's population (the peasants) to live in sub-human conditions, for neglecting to seek a means to help fisher-folk; for failing to give the working classes a reasonable wage, for allowing 200,000 to be without work, for not providing old age pensions for workers and peasants, for spreading "uncultured, sub-human American

'culture' in this country". The United Front, they stated is fighting for "real independence by getting out of the Commonwealth, abrogating Defence Agreements and the nationalization without compensation of estates, banks, factories, etc., belonging to foreign imperialists and their collaborators". The United Front would fight for peace by associating in the peace efforts of Soviet Russia and China. The United Front would establish closer trade relations with these countries. The United Front would fight for democracy by abolishing the post of Governor-General, the Senate and the appointed members; by giving the vote to citizens over 18; by repealing repressive legislation; by stopping corruption in the administrative services. The United Front would fight for economic development by re-afforestation, by prevention of soil erosion, by improving irrigation. China, the manifesto said, reached self-sufficiency in food after two years of Communist rule. The United Front would fight for social uplift by giving working classes an adequate wage, by giving land to the landless, by making Swabhasha the official languages, making free education a reality. The United Front would also fight for religious freedom by permitting anyone to practice his or her own religion. They vouchsafe for the religious freedom in Soviet Union and China.

The manifestoes of the other small parties need no detailed treatment. The Peoples' Republican Party generally followed a policy akin to that of the S.L.F.P. except that it tended to water down some of the radical measures of the S.L.F.P. The Tamil Congress was for all practical purposes the Tamil branch of the U.N.P. while the Federalists insisted on a federal constitution as their main platform.

The policies of the four main political parties cannot be obtained from a perusal of their manifestoes only. The large number of pamphlets, leaflets, speeches, etc., of the various candidates belonging to the different parties must also be studied to get a clear picture of the true state of affairs.

For instance, foreign policy was an important issue which was not clearly formulated in the U.N.P. manifesto. The U.N.P. claimed that "Ceylon has thus been able to establish and maintain the most cordial relations with other nations while preserving her independence and freedom of action at all times". Yet at the time of the election Ceylon had no embassy in China—(our chief buyer of rubber) while she had one in Indonesia. So far Ceylon does not have a single legation or embassy in any Communist country. From the various leaflets distributed during the elections it was clear that the U.N.P. was anxious to follow a foreign policy which looked towards the West.

The S.L.F.P. took an attitude which appeared to follow the pattern India was taking. While the U.N.P. was anxious to remain within the Commonwealth, the S.L.F.P. wished to remain outside it. Nor was



the S.L.F.P. keen to confine ambassadorial connections only to non-Communist countries. Friendly relations with all countries was the S.L.F.P. cry.

Both the N.L.S.S.P. and C.P.-L.S.S.P. United Front were anxious to sever the connection of Ceylon with the Commonwealth. But there, the agreement on foreign policy ended. The N.L.S.S.P. mentioned in their 12th point, "the conclusion, as rapidly as possible, of pacts of mutual friendship with neighbouring states of S.-E. Asia, namely, India, Burma, Pakistan, Free Viet Nam and Indonesia and with China". But their known antipathy towards Soviet Russia and the Communist countries was such that how far the mutual friendship pacts with them would go beyond the blue-print stage was dubious. Whether it would be possible to conclude friendship pacts of value with countries whose political leadership is severely criticised by the N.L.S.S.P. for betraying the revolution is the question.

The C.P.-L.S.S.P. United Front on the other hand were anxious to develop very close relations with all Communist countries in matters of trade. The C.P.-L.S.S.P. believe that the Soviet Union and China are leading the "struggle for peace" in the world and are most keen to give every help in this direction. They wish to sell our commodities to anyone including Communist countries and to buy our requirements from similar sources.

In domestic policy too, the four main parties showed their differences. The U.N.P. was the party of the *status quo*. It believed in the achievements of the party so much that there was hardly any necessity to change its policy. The U.N.P. believed in private enterprise. "Nationalization is an undemocratic measure which throws out of gear individual initiative and private enterprise". It believed in development of the country in the fashion of the Colombo Plan. "We cannot overlook the fact that our national prosperity and domestic economy will be paralysed if we make it impossible for foreign capital to be invested in the country". The U.N.P. believed in the efficacy of private enterprise to bring prosperity to the nation while government departments would interfere to remove some of the most oppressive consequences of such an economy as far as that was possible. It believed in the sanctity of private property.

The S.L.F.P. was not as attached to the *status quo* as the U.N.P. While the U.N.P. was a "rightist" party, the S.L.F.P. was of the "centre". The S.L.F.P. was prepared to establish Swabhasha as the official languages of the country which was a policy full of tremendous social, economic and political consequences. It was prepared to nationalise some of the basic industries. In short while maintaining the essentials of a capitalist or private enterprise system it was willing to take over on behalf of the state politically powerful economic

monopolies. It was radical in the sense that it was willing to clean up an administration which had been under the same political leaders for quite a number of years. Of Socialism it had very little ; of radicalism it had a measure. It was nationalistic in its orientation.

The C.P.-L.S.S.P. United Front was different in many ways from the N.L.S.S.P. The N.L.S.S.P. campaigned for an anti-capitalist programme with the intention of establishing a Sama Samaja government of workers and peasants. In other words the N.L.S.S.P. was campaigning for a regime which would bring the benefits of socialism immediately. The C.P.-L.S.S.P. United Front however was not so ambitious. While the N.L.S.S.P. would nationalise all estates over 250 acres, the United Front would confiscate only foreign property, the property of "collaborators" with the "imperialists" and certain basic industries like transport. In effect the United Front was campaigning for a regime in which certain capitalist elements could still function. Their immediate aim was "a progressive democratic government". They were for a "people's democracy" or an "alliance of workers, peasants, the middle-classes and those sections of the bourgeoisie who are anti-U.N.P. and anti-Imperialist."

In regard to citizenship rights too, there was a considerable difference. The United Front stood for control of immigration and the grant of citizenship rights to those of five years' residence wanting to become citizens. The N.L.S.S.P. stood for unrestricted immigration and citizenship rights for those who wish to be permanent residents. No "period" qualification was mentioned.

These were the main differences between the two "left" parties angling for the support of left elements. Together they planned a more radical change in the political structure than either the U.N.P. or the S.L.F.P.

The P.R.P., B.R.P. and L.P. can be called centre groups with very little significance. The T.C. however is a rightist group. Its policy is practically the same as the U.N.P. policy.

The Federalists are a middle-class centre party. Their programme has no socialism. Their party is important only in terms of the prospects of weakening the position of the rightist elements in the North.

### III—Issues

#### Domestic :

The manifestoes apart, the various political parties and groups tended to emphasise certain special issues on the basis of which they hoped to carry the election. Of these one that appeared most often

in the leaflets and speeches of the opposition candidates and supporters was that of social welfare. Unemployment and the failure of the government to solve it, were urged very often. Lack of housing facilities for a large part of the population ; the inadequacy of hospitals and the spread of tuberculosis, the absence of a reasonable scheme of old age pensions, the difficulties experienced by the travelling public as a result of an inefficient bus service ; the rising cost of living and the failure of the government to solve it ; the landlessness among the peasants were declared to be evils which could be eliminated only by the removal of the U.N.P. from power.

### **Corruption :**

The country was also asked to choose a government that was above corruption. Frequently charges were made by the opposition of the nepotism on the part of the government and its slothful behaviour in the face of corruption. Somehow this was an issue which did not attract as much attention as it would have done for instance in England. Some argued that corruption was inherent in human nature and that any party in power would succumb to its temptations. Others accepted it with a kind of philosophic resignation.

### **Swabhasha :**

As an election issue Swabhasha had a more electrifying effect. Its significance was noticeable from the fact that even the left parties which had omitted to make a platform of it earlier hastily added it to their programmes. The government made no special issue of it, but took extra pains by administrative action and propaganda to urge that that was the government policy delayed in its full implementation by the hugeness of the task and the difficulties in its way. The significance of Swabhasha was that it attracted the attention of the large number of Swabhasha school teachers who were a very influential body in the electorate.

Whether those who asked for Swabhasha were fully aware of the social effect of such a programme is doubtful. Some took it to mean a merely nationalistic propaganda vehicle. Others saw it as a cultural or linguistic problem. Very few saw it as a programme with consequences as far-reaching as say land reform. Swabhasha for instance would have removed that language barrier which keeps hundreds of able mechanics, school teachers, etc., from rising to better and higher executive posts. That is why only the school teachers showed a marked enthusiasm since it affected them very closely.

### **Federalism :**

The other main issue spotlighted by the opposition groups this time in the North was that of Federalism. As a political creed the theory was not adequately made public. The issue was raised more on a

nationalistic or communal rather than on an administrative or cultural level. Federalists appealed to "the Tamil nation" "betrayed" by the Tamil Congress led by Mr. Ponnambalam. But what federalism meant in practice was not explicitly expounded so that Federalism was often confused with secession or separate statehood. But for this confusion Federalists would have had more support.

### **Democracy vs. Totalitarianism :**

On the government side the basic emphasis was on the claim that the election ought to be fought on whether the country wanted Democracy or Totalitarianism. All left parties were called "totalitarian" parties who wanted to remove all the known liberties of this land. Any party which even indirectly allied itself with the left parties was itself to be shunned because there is no middle way. In fact any such party, it was alleged, would play the role of a "Judas" of Democracy.

The U.N.P., it was claimed stood for the Democratic way of life. It stood for private enterprise and for those freedoms for which the Western Democratic nations stood; these being the freedoms of speech, association and assembly. In this struggle therefore, the U.N.P. asked the people to vote for that party which fought for these "fundamentals" of Democracy.

### **Religion :**

Of all these freedoms nothing was more important than religious freedom. The U.N.P., it was argued, stood as the guardian of this vital freedom. It has allowed every religion to practice its faith freely and without hindrance. It has treated all religions alike.

But on this question the U.N.P. had to meet a challenge from the S.L.F.P. which wished to give greater facilities for Buddhism and its propagation. The U.N.P. argued that no special aid was needed for the great religion of the Buddha, but that protection was needed for all religions from the left parties which stood for anti-religion. The C.P.-L.S.S.P. United Front and the N.L.S.S.P. however, strenuously denied that they were for religious intolerance. The C.P. especially stated that the argument that there was no religious freedom in Russia, China and other Communist countries was completely incorrect. They staked their reputation on the claim that there was full religious freedom in these countries.

### **Stability :**

The U.N.P. also argued that the left parties stood for revolution, but that the U.N.P. was the party of peace and stability. Only the U.N.P. could preserve these golden virtues of peace and stability. The U.N.P. quoted extensively from Marxist sources to prove that the left was only interested in revolution. Although no Marxist party could

remove "revolution" from its armoury should the occasion demand it, it is difficult to see how the charge affected the S.L.F.P. Here the argument was adduced that the S.L.F.P. did not put forward a number of candidates adequate to form a government even if everyone of them were to win.

#### **Indians :**

But the issue which won the U.N.P. a considerable number of votes was that of the Indian question. The U.N.P. argued that the Party was anxious to keep the sacred right of the vote away from the Indians. In short the U.N.P. raised the communal cry in a virulent form. Some newspapers reported that the Prime Minister was glad there would be no more Lingaswamys and Binduswamys representing Up-country electorates. It was alleged that Ceylon-Indians were a threat to this country's economy. They would take away employment from Ceylon nationals. An unsigned pamphlet argued that were citizenship rights granted indiscriminately, 400,000,000 Indians would come over to Ceylon, take our land, and vote in our elections. A handle was given to this type of exaggerated statement by the N.L.S.S.P. demand for unrestricted immigration to Ceylon and citizenship rights for anyone who wished to claim them. The C.P.-L.S.S.P. point of view that there should be controlled immigration and citizenship rights should be given only to those with five years' residence qualification was not adequately emphasised in that party's campaign. In any case the Ceylon-Indian problem was high-lighted by obviously exaggerated press reports of an army of 80,000 Indians invading this country as illegal immigrants. The total result was the development of an anti-Indian feeling in this country.

#### **Independence :**

The opposition parties generally appealed to the people to elect them to power in order to establish a truly independent Ceylon and argued that the present status of Ceylon was a "fake" independence. Although at the time of the granting of Dominion Status, the opposition arguments set many people thinking, during the General Election, the subject was too abstruse to be a deciding or vital issue in the contest. In general all opposition parties subscribed to the view that Ceylon was not truly independent. Left parties insisted on leaving the Commonwealth were they elected to power. The S.L.F.P. followed a similar line and urged the establishment of a Constituent Assembly to determine the future constitution of the country.

### **IV—Pressure Groups.**

A proper appreciation of the General Election, however, cannot be made even on the basis of the issues raised at the election. The pressure-groups which decidedly influenced the election ought to be

carefully noted. That alone would give a true picture of the way the democratic process worked in Ceylon.

### Press and Radio :

One of the most obvious features of the General Election was the overwhelming support given by the most effective part of the press to one particular political party. In Ceylon there are three English dailies and two Sinhalese and two Tamil dailies. Of these all the English and Sinhalese and one Tamil daily openly espoused the cause of the U.N.P. Insistently during the period significant for the election, these papers reiterated the U.N.P. line. Speeches of the government party were reported in full but those of the opposition were given scant respect and it was alleged, often distorted. Editorials were written speaking of the dangers of an opposition victory. The country was told that the choice before the people was one between totalitarianism and democracy and that the U.N.P. stood for democracy. Much was made of the work the U.N.P. had done for the country. Hair-raising stories of an Indian invasion by illegal immigrants were featured prominently. Even after the Parliament was dissolved, and the Ministers on campaign tours, the papers—especially the *Daily News*—continued to print stories of what the government was planning to do in the interests of the peoples' welfare. Feature articles and political commentaries were used to criticize opposition parties. Even the faintest sign of opposition disagreements was magnified into serious differences. Past speeches of certain opposition leaders were dug up to embarrass them in their present positions. In effect these papers which reached practically the total reading public did a greater amount of propaganda than the party papers themselves because the former styled themselves as independent papers.

The Radio is a state monopoly. As such the public had a right to expect that it would be used in a non-partisan way. In the B. B. C. for instance, no suspicion of partisanship is allowed to develop. In the Ceylon Radio however, while it was permissible to speak well of the government, it was out of bounds for anyone who disagreed with government policy. Speakers who were chosen for broadcasting specially on political and economic subjects were those who were not over-critical of government policy. Speakers who did not agree completely with the government on certain subjects were invited provided they were not critical of the government. While it is not quite correct to say that the Radio was used openly for positive government propaganda to any great extent, it is true it was negatively used to prevent any views adversely critical of governmental policy being put to the people.

Most of the papers working for the opposition were weeklies which except for one or two, rarely had a large circulation. Some of these were party papers pure and simple. Some were individual enterprises

having a moderate circulation. But none of these papers reached the public daily, and therefore could not reach them adequately. Weekly papers were insufficient to meet the organised and well-planned propaganda of the pro-government papers.

### Foreign Influence :

Allied with the barrage of pro-government propaganda of the daily papers was a new feature unknown to previous elections. This was the degree of foreign influence in our elections.

It is good to remember that whatever party the people choose, every democrat must accept it. If we do not trust the people to elect the government that is good for them we are not democrats. It is in this light that one must investigate the large amount of anti-left literature distributed by obviously foreign bodies. There is hardly an electorate which did not receive a pamphlet called: *What Communism means to You*. This pamphlet with basically European caricatures was interpolated with Ceylon photographs. It is clear that the pamphlet had its origins in some place other than Ceylon and that it was adapted to Ceylon by the inclusion of Ceylon photographs. The pamphlet was printed by the Times of Ceylon, Ltd., for the "Servants of Lanka". It will be interesting to find out—if that were possible—who these "Servants of Lanka" were serving.

There was also a series of pamphlets and leaflets written or translated by a person called Surasena Attygalle. The main theme was not for a particular party but against Communism. One pamphlet discussed the relationship between the Family and Communism; another between Religion and Communism. Some of Surasena Attygalle's leaflets had nothing to do with Ceylon at all but went on to discuss foreign affairs. It was argued in these that the U.S.S.R. wants to start a world war while U.S.A. was trying to prevent it. It was also suggested that of the two systems of governments, i.e., Russian and American, the latter was the better one. In one pamphlet a detailed statistical table of the population of Communist countries was given and the point was made that the hand of Russia could be seen in the Communist movements.

The interesting characteristic of these leaflets, etc., is firstly they were not arguing for a particular party directly. It is difficult to believe that if the U.N.P. financed these publications not even a mention of the party would be made. The publishers were obviously not British because no attempt was made to campaign for the British way of life. It is also interesting to note that the foreign policy line taken by Surasena Attygalle's writings was the same as that of the American State Department.

Nor was this all. An anti-Communist Centre with offices at 51, East Road, New York, 35, distributed anti-Communist literature in Ceylon. An anti-Communist essay from the American Magazine *Annals* was translated and distributed. A story alleged to be true and critical of China published by the Philippine Information Council was distributed here. It is good to note that the Philippines have no Embassy in Ceylon. There was also a pamphlet on the importance of Religion from the U.S. Information Service which went very well with the daily papers' argument that the leftists were against religion.

### Religious Bodies :

If foreign inspired leaflets attacked the opposition largely on grounds of politics and economics, the Christian Church led the attack on the religious flank. It was reported that Rev. Basil Fonseka preached a sermon which included the following :—

“From the so called Rightist government in power we have received religious as well as all other freedoms.”

“If the Left parties come to power the consequences for ourselves cannot even be enumerated.”

“If government power goes to the Left all of us may sometimes even have to pay the penalty of death.”

Archbishop Thomas Cooray of Colombo, went further. According to a *Ceylon Observer* report of 11-5-52, the Archbishop is reported to have said : “No Catholic with even an atom of Christian conscience can vote for a candidate who subscribes to a political creed banned by the Church—be it Communism or any other . . . .”

A leaflet written by a Mr. H. F. A. Fonseka in support of Mr. Albert F. Peris suggested that the Catholic Church has taught that it will treat as its enemies anyone who joins the L.S.S.P., goes to its meetings, reads its literature, votes for it, follows its policy or helps it in any way. One Mr. S. M. Manuel Kurera argued with quotations from the Bible that Christ did not preach the class struggle and was against Samasamajism. “Christ did not attempt to take over some people's property and distribute it among others.” One leaflet declared that to vote “left” is a mortal sin. The person who votes “left” is an enemy of mankind and friend of the devil.” Whether the candidate himself professed the Christian faith was considered unimportant in the face of the policies of his party.

There were few attempts by a very few leaflets to rebut the charges that the “left” was against religion. Some went as far as to suggest that Christ was against inequality, etc., and was for a kind of socialist society. These were but a handful and made little headway in the face of a heavy anti-left campaign on the basis of religion.



The Christian issue however was confined generally to those electorates where Christians were in large numbers. But the daily papers carried the message of Catholic priests to every part of the country. It is interesting to note however that all the Christian denominations did not join the political fray. In some cases while the national leaders entered politics *de facto* the parish priest kept aloof. As a general picture, it is true that the Christian Churches were a tremendous pressure group directing votes against the opposition by means of the Bible and the cowl.

The Buddhists were divided and so were the Buddhist priests, who were some of the keenest campaigners against the government. The Chief Priest of Rajamaha Vihara, Kelaniya, wrote a pamphlet against Mr. J. R. Jayawardene and the U.N.P. and there were many other leaflets from Buddhist priests against the U.N.P. At the same time a considerable group of Buddhist priests took a pro-U.N.P. attitude. In Kalutara constituency a statement signed by several Bhikkhus tried to rebut charges levelled against the U.N.P. as anti-Buddhist. The significant thing about the Bhikkhus was that they were not a well knit pressure group having a definite aim of sending a particular political party to power. In effect the political views of the Bhikkhus came to be opinions of individuals and hence no pressure other than that of individual influence was applied this way or that. Buddhism being an unorganised religion the effect of the Priesthood apart from influence of the individual priests worth could be discounted.

The Muslims were different. Very rarely did they write pamphlets or make religious speeches exhorting their flocks to vote a particular way. But Muslim leaders religious and non-religious made it a point to explain to their community to vote U.N.P. In the result the most powerful and effective religious pressure group was the Roman Catholic Church, followed by the Muslims. The Buddhists have no effective pressure group to speak of. In this context it is necessary to note that in 1946 there were 603,235 Christians and 436,556 Muslims in Ceylon.

### **Economic Groups :**

Apart from the Press, the Foreigners and the Religious Bodies, the other pressure groups can largely be called the economic groups. There was for instance the group of European commercial establishments which was known to have contributed heavily to the funds of a particular party. But apart from an occasional speech by a planter to the effect that the U.N.P. should be returned to power, the commercial firms made their assistance and pressure a very commercial affair by confining themselves to financial contributions only. The Bus interests apart from financial contributions to party funds helped the U.N.P. by assisting in the transport aspect of the election. The

significance of the role of bus interests in the U.N.P. can be seen by the large number of candidates representing such interests put forward by the U.N.P.

On the opposition side there was hardly any powerful pressure-group as such. The Ceylon-Indian estate workers were a powerful bloc both because of their origin and economic interests but their removal from the electoral registers took away any power they had. In the absence of any really powerful and nation-wide Trade Union movement, or co-operative movement with definite political aims the opposition did not possess anything to compare with the powerful elements which joined together to support the government party.

### V—Candidates

In the Ceylon electoral system, the 95 elected members were to be chosen from 89 constituencies: one three-member constituency of Colombo Central, four two-member constituencies of Ambalangoda-Balapitiya, Kadugannawa, Badulla and Balangoda, and 84 single-member constituencies. Four national parties, five political groups and independents put forward candidates for these seats as follows:—

TABLE VI.

U.N.P.	..	..	..	81 candidates
S.L.F.P.	..	..	..	48 ..
N.L.S.S.P.	..	..	..	39 ..
C.P.-L.S.S.P.	..	..	..	19 ..
Labour	..	..	..	5 ..
T.C.	..	..	..	7 ..
Federal	..	..	..	7 ..
Republican	..	..	..	9 ..
B.R.P.	..	..	..	3 ..
Independents	..	..	..	85 ..

The U.N.P. put up candidates for all seats leaving those contested by the Tamil Congress and the seats of Mannar, Nattandiya and Dandagamuwa. Since the U.N.P. and T.C. were almost one party in terms of policy, only the constituencies of Mannar and Nattandiya and Dandagamuwa need be considered. Nattandiya was the Speaker's seat and Mannar was contested by an independent who held a cabinet post in the out-going Cabinet. In Dandagamuwa a pro-government Independent was allowed to contest without a U.N.P. nominee-splitting the vote. In effect therefore, the U.N.P. contested every seat other than the Speaker's and gave the voters a chance to decide for or against the government throughout the country.

The opposition contested in 77 constituencies. Of these in 42, the main opposition groups i.e. S.L.F.P., N.L.S.S.P., C.P.-L.S.S.P., Republican and Federalist did not clash. But in 25 two or more of these parties split the vote. The following table explains the position:—

TABLE VII.

**Government Vs. Opposition**

Seats not contested by Opposition Parties :

Batticaloa	Nattandiya
Deniyaya	Pottuvil
Kalkudah	Puttalam
Kalmunai	Padirippu
Mannar	Weligama
Muttur	Vavuniya

Seats where Opposition Parties did not clash against one another :

Avissawella	Kegalle
Attanagalla	Kurunegala
Akuressa	Kotte
Balangoda	Kankesanturai
Bingiriya	Kotagala
Buttala	Matale
Beliatta	Mawanella
Badulla	Medawachchiya
Colombo Central	Matugama
Chavakachechi	Maturata
Dandagamuwa	Mirigama
Dehiowita	Nawalapitiya
Dambulla	Nuwara Eliya
Dodangaslanda	Nivitigala
Galle	Nikaweratiya
Gampaha	Ratnapura
Galaha	Ruanwella
Jaffna	Trincomalee
Kandy	Wariyapola
Kalawewa	Wattegama
Kayts	Wellawatte-Galkissa

Seats where Opposition Parties clashed. Distribution and Parties :

*S.L.F.P. and N.L.S.S.P.*

Agalawatte	Minipe
Colombo North	Moratuwa
Colombo South	Maskeliya
Dedigama	Negombo
Haputale	Pañadura
Ja-Ela	Talawakelle
Kalutara	Welimada
Kelaniya	Udugama

*S.L.F.P. and C.P.-L.S.S.P.*

Kiriella	Matara
	Polonnaruwa

*S.L.F.P., N.L.S.S.P. and P.R.P.*

Ambalangoda-Balapitiya	Horowupotana
Bandarawela	Gampola

*N.L.S.S.P. and C.P.-L.S.S.P.*

Alutnuwara	Hambantota
Dambadeniya	Point Pedro

*N.L.S.S.P., C.P.-L.S.S.P. and P.R.P.*

Horana

*N.L.S.S.P. and Federal Party*

Kopay

*S.L.F.P., N.L.S.S.P. and C.P.-L.S.S.P.*

Anuradhapura	Baddegama
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*S.L.F.P., C.P.-L.S.S.P. and P.R.P.*

• Kadugannawa

*S.L.F.P. and P.R.P.*

Chilaw

*C.P.-L.S.S.P. and P.R.P.*

Hakmana

*C.P.-L.S.S.P. and Federal P.*

Vaddukodai

This does not mean that where the opposition did not contest each other as well, there was a straight fight between the government and opposition. On the contrary the entry of Independents into the fray prevented any such thing. Eighty-five Independents contested in 51 constituencies so that the number of straight fights between government and opposition was reduced. Even so there were 27 straight fights in the sense of two candidates placing themselves before the electorate. This includes cases where two Independents contested each other, and where an Independent contested a party candidate without any more candidates complicating the issue.

## VI—The Campaign

The campaign was only the process by which the people were reached by the several parties, Independents and the pressure groups under cover of parties or in support of parties.

### The Press :

Already mention has been made of the significant role of the Press as a pressure-group. The daily press in particular carried election news of a particular party with a regularity which did not escape anyone. Daily a few pages were devoted to election news such as reports of election meetings, analysis of constituencies, speeches of Ministers and reports of government intentions. On the negative side the daily press carried adequate reports only of a few opposition meetings. Generally such meetings received scant notice. Often opposition leaders denied reports purported to be summaries of their speeches. One paper—*The Samasamajist*—carried a notice asking its readers not to take on trust anything the daily press might say about the Samasamaja Party.

The weeklies which were generally anti-government carried opposition election news. Since they were weeklies only the main speeches of the opposition leaders received any adequate treatment. More often than not, the opposition weeklies resorted to commenting on developments rather than tracing them—all for lack of space. Others made election surveys of the various constituencies and found the situation favourable to the candidates they favoured. Some gave accounts of certain opposition candidates and the work they had done in terms of social welfare. Coupled with these direct electioneering of the weeklies, there were also attempts to expose acts of omission and commission by the government of the day.

### Meetings :

Generally speaking the messages of the candidates were carried to the people by means of public meetings. The place of a meeting varied from a town hall or a public park to the corner of a private garden.

The market place, the bus stop, the street-corner, a junction—any such place served the purpose. Each meeting of importance generally had its "guest" speaker who was the chief attraction next to the candidate himself or the chief one if he was a party leader. The main speech was preceded by several other speeches often by persons of the same constituency, neighbourhood or in the candidate's entourage.

The speeches which attracted the largest audiences were those of the party leaders. The Prime Minister did a tour of practically every constituency other than in the Northern and Eastern Provinces. Although there was no special train carrying the Premier, the tour was so arranged as to make him deliver two or more speeches in a day in different parts of the area which he was touring.

Opposition leaders did similar tours. The leader of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party spoke in practically every constituency to which the Premier went. In view of the shortage of time available he too had to make more than one speech a day. The leaders of the N.L.S.S.P. who put forward a large number of candidates also toured these electorates. The C.P.-L.S.S.P. United Front did not make an island wide campaign tour but confined themselves to those areas where they contested.

A meeting where a party leader was expected was often preceded by a procession carrying party flags, photographs of the candidate, and his symbol, shouting slogans and generally whipping up enthusiasm for the party and the candidate. In the case of the Prime Minister in many places he went to, he was received with garlands, welcoming speeches and similar forms of recognition.

The political speeches were in the main more violent than the programmes. A good part of the speeches was used to expose the wrong-doings, lethargy, and the unsuitability of the opponents. Individual candidates were challenged to explain various issues. Opportunity was taken to quote speeches of the opponents back at them. Government party especially was charged with corruption and nepotism. The government was pilloried to explain why it found capable Ministers only from among a group of relations. The audience was asked to prepare for an economic depression if the U.N.P. came to power. The U.N.P. speeches consisted of what the government had done and intended to do: the threat of Communism to the family, to "independence", to religion and to society in general.

#### **Leaflet-War :**

The speeches were as a whole very hard-hitting and occasionally emotional and were backed by a spate of leaflets. The number of leaflets, booklets, pamphlets that were distributed during the election campaign was enormous. Each candidate had some distributed on his behalf. His party had some leaflets of general interest sent to all constituencies.

These were in the nature of party manifestoes, the 14-point programme in the case of the N.L.S.S.P. and such like. Various groups of supporters of a candidate published a few more for him. For example Youth Leagues in the case of the opposition and the "Servants of Lanka", the Philippine Information Council, the American Information Service, etc., on behalf (indirectly) of the U.N.P. as a result of anti-Communist propaganda. The amount of anti-Communist literature which was distributed during this election was a record. Cartoons, photographs, essays, quotations, and short stories, were distributed to discredit Communism. The cost of this spate of anti-Communist literature must have been tremendous. One journalist who toured Hakmana electorate estimated that in Hakmana alone the cost must have been over Rs. 50,000.

The rest of the leaflets followed the pattern of the speeches in a general way. But they contained more data and programme. They explained what each candidate and/or party stood for. They criticised their opponents' policies and records in concrete fashion. They appealed to various groups of interests in the different constituencies and explained what the party or the candidate if he were a sitting member had done for the constituency.

Parish pump-politics were not ignored. The U.N.P. criticised sitting opposition members for not doing enough for the constituencies they represented. The opposition defended itself by arguing that the government party undemocratically distributed the pork-barrel only to their political supporters. Even so some opposition members claimed that they had represented the interests of their constituencies in spite of government party obstruction. Many leaflets enumerated the motions moved, hospitals repaired, schools established, cottage industries encouraged, etc., by opposition members on behalf of their constituencies. The government party members did the same thing. Some distributed extracts from their Parliamentary speeches. Some carried photographs of public works which they had sponsored in their constituencies. Some pamphlets gave the impression that the so called disinterested acts of the members had been so carefully noted for propaganda that they tended in effect to cast doubt on the disinterestedness.

The leaflets were of varying forms. Some were in the form of verses to resonant metres. Others carried photographs of waiting bus queues. Yet others were in the form of humorous short stories admonishing the reader to vote a particular way. The academic qualifications of the candidate, his birth and residence and his interest in the welfare of this country's peoples featured often enough.

The election literature of the various candidates bore the colour of the party to which he belonged and the symbol which he had been

assigned. General literature of a particular party often carried only the party colour. It was not uncommon, however, to see a pamphlet in red attacking the leftists. In short the colour of the opponents was used to take arguments against them into their ranks.

### **House to House Canvassing :**

The campaign, however, was not complete without house to house canvassing. The candidate and his wife and/or daughters in many constituencies visited each home and solicited their votes. But one characteristic interesting to note is the fact that this sort of canvassing which was the most important feature in the pre-Soulbury Constitution days has now been relegated to a less significant position. Some candidates could not find the time to do it. But in a general way it may be said that this was due to the growing importance of the party as against the individual. The Independents were the candidates who had to depend to a large extent on house-to-house canvassing. Party candidates while loath to ignore this old-time method used it less and less. The increasing literacy of the electorate also accounts for the greater dependence on election literature rather than on personal visits.

In the rival areas, a good part of effective canvassing came from the chief men of the village. The landlord, the headmen, the well-to-do man, had a say in the directing of the rural vote. While these groups were known to be in favour of the U.N.P., the school teacher and the Buddhist priest occasionally tended to persuade people to vote for the opposition.

### **The Polling :**

The crowning finale of the days and nights of canvassing was reached on the day of polling. Cars of the candidates and their supporters did their rounds collecting the voters and transporting them to the polling booths. Queues formed early morning to exercise the franchise. Candidates toured the booths encouraging the voters and the supporters. Men and women manned the party booths near the polling booths to persuade voters to confirm or change their minds. Flags and symbols intermingled with sarees and blouses of the same colour. Occasionally a bevy of girls sang songs praising a particular candidate and paraded the streets in cars.

### **Corruption :**

But the polling, despite its enthusiasm was not completed without allegations of corruption. The news weekly *Trine* made the allegation that the procedure at elections left much to be desired. It was alleged that ballot boxes were tampered with. Some ballot-boxes were taken to a wrong destination before the error was rectified. Perforating seals were changed during the period of polling. Ballot-papers were alleged to be in the hands of unauthorised persons. The charge was



made that spurious ballot-papers were introduced either before or during the counting. The scare of corruption was so great that one candidate spent a sleepless night watching the place where the ballot-boxes were kept.

Several cases of attempted impersonation were brought to light. But, it is generally held, that the number of impersonators who escaped the vigil of the agents and election staff is very large. Impersonation was made easier by the fact that the election was held on the 1950 register. Many names on the register were those of persons who had ceased to be living at the time of the polling. Since some of the election agents were not persons of the area, many impersonators passed unchallenged. Unfortunately nothing has been done to investigate these charges. And so this question still disturbs the public mind. These are the circumstances on the basis of which the election results should be analysed and understood.

### VII—The Result

The result of the Second General Elections in Ceylon was to elect a U.N.P. government. The following table gives the number of seats and the number of votes polled by the various political parties and groups :—

TABLE VIII

	Candidates.	Seats Won.	Seats Lost.	Deposits Forfeited.	Votes Polled.
U. N. P.	81	54	27	—	1,026,005
S. L. F. P.	48	9	39	11	361,250
N. L. S. S. P.	39	9	30	14	305,133
C. P.-L. S. S. P.	19	4	15	9	134,528
Labour	5	1	4	3	27,096
T. C.	7	4	3	—	64,512
Federal	7	2	5	—	45,331
Republican	9	1	8	8	33,001
B. R. P.	3	0	3	3	3,987
Independents	85	11	22	38	326,783

The more significant point however is the relationship between the percentage of votes cast and the percentage of seats won. The following table explains the position :—

TABLE IX

Party.	Votes		Seats Won	
	Polled	%	%	to the Nearest Unit.
U. N. P. .. ..	43.9%	..	57.0%	..
S. L. F. P. .. ..	15.4%	..	9.0%	..
N. L. S. S. P. .. ..	13.0%	..	9.0%	..
C. P.-L. S. S. P. .. ..	5.7%	..	4.0%	..
Labour .. ..	1.1%	..	1.0%	..
T. C. .. ..	2.7%	..	4.0%	..
Federal .. ..	1.9%	..	2.0%	..
Republican .. ..	1.4%	..	1.0%	..
B. R. P. .. ..	0.1%	..	0.0%	..
Independents .. ..	14.0%	..	11.0%	..

If we leave the Independents out of the count, it is clear from this table that all pro-government parties received a higher percentage of seats than that of votes except in the case of the Labour Party where the difference was only 0.1%. All opposition parties received a number of seats less than in proportion to the votes they polled except the Federal Party where again the difference was about 0.1%. In effect therefore the U.N.P.-T.C. alliance received 46.6% of the votes cast and 61.1% of the seats. The main opposition groups (S.L.F.P., N.L.S.S.P., C.P.-L.S.S.P.) received 34.1 % of the votes and 22% of the seats.

It is perhaps wrong to say that the government coalition is a government of a minority. If the votes polled by those Independents who joined the U.N.P. ranks, and the votes of the Labour Party were added to the government coalition, the latter certainly received over 50% of the votes cast. But the number of seats won by the government is far in excess of the votes polled. This is more than of mere academic importance for the simple reason that a two-third majority of the House of Representatives is necessary to amend the Constitution. In the present context it is possible for a percentage of votes far below two-third of the votes cast, to elect a number of representatives adequate to amend the Constitution.

It is clear from the above therefore that the number of seats won by the opposition is not the true index of their strength in the country. In fact the present electoral system tends to reflect only a portion of their true strength. A comparison of the votes received by the various parties at the first and second general elections under the Soulbury Constitution shows that the government victory was not obtained by

means of winning the opposition voters but rather by getting the non-voters to the polling booths. The following table illustrates the point :—

TABLE X.

	1947	1952	
U. N. P. .. .. .	744,054 ..	1,026,005	Increase 36.0%
S. L. F. P. .. .. .	— ..	361,250	—
N. L. S. S. P. .. .. .	317,213 ..	305,133	Decrease 3.6%
(L.S.S.P. & B.L.P.)			
C. P.-L. S. S. P. .. .. .	70,361 ..	134,528	Increase 90.1%
T. C. .. .. .	82,499 ..	64,512	Decrease 21.9%
Labour .. .. .	38,932 ..	27,096	„ 30.7%
Federal .. .. .	— ..	45,331	—
Independents .. .. .	539,321 ..	326,733	„ 39.9%
Republican .. .. .	— ..	33,001	—
B. R. P. .. .. .	— ..	3,981	—
U. L. C. .. .. .	3,953 ..	—	—
Swaraj .. .. .	1,393 ..	—	—
Ceylon-Indian Congress .. .. .	72,230 ..	—	—

In fact except the U.N.P. itself all its allies lost in terms of votes in the second general election. But except the N.L.S.S.P. which polled about 12,000 votes less, all the opposition groups increased their votes. In 1947, the Left groups polled 387,574 votes while in 1952 these votes numbered 439,661 in addition to the 361,250 votes polled by the S.L.F.P. and 33,001 votes polled by the Republican party. The U.N.P. has in fact been successful in persuading the normally “plague of both your houses” group to vote for itself.

Even then it is very instructive to find out the geography of the political parties. The following table explains the position :—

TABLE XI.

*Votes Polled (%)*

Province.	U.N.P. & T.C.	S.L.F.P.	Left-Wing Groups.
Western Province ..	42.0 ..	21.1 ..	24.7 ..
Central Province ..	52.8 ..	27.4 ..	4.5 ..
Southern Province ..	38.7 ..	12.8 ..	29.7 ..
Northern Province ..	43.3 ..	— ..	8.4 ..
Eastern Province ..	40.6 ..	— ..	— ..
North-Western (Less Speaker's Constituency)	55.7 ..	16.6 ..	13.6 ..
North-Central Province ..	53.5 ..	27.2 ..	8.3 ..
Uva Province ..	49.7 ..	8.1 ..	20.1 ..
Sabaragamuwa Province ..	59.1 ..	10.0 ..	24.6 ..

From the point of view of the Left, the Southern, Western, Sabaragamuwa and Uva Provinces give them the best support. These are also the more urbanised, commercialised provinces in the country. Only in the Central, North-Western, North-Central and Sabaragamuwa Provinces did the U.N.P. get a clear majority of votes. Southern Province gave the U.N.P. its smallest percentage of votes. The S.L.F.P. won over a quarter of the votes polled in Central and North-Central Provinces only. On a combined vote, the greatest opposition to the U.N.P. came from the Western and Southern Provinces. But as the figures show in no province did the U.N.P. and its allies receive less than 35% of the vote polled. In spite of the fact that the opposition as a whole increased its popular vote, the high percentage of polling helped the government alliance to score a large number electoral victories. The following table shows the position of the seats before the election and after :—

TABLE XII.

Constituency.	Position Pre-Election.	Post-Election.	Loss or Gain for Govt.
Colombo North ..	S.L.F.P. ..	U.N.P. ..	+
Colombo Central (3 seats) ..	{ 1 C.P.-L.S.S.P. .. 1 U.N.P. (L.P.) .. 1 U.N.P. ..	{ 1 C.P.-L.S.S.P. .. 1 U.N.P. .. 1 pro-U.N.P., Indep. ..	{ 0 .. — .. — ..
Colombo South ..	U.N.P. ..	C.N.P. ..	0
Wellawatte-Galkissa ..	N.L.S.S.P. ..	U.N.P. ..	+
Ja-Ela ..	U.N.P. ..	U.N.P. ..	0
Negombo ..	U.N.P. ..	U.N.P. ..	0
Mirigama ..	U.N.P. ..	U.N.P. ..	0
Gampaha ..	U.N.P. ..	S.L.F.P. ..	—
Attanagalla ..	S.L.F.P. ..	S.L.F.P. ..	0
Kelaniya ..	U.N.P. ..	U.N.P. ..	0
Avissawella ..	C.P.-L.S.S.P. ..	C.P.-L.S.S.P. ..	0
Kotte ..	N.L.S.S.P. ..	N.L.S.S.P. ..	0
Horana ..	S.L.F.P. ..	U.N.P. ..	+
Moratuwa ..	N.L.S.S.P. ..	N.L.S.S.P. ..	0
Panadura ..	N.L.S.S.P. ..	U.N.P. ..	+
Kalutara ..	N.L.S.S.P. ..	U.N.P. ..	+
Matugama ..	P.R.P. ..	P.R.P. ..	0
Agalawatta ..	N.L.S.S.P. ..	U.N.P. ..	+
Kankasanturai ..	Federal ..	U.N.P. ..	+
Jaffna ..	T.C. ..	T.C. ..	0
Kopai ..	Federal ..	Federal ..	0
Point Pedro ..	T.C. ..	T.C. ..	0
Chavakachcheri ..	T.C. ..	T.C. ..	0
Mannar ..	Independent ..	Independent ..	0
Vavuniya ..	Indep.(anti-U.N.P.) ..	Indep. (anti-U.N.P.) ..	0

Trincomalee	.. T.C./U.N.P.	.. Federal	.. -
Mutur	.. U.N.P.	.. Indep.(Govt. Party)	.. 0
Kalkudah	.. U.N.P.	.. U.N.P.	.. 0
Batticaloa	.. U.N.P.	.. Indep.(Govt. Party)	.. 0
Padirippu	.. U.N.P.	.. do	.. 0
Kalmunai	.. U.N.P.	.. do	.. 0
Pottuvil	.. U.N.P.	.. do	.. 0
Puttalam	.. U.N.P.	.. U.N.P.	.. 0
Nikaweratiya	.. U.N.P.	.. U.N.P.	.. 0
Dodangaslande	.. U.N.P.	.. U.N.P.	.. 0
Kurunegala	.. S.L.F.P.	.. U.N.P.	.. +
Dambadeniya	.. U.N.P.	.. U.N.P.	.. 0
Wariyapola	.. U.N.P.	.. U.N.P.	.. 0
Dandagamuwa	.. Independent	.. Independent	.. 0
Bingiriya	.. N.L.S.S.P.	.. N.L.S.S.P.	.. 0
Chilaw	.. Independent	.. U.N.P.	.. +
Nattandiya	.. Speaker	.. Speaker	.. 0
Medawachchiya	.. U.N.P.	.. U.N.P.	.. 0
Anuradhapura	.. U.N.P.	.. U.N.P.	.. 0
Kalawewa	.. U.N.P.	.. U.N.P.	.. 0
Horowupotana	.. U.N.P.	.. U.N.P.	.. 0
Polonnaruwa	.. U.N.P.	.. S.L.F.P.	.. -
Dambulla	.. S.L.F.P.	.. S.L.F.P.	.. 0
Matale	.. U.N.P.	.. S.L.F.P.	.. -
Minipe	.. U.N.P.	.. U.N.P.	.. 0
Wattegama	.. U.N.P.	.. U.N.P.	.. 0
Kadugannawa	{ U.N.P.	.. U.N.P.	.. 0
(2 seats)	{ U.N.P.	.. S.L.F.P.	.. -
Kandy	.. S.L.F.P.	.. U.N.P.	.. +
Galaha	.. U.N.P.	.. U.N.P.	.. 0
Gampola	.. Independent	.. U.N.P.	.. +
Maturata	.. U.N.P.	.. U.N.P.	.. 0
Nuwara Eliya	.. C.I.C.	.. U.N.P.	.. +
Talawakele	.. C.I.C.	.. U.N.P.	.. +
Kotagala	.. C.I.C.	.. U.N.P.	.. +
Nawalapitiya	.. C.I.C.	.. L.P.	.. +
Maskeliya	.. C.I.C.	.. U.N.P.	.. +
Ambalangoda-Bala-	{ N.L.S.S.P.	.. N.L.S.S.P.	.. 0
pitiya (2 seats)	{ P.R.P.	.. U.N.P.	.. +
Baddegama	.. U.N.P.	.. S.L.F.P.	.. -
Udugama	.. S.L.F.P.	.. N.L.S.S.P.	.. 0
Galle	.. N.L.S.S.P.	.. N.L.S.S.P.	.. 0
Weligama	.. U.N.P.	.. U.N.P.	.. 0
Akuressa	.. C.P.-L.S.S.P.	.. C.P.-L.S.S.P.	.. 0
Matara	.. C.P.-L.S.S.P.	.. C.P.-L.S.S.P.	.. 0
Hakmana	.. C.P.-L.S.S.P.	.. U.N.P.	.. +

Deniyaya	.. U.N.P.	.. U.N.P.	.. 0
Beliatta	.. S.L.F.P.	.. S.L.F.P.	.. 0
Hambantota	.. N.L.S.S.P.	.. U.N.P.	.. +
Kayts	.. T.C.	.. T.C.	.. 0
Vaddukodai	.. T.C.	.. Indep. (pro-U.N.P.)	.. 0
Alutnuwara	.. C.I.C.	.. U.N.P.	.. +
Badulla (2 seats)	.. {C.I.C.	.. U.N.P.	.. +
	.. {N.L.S.S.P.	.. N.L.S.S.P.	.. 0
Bandarawela	.. U.N.P.	.. U.N.P.	.. 0
Welimada	.. U.N.P.	.. Indep. (pro-Govt.)	.. 0
Haputale	.. U.N.P.	.. U.N.P.	.. 0
Buttala	.. U.N.P.	.. U.N.P.	.. 0
Mawanella	.. U.N.P.	.. S.L.F.P.	.. -
Kegalle	.. U.N.P.	.. U.N.P.	.. 0
Dedigama	.. U.N.P.	.. U.N.P.	.. 0
Ruanwella	.. N.L.S.S.P.	.. N.L.S.S.P.	.. 0
Dehiowita	.. N.L.S.S.P.	.. N.L.S.S.P.	.. 0
Kiriella	.. C.P.-L.S.S.P.	.. U.N.P.	.. +
Ratnapura	.. U.N.P.	.. U.N.P.	.. 0
Nivitigala	.. N.L.S.S.P.	.. U.N.P.	.. +
Balangoda	.. {U.N.P.	.. U.N.P.	.. 0
(2 seats)	.. {S.L.F.P.	.. U.N.P.	.. +

In effect it can be seen that the U.N.P. made a net gain of 15 seats distributed among parties and groups as follows :—

Gained from—

C.I.C., 7 seats : Nuwara Eliya, Talawakele, Kotagala, Nawalapitiya, Maskeliya, Alutnuwara, Badulla.

N.L.S.S.P., 6 seats : Wellawatta-Galkissa, Panadura, Kalutara, Agalawatte, Hambantota, Nivitigala.

S.L.F.P., 5 seats : Colombo North, Horana, Kandy, Kurumegala, Balangoda.

C.P.-L.S.S.P., 2 seats : Hakmana and Kiriella.

P.R.P., 1 seat : Ambalangoda-Balapitiya.

Federal, 1 seat : Kankasanturai.

The U.N.P. lost 6 seats to the S.L.F.P. as follows :—Gampaha, Matale, Kadugannawa (1), Baddegama, Polonnaruwa, and Mawanella and one seat to the Federal Party, Trincomalee.

The reason for the gain of the C.I.C. seats is not far to seek. The disenfranchisement of the Ceylon Indians obviously made these seats "pocket" if not "rotten" boroughs. The disenfranchisement of the Ceylon Indians in terms of seats had even more significance. For the Ceylon Indian vote could have made a difference to the result of seven other constituencies. In Kandy, Galaha, Gampola, Haputale, Kiriella, Nivitigalle and Balangoda an opposition candidate could have won were the Ceylon-Indian vote given to him or her. No information is available regarding the exact number of Ceylon-Indians who would have normally received the franchise under the 1931 system. But it is interesting to note that inspite of a rising population the electorate of Kandy registered a net loss of 4,412 voters; Galaha, 5,092; Gampola, 7,136; Haputale, 4,071; Balangoda, 7,347; in Kiriella and Nivitigalle the electorate was larger inspite of Ceylon-Indian disenfranchisement but the percentage of Ceylon-Indians in the population in these electorates in 1946 were 12.2% and 17.7% respectively.

A good measure of the victory of the U.N.P. was due to opposition disunity. In spite of various attempts, it was not found possible for the opposition parties to put forward a common list of candidates, nor to avoid contesting each other. The position was made worse when opposition parties attacked each other in public platforms. In view of the partisan nature of press reports it is not possible to assess exactly the degree of opposition rivalry in this respect. But there is no doubt that absence of opposition unity even on the negative side of avoiding criticism confused the public. The degree of the loss of the opposition due to opposition disunity cannot be measured in terms of seats lost only. Even so the list of seats won by the U.N.P. as a result of this is impressive.

In this context it is perhaps not quite correct to assume that all votes cast for non-U.N.P. candidates would have gone to a single opposition candidate were one available. The post-election developments showed that most of the Independent candidates who were elected decided to join the government party. But in Kalutara, Agalawatte and Kiriella, a combination of S.L.F.P. and N.L.S.S.P. votes would have won these seats for the opposition; in Chilaw S.L.F.P. and Republican votes would have had the same result; in Horowupotana the U.N.P. won the seat because the opposition votes were split between S.L.F.P., N.L.S.S.P. and Republican Party; in Point Pedro the Tamil Congress won because an anti-T.C. independent split the opposition vote with C.P.-L.S.S.P. and N.L.S.S.P. candidates.

The sum total of the disenfranchisement of the Ceylon-Indians and the absence of opposition unity was to present 20 seats to the U.N.P. In short of the 57 seats won by the U.N.P.-T.C. combination only 37 need have been won by it. It is true that with the 10 Independents, 1 Labour and 6 Nominated members the U.N.P. could have formed the

government. But whether in the situation that might have arisen all the Independents would have joined the government party is open to question.

The electoral success of the U.N.P. cannot altogether be attributed to the "gerrymandering" effect of the Citizenship Laws and the disunity among opposition ranks. Already mention has been made of the various pressure-groups which effectively helped the government party. The decision to spread the elections throughout four days receives significance for instance only in the light of the nature of the press support for a particular party. On the first day of the election, the U.N.P. lost 10 seats and gained 2, making a net loss of 8 seats although the daily press wired headlines stating that the U.N.P. was gaining an early lead. How far "victory" psychology works with the Ceylon electorate no one can say with any accuracy. Yet, there can be no doubt that where the party system is in vogue, but also where an M.P.'s function is thought to be that of developing his constituency, the people might decide to elect a party which is on the way to victory. There was also the very efficient organization of the party itself. The U.N.P. was known to have about 200 branch organizations. It had paid employees organising people in various groups with a U.N.P. bias. It had financial resources of a very high degree. It had most of the propaganda organs. It had a masterful command over transport which enabled candidates to poll the maximum number of votes. It whipped up the class-consciousness of the well-to-do in a manner which had not happened before. It utilized to the maximum, the advantages that go with holding office at the time of an election and capitalized the emotional appeal that the late Mr. D. S. Senanayake had built up. In every way the U.N.P. had built up an organisation which was hard to assail.

This was in pointed contrast to the opposition. The S.L.F.P. had practically no organisation worth speaking of and depended too much on the personality of its leaders. The C.P.-L.S.S.P. was still lacking in depth of organisation. The N.L.S.S.P. had the best organisation of the opposition parties. Both the S.L.F.P. and the C.P.-L.S.S.P. were financially poor. The N.L.S.S.P. at least had rich leaders. Yet it is doubtful whether it had funds which could bring it within a fair distance of the U.N.P.

The opposition also suffered from poor transport arrangements. Divided within itself, with very limited finances, inadequate transport, with no powerful pressure-groups in support, insufficient press propaganda, without the advantage of being in office, the opposition was hardly able to meet the U.N.P. onslaught.

The result of the General Election in terms of minorities however, is a little disturbing. It will be remembered that the whole basis of the



Soulbury electoral scheme was conceived to give the minorities adequate representation. Whether, in view of the division of the country into Right, Centre and Left on economic issues, minority representation in terms of communities is so significant, is a question on which there can be differences of opinion.

Even so it is necessary to assess the election result in terms of minority representation, if only to clarify the position. In the 1947 House of Representatives there were 33 members from the "minority" communities, and in the 1952 House there are only 27 "minority" members. In other words, in a House of 101 members, the Sinhalese have 74 members although they number only 68% of the population. It is possible to argue that this is not a fair comparison since all the residents in Ceylon are not citizens. There is force in this argument. But there is also the counter argument that a good part of the de-citizenised population have the necessary claims for citizenship and are not yet citizens for reasons of administrative delay. The position can be put in another way. That is to compare the number of representatives from the different communities in relation to their population :—

TABLE XIII.

	Population Census 1946	Representation 1952
Sinhalese ..	4,620,507	74
Ceylon Tamils ..	733,731	12
Ceylon-Indians ..	780,589	1 (nominated)
Ceylon and Indian Moors	409,183	8
Burghers and Eurasians	41,926	3 (1 elected and 2 nominated)
Malays ..	22,508	..
Veddahs ..	2,361	..
Europeans ..	5,418	3 (nominated)
Others ..	41,116	..
	6,657,339	101

If there is anything that emerges most clearly from the results of the General Election it is the division of the country on the basis of party lines. That is why in spite of the Ceylon-Indian question and the federal cry, the decrease of minority seats in the House of Representatives has attracted so little attention. If a similar situation arose in 1945, the then Tamil Congress would have expounded the dangers of Sinhalese "domination". But to those who interpret the Sinhalese-Ceylon Tamil communal problem as a middle-class one, the recent developments are not surprising. The "middle-class" communal problem has receded into insignificance with every increase in the strength of the radical forces in the country.

The effect of party consciousness has not been confined to easing the Ceylon Tamil problem. On the plane of governmental process, the same development has brought about the obsolescence of the independent member. In the 1947 election 182 Independent candidates fought 82 seats and won 21 of them polling 539,321 votes. In 1952, 85 Independents contested 51 seats and won 11 of them polling 326, 783 votes. Of these some had the support of certain opposition parties. Others were to join the government party as the aftermath of the election showed. The debacle of the Independent member is partly due to the public opinion that in any case an Independent member can do little in a Parliament divided on party lines. Whereas a party candidate had the support of the party funds specially if he was from the government party, an Independent member had to depend on his own resources. In the campaign itself, the press took up the case of parties and not of individual candidates. Except in the narrow confines of the constituency the Independent candidate had no one to fight his case. The bigger parties positively asked the voters to vote for a party. Pressure-groups too worked for parties and not for individual candidates. With nothing but their own personal appeal, the Independent candidate was always at a disadvantage. When the big question was whether the U.N.P. or the opposition parties would be returned to power, the Independent candidate lost the point of the argument. Most of the Independents too had meagre financial resources. The cumulative effect of all this was to eliminate the Independent members as a significant element in the composition of the Ceylon House of Representatives.

Writing in 1948, Sir Ivor Jennings pointed the moral of the 1947 General Election. "The essential problem for all parties", he wrote, "is not to convert the convinced supporters of the other side but to poll the non-voters". But then the percentage polled was 49.5. In 1952 the percentage went up to 70. That is why in spite of a higher opposition poll, the U.N.P. was returned to power. The moral now is the opposite of what it was in 1947.

Nevertheless, it is wrong to assume that U.N.P. victory is due solely to its ability to get the "non-voter" to the polling booth. As earlier parts of this essay attempted to show, its success was in no small measure due to the pattern of the electoral system, the disfranchisement of the Ceylon-Indians, and the disunity of the opposition. There were other factors besides these, but the latter stand out too conspicuously to be mistaken or misunderstood.

APPENDIX I

Distribution of Voters among Electorates.

1947 Election.

Number of Voters	Number of Electorates per province.									Total
	W.P.	C.P.	S.P.	N.P.	E.P.	N.W. P.	N.C. P.	Uva.	Sab.	
Over 60,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Bet 55—60,000	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
„ 50—55,000	6	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	9
„ 45—50,000	3	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
„ 40—45,000	—	—	2	3	—	—	—	—	1	5
„ 35—40,000	2	3	3	2	—	2	—	—	—	13
„ 30—35,000	2	4	1	1	—	6	—	—	4	18
„ 25—30,000	—	4	1	1	3	1	—	—	5	15
„ 20—25,000	—	2	—	—	2	—	—	2	—	6
„ 15—20,000	3	2	—	—	2	—	1	3	—	11
„ 10—15,000	—	—	—	2	—	1	3	2	—	8
„ 5—10,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
Below 5,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Total	20	15	12	9	7	10	5	7	10	95

1952 Election.

Number of Voters	Number of Electorates per province.									Total
	W.P.	C.P.	S.P.	N.P.	E.P.	N.W. P.	N. C. P.	Uva.	Sab.	
Over 60,000	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Bet 55—60,000	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7
„ 50—55,000	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
„ 45—50,000	2	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
„ 40—45,000	1	—	6	1	—	2	—	—	—	10
„ 35—40,000	2	—	2	2	—	6	—	—	2	14
„ 30—30,000	1	5	2	4	—	1	—	—	1	14
„ 25—30,000	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	11
„ 2.—25,000	—	1	—	—	5	—	—	2	—	8
„ 15—20,000	3	—	—	—	1	1	2	1	—	8
„ 10—15,000	—	1	—	2	1	—	3	3	—	10
„ 5—10,000	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	4
Below 5000	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Total	20	15	12	9	7	10	5	7	10	95

## APPENDIX II.

### TABLE OF RESULTS 1947 AND 1952.

(Figures for 1947 from W. I. Jennings "Ceylon General Election of 1947", (and figures for 1952 from *Ceylon Daily News*.)

### WESTERN PROVINCE

#### No. 1—Colombo North

This constituency consists of the Colombo Municipality, the Kolonnawa Urban Council area and a part of Ambatalenpahala. It is perhaps the most industrialised constituency. Government Factory, the Stanley Power station, large petroleum stations, etc. make this constituency so. This is part of the explanation for the increase in the N.L.S.S.P. vote as compared to the last election. This seat would have gone to the opposition but for its disunity.

1947	1952
Electorate : 30,848—Poll : 48.4%.	Electorate : 35,582—Poll : 62.6%
<i>Result :</i>	<i>Result :</i>
George R. de Silva (U.N.P.) .. 7,501	Cyril E. S. Perera (U.N.P.) .. 10,630
Lionel Cooray (L.S.S.P.) .. 6,130	Leslie Goonewardene (L.S.S.P.) .. 7,136
E. C. H. Fernando (I.) .. 501	George R. de Silva (S.L.F.P.) .. 3,592
A. P. de Zoysa (I.) .. 429	J. H. Gnanapragasam (I.) .. 0,710
H. C. A. Abeywardene (I.) .. 178	Spoilt .. 173
Spoilt papers .. 189	
14,928	22,251

#### No. 2—Colombo Central.

This is perhaps the most cosmopolitan constituency. It was demarcated "for the purpose of giving the Muslims and also the Tamils, an opportunity of returning candidates of their choice." The most interesting feature in the result is the winning of the first place by the Communist Party candidate who was also a Burgher by race. In effect he increased the number of his voters (assuming each cast all 3 votes in his favour) from 5145 in 1947 to 6464 in 1952 inspite of the disfranchisement of the Ceylon Indians who were an element in his victory in the previous election. Two Muslims won the other two seats although the % of their co-religionists in the constituency was only 31.8. There is no doubt that the U. N. P. candidate won largely due to his party ticket. The other appealed to his co-religionists. The victory of the C. P. and U. N. P. candidates points out the deepness of the party divisions in this constituency.

1947	1952
Electorate : 53,285—Poll : 64.3%.	Electorate : 58,400—Poll : 70.1%.
<i>Results :</i>	<i>Results :</i>
A. E. Goonesinghe (L.P.) .. 23,470	Pieter Keuneman (C.P.-L.S.S.P.) .. 32,346
T. B. Jayah (U.N.P.) .. 18,439	M. C. M. Kalcel (U.N.P.) .. 25,647
Pieter Keuneman (C.P.) .. 15,435	Sir Razik Fareed (I.) .. 24,911
M. H. M. Munas (I.) .. 8,600	A. E. Goonesinghe (L.P.) .. 19,843
Mrs. Ayisha Rauf (I.) .. 8,489	P. de S. Kularatne (S.L.F.P.) .. 14,556
W. J. Perera (L.S.S.P.) .. 5,950	

V. A. Sugathadasa (I.)	..	4,898	P. Givendrasinghe (I.)	..	751
G. W. H. de Silva (I.)	..	4,141	H. L. Perera (I)	..	517
V. A. Kandiah (I.)	..	3,391			
S. Saravanamuttu (I.)	..	2,951			
P. Givendrasinghe (I.)	..	1,569			
K. Dahanayake (I.)	..	997			
K. Weeriah (I.)	..	352			
K. C. P. Deen (I.)	..	345			
N. R. Perera (I.)	..	259			
Spoilt	..	3,489	Spoilt	..	4,217
		102,775			122,788

### No. 3—Colombo South.

This is largely a middle class constituency. In view of the great class-consciousness aroused within the middle-classes during this election with the advantage of hind sight it can be said the result is as it should be expected. It is also significant that the N.L.S.S.P. candidate could do no more than retain the total left vote at the last election.

1947		1952	
Electorate - 32,036—Poll : 56.8%		Electorate : 32,954..Poll : 56.4%	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
R. A. de Mel (U.N.P.)	.. 6,452	T. F. Jayawardene (U.N.P.)	.. 10,913
P. Saravanamuttu (I.)	.. 5,812	Bernard Soysa (N.L.S.S.P.)	.. 5,738
Bernard Soysa (B.L.P.)	.. 3,774	W. A. D. Ramanayake	
M. G. Mendis (C.P.)	.. 1,936	(S.L.F.P.)	.. 1,810
W. J. Soysa (I.)	.. 95		
Spoilt	.. 149	Spoilt	.. 114
	18,218		18,580

### No. 4—Wellawatte-Galkissa.

Here the contest was practically a straight fight between the N.L.S.S.P. and the U.N.P. Dr.Colvin R. de Silva was able to pull 282 votes more than in his previous election. But the U.N.P. candidate won partly at least because of superior organisation and ability to transport the non-left vote to the booths. The non-N.L.S.S.P. vote in 1947 was 10,017. The increase in number of voters in 1952 as compared to 1947 was 6989. It is clear that the U.N.P. won this seat by bringing the non-voters of 1947 to the booths.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 38,917—Poll : 55.5%		Electorate : 43,276—Poll : 66.4%	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
Dr. Colvin R. de Silva (B.L.P.)	11,606	S. de S. Jayasinghe (U.N.P.)	16,388
Gilbert Perera (I.)	.. 4,170	Colvin R. de Silva (N.L.S.S.P.)	11,888
L. V. Gooneratne (I.)	.. 4,121	R. Senanayake (I.)	.. 228
Dr. A. Ratnapala (U.N.P.)	.. 1,327		
S. J. F. D. Bandaranayake			
(Swaraj)	.. 224		
Dr. A. P. de Soysa (I.)	.. 103		
Thomas de Silva (I.)	.. 72		
Spoilt	.. 127	Spoilt	.. 245
	21,760		28,749

**No. 5—Ja-Ela.**

This is predominantly a Christian constituency. It is interesting however that the U.N.P. candidate in 1952 did not poll the total U.N.P. votes cast in 1947. The opposition vote increased from a little less than 3000 in 1947 to a little more than 12,000 in 1952. In this constituency the increase in the % polled did not accrue to the benefit of the U.N.P. Part at least of the explanation is the lower middle-class nature of its population.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 51,274—Poll : 44.1% .		Electorate : 55,368—Poll : 57.2% .	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
D. P. Jayasuriya (U.N.P.) ..	11,123	D. P. Jayasuriya (U.N.P.) ..	18,212
N. P. Siriwardene (U.N.P.) ..	8,106	L. W. Panditha (N.L.S.S.P.) ..	6,308
A. O. S. W. Mendis (C.P.) ..	1,913	S. S. Anthony (S.L.F.P.) ..	5,790
F. Nettisinghe (L.P.) ..	737	D. F. Hettiarachchige (I.) ..	1,025
Spoilt ..	393	Spoilt ..	357
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	22,622		31,692

**No. 6—Negombo.**

This is also a constituency with a Christian majority of 61.1%. Here the increase in the poll largely went to the U.N.P. candidate. Perhaps the influence of religion can be seen here.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 55,642—Poll : 49.6% .		Electorate : 60,617—Poll : 65.3% .	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
H. de Z. Siriwardene (U.N.P.)	10,174	A. N. d'A. Abeysingha (U.N.P.)	22,721
Santiago Fernando (L.S.S.P.)	9,218	Dr. Hector Fernando (N.L.	
A. L. J. C. D. Raj Chandra (I.)	6,169	S.S.P.) ..	9,396
		N. B. G. Kurera (I.) ..	3,396
		C. M. Fernando (S.L.F.P.) ..	3,207
		K. C. D. Senanayake (I.) ..	459
Spoilt ..	390	Spoilt ..	390
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	25,951		39,569

**No. 7—Mirigama.**

This is the constituency of the late Premier. Both candidates had local influence. In the result the U.N.P. candidate bettered the late Premier's poll by nearly a thousand votes while the opposition increased its votes by nearly 7000.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 55,474—Poll : 68.3% .		Electorate : 45,253—Poll : 79.8% .	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
D. S. Senanayake (U.N.P.) ..	26,762	John Edmund Amaratunga	
E. Samarakkody (B.L.P.) ..	10,673	(U.N.P.) ..	27,447
		James Peter Obeyesekere	
		(S.L.F.P.) ..	17,502
Spoilt ..	462	Spoilt ..	304
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	37,897		45,253

## No. 8—Gampaha

This constituency contained elements of distinct caste divisions. Sir Ivor Jennings suggested that the large number of candidates in the earlier election was a reflection of this. In 1952, the contest was in effect a straight fight between the U.N.P. and the S.L.F.P. In spite of an increased poll the S.L.F.P. won the seat partly due to the better organising ability of that candidate.

1947		1952	
Electorate: 54,520—Poll: 56.8%		Electorate: 57,423—Poll: 68.9%	
<i>Result:</i>		<i>Result:</i>	
D. D. Karunaratne (U.N.P.) ..	11,786	S. D. Bandaranaike (S.L.F.P.) ..	19,417
C. A. Mathew (L.S.S.P.) ..	8,416	B. L. Senaviratne (U.N.P.) ..	18,546
A. G. Seneviratne (I.) ..	5,040	A. C. W. F. A. Jayawardena	
Charles L. P. Perera (I.) ..	2,740	(B.R.P.) ..	735
F. A. Obeyesekere (U.N.P.) ..	1,333	Arthur Seneviratne (N.L.S.S.P.)	475
R. Deshapriya (C.P.) ..	529		
A. E. O. Weerasinghe (I.) ..	181		
Spoilt ..	358	Spoilt ..	404
	<u>30,983</u>		<u>39,577</u>

## No. 9—Attanagalla.

This is really a constituency where the individual was the most important factor. Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike won with over 86% of the total votes polled.

1947		1952	
Electorate: 55,949—Poll: 48.0%		Electorate: 58,322—Poll: 76.6%	
<i>Result:</i>		<i>Result:</i>	
S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike		S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike	
(U.N.P.) ..	31,463	(S.L.F.P.) ..	38,478
Chandrapala Gunasekera		A. W. G. Seneviratne (U.N.P.)	5,934
(L.S.S.P.) ..	4,609		
Spoilt ..	417	Spoilt ..	360
	<u>36,854</u>		<u>44,772</u>

## No. 10—Kelaniya.

This is a "Buddhist Sinhalese" constituency. As the result stands even if the opposition united, the U.N.P. candidate would have won. Perhaps here if the opposition were united in fact, the U.N.P. candidate would have had a harder fight. Influence of psychology cannot altogether be ignored.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 47,683—Poll : 58.8% .		Electorate : 58,170—Poll : 75.5% .	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
J. R. Jayawardene (U.N.P.) ..	17,246	J. R. Jayawardene (U.N.P.) ..	22,103
B. Waidyasekera (L.S.S.P.) ..	10,206	Mrs. Vimala Wijewardene (S.L.F.P.) ..	15,868
		Mrs. Vivienne Goonewardene (N.L.S.S.P.) ..	4,857
		D. R. Jayamanna (I.) ..	673
		Spoilt ..	434
	Spoilt .. 390		
	<u>27,842</u>		<u>43,935</u>

### No. 11—Avissawella.

In this constituency too the influence of a party leader is predominant. The total polled increased from 47.5 % in 1947 to 72.9 % in 1952. The larger benefit of this went to the U.N.P.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 50,009—Poll : 47.5% .		Electorate : 52,507—Poll : 72.9% .	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
D. P. R. Gunawardene (L.S. S.P.) ..	17,598	Kusuma Gunawardena (C.P.L.S.S.P.) ..	19,414
Bernard Jayasuriya (U.N.P.) ..	5,676	Clodagh Jayasuriya (U.N.P.) ..	18,485
	Spoilt .. 259		Spoilt .. 358
	<u>23,533</u>		<u>38,257</u>

### No. 12—Kotte.

This is a Sinhalese constituency and the middle-class forms an important element in it. The U.N.P. nearly doubled its vote. But the N.L.S.S.P. candidate was a well-known leader and the U.N.P. was divided since a pro-U.N.P. Independent was also contesting. Perhaps if there was a straight fight the N.L.S.S.P. candidate would have had a closer result.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 45,754—Poll : 47.1% .		Electorate : 47,510—Poll : 62.90% .	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
Robert Gunewardene (L.S.S.P.) ..	11,955	D. B. R. Gunewardene (N.L. S.S.P.) ..	15,865
Rajah Hewavitarana (U.N.P.) ..	7,753	Anandatissa de Alwis (U.N.P.) ..	11,051
W. G. Ratnayaka (I.) ..	928	N. J. V. Cooray (I.) ..	2,807
D. F. Galhena (I.) ..	362		
C. A. Botejue (I.) ..	215		
	Spoilt .. 359		Spoilt .. 164
	<u>21,572</u>		<u>29,887</u>



## No. 13—Horana.

This is a rural constituency. It borders on a planting area. Some Sinhalese estate workers reside in the constituency. Here again a united opposition would have created a psychological element against the U.N.P.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 51,222—Poll : 68.1%.		Electorate : 53,927—Poll : 78.8%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
A. P. Jayasuriya (U.N.P.) ..	15,828	M. D. H. Jayawardane (U.N.P.)	21,746
M. T. Peris (L.S.S.P.) ..	15,163	A. Jayawardana (N.L.S.S.P.)	8,249
A. Dharmapriya (C.P.) ..	3,187	Wilfred Senanayake (N.L.S.S.P.)	7,367
		Mrs. Esme Perera (Rep.) ..	5,145
Spoilt ..	687		
	<hr/> 34,865		<hr/> 42,507

## No. 14—Moratuwa.

Half of this constituency is industrial and half rural. Although the opposition was disunited the total opposition vote in 1952 was nearly double that in 1947.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 57,723—Poll : 49.2%.		Electorate : 55,090—Poll : 71.8%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
S. Chandrasiri (L.S.S.P.) ..	13,464	Somaweera Chandrasiri (N.L.S.S.P.) ..	16,125
T. Amarasuriya (U.N.P.) ..	9,547	Jermyn G. Fernando (U.N.P.)	12,741
D. J. J. Peiris (U.L.C.) ..	3,523	D. D. Abeyesinghe (S.L.F.P.) ..	10,283
H. W. Fernando (C.P.) ..	722		
A. C. W. Peiris (I.) ..	494		
H. G. L. Perera (I.) ..	210		
Spoilt ..	467	Spoilt ..	417
	<hr/> 28,427		<hr/> 39,566

## No. 15—Panadura.

Panadura has a small but influential middle-class. The opposition won the seat in 1947 with a minority of votes. The opposition retained the anti-U.N.P. vote although the N.L.S.S.P. candidate individually polled less in 1952. The U.N.P. candidate combined the non-left vote of 1947.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 53,479—Poll : 70.8%.		Electorate : 56,528—Poll : 67.8%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
Henry Peiris (B.L.P.) ..	16,435	D. C. W. Kannangara (U.N.P.)	19,760
Susanta de Fonseka (U.N.P.) ..	13,889	Henry Pieris (N.L.S.S.P.) ..	15,904
D. C. W. Kannangara (I.) ..	6,729	Shelton Peiris (S.L.F.P.) ..	1,200
R. E. Weeraman (I.) ..	406	K. A. R. Solomon Fernando (I.)	1,089
Spoilt ..	433	Spoilt ..	392
	<hr/> 37,892		<hr/> 38,345

## No. 16—Kalutara.

Kalutara has an important Muslim element. The S.L.F.P. candidate of 1952 was the defeated U.N.P. candidate of 1947. On statistics, if the opposition was united the seat would have gone to it. The U.N.P. candidate received considerable support from the Muslims.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 51,121—Poll : 57.9% .		Electorate : 51,291—Poll : 67.9% .	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
C. de F. Gunawardena (B.L.P.)	13,797	P. A. Cooray (U.N.P.)	11,665
Upali Batuwantudawe (U.N.P.)	11,827	Cholomondeley Goonewardene (N.L.S.S.P.)	11,333
H. O. W. Obeyesekere (I.)	2,888	U. Batuwantudawe (S.L.F.P.)	9,914
T. R. P. Perera (I.)	539	A. P. de Zoysa (Bud. R.)	1,530
Spoilt	575	Spoilt	389
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	29,626		34,831
	<hr/>		<hr/>

## No. 17—Matugama.

This is an agricultural constituency. The major part of it is composed of extensive rubber plantations. This is one of the few constituencies where the poll was lower in 1952 than in 1947.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 46,410—Poll : 80.8% .		Electorate : 46,219—Poll : 74.0% .	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
Wilmot A. Perera (I.)	19,753	Wilmot A. Perera (Rep.)	18,168
C. W. W. Kannangara (U.N.P.)	16,119	D. D. Athulathmudali (U.N.P.)	15,666
D. R. Munasinghe (I.)	1,091	Spoilt	370
Spoilt	535		
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	37,498		34,204
	<hr/>		<hr/>

## No. 18—Agalawatta.

This is a rugged, sparsely populated constituency with limited transport facilities. In 1947, the N.L.S.S.P. candidate won with less than  $\frac{1}{4}$  the total polled. Although he increased his vote in 1952, the larger part of the increased poll went to the U.N.P. In spite of the difficulties of transport and rain, the % polled was 77.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 35,803—Poll : 41.2% .		Electorate : 36,088—Poll : 77.0% .	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
S. A. Silva (L.S.S.P.)	4,135	C. W. W. Kannangara (U.N.P.)	13,659
D. D. Athulathmudali (U.N.P.)	3,356	S. A. Silva (N.L.S.S.P.)	6,627
A. A. Perera (I.)	3,295	A. P. Jayasuriya (S.L.F.P.)	3,480
P. A. Wijegoonewardena (I.)	1,877	W. H. Bodhidasa (I.)	3,240
D. M. Athulathmudali (I.)	828	B. D. Muthukuda (I.)	440
W. M. P. Corea (I.)	644	Spoilt	356
Spoilt	620		
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	14,755		27,802
	<hr/>		<hr/>

## CENTRAL PROVINCE

## No. 19—Dambulla.

This is the largest constituency in the Central Province. Mainly rural with large tracts of jungle. Kandyan Sinhalese predominate. There was a significant increase in the poll part of which went to the S.L.F.P. candidate.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 26,398—Poll : 45.0% .		Electorate : 30,193—Poll : 50.8% .	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
H. B. Tenne (L.)	6,846	H. B. Tenne (S.L.F.P.)	8,294
Edward de Silva (L.)	3,969	D. B. Ellepola (L.)	3,442
A. G. G. Perera (L.)	861	P. B. Ranaraja (U.N.P.)	2,897
		T. B. Wegodapola (L.)	409
Spoilt	279	Spoilt	309
	<hr/> 11,894		<hr/> 15,351

## No. 20—Matale.

This is largely an urban constituency and well roaded. Ceylon Indians constitute 17.9 % of the population. The electorate went down from 37,550 in 1947, to 29,272 in 1952. The victory of the S.L.F.P. candidate was partly at least due to personal influence.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 37,550—Poll : 63.1% .		Electorate : 29,272—Poll : 73.2% .	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
V. T. Nanayakkara (L.)	11,530	Bernard Aluvibare (S.L.F.P.)	12,316
B. H. Aluvibare (L.)	9,525	V. T. Nanayakkara (U.N.P.)	8,894
T. B. Wegodapola (L.)	2,373		
Spoilt	285	Spoilt	229
	<hr/> 23,713		<hr/> 21,441

## No. 21—Minipe.

This constituency is largely rural with Kandyans numbering 53.2 % and Ceylon Indians 25.6 % of the population. The decrease in the electorate in due to Indian disfranchisement.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 28,295—Poll : 63.1% .		Electorate : 22,932—Poll : 68.1% .	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
H. B. Rambukwelle Dis- sawa (L.)	12,290	H. B. Rambukwelle Dis- sawa (U.N.P.)	10,690
S. P. Situnayake (L.)	3,650	P. B. W. Rambukwelle (S.L.F.P.)	3,905
K. B. Mediwake (L.)	1,437	K. B. Mediwaka (N.L.S.S.P.)	667
Spoilt	477	Spoilt	349
	<hr/> 17,854		<hr/> 15,617

**No. 22—Wattegama.**

A typical Kandyan constituency with Kandyan Sinhalese making 67.8 % of the population.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 32,008—Poll : 55.4% .		Electorate : 31,840—Poll : 71.6% .	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
A. Ratnayake (U.N.P.) ..	14,788	A. Ratnayake (U.N.P.) ..	14,264
B. P. Perera (I.) ..	3,477	P. N. Dharmasena (I.) ..	5,381
		C. Amunugama (S.L.F.P.) ..	2,903
Spoilt ..	519	Spoilt ..	252
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	18,784		23,801

**No. 23—Kadugannawa.**

This is a double-member constituency created for the propose of enabling minority Kandyan castes to secure representation. The Muslims constitute 10.2 % of the population. Even if all the Muslims voted for the Muslim candidate the votes would not have been sufficient to secure his election. The victory of a S.L.F.P. candidate is perhaps due to the fact that the non-U.N.P. vote was not split among too large a number of independents. The left vote registered a decline.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 63,285—Poll : 63.9% .		Electorate : 68,444—Poll : 66.3% .	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
E. A. Nugawela (U.N.P.) ..	26,147	E. A. Nugawela (U.N.P.) ..	30,503
H. R. U. Premachandra (I.) ..	16,854	C. A. S. Marikkar (S.L.F.P.) ..	26,837
S. A. Rajapakse (C.P.) ..	11,268	H. R. U. Premachandra	
Vernon H. Gunasekera		(U.N.P.) ..	19,785
(L.S.S.P.) ..	7,682	D. N. Nandunge (C.P.) ..	7,981
J. N. Jinendradasa (U.N.P.) ..	7,497	L. B. Samarakoon (I.) ..	1,074
H. B. Nikatenne (Labour) ..	5,190	R. N. Samara Vijaya (Rep.) ..	758
P. B. Ranaraja (I.) ..	2,094		
M. B. W. Sri Walgampaya (I.) ..	1,827		
T. B. Tennakoon (I.) ..	1,674		
A. P. Miranda (I.) ..	748		
Spoilt ..	3,865	Spoilt ..	3,807
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	84,846		90,745

**No. 24—Kandy.**

This is an urban constituency with good transport facilities. The Ceylon Indians constitute 10.4 % of the population. The electorate in 1952 was smaller than that of 1947 by 4492 which perhaps was due to Indian disfranchisement. The S.L.F.P. candidate might have won had the Ceylon Indians been given the right to vote.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 32,199—Poll : 57.7% .		Electorate : 27,707—Poll : 70.1% .	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
Geo. E. de Silva (U.N.P.) ..	7,942	E. L. Senanayake (U.N.P.) ..	11,349
T. B. Illangaratna (I.) ..	7,737	Mrs. Tamara K. Illangaratna (S.L.F.P.) ..	7,644
A. Godamune (I.) ..	2,350	T. Somasunderam (I.) ..	277
D. B. Wadugodapitiya (I.) ..	172	Spoilt ..	148
Spoilt ..	332		
	<hr/> 18,533		<hr/> 19,418

## No. 25—Galaha.

A rural constituency with a large number of tea and rubber estates. Sinhalese constitute 63.4 % and Ceylon Indians 18.4 % of the population. The U.N.P. registered a vote less than that of 1947.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 37,866—Poll : 73.1% .		Electorate : 32,774—Poll : 70.1% .	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
T. B. Panabokke (U.N.P.) ..	7,638	T. B. Panabokke (U.N.P.) ..	10,962
M. P. M. Jayasena (I.) ..	5,289	P. Tennekoon (I.) ..	6,356
G. R. Rajapreyar (I.) ..	5,145	S. E. Sirimanne (S.L.F.P.) ..	4,725
C. A. S. Marikar (U.N.P.) ..	4,399	Seeta-Kumari Walgampaya (I.) ..	596
W. A. B. Soysa (U.N.P.) ..	3,169		
B. H. Dunuwille (Labour) ..	1,345	Spoilt ..	346
Spoilt ..	718		
	<hr/> 27,701		<hr/> 22,985

## No. 26—Gampola.

This is a marginal constituency where a united opposition might have won the seat specially if the Ceylons Indians had the vote.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 32,734—Poll : 64.2% .		Electorate : 25,598—Poll : 71.9% .	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
R. S. S. Gunawardene (U.N.P.) ..	10,434	M. W. R. de Silva (U.N.P.) ..	7,950
R. S. Pelpola (I.) ..	10,047	P. M. Jayasena (S.L.F.P.) ..	5,313
		S. Richard Pelpola (I.) ..	2,352
		P. B. Goonatilake (N.L.S.S.P.) ..	1,926
		Dr. C. B. Dharmasena (Rep.) ..	687
Spoilt ..	527	Spoilt ..	181
	<hr/> 21,008		<hr/> 18,409

## No. 27—Maturata.

A rural constituency with a majority of Kandyan Sinhalese. The U.N.P. candidate won with an increased majority. The personal influence of the U.N.P. candidate is an important factor.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 28,518—Poll : 64.8%.		Electorate : 26,740—Poll : 68.8%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
M. D. Banda (U.N.P.)	12,438	M. D. Banda (U.N.P.)	15,333
S. Somasunderam (I.)	3,572	I. C. S. Goonetilleka (I.)	1,122
I. C. S. Goonetilleke (I.)	798	Charles Barton (S.L.F.P.)	941
E. W. A. de Silva (I.)	422	A. Abeykoon (Ind. Soc.)	687
E. Goonewardena (I.)	404		
I. B. Mani (I.)	229		
Spoilt	580	Spoilt	319
	<hr/> 18,443		<hr/> 18,402

## No. 28—Nuwara Eliya.

This is a constituency with a Ceylon Indian majority. The electorate therefore fell from 24,368 in 1947 to 9,279 in 1952.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 24,368—Poll : 60.2%.		Electorate : 9,279—Poll : 64.8%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
V. E. K. R. S. Thondaman (C.-I.C.)	9,386	P. P. Sumanatilaka (U.N.P.)	3,852
James Rutnam (I.)	3,251	Vijayaratnam Vijayaratnasingham (I.)	849
Lorensz Perera (B.L.P.)	1,124	James Thevathasen Rutnam (I.)	842
		Anthony J. M. de Silva (S.L.F.P.)	392
Spoilt	313	Spoilt	75
	<hr/> 14,674		<hr/> 6,010

## No. 29—Talawakele.

This constituency contains the strongest concentration of Ceylon Indians. The electorate fell from 19,298 in 1947 to 2,912 in 1952. The winning U.N.P. candidate polled 1198 votes.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 19,298—Poll : 70.1%.		Electorate : 2,912—Poll : 76.0%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
C. V. Velupillai (C.-I.C.)	10,645	H. E. P. de Mel (U.N.P.)	1,198
P. M. Velchamy (L.S.S.P.)	935	E. Wanigasekera (S.L.F.P.)	846
H. V. Ram Iswera (I.)	801	Mohandas de Mel (N.L.S.S.P.)	133
T. Sandenam (I.)	694		
Spoilt	469	Spoilt	37
	<hr/> 13,534		<hr/> 2,214

## No. 30—Kotagala.

In 1946 when the constituency was demarcated the Commissioners were aware that the electorate would be a little less than the provincial average. It was deliberately done to enable the Ceylon Indians to be represented. In 1952 these Indians had no vote.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 17,379—Poll : 72.3%.		Electorate : 7,749—Poll : 73.1%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
K. Kumaravelu (C.-I.C.) ..	6,722	U. B. Unanbuwe (U.N.P.) ..	2,711
U. Jayasundera (I.) ..	3,179	J. D. Weerasekera (I.) ..	1,377
T. Edwards (U.N.P.) ..	1,175	U. B. Jayasundera (I.) ..	774
E. Wanigasekera (U.N.P.) ..	783	K. M. Bandara (S.L.F.P.) ..	741
S. Chelliah (B.L.P.) ..	251		
Spoilt ..	435	Spoilt ..	62
	<hr/> 12,564		<hr/> 5,665

## No. 31—Nawalapitiya.

This was another "Ceylon Indian" constituency. In 1947 after polling 6491 the Labour candidate lost to the C.I.C. In 1952 with 4955 votes he won with a majority of 3900.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 22,580—Poll : 70.9%.		Electorate : 10,082—Poll : 66.2%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
K. Rajalingam (C.-I.C.) ..	7,933	R. E. Jayatilaka (Labour) ..	4,955
R. E. Jayatilaka (Labour) ..	6,491	Don Peter Setunga (I.) ..	965
A. H. H. de Silva (I.) ..	787	K. Shelton de Silva (N.L.S.S.P.) ..	709
S. N. Ponniah (I.) ..	336		
Spoilt ..	450	Spoilt ..	50
	<hr/> 15,997		<hr/> 6,679

## No. 32—Maskeliya.

This was also a "Ceylon Indian" constituency.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 24,427—Poll : 61.7%.		Electorate : 8,703—Poll : 66.1%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
G. R. Motha (C.-I.C.) ..	9,086	P. H. C. Silva (U.N.P.) ..	3,445
B. D. W. Gunapala (I.) ..	3,949	Chandanapala Gunasekera (N.L.S.S.P.) ..	956
K. Natesa Iyer (I.) ..	918	B. D. W. Gunapala (Labour) ..	837
T. M. Solomon (L.S.S.P.) ..	598	R. Bandara Ganneva (I.) ..	360
		H. P. Caldera (S.L.F.P.) ..	112
Spoilt ..	569	Spoilt ..	72
	<hr/> 15,120		<hr/> 5,752

**SOUTHERN PROVINCE****No. 33—Ambalangoda-Balapitiya.**

This is a two-member constituency created for reasons of caste. It is maritime and agricultural in occupation.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 104,842—Poll : 49.7% .		Electorate : 92,398—Poll : 70.39% .	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
P. H. William Silva (B.L.P.) ..	27,650	an de Zoysa (U.N.P.) ..	37,901
G. Arthur de Zoysa (U.N.P.) ..	26,784	P. H. W. de Silva (N.L.S.S.P.) ..	33,803
P. de S. Kularatne (U.N.P.) ..	17,520	A. H. E. Fernando (I.) ..	18,657
P. A. Premadasa (I.) ..	9,806	M. H. Saddhasena (I.) ..	16,945
Stanley de Zoysa (I.) ..	3,927	M. P. de Zoysa (S.L.F.P.) ..	12,496
S. Abeygoonewardena (C.P.) ..	3,105	W. A. de Silva (P.R.P.) ..	6,017
K. T. E. de Silva (I.) ..	2,000	S. D. S. Goonetilleke (Bud. Rep.) ..	1,335
D. J. Prematilake (I.) ..	1,022		
Spoilt ..	2,724	Spoilt ..	2,942
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	103,778		130,096

**No. 34—Baddegama.**

This is a rural constituency with a few rubber and tea estates. The Ceylon Indian population is not significant. The personal influence of the winning candidate was perhaps largely responsible for the S.L.F.P. victory. This is the second case where a Minister was unseated.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 38,457—Poll : 55.2% .		Electorate : 39,495—Poll : 79.1% .	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
S. Abeywickreme (U.N.P.) ..	11,899	Henry Abeywickreme (S.L.F.P.) ..	15,304
F. Gunatilleke (C.P.) ..	5,056	H. W. Amarasuriya (U.N.P.) ..	11,572
M. C. B. de Silva (I.) ..	3,431	P. A. Premadasa (I.) ..	3,230
V. Abeywickreme (I.) ..	784	Dharmasekera Welaratne (C.P.) ..	556
		C. J. Seneviratne (N.L.S.S.P.) ..	322
Spoilt ..	284	Spoilt ..	242
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	21,454		31,226

**No. 35—Udugama.**

A rural and agricultural constituency. The S.L.F.P. lost this seat to the N.L.S.S.P.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 38,893—Poll : 51.2% .		Electorate : 38,240—Poll : 68.2% .	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
D. S. Goonesekere (U.N.P.) ..	8,957	W. Neal de Alwis (N.L.S.S.P.) ..	11,181
D. Neal D. Alwis (I.) ..	3,492	D. S. Goonesekere (S.L.F.P.) ..	8,446
David Hettiaratchy (U.N.P.) ..	3,148	Edwin Dias Nagahawatte	
P. L. N. Baddalgoda (I.) ..	2,003	(U.N.P.) ..	6,160
H. P. B. Kulasinghe (I.) ..	783		
Bertram de Silva (I.) ..	719		
H. de Silva (I.) ..	423		
Spoilt ..	254	Spoilt ..	286
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	19,8860		26,073



**No. 36—Galle.**

This constituency is rather small because of the density of population. The Muslims constitute 13·3 % of the population although the Sinhalese are the largest group. The increased vote in this case however went to the N.L.S.S.P. candidate.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 48,625—Poll: 63·5% .		Electorate : 43,765—Poll : 71·9% .	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
W. Dahanayake (L.S.S.P.) ..	16,588	W. Dahanayake (N.L.S.S.P.) ..	17,897
H. W. Amarasinghe (U.N.P.) ..	14,092	Sumitta Dahanayake (U.N.P.) ..	12,876
		C. G. E. Bertram de Silva (Lab.) ..	479
Spoilt ..	214	Spoilt ..	196
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	30,894		31,448

**No. 37—Weligama.**

This is a near-time constituency. Although the U.N.P. won this seat, the total U.N.P. vote was reduced from its 1947 level while the anti-U.N.P. vote was increased.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 50,622—Poll : 51·1% .		Electorate : 40,727—Poll : 74·9% .	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
M. Jayawickrema (U.N.P.) ..	11,255	Montague Jayawickreme (U.N.P.) ..	16,397
E. Senaratne (U.N.P.) ..	7,468	C. P. Illangakoon (I.) ..	13,806
A. B. Seneviratne (I.) ..	5,212		
E. T. D. Abeygoonewardena (I.) ..	1,422		
D. L. Senaratne (I.) ..	413		
Spoilt ..	433	Spoilt ..	286
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	26,203		30,489

**No. 38—Akuressa.**

This is a maritime rural constituency. The influence of the Communist leader is significant in this area. The C.P.L.S.S.P. increased its vote in 1952.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 45,886—Poll : 47·0% .		Electorate : 43,234—Poll : 75·52% .	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
W. P. A. Wickremasinghe (I.) ..	13,458	Mrs. Doreen Wickremasinghe (C.P.-L.S.S.P.) ..	16,626
David Wanigasekera (U.N.P.) ..	6,132	C. Wijesinghe (U.N.P.) ..	15,625
H. B. D. Karunaratne ..	1,453	Spoilt ..	400
Spoilt ..	546		
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	21,539		32,651

## No. 39—Matara..

Generally considered to be a C.P. stronghold, this is a continuation of Matara town and its border areas in which the urban population has an interest. In this case however the C.P. was just able to maintain its vote.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 39,930—Poll : 52.3%		Electorate : 41,139—Poll : 67.98%	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
Harry Abeygoonewardena (C.P.) ..	11,970	Mahanama Samaraweera (C.P.) ..	11,861
Wilfred Goonsekera (L.) ..	5,279	E. B. Senaratne (U.N.P.) ..	10,785
George Weeratunga (L.) ..	2,661	S. P. A. De Silva (L.) ..	2,565
K. K. D. Silva (L.) ..	442	Yapa Sirisena Rajapakse (S.L.F.P.) ..	2,265
Spoilt ..	535	Spoilt ..	494
	<hr/> 20,887		<hr/> 27,970

## No. 40—Hakmana..

This is a mainly Sinhalese rural constituency but well roaded. Although the C.P. leader increased the vote of his party from 9958 in 1947 to 12601 in 1952, the U.N.P. drew the larger benefit from the increased poll. The fight would have been even closer had the Republican candidate been out of the fray.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 44,414—Poll : 57.0%		Electorate : 42,077—Poll : 75.16%	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
Premalal Kumarasiri (C.P.) ..	9,958	C. A. Dharmapala (U.N.P.) ..	15,762
C. A. Dharmapala (U.N.P.) ..	6,152	S. A. Wickremasinghe (C.P.-L.S.S.P.) ..	12,601
F. A. Wickremasuriya (L.) ..	5,056	L. B. Jayasinghe (Rep.) ..	2,981
A. F. Wijemanne (U.N.P.) ..	2,385		
C. J. Ranatunge (U.N.P.) ..	816		
P. L. D. W. de Silva (L.) ..	404		
Spoilt ..	478	Spoilt ..	284
	<hr/> 25,227		<hr/> 31,628

## No. 41—Deniyaya..

This electoral district is hilly but accessible. There are some large estates.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 29,542—Poll : 49.7%		Electorate : 32,842—Poll : 70.6%	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
Victor Ratnayake (L.) ..	4,510	V. G. W. Ratnayake (U.N.P.) ..	13,808
D. F. V. Ratnayake (L.) ..	3,793	Edward Goonertilleke (L.) ..	9,174
D. C. Hettige (L.) ..	2,232		
D. Z. Roy Rajapakse (L.) ..	2,938		
E. E. Abeynaike (L.) ..	657		
Spoilt ..	504	Spoilt ..	216
	<hr/> 14,694		<hr/> 23,198

**No. 42—Beliatta.**

An agricultural constituency with a few fishing interests this has a Sinhalese majority.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 41,587—Poll : 62.40%.		Electorate : 41,578—Poll : 75.60%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
D. A. Rajapakse (U.N.P.)	14,007	D. A. Rajapakse (S.L.F.P.)	17,382
D. P. Attapattu (U.N.P.)	5,985	D. P. Attapattu (U.N.P.)	13,750
A. H. E. Fernando (I.)	4,885		
P. J. de Silva (I.)	362		
P. de S. Wickremasinghe (I.)	270		
Spoilt	433	Spoilt	304
	<hr/> 25,942		<hr/> 31,436

**No. 43—Hambantota.**

This constituency has the lowest population in the province and was 13000 below the provincial average. This is a clear case where most of the increased poll went to the U.N.P.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 31,841—Poll : 58.6%.		Electorate : 37,079—Poll : 70.83%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
L. Rajapakse (I.)	8,740	Charles Edirisuriya (U.N.P.)	14,294
C. F. H. Edirisuriya (U.N.P.)	8,340	Laksaman Rajapakse (N.I. S.S.P.)	10,658
G. K. W. Perera (I.)	1,301	Jayadasa Pathiratna (C.P.)	418
		Jayadeva Amarasinghe (I.)	367
		P. H. Mendis de Silva (I.)	199
Spoilt	295	Spoilt	330
	<hr/> 18,676		<hr/> 26,266

**NORTHERN PROVINCE****No. 44—Kayts.**

This is rather an undeveloped electorate consisting of the northern islands. The Tamil Congress was returned in this constituency while the Federal Party was fourth in the contest.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 33,045—Poll : 55.6%.		Electorate : 30,138—Poll : 73.4%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
A. L. Thambiayah (I.)	5,552	Alired Thambiayah (T.C.)	9,517
A. V. Kulasingham (T.C.)	5,230	A. Thiagarajah (I.)	5,649
K. Ambalavanar (I.)	3,701	Clough Balasingham (I.)	5,090
Sir Waitilingam Duraiswamy (I.)	2,438	V. Nabaratanam (Fed.)	1,420
J. C. Amarasingham (I.)	981	Somasunderam Senathirajah (I.)	234
Spoilt	502	Spoilt	199
	<hr/> 18,404		<hr/> 22,109

## No. 45—Vaddukoddai.

This is a rural electorate with paddy growing as its main occupation. A pro-Government independent was elected but the Federal candidate came very close to the T.C. candidate in terms of votes although the former was a newcomer to politics.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 37,334—Poll : 52.0% .		Electorate : 34,135—Poll : 69.53% .	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
K. Kanagaratnam (T.C.)	11,721	V. Veerasingham (I.)	5,687
V. Veerasingham (I.)	2,234	K. Kanagaratnam (T.C.)	5,261
H. S. Perimpanayagam (I.)	1,716	A. Amirthalingam (Fed.)	4,500
V. Paramanayagam (I.)	1,540	Thillainathan Rudra (I.)	3,033
K. Chamugam (I.)	1,100	C. Ragunathan (I.)	2,467
P. Ragupathy (I.)	827	A. Vaidialingam (C.P.)	2,294
Spoilt	274	Spoilt	495
	<hr/> 19,412		<hr/> 23,495

## No. 46—Kankasanturai.

This is a constituency where caste is an important consideration. In the campaign the Federal party programme was confused by the argument that high-caste Tamils from South India might dominate the lower castes in case Federalism was accepted. In the actual result the Federal Party leader could not maintain the votes he received in 1947. The U.N.P. won its only seat in the north fighting under its own label in this electorate.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 38,875—Poll : 57.7% .		Electorate : 38,439—Poll : 70.9% .	
<i>Results :</i>		<i>Results :</i>	
S. J. V. Chelvanayagam (T.C.)	12,126	S. Natesan (U.N.P.)	15,337
P. Nagalingam (L.S.S.P.)	5,164	S. J. V. Chelvanayagam (Fed.)	11,571
S. Natesan (U.N.P.)	4,605		
Spoilt	534	Spoilt	355
	<hr/> 22,429		<hr/> 27,263

## No. 47—Jaffna.

This is more of an urban electorate centering round the Jaffna Urban Council. The significant point in this election is that the T.C. leader failed to poll the same number of votes as he did in 1947.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 42,549—Poll : 46.2% .		Electorate : 29,489—Poll : 71.7% .	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
G. G. Ponnambalam (T.C.)	14,324	G. G. Ponnambalam (T.C.)	12,726
A. Mahadeva (U.N.P.)	5,224	E. M. V. Naganathan (Fed.)	8,311
Spoilt	133	Spoilt	88
	<hr/> 19,681		<hr/> 21,131

## No. 48—Kopai.

This is the one constituency where the Federal Party beat the Tamil Congress in spite of a diversion caused by the presence of an N.L.S.S.P. candidate.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 32,999—Poll : 50.6% .		Electorate : 32,903—Poll : 64.57% .	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
C. Vanniasingham (T.C.) ..	9,619	C. Vanniasingham (Fed.) ..	9,410
S. Rajaratnam (U.N.P.) ..	5,266	C. Arulampalam (T.C.) ..	9,200
C. Ragunathan (I.) ..	1,447	R. R. Dharmaratnam (N.L.S.S.P.) ..	2,354
Spoilt ..	276	Spoilt ..	283
	<hr/> 16,608	Spoilt ..	<hr/> 21,247

## No. 49—Point Pedro.

This constituency is densely populated with a fishing population in the coastal strip. The poll was higher than 1947 by over 4000 votes. The C. P. candidate increased his vote by 5000, while the N.L.S.S.P. lost nearly 4000 votes. Had the anti-T.C. vote not been split by the independent and N.L.S.S.P. candidates the opposition might have won the seat.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 41,682—Poll : 58.0% .		Electorate : 43,219—Poll : 65.8% .	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
T. Ramalingam (T.C.) ..	10,396	T. Ramalingam (T.C.) ..	11,609
S. Tharmakulasingham (L.S.S.P.) ..	6,108	P. Kandiah (C.P.-L.S.S.P.)   ..	8,616
V. Suppiah (I.) ..	3,897	K. C. Nadarajah (I.) ..	5,512
P. Kandiah (C.P.) ..	3,492	C. Balasingham (N.L.S.S.P.) ..	2,208
Spoilt ..	448	Spoilt ..	494
	<hr/> 24,239		<hr/> 28,439

## No. 50—Chavakachcheri.

In this constituency the T.C. increased its vote.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 28,377—Poll : 49.3% .		Electorate : 30,692—Poll : 67.2% .	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
V. Kumaraswamy (T.C.) ..	11,813	V. Kumaraswamy (T.C.) ..	14,801
C. R. Tambiah (U.N.P.) ..	2,002	N. Arunachalam (Fed.) ..	5,663
Spoilt ..	186	Spoilt ..	168
	<hr/> 14,001		<hr/> 20,632

**No. 51—Mannar.**

The Independent candidate won this seat with about the same number of votes as in 1947.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 14,588—Poll : 67.6% .		Electorate : 14,959—Poll : 75.4% .	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
C. Sittampalam (I.)	.. 5,877	C. Sittampalam (I.)	.. 5,876
J. Tyagarajah (U.N.P.)	.. 3,381	V. A. Alegacone (I.)	.. 5,290
S. Vrasapillai (I.)	.. 542		
Spoilt	.. 71	Spoilt	.. 113
	<u>9,871</u>		<u>11,279</u>

**No. 52—Vavuniya.**

The anti-Government independent increased his vote while the T.C. candidate polled less than in 1947.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 11,090—Poll : 55.7% .		Electorate : 13,093—Poll : 69.6% .	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
C. Suntheralingam (I.)	.. 4,826	C. Suntheralingam (I.)	.. 6,019
T. M. Sabaratnam (T.C.)	.. 2,018	U. B. Dassanayake (I.)	.. 1,497
		T. M. Sabaratnam (T.C.)	.. 1,398
		K. Vellupillai (I.)	.. 93
Spoilt	.. 132	Spoilt	.. 104
	<u>6,176</u>		<u>9,111</u>

**EASTERN PROVINCE****No. 53—Trincomalee.**

A Federal candidate defeated the U.N.P. sitting member.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 18,421—Poll : 51.7% .		Electorate : 14,272—Poll : 68.8% .	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
S. Sivapalam (T.C.)	.. 5,232	H. R. Rajavarothiam (Fed.)	.. 4,450
A. C. Kanagasingham (U.N.P.)	.. 3,225	S. Sivapalan (U.N.P.)	.. 3,864
E. A. P. Nandias Silva (I.)	.. 877	K. Sivapalan (I.)	.. 1,403
Spoilt	.. 180	Spoilt	.. 103
	<u>9,534</u>		<u>9,820</u>

## No. 54—Muttur.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 16,649—Poll : 48.9%.		Electorate : 16,705—Poll : 56.9%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
A. R. A. M. Abubaker (U.N.P.)	3,480	M. E. H. Mohamed Ali (I.)	60,50
M. E. B. Mohamed Ali [C.P.]	1,760	A. R. A. M. Abubakar (U.N.P.)	3,329
E. Sockalingam (I.)	1,555		
A. C. Chellarajah (I.)	1,118		
Spoilt	228	Spoilt	119
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	8,141		9,498

## No. 55—Kalkudah.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 22,030—Poll : 55.8%.		Electorate : 22,285—Poll : 64.9%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
V. Nalliah (I.)	5,559	V. Nalliah (U.N.P.)	7,599
K. W. Devanayagam (I.)	3,176	S. Sivagnanam (I.)	6,724
V. V. Miralebbai (I.)	2,421		
M. A. C. N. Saleh (U.N.P.)	935		
Spoilt	220	Spoilt	147
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	12,301		14,470

## No. 56—Batticaloa.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 27,409—Poll : 50.0%.		Electorate : 24,947—Poll : 78.7%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
A. Sinna Lebbe (U.N.P.)	4,740	R. B. Kadramer (I.)	11,420
K. V. M. Subramaniam (I.)	3,395	Sinna Lebbe Ahamedlebbe (U.N.P.)	7,960
R. B. Kadramer (I.)	2,312		
N. S. Rasiah (I.)	2,236		
E. Rasiah (I.)	714	Spoilt	260
Spoilt	324		
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	13,722		19,640

## No. 57—Paddiruppu.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 22,380—Poll : 68.5%.		Electorate : 23,440—Poll : 83.0%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
S. U. Ethirimasingham (I.)	5,672	S. M. Rasamanickam (I.)	7,672
S. M. Rasamanickam (I.)	4,794	S. U. Ethirimasingham (U.N.P.)	7,198
V. O. Gurugulasingham, (U.N.P.)	4,617	K. Arulambalam (I.)	4,380
		Spoilt	198
Spoilt	274		
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	15,247		19,448

**No. 58—Kalmunai.**

1947		1952	
Electorate : 22,753—Poll : 60.9%.		Electorate : 22,120—Poll : 65.4%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
M. S. Kariapper (U.N.P.) ..	6,88 <sup>5</sup>	A. M. Merza (I.) ..	6,078
K. Kanapathipillai (I.) ..	3,38 <sup>2</sup>	M. A. Kariapper (I.) ..	4,414
M. A. L. Kariapper (U.N.P.) ..	2,978	Gate-Mudr. M. S. Kariapper (U.N.P.) ..	3,744
Spoilt ..	496	Spoilt ..	228
	<hr/> 13,862		<hr/> 14,464

**No. 59—Pottuvil.**

1947		1952	
Electorate : 18,164—Poll : 72.8%.		Electorate : 21,187—Poll : 74.6%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
M. M. Ebrahim (I.) ..	7,467	M. M. Ebrahim Hadjiar (U.N.P.) ..	8,093
A. R. A. Razik (U.N.P.) ..	5,508	M. M. Mustapha (I.) ..	7,534
Spoilt ..	330	Spoilt ..	177
	<hr/> 13,245		<hr/> 15,804

**NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCE****No. 60—Puttalam.**

1947		1952	
Electorate : 14,035.		Electorate : 15,247—Poll : 77.1%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
H. S. Ismail (U.N.P.)—Unopposed.		H. S. Ismail (U.N.P.) ..	9,117
		S. P. C. Fernando (I.) ..	2,529
		Spoilt ..	103
			<hr/> 11,749

**No. 61—Nikaweratiya.**

This constituency is part of the Wannu and comprises the dry zone agricultural population of the province. The U.N.P. candidate increased his vote.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 29,808—Poll : 47.6%.		Electorate : 34,969—Poll : 54.7%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
K. Herat (I.) ..	7,316	Kavisena Herat (U.N.P.) ..	11,999
U. B. Wanninayaka (U.N.P.) ..	6,734	H. M. Rasnayake (S.L.F.P.) ..	6,999
Spoilt ..	150	Spoilt ..	129
	<hr/> 14,200		<hr/> 19,127



**No. 62—Dodangaslanda.**

This constituency is mainly devoted to plumbago mining. The personal influence of the U.N.P. candidate is significant. The opposition increased its vote partly at least due to caste reasons.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 34,275—Poll : 57.8%.		Electorate : 37,253—Poll : 76.8%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
J. L. Kotelawela (U.N.P.) ..	17,548	Sir John Kotelawela (U.N.P.) ..	21,934
C. B. Molegoda (I.) ..	2,063	C. A. Mathew (C.P.-L.S.S.P.) ..	6,466
Spoilt ..	197	Spoilt ..	195
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	19,808		28,595

**No. 63—Kurunegala.**

This constituency has mining, urban and agricultural characteristics. The element of caste is also important. In spite of the S.L.F.P. candidate increasing his vote, the U.N.P. won with a very high poll.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 38,497—Poll : 54.8%.		Electorate : 41,367—Poll : 76.75%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
Sri Nissanka (I.) ..	10,188	D. B. Welagedara (U.N.P.) ..	18,049
B. I. Palipane (U.N.P.) ..	6,642	H. Sri Nissanka (S.L.F.P.) ..	13,518
J. H. Weerasinghe (U.N.P.) ..	3,963		
Spoilt ..	312	Spoilt ..	184
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	21,126		31,751

**No. 64—Dambadeniya.**

This is a highly developed electorate bordering on the Western Province. The U.N.P. doubled its vote, and so did the Left.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 33,314—Poll : 46.0%.		Electorate : 39,236—Poll : 75.1%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
R. G. Senanayake (U.N.P.) ..	11,705	R. G. Senanayake (U.N.P.) ..	22,003
R. M. P. Y. Sri Wimalaratne (I.) ..	3,435	Sri Wimalaratne (C.P.-L.S.S.P.) ..	4,440
		Mrs. D. C. R. Gunawardene (N.L.S.S.P.) ..	2,817
Spoilt ..	197	Spoilt ..	213
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	15,338		29,473

**No. 65—Wariyapola.**

This is an entirely rural and agricultural electorate. In this constituency the increase in the poll went more to benefit the S.L.F.P. than the U.N.P.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 31,886—Poll : 47.5%.		Electorate : 35,837—Poll : 76.1%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
Ivan Dassanayake (U.N.P.) ..	12,063	Ivan T. Dassanayake (U.N.P.)	19,622
C. M. Edwin de Silva (I.) ..	2158	A. M. A. Adikar (S.L.F.P.) ..	7,090
H. Vanderpoorten (Swaraj) ..	485	S. B. Peiris (I.) ..	350
T. G. R. de Silva (I.) ..	213	Spoilt ..	198
Spoilt ..	265		
	<hr/> 15,184		<hr/> 27,260

**No. 66—Dandagamuwa.**

This is a highly developed constituency.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 33,787—Poll : 53.3%.		Electorate : 35,625—Poll : 70.2%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
A. M. R. A. Iriyagolle (I.) ..	9,355	L. M. R. A. Iriyagolle (I.) ..	16,581
J. A. Amaratunga (U.N.P.) ..	7,836	Leelananda Weerasinghe (I.) ..	4,839
P. B. Bogahalanda (U.N.P.) ..	649	Mrs. T. A. E. Tennekoon (I.) ..	2,534
Spoilt ..	165	N. G. L. Ariyasinha (N.L.S.S.P.)	896
	<hr/> 18,005	Spoilt ..	144
			<hr/> 24,994

**No. 67—Bingiriya.**

This too is a well developed electorate. Personal influence was as important as politics in this case. Many of the non-voters of 1947 appeared to be now 'left.'

1947		1952	
Electorate : 36,156—Poll : 26.5%.		Electorate : 40,042—Poll : 78.4%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
T. B. Subasinghe (L.S.S.P.) ..	10,410	T. B. Subasinghe (N.L.S.S.P.)	16,426
G. E. Athanayake (U.N.P.) ..	814	Devvar Suriya Sena (U.N.P.) ..	13,894
L. W. Weerasinghe (Swaraj) ..	684	S. M. Gunaratbanda (I.) ..	689
S. M. G. Banda (I.) ..	617	Spoilt ..	397
A. R. Wijekoon (Labour) ..	165		
Spoilt ..	316		
	<hr/> 9,596		<hr/> 31,406

## No. 68—Chilaw.

This is an electorate where the Christians form the largest religious group. There was a close fight and had the Independent or the Republican candidate been out, the opposition might have won the seat.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 31,053—Poll : 57.7%.		Electorate : 35,917—Poll : 72.5%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
J. J. Fernando (I.) ..	6,270	S. C. Shirley Corea (U.N.P.) ..	10,260
J. C. Munasinghe (I.) ..	4,235	J. C. Munasinghe (S.L.F.P.) ..	10,206
C. A. Abeyratne (U.N.P.) ..	3,375	J. J. Fernando (I.) ..	5,027
H. Gunasekera (I.) ..	2,118	A. M. L. Appuhamy (Rep.) ..	341
C. E. V. S. Corea (I.) ..	1,744		
Spoilt ..	176	Spoilt ..	220
	<hr/> 17,919		<hr/> 26,054

## No. 69—Nattandiya.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 34,025—Poll : 59.7%.		Electorate : 35,933—Poll : 81.0%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
Albert F. Peiris (U.N.P.) ..	11,036	Albert Peiris (Speaker) ..	14,593
P. D. Peter Perera (I.) ..	8,124	W. I. K. Fernando (I.) ..	14,287
W. A. V. Jayatilleke (Labour)	818		
Spoilt ..	339	Spoilt ..	208
	<hr/> 20,317		<hr/> 29,088

## NORTH-CENTRAL PROVINCE

## No. 70—Medawachchiya.

This constituency is part of the dry zone. Although the electorate is backward the polling was one of the highest. The U.N.P. received nearly  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the total electorate.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 11,403—Poll : 63.7%.		Electorate : 12,351—Poll : 83.3%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
M. Senanayake (U.N.P.) ..	3,283	M. Senanayake (U.N.P.) ..	8,112
Ariya Pathirana (I.) ..	1,404	A. Pathirana (S.L.F.P.) ..	2,039
W. Tennekoon (I.) ..	1,247		
S. M. V. Madubane (I.) ..	1,196		
Spoilt ..	136	Spoilt ..	133
	<hr/> 7,266		<hr/> 10,284

**No. 71—Anuradhapura.**

This is less rural than Medawachchiya, having about 40 % of the electorate within the Urban Council limits. Kandyan Sinhalese predominate. The weakness of the 'left' organizations were amply proved here.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 11,565—Poll : 60.4%.		Electorate : 13,563—Poll : 71.0%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
P. B. Bulankulama Disawa (U.N.P.) ..	5,016	P. B. Bulankulame Disawa (U.N.P.) ..	6,280
A. Gunasekera (L.S.S.P.) ..	1,495	G. Dahanayake (S.L.F.P.) ..	2,361
F. P. Senaratne (Labour) ..	350	D. V. Samarakoon (N.L.S.S.P.) ..	462
		Premalal Kumarasiri (C.P.-L.S.S.P.)	393
Spoilt ..	125	Spoilt ..	131
	<hr/> 6,986		<hr/> 9,627

**No. 72—Kalawewa.**

This electorate is more developed largely as a result of colonization schemes. Kandyan Sinhalese predominate and the influence of aristocratic elements is important.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 15,961—Poll : 53.3%.		Electorate : 19,521—Poll : 68.0%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
S. H. Mahadiulwewa (U.N.P.)	4,621	S. H. Mahadiulwewa (U.N.P.)	5,674
S. B. Ratwatte (I) ..	3,730	S. B. Ratwatte (I) ..	4,137
		Asoka Jayaratna (S.L.F.P.) ..	2,894
		Percy Alwis Abeyakoon (In. Soc.) ..	333
Spoilt ..	157	Spoilt ..	245
	<hr/> 8,508		<hr/> 13,283

**No. 73—Horowupotana.**

This is also part of the dry zone. It is less accessible in terms of transport facilities. Kandyan Sinhalese predominate. Perhaps a united opposition could have won this seat.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 12,758—Poll : 60.7%.		Electorate : 14,230—Poll : 70.1%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
T. B. Poholiyadde Disawa (U.N.P.) ..	3,399	T. B. Poholiyadde (U.N.P.) ..	4,766
P. M. K. Tennekoon (L.S.S.P.) ..	1,820	P. M. Tennekoon (N.L.S.S.P.) ..	3,256
H. M. K. Bandara (U.N.P.) ..	1,255	G. Karunaratna (S.L.F.P.) ..	1,441
M. P. de Zoysa (U.N.P.) ..	1,063	T. M. K. B. Chandrasekera (Rep.) ..	311
Spoilt ..	208	Spoilt ..	208
	<hr/> 7,745		<hr/> 9,982

**No. 74—Polonnaruwa.**

This is a sparsely populated area with few transport facilities. Kandyan Sinhalese form only 36.8 % of the population. This and the personal popularity of the S.L.F.P. candidate perhaps explain the latter's success.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 5,831—Poll : 60.1%.		Electorate : 15,796—Poll : 54.2%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
P. L. Baudhasara (U.N.P.) ..	1,604	C. P. de Silva (S.L.F.P.) ..	5,498
E. B. Wijeratne (U.N.P.) ..	839	P. L. Baudhasara (U.N.P.) ..	2,856
M. S. Abubekkar (L.S.S.P.) ..	818	A. Goonesekera (C.P.) ..	129
M. S. Ismail (U.N.P.) ..	108		
P. de S. Jayasekera (U.N.P.) ..	68		
S. Seneviratne (U.N.P.) ..	45		
Spoilt ..	102	Spoilt ..	76
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	3,507		8,559

**UVA PROVINCE****No. 75—Alutnuwara.**

A rural constituency with a large extent of dry land where 'chena' cultivation is common, this has also a few estates which provide the 22 % Tamil population in it.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 16,486—Poll : 36.0%.		Electorate : 16,190—Poll : 43.6%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
D. Ramanujan (I.) ..	2,772	J. A. Rambukpota (U.N.P.) ..	3,595
K. D. Gooneratne (I.) ..	1,335	K. D. Goonaratne (I.) ..	815
T. M. A. Ramanayake (I.) ..	567	M. B. Kotagama (I.) ..	814
C. E. Rumbalwela (U.N.P.) ..	522	K. B. Herath (C.P.-L.S.S.P.) ..	800
W. N. Ratnayake (I.) ..	310	Cuda Banda Bibile (N.L.S.S.P.) ..	643
P. B. M. Bandaranayake (U.N.P.) ..	147	A. Paramasivam (I.) ..	185
Spoilt ..	290	Spoilt ..	208
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	5,943		7,060

**No. 76—Badulla.**

This was made a two-member constituency to enable the Ceylon Indians to be represented. The Ceylon Indians formed 42.2 % of the population.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 43,398—Poll : 62.2%.		Electorate : 28,151—Poll : 70.6%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
S. M. Subbiah (C.-I.C.) ..	27,121	J. C. T. Kotalawela (N.L.S.S.P.) ..	12,450
J. C. T. Kotalawela (B.L.P.) ..	16,654	S. A. Peeris (U.N.P.) ..	12,047
G. B. Katugaha (I.) ..	6,585	S. B. Ekanayake (U.N.P.) ..	6,559
V. Gnanapandithan (I.) ..	1,319	M. I. Packir Saiba (I.) ..	3,405
		T. D. Alexander (S.L.F.P.) ..	2,640
		K. B. H. Adhikaritulaka (B.R.P.) ..	781
Spoilt ..	2,326	Spoilt ..	1,871
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	54,005		39,753

**No. 77—Bandarawela.**

This constituency combined rural, urban, commercial and Indian interests. It is well roaded. The Ceylon Indians are 26.6 % of the population.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 14,311—Poll : 58.8%.		Electorate : 13,950—Poll : 74.1%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
K. V. Nadarajah (I.) ..	5,092	K. V. D. Sugathadasa (U.N.P.) ..	6,392
M. P. Yapa (I.) ..	2,897	Y. G. Jayasinghe (N.L.S.S.P.) ..	2,266
K. B. H. Adikaratilaka (I.) ..	181	L. Jayasundera (Rep.) ..	839
		E. D. M. T. B. Pethiyagoda (S.L.F.P.) ..	670
Spoilt ..	239	Spoilt ..	169
	<hr/> 8,409		<hr/> 10,336

**No. 78—Welimada.**

A rural constituency, the village agriculturists being the predominant element. An independent was returned.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 19,983—Poll : 51.9%.		Electorate : 21,220—Poll : 73.13%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
K. Don Sugathadasa (I.) ..	4,242 <sup>2</sup>	M. B. Bambarapane (I.) ..	6,314
A. G. Divitotawela (U.N.P.) ..	4,220	K. D. David Perera (U.N.P.) ..	5,118
Walter Pinto (I.) ..	1,517	K. M. P. Rajaratna (S.L.F.P.) ..	3,327
		G. P. Perera (N.L.S.S.P.) ..	427
Spoilt ..	404	Spoilt ..	333
	<hr/> 10,383		<hr/> 15,519

**No. 79—Haputale.**

This is a tea-growing electorate where the Ceylon Indians predominate with 57.0 % of the population. The electorate of 1952 was 4061 less than in 1947 which is more than what the U.N.P. candidate received in votes.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 11,122—Poll : 62.0%.		Electorate : 7,051—Poll : 70.3%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
J. A. Rambukpota (U.N.P.) ..	2,124	Wilfred A. Ratwatte (U.N.P.) ..	2,444
A. D. Sengamateal (I.) ..	1,758	B. J. Perera (I.) ..	820
R. A. Nadesan (C.-I.C.) ..	1,387	W. P. G. Ariyadasa (S.L.F.P.) ..	650
A. Patchamuttu (B.L.P.) ..	1,239	V. E. H. de Mel (N.L.S.S.P.) ..	518
J. G. Rajakulendran (U.N.P.) ..	327	W. Arthur de Silva (I.) ..	432
		K. Sivasamy (I.) ..	94
Spoilt ..	127		
	<hr/> 6,897		<hr/> 4,958

## No. 80—Buttala.

This is an agricultural constituency with Kandyan predominating. It includes all the territory of the Veddah aboriginals. The importance of transport cannot be exaggerated in this electorate.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 17,161—Poll : 52.1%.		Electorate : 20,127—Poll : 58.0%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
W. Leo Fernando (U.N.P.) ..	6,903	W. Leo Fernando (U.N.P.) ..	8,396
T. D. Alexander (I.) ..	1,395	W. G. M. Albert Silva (I.) ..	1,272
G. P. Perera (I.) ..	385	S. M. Jayawardena (I.) ..	1,029
		Earle Abeyesuriya (C.P.) ..	930
Spoilt ..	236	Spoilt ..	299
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	8,919		11,926
	<hr/>		<hr/>

## SABARAGAMUVA PROVINCE

## No. 81—Mawanella.

This is a constituency of Kandyan villagers. In this case the increased poll benefitted the S.L.F.P. candidate.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 34,493—Poll : 52.8%.		Electorate : 36,231—Poll : 72.1%.	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
H. L. Ratwatte (U.N.P.) ..	9,442	C. R. Beligammana (S.L.F.P.)	14,225
C. R. Beligammana (I.) ..	7,055	H. L. Ratwatte (U.N.P.) ..	10,847
B. Abeyratna (I.) ..	729	N. H. Seelawathie (I.) ..	739
S. M. A. Moulana (I.) ..	715		
Spoilt ..	261	Spoilt ..	313
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	18,202		26,124
	<hr/>		<hr/>

## No. 82—Kegalla.

This is largely rural but also has urban elements. It has been demarcated to help a minority caste.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 41,797—Poll : 52.2%.		Electorate : 35,428—Poll : 72.1%.	
<i>Results:</i>		<i>Results:</i>	
N. H. Keerthiratne (U.N.P.) ..	14,550	N. H. Keerthiratne (U.N.P.) ..	16,443
R. V. Dedigama (I.) ..	7,059	Lionel Samarakoddy (I.) ..	8,358
		K. A. Siriratne (C.P.-L.S.S.P.)	407
Spoilt ..	343	Spoilt ..	341
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	21,952		25,549
	<hr/>		<hr/>

**No. 83—Dedigama.**

This is also an agricultural constituency. The minority caste living in part of Beligal Korale was attached to Kegalle. This constituency is predominantly Buddhist Sinhalese. The poll was one of the highest and the Prime Minister bettered his previous poll by nearly 5000 votes.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 29,559—Poll : 68.6% .		Electorate : 34,764—Poll : 81.2% .	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
Dudley Senanayake (U.N.P.) ..	16,862	Dudley Senanayake (U.N.P.) ..	21,206
B. J. Fernando (L.S.S.P.) ..	3,308	Hector Wijetunga (N.L.S.S.P.)	5,647
		Darrell Peiris (S.L.F.P.) ..	1,136
Spoilt ..	213	Spoilt ..	237
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	20,383		28,226
	<hr/>		<hr/>

**No. 84—Ruwanwella.**

This is largely an agricultural electorate with a few estates. The Ceylon Indians form 17.2 % of the population. The leader of the N.L.S.S.P. increased on his previous vote by about 500, whereas the U.N.P. candidate raised his votes by about 4000. Yet Ceylon Indian votes if available would have made a difference and in favour of the N.L.S.S.P.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 29,178—Poll : 59.5% .		Electorate : 25,930—Poll : 78.96% .	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
Dr. N. M. Perera (L.S.S.P.) ..	10,065	Dr. N. M. Perera (N.L.S.S.P.)	10,601
P. C. Imbulana (U.N.P.) ..	5,209	Prema Chandra Imbulana	
W. R. Dharmasena (I.) ..	1,583	(U.N.P.) ..	9,558
Spoilt ..	569	Spoilt ..	316
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	17,426		20,475
	<hr/>		<hr/>

**No. 85—Dehiowita.**

A constituency of estates and villages where Ceylon Indians form about 18 % of the population. The N.L.S.S.P. retained the seat with an increased poll

1947		1952	
Electorate : 28,938—Poll : 44.9% .		Electorate : 27,177—Poll : 69.65% .	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
Reginald Perera (L.S.S.P.) ..	6,387	Edmund Samarakoddy (N.L.)	
Mobandas de Mel (I.) ..	3,498	S.S.P.) ..	8,848
A. J. H. de Thabrew (U.N.P.)	1,576	Somawira Gunasekera (U.N.P.)	8,766
H. Jayawardena (I.) ..	909	Effie Jayatilaka (Lab.) ..	982
P. Udabage (U.N.P.) ..	898		
C. W. de Mel (I.) ..	303		
Spoilt ..	434	Spoilt ..	335
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	13,005		18,931
	<hr/>		<hr/>



**No. 86—Kiriella.**

This is also a constituency of estates and villages. The Ceylon Indians are 12.1 % of the population. A united opposition would have won the seat without difficulty.

1947	1952
Electorate : 30,305—Poll : 51.8% .	Electorate : 29,037—Poll : 71.59% .
<i>Result :</i>	<i>Result :</i>
Mrs. Florence Senanayake (L.S.S.P.) .. .. . 5,535	A. E. B. Kiriella (U.N.P.) .. 9,978
T. K. W. Chandrasekara (U.N.P.) .. .. . 3,294	Jayaweera Kuruppu (S.L.F.P.) 7,369
A. E. B. Kiriella (U.N.P.) .. 2,439	Mrs. Florence Senanayake (L.S.S.P.) .. .. . 7,369
H. A. G. Kalatuwawa (I.) .. 2,428	
B. S. Ramachandra (I.) .. 1,120	
Abdul M. S. Lebbe (I.) .. 366	
Spoilt .. 399	Spoilt .. 251
<hr/> 15,581	<hr/> 20,790

**No. 87—Ratnapura.**

This includes the whole of the urban council area with some rural areas. In a straight fight the U.N.P. defeated one of the N.L.S.S.P. leaders.

1947	1952
Electorate : 25,985—Poll : 50.8% .	Electorate : 27,578—Poll : 75.39% .
<i>Result :</i>	<i>Result :</i>
C. E. Attygalle (U.N.P.) .. 6,602	C. E. Attygalle (U.N.P.) .. 11,191
A. H. Wijetunga (L.S.S.P.) .. 4,804	A. R. Perera (N.L.S.S.P.) .. 9,380
John W. Rodrigo (I.) .. 587	
K. A. Dalpatadu (U.L.C.) .. 430	
W. Angamma (I.) .. 289	
T. D. A. de Alwis (I.) .. 211	
Spoilt .. 265	Spoilt .. 222
<hr/> 13,189	<hr/> 20,793

**No. 88—Nivitigala.**

Sabaragamuwa type electorate, villages separating estates. The N.L.S.S.P. won that seat in 1947 on a minority vote. Although that party nearly doubled its vote, the U.N.P. won the seat with a majority of over 3500 votes.

1947	1952
Electorate : 28,486—Poll : 42.2% .	Electorate : 29,246—Poll : 76.1% .
<i>Result :</i>	<i>Result :</i>
D. F. Hettiaratchy (L.S.S.P.) 5,626	Harold Weragama (U.N.P.) .. 12,785
Jayaweera Kuruppu (U.N.P.) 5,602	D. F. Hettiaratchy (N.L.S.S.P.) 9,257
J. P. Delgoda (I.) .. 1,130	
C. E. Perera (I.) .. 309	
Spoilt .. 242	Spoilt .. 217
<hr/> 12,009	<hr/> 22,259

## No. 89—Balangoda.

This was made a two-member constituency to enable Ceylon Indians to elect a representative of their choice. They formed 23.8 % and Ceylon Tamils 5.5 % of the population. Ceylon Indians disfranchisement reduced the electorate of 1947 by over 7000 voters. But for this an opposition candidate might have won one seat.

1947		1952	
Electorate : 63,443—Poll : 40.0% .		Electorate : 56,096—Poll : 68.3% .	
<i>Result :</i>		<i>Result :</i>	
A. F. Molamure (U.N.P.) ..	23,076	A. F. Molamure (U.N.P.) ..	32,223
E. W. Mathew (U.N.P.) ..	13,767	E. W. Mathew (U.N.P.) ..	20,710
W. A. P. Jayatileke (L.S.S.P.) ..	9,833	M. P. Jotipala (N.L.S.S.P.) ..	16,640
M. Rajendran (I.) ..	7,329	C. V. Ranavaka (S.L.F.P.) ..	3,337
W. S. Thurai Rajah (I.) ..	1,870		
Spoilt ..	3,899	Spoilt ..	3,653
	<hr/> 50,774		<hr/> 76,573

## BOOK REVIEWS

**Documents of English History 1688-832** Ed. by Barker, St Aubyn and Ollard. (MacMillan 6s. 6d.)

The style and title of "Documents of English History" would give the secondary school teacher the impression that this is a book for the University level, that its contents are highly abstruse and even esoteric (from school standards), a collection of documents taken directly from the Archives! In reality however this book of documents is in the words of the Editors "on a modest scale". The documents have been carefully selected out of a wide field of letters, essays, poems, biographical writings and even statistics, to illustrate or expand subjects referred to in the *General History of England*, (by the same authors.)

History teaching in school is very often too abstract, formal and unpractical. Though the conventional list of "dates" is not insisted upon now, the rote learning of causes and results still continues. There is very little evidence of a realistic approach to history, so that the student who is "good" in history while still in school is often unfit to take history at the University level because he cannot think scientifically enough though he can mug up notes. Here then in these documents are found an introduction to scientific historical method, and more, the flesh and blood that will give life to the dry bones of General Certificate history syllabuses. Historical documents are usually associated with Archives and Museum Libraries, but when the student finds here letters, poems, essays, speeches and biographical extracts within his understanding, if his interests are channelled, the use of this book will be for him an activity far more beneficial than all the note-teaching and note learning that is so frequently imposed on him.

There is another attraction in this book. The variety of documents will enable the teacher to get the children to use this in "projects." Where the need is to integrate "subjects" and offer "total education", a book containing extracts so varied as Cobbett's "Advice to Youngmen", Pope's "Essay on Man" and the text of the Bill of Rights, will certainly be a welcome addition to the "property cupboard".

To give practical examples of how much more effective history teaching would become through the use of books such as this, would not be possible within the limits of a book-review. Suffice it to mention that a very real picture of religious changes in England from Charles II to Anne's reign may be got from a reading of *The Vicar of*

*Bray*; a more vivid picture of the nature and growth of the British Empire in the latter half of the 18th century available in the selection of documents pertaining to the Empire.

School histories still tend to give too much weightage to political and military affairs. A selection of documents such as this taken along with a balanced presentation of history such as the parallel volume *General History of England* rectifies this defect by bringing within the orbit of the history curriculum, social life, religion and thought in addition to the usual, constitutional, imperial and military topics.

A.P.S.

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