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CONTENTS

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The Ceylon Historical Journal

VOLUME III NUMBER 1

EDITOR: SUMANA SAPARAMADU

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, of 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 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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JULY 1953

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CONTENTS

Reviews

THE EVOLUTION OF THE COMMONWEALTH [1]

By SIR FREDERICK REES

IN 1926 Sir Alfred Zimmern published a book with the title of *The Third British Empire*. Today, I think, he would have to choose another title. He would have some difficulty in doing so. The word ' Empire ' is out-moded and ' British ' is hardly appropriate. Perhaps he would agree with me in adopting the title—*The Commonwealth ; its Fifth Phase*. At any rate that is how I propose to approach my subject. To begin with, two important aspects in the present situation must be noted. In the first place, world opinion is critical of, and indeed hostile to, the idea of Colonialism, that is, of the dependence of one people upon another or of the relation of a subordinate people to a metropolitan power. This attitude is constantly finding expression in the discussions of the United Nations Organisation. The Colonial powers are on the defensive. France will not attend when the position of Tunisia or Morocco is under discussion. South Africa will not allow her policy in South West Africa to be considered. Great Britain will not accept any review of her colonial administration.

The critical attitude towards Colonialism though for different reasons, is expressed both by the United States and by Russia. The Americans are descendants of colonists who fought for their independence, and they have traditionally fostered a liberal attitude towards dependent territories. Chester Wilmot has told us that even such a good friend of Great Britain as the late President Roosevelt was sometimes suspicious of her ' imperial ' aims. Mr. Cordell Hull actually proposed that dates should be fixed on which colonial peoples should be granted full independence. America has as far as possible avoided becoming herself a colonial power, as, for instance, in her treatment of Cuba and the Philippines. Russia, on the other hand, realises that the accusation of being ' imperial ' is a powerful weapon against the Western Democracies and does not hesitate to use it. She affects to sympathise with all disruptive tendencies in Colonies, though herself in fact the chief ' imperial ' power in the world, allowing no degree of political freedom to her satellites.

In the United Nations, therefore, the United States, Russia, the Latin American Republics, the Arab and the Asian States would be found in the lobby against Colonialism. As the modern phrase goes, the climate of opinion is unfavourable to it.

1. A lecture delivered before the Curia Historica, University of Ceylon, 26th October, 1953.

Secondly, the colonists themselves, or perhaps one should say the politically conscious section of them, are well aware of the attitude of world opinion and naturally try to profit from it. This has been particularly marked in the East since the War and is now expressing itself also in Africa. Holland was an enlightened colonial power, but she failed to retain Indonesia. France is fighting an exhausting war in Indo-China and Great Britain has her difficulties in Malaya. Western ideologies—democracy, nationalism and communism—have been adopted as political cries. Self-government is demanded as of right.

Political concessions, however, are not enough. It is interesting to find this fact recognised in a leading article under the heading of *The Bogy of Colonialism* in the *New York Times*. Two paragraphs may be quoted. "In fact, colonialism or imperialism, even though dying, is one of the major problems of our times. It is part of the nationalism which is giving more troubles in the Middle East, Africa and Latin America than communism. The magic phrase is 'national sovereignty', and even such an enlightened statesman as Prime Minister Nehru goes on pressing the much-discredited theory that if only all Asian and African dependencies had 'national sovereignty', every thing would soon be fine in the best of all possible worlds. In reality national sovereignty of itself solves no problems, and usually creates new ones temporarily which are worse than the old. Materially speaking, Indonesia is worse off now that she is sovereign than when the islands were part of the Dutch East Indian Empire. Libya is technically a sovereign power, thanks to the Arab-Asian-Latin-American bloc on the United Nations, but is a country which cannot support itself economically, cannot defend itself or even administer its Government, an 'independent' nation ?" The *New York Times* concludes "The United Nations must support legitimate aspirations for independence. The problems then become ; What is legitimate ? Is a given colony ready for independence ? How will possible independence help or endanger the defence of the democratic West ?"

These are, indeed, difficult questions. The answers to them would certainly qualify the traditional American presumption in favour of complete independence. Many territories are not backward because they are colonies or dependencies ; but colonies or dependencies because they are backward. They are underdeveloped and have not the means within themselves to effect development. Their problems are social and economic. They require health services, education, technical assistance, technical education, etc. Self-government would not provide them. This was recognised in President Truman's 'fourth point'. 'We should', he says, "make available . . . .the benefits of our store of technical

knowledge in order to help them to realise their aspirations for a better life . . . . and we should foster capital investment in areas needing development." Undoubtedly, the growing pressure of world population demands that no potential resources should remain undeveloped. But it is one thing to enunciate a policy and another to carry it out. It must be a well-considered and long-term policy. Shock tactics are not likely to yield immediate results. We ought to have learnt this from the ill-fated ground nut scheme in Africa and the ambitious poultry plan in the Gambia. Then, where is the capital to come from ? The recent Commonwealth Conference in London admitted that it could not be found within the Commonwealth itself. We have not the necessary excess of production over consumption to afford sufficient capital for all the plans which have been envisaged. But, someone will say, America has. She certainly has vast resources and has been liberal in disposing of them ; but even America cannot be a univeral provider. It is important, therefore, that all schemes, such as those under the Colombo Plan should be carefully examined. Where capital is limited it should not be wasted, for the result would be disillusionment.

I have anticipated some of the problems which face the Commonwealth in its fifth phase. May I now turn to a brief account of the phases which precede the present one from which (if I may anticipate) we shall be able to draw the conslusion that the Commonwealth has revealed its flexibility, a characteristic never more fully exhibited than in this, its fifth phase. It is always well to enquire how an institution came to be what it is before asking what is involved in it being what it is.

The first phase is well marked. It is that of the Old Colonial Empire which was broken up by the secession in 1783 of the most advanced part of it—the Thirteen Colonies on the Eastern mainland of America. The Old Empire fell into two main divisions. The Thirteen Colonies which were colonies of settlement, literally in Seeley's phrase an expansion of England, and the plantation colonies in the West Indies where exotic products, mainly sugar, were cultivated by means of slave labour imported from West Africa. These latter colonies were the more highly valued because they were not competitive with the Mother Country. Attempts were made to prevent the development of industries in the mainland colonies and to restrict their trading with the West Indies. These commercial restrictions were a characteristic feature of the Mercantilist point of view. The friction they caused was an element in the course of events which led to the revolt of the mainland colonies. The system created a vested interest among the West Indian planters, based on their desire to maintain a sugar monopoly within the Empire, that had a result the importance

of which was not realised at the time. At the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763 the Bute administration debated whether Guadeloupe or Canada should be restored to France. The retention of Guadeloupe would have meant the relative decline of the prosperity of the British Sugar Islands—Guadeloupe being a large producer. So the West Indian interest opposed it. Canada although at the time the value of its trade was slight, was retained. The consequences of this decision were momentous. The Old Empire then, consisted of the Thirteen American Colonies, Newfoundland, Canada and the West Indies and in Europe, Gibraltar.

The second phase lasted nearly a hundred years from 1783 to 1874. The dismemberment of the Old Empire was a heavy blow. It lead to a certain disillusionment and a tendency to accept Turgot's doctrine that colonies were like fruit and fell from the tree when they were ripe. Experience also revealed that trade with America did not suffer after the political separation from Great Britain. During this phase, indeed, the dominant position of Great Britain as a manufacturing nation with a command of the seas gave her such advantages that active colonisation was not important, provided she could maintain the principle of the Open Door. It was the great era of Free Trade.

The humanitarian movement at the same time promoted an attack on the institution of slavery which had been so important in the Old Empire. The slave trade was abolished in 1807 and slavery itself came to an end within the Empire with the emancipation in 1833. Great Britain paid the planters £ 20,000,000 in compensation. The slaves left the plantations in large numbers and the sugar islands suffered a relative decline.

Sir John Seeley, you will remember, said that the British conquered half the world in a fit of absent-mindedness. The element of truth in this is that in this second phase the British Government was not following any logical or coherent plan. Much depended on the accident of circumstance and the actions of individuals. The gradual opening-up of Africa was the work of explorers and missionaries, David Livingstone being outstanding both as explorer and missionary. Along the West Coast of Africa the British were active in suppressing slavery and in trading with the natives. Sierra Leone, for instance, was both a settlement for emancipated slaves and a trading base.

The outstanding features of this phase were the granting of representative government to Canada, the growing importance of trade with the Far East, and migration from Great Britain to South Africa, particularly Natal, Australia and New Zealand. In Canada trouble arose owing to a conflict between the Governor and the

assembly. Extremists in Upper Canada (Ontario) and Lower Canada (Quebec) actually broke out into rebellion. Lord Durham was sent out as Governor-General. His Report made in 1839 is one of the great State Papers of the Commonwealth. He proposed that the Governor should no longer attempt to rule with the advice of a nominated Executive Council but that responsibility should be transferred to a cabinet of ministers representing the majority party in the House of Assembly. This was the first step towards responsible government and so towards self-government and Dominion Status.

The growing importance of trade with the Far East led to the acquisition of Cape Colony (from the Dutch in 1814), Mauritius and the Seychelles (from the French in 1814), Ceylon (from the Dutch in 1796), Aden (1839), Singapore (1819) and Hong Kong (1842). In all these instances the motives were strategic and commercial, to secure ports of call on the sea route. Little interest was taken in the hinterland. In the middle years of the nineteenth century, too, the expansion of England was resumed often with little or no encouragement from the Government. Taking all destinations, some three million left the British Isles between 1847 and 1856. The English, Scots and Welsh went in large numbers to Natal, Australia and New Zealand, the Irish following the Famine of 1846 mainly to the United States. It should be added that Great Britain in 1858 assumed direct responsibility for India after the Mutiny.

Throughout this phase there was a marked disinclination to undertake new commitments by treaties of protection or fresh territorial annexations. Disraeli expressed a prevailing sentiment when he declared that colonies were : " mill-stones round our neck."

The third phase (1874–1914) was the great imperial phase of British policy. Between 1884 and 1900 the territorial acquisitions amounted to 3,700,000 square miles with a population of 57,000,000 people, mainly in Africa. It was Disraeli himself who now turned on the Liberals and accused them of attempting for the last forty years to liquidate the overseas Empire. After he won the General Election of 1874 he responded to the appeals of the Fiji Chiefs for annexation to the British Crown, an appeal which had previously been refused. He also took four of the Malay Sultanates under formal British Protection. But the chief feature of this phase was " the scramble for Africa."

Tropical Africa was practically an unknown country until the second half of the 19th Century. From the latter part of the 15th century Europeans had been exploring the coast-line. Bartho-

lomew Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1486 and Vasco da Gama made his way up the East coast as far as Mombasa, crossed the Indian Ocean and anchored off Calicut in 1497. The Portuguese were followed by the Dutch and English in the next Century. The earliest recorded English Voyage to West Africa was in 1553 ; but it was not until 1618 that they founded Fort James on the Gambia river. None of the Powers took an interest in attempting to penetrate inland ; in fact, the difficulties of doing so were almost insuperable. They traded with the inhabitants along the coast, mostly in slaves, gold dust and ivory, and established forts to defend their factories or warehouses. It was not until the seventies of the 19th century that the principal facts of African geography were revealed by the exploration of the great river systems—the Zambesi, Congo, Niger and Nile. New light was thrown on the dark Continent. It was discovered that it could supply important tropical products, such as vegetable oils, cocoa, etc.

The French were the first in the field. They had taken possession of Algeria in 1847 and by the seventies had acquired vast territories in North and West Africa. Leopold, King of the Belgians, gained the great Congo Basin for his country and it became the Congo Free State in 1885. Germany, a newcomer in the colonial field, in 1884 declared a Protectorate over Togoland, the Cameroons and South-West Africa. Great Britain granted Royal Charters to Companies—the Niger Company (1886), the Imperial East Africa Company (1888) and the British South African Company (1889), the Government avoiding direct official responsibility. But this proved a temporary device. The territories of the Royal Niger Company passed to the Crown in 1900, the East African Company had come to an end in 1895 and so Kenya and Uganda also passed to the Crown. Cecil Rhodes, the moving spirit in the British South African Company, pressed North and induced Portugal to renounce all claims in Nyasaland and negotiated concessions in what are now called the Rhodesias. By the end of the 19th Century the partition of tropical Africa was complete. In the North-East an Anglo-Egyptian condominium was established over the Sudan. The Somali Coast was divided between Italy, France and Great Britain. Abyssinia remained an independent state.

In the South, friction between the British and the Boers led to the Boer War and that to the formation of the Union of South Africa (which included Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal and the Orange Free State) as one of the British Self-governing Dominions. The Boer War may be said to mark the high-water mark of popular support for imperialism.

The fourth phase in the development of the Commonwealth falls between 1914 and 1945. It includes the years of two world wars

which have made a profound change in outlook. Writing in the book I have mentioned, Sir Alfred Zimmern says in 1926 : " The British Empire is the largest single political community in the world. It includes within its borders one quarter of the inhabitants of the world of which the vast majority are governed from London ". He went on to state how scattered and diversified it was in Europe, Asia, Africa, Australasia and the Americas. As a result of the First World War the German Colonies were forfeited. Great Britain became the mandatory authority in the Cameroons, Tanganyika and Togoland. She was also entrusted with mandates for Palestine, Transjordan and Iraq. In this phase, therefore, the Commonwealth reached its widest extent ; but the structure had many features of instability. The Statute of Westminster recognised the rights of the Self-governing Dominions, even to secede if they wished. Liberal constitutions were devised for the non-self governing Colonies and Dependencies.

The Second World War undoubtedly accelerated this policy and we are now in the fifth phase. The most important events in it have been the extension of Dominion Status to India (1947), Pakistan (1947) and Ceylon (1948). There are now seven Self-governing Dominions of which three are non-European in origin and one-India is a Republic. Great Britain has given up the mandates for Iraq, Transjordan and Palestine. Burma has become an independent state. Important steps have been taken to extend the principle of self-government as far as possible to the other territories of the Commonwealth. The standard plan for the government of Crown Colonies has been to move by stages from a Governor with Executive Council to a Legislative Council in which a certain number of unofficial members are nominated ; then the unofficials become a majority and are elected either communally or territorially. The constitutional history of Ceylon illustrates the complete process. Should representative government be a stage towards responsible government ? Is there a ladder which all should climb. No simple answer is possible. Two points are clear :—(i) For strategic reasons some territories must remain dependent as far as defence and foreign relations are concerned, *e.g.*, Gibraltar, Malta and Cyprus. (ii) Other territories for reasons of size and economic resources could not sustain independence status, *e.g.*, St. Helena, Solomon Islands and Gilbert and Ellice Islands.

What policy should be pursued with regard to these two categories ? From the principles with which we started this discussion two conclusions follow. The colonial peoples should be given an increasing part in the management of their internal affairs. Within the last few years important constitutional advances have been made, *e.g.*, in Nigeria and the Gold Coast. Constructive efforts should also be made to develop the economic resources of the

territories primarily in the interests of the inhabitants. The Mother Country and the Dominions should be associated in this task. The sharp distinction between the Commonwealth Relations Office and the Colonial Office is unfortunate. A Ministry for Commonwealth Affairs should provide services, health, educational and technical, for the whole Commonwealth, the self-governing Dominions sharing in the responsibility.

The possibility should be, and is in fact being, explored in forming larger units by federation or otherwise. The Caribbean Closer Association Committee did good work in promoting the idea of a federation of the West Indies with an assimilation of fiscal policy and a unification of public services. A federation of Nyasaland and the Rhodesias has been effected. There is a West African Inter-Territorial Conference which aims at promoting co-operation in the supply of medical, veterinary and forest services. The problems of West and East Africa are rather different. In West Africa the territories are not contiguous—Nigeria, Gambia, Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast being separated mainly by French Colonies. But they have not the complications which exists in East Africa, where the territories are contiguous but some of them have European settlement areas, *e.g.*, Kenya.

This rapid survey of the evolution of the Commonwealth has shown, I hope, that it has always exhibited and still exhibits a genius for adaptation to changing circumstances. Its survival has been due to a high degree of flexibility.

AN INTERESTING ETHNICAL GROUP FROM MANNAR

By The Rt. Rev. EDMUND PEIRIS, o.m.i.

Within the town limits of Mannar, there is a little village hugging the spit of land which juts into the sea. It is called Pallimunai, probably on account of the church, dominating the cape. Its inhabitants have reddish-hued complexions and light grey eyes. The men are well built and sturdy and the women tall and, in spite of the hard life they lead, not devoid of beauty and grace. An Adigar of the district stated in 1911, that " they were formerly much fairer complexioned than they are now, owing, no doubt, to recent inter-marriage with other castes and that he remembers many years ago seeing a comedy in that village, where the actors did not powder their faces, as they were so fair."[1]

Although they now speak Tamil and dress like the Tamils, it is certain that their ancestors knew Portuguese. There are people alive yet, who remember seeing in their youth wedding parties, where men wore trousers, coat and hat and women gown, jacket and an ornamental cape over the shoulders. Portuguese surnames, like Figuredo and Roche, which are the most common, and, Rodrigue, Pereira, Janse or Janses and Fernando, and Christian names like Pedro, Domingo, Salo and Juan, are evidence that their Catholicism harks back to the Portuguese days. Boake, in his monograph on Mannar, says, that in 1820, C. Rodrigue and E. Rodrigue " of the Mixties of Jaffna " were second clerk in Jaffna and Attikar of Vidataltivu respectively, and that M. F. Jan " of the Mixties of Mannar " was Attikar of Mantottai and Nannaddan.[2] Whatever their original profession may have been, they took to fishing long ago. In 1810 the services required of them by Government were " such as are required at sea."[3]

To what caste or tribe or race do these people belong ? W. J. S. Boake, c.c.s., in the book already referred to, speaks of them as Canareens, descendants of Portuguese slaves and the Mixties of Mannar.[4] The late Fr. S. Gnana Prakasar, o.m.i., thought that they were perhaps a mixture of the Portuguese of Mannar and the Paravar immigrants, who did not leave the Island for the Fishery Coast during the plague of 1563.[5] In 1924, a writer stated that

1. *Ceylon at the Census of 1911*, p. 241
2. p. 13
3. p. 20
4. pp. 13, 19, 21, 67
5. *His. of the Cath. Church in Ceylon*, Vol. 1, p. 160, n. 18

their tradition was that they were descended from " three families from the Canary Islands ", who came to Mannar in the Portuguese days.[6] Another also invoking tradition would have us believe that of the people of Mannar, " one group now living in an area called Pallimunai, though converted to Catholicism, still pride in their Arab origin ".[7] But, as a matter of fact, the people of Pallimunai have generally described themselves as Kannadiyars. This is borne out by the baptismal registers of their parish, of which the earliest we have found dates back to 1834. Census reports from 1824 to 1946 designate them as Kannadiyans, Portuguese Kannadiyans and Canarese.[8] They, therefore, repudiate the suggestion that they are of Arab ancestry, which, they say, their good neighbours, the Muslims may well claim. The story that they are the descendants of immigrants from the Canary Islands, has evidently originated from the misconception that the Canarese have something to do with the group of Islands in the Atlantic Ocean, where the well-known songbird is bred. It will be shown later in this article, how Kannadiyan became Canarese.

But were the Kannadiyans ever in Ceylon ? Historical records make it clear that Kannada and its people were known in Ceylon from early times. During the reign of Mahinda V. (1001–1017), there were Kannata and Kerala mercenaries in the Sinhalese army, and, when the king failed to find the money to pay them, they over-ran the country, paving the way for a Chola invasion, which almost annihilated the Sinhalese kingdom.[9] But under Vijaya Bahu I. (1056–1111), there was an exchange of gifts and envoys between Ceylon and the kings of Kannata and Chola.[10] Parakkrama Bahu I. (1153–1186) and Parakkrama Bahu VI. (1412–1467) employed Kannata soldiers in their great wars.[11] There were periods when Kannata armies from India invaded Ceylon. Valentyn speaks of one such invasion in the time of Parakkarama Bahu VI. by " a large army that had been sent by the King of Canara to Ceylon with a numerous fleet ".[12] Sinhalese poems of the same period refer to the King's success against such invasions, e.g.,

Gira Sandesaya, vs. 141 (Kumaranatunga's edit.) :

තම තෙද අණට උ ඳු
හිමි කැරැ සතර දල නි ඳු
පිඹුබු සැඬ විරි ඳු
පසිඳු කන්නඩි තිරිඳුගේ රැ ඳු

6. *Times, Sunday Illustrated*, 23 Nov. 1924
7. id. 14 Sept. 1952
8. *Census of Ceylon, 1911*, p. 241; 1946, p. 163
9. *Mahávansa*, LV, 12
10. ib. LX, 24—27
11. ib LXX, 230
12. JCBRAS, No. 63, p. 36

" Having made the four oceans the steady frontiers of his majesty and sway, he dissipated the hostile fury of the famous Kannadi King."

Parakumba Sirita vs. 79 (Abhayagunaratna's edit.) :

කළ බඳ කුඹු ගිජිඳුන් ලං බිඳි කන්නඩි පුරකා පංට
මන නද මිණි බරණ ලකළ පැරකුම් රජ හේම පංට
වගු විදූ රණ දරණ මුකර වසිරි රංජ කුල වි පංට

" Sending fourth his huge dark elephants he burst asunder the gates of Kannata city. Fair with jewelled ornaments, the charming monarch Parakkrama of the golden hue, extirpated the race of the hostile Mukkara King, who offered him battle; and slew his queen."

Kokila Sandesaya, vs. 240 (Gunavardhana's edit.) :

සේ වක සමග පැරකුම් නිරිඳුගෙ විදු ල
ජ් වක පැමිණි සපු මල් කුමරිඳු පබ ල
හේ වක ගුණැති කන්නඩි සෙන් බිඳි තුමූ ල
ජං වක කෝට්ටිය දැක යන් මඟ අස ල

" See as you pass by Javaka-Kotte (Chavakachcheri) near the road, where the mighty Prince Sapumal, while advancing at the time with the vast forces of King Parakkrama, crushed the cunning Kannadi hosts."

Karnāṭa or Kannāda, the name for the land of the Kannāḍi or Kannāḍiyans, was anciently applied to the central districts of the Indian Peninsula, including Mysore.[13] Its first capital was Amaragunḍy and later Vijayanagar (Bijayanagar), the Bisnagar of Europeans.[14] Thurston says that the Kannadiyans were immigrants from Mysore and that their language was Kannāḍa or Kanarese, the language of Mysore and Bellary.[15] At a later date, Kannāḍa was given to that part of the Western coast of India, which lies below the Ghauts from Mt. Dely northwards up to the Goa territory, the land which now goes under the name of South Kanara ; and, from the 16th Century, to the country over the Ghauts as well, even to the entire Vijayanagara kingdom, which at the time, comprised the whole of the Indian Peninsula to the south of the river Krishna.

It would appear that this extended designation of Kannāḍa had gone apace with the expansion of the kingdom of Vijayanagar. But the change of Kannāḍa into Kanara or Canara, was most

13. *Sanskrit English Dictionary* by Monier—Williams
14. *Du Brahmanisme by* Lauenen, Vol. 1, p. XXXV
15. *Castes & Tribes of S. India*, Vol. 3, *sub* Kannadiyan

probably due to a linguistic misadventure. The Portuguese generally stumbled over the cerebral "*d*" into "*r*"; thus, for instance, they wrote down Mānikkaḍavara as Manicravare, and the common word *kannāḍi* (glasses or spectacles) as *cannare*.[16] They, therefore, spoke of Kanara and the Canarese, by which term they meant not only the people of the Vijayanagar State but also the Goans.[17] So that when Gaspar Correa says that the Portuguese Governor of Ceylon brought with him Portuguese stone-masons and Canarese quarry-men to build the Fort of Colombo in 1518, or, when other Portuguese writers refer to Canarese in their armies in Ceylon, one must not conclude that in all these instances the Kannāḍiyans are meant. Fr. Queyroz[18] tells us that Canarese soldiers, who were among the defenders of Galle when it was attacked by the Dutch in 1640, were under the command of their Rana. As Rana was the title given to members of a noble warrior tribe in the New Conquests (Novas Conquistas) of Goa, the Canarese in this instance at least, are evidently Goans.[19] Two Sinhalese poems, however, of the 17th Century mention Kannāḍi mercenaries in the Portuguese army under Constantine de Sa, e.g. :

Kustantīnu Hatana, vs. 96 (Fr. Perera's edit.)

කලිඟ තෙලිඟ කන්නඩි උරු මු සී
නවිසි කඹිසි අංරබි ඉස්බං සී
ජංවඝ කොංඟන් සීන පරං සී
නික්මුණු අවිලෙළවං බැණ වං සී

"Then brandishing weapons and boasting of victory, came Kalinga and Telinga, Kannadi and Urumusi, Kaffirs and Abyssinians, Arabs and Parsees, Malays and Konkans, Chinese and Persians."

Parangi Hatana, MS. vs. 390 :

ඵ න් සැඩි දෙමළන්නෙ බසට දේසේ සිට ඇවිත් මෙර ට
ඵ න් පඩි නඩි කං බි සටනට ඇවිදින් වෙමින් නිව ට
ඛ න් නඩි සෙබළන් සිටි සිටි නැතිනල්වං ඇන බිඳ ඇ ට
ගොන් ගෙඩි යන් සෙම ගෙනති බැද වැලි මිටි අයං පිට ට

"The Kannāḍi soldiers, who, on the word of despicable Tamils, had come to this land leaving their own, and had come into battle, after eating and drinking on the pay granted to them, met with their disgrace here ; for, where ever they be, these dull beasts were

16. *Vie Conquista de Ceilao*, Queyroz, pp. 15, 44 etc., 663
17. *Hobson—Jobson sub* Canara & Carnatic; *Glossario* by Dalgado *sub* Canarim
18. op. cit. 829 834. 840
19. *Glossario sub* Ranes

hunted down, were speared and their bones battered, then, they were yoked together, like large nuts, and driven along, with their hands tied behind the backs."

There can be no doubt, therefore, that the Kannāḍiyans found their way into Ceylon, either as mercenaries or as invaders, many centuries ago, using the route taken by most Indian immigrants of the past, namely, across the Palk Strait to Mannar, which afforded them the closest landfall. This is, indeed, the reason for the presence of several ethnical groups in that little island ; there are there Paravars (Bharathas), Kaḍeyars, Karaiyars, Kannāḍiyars, Moors, Mixties or Mesticos and "Parangis". The Kannāḍiyars of Pallimunai may well be a survival of the old Kannadiyan or Canarese immigrants. Their fair skins and grey eyes must have been derived from the Portuguese soldiers, who manned the Fort of Mannar from 1560 to 1658, when it surrendered to the Dutch. It is well known that the Portuguese did not deem it unbecoming to marry into Ceylon Catholic families ; their progeny went by the name of Tuppahi or Mesticos or Mixties.[20] The case is different with the people of Vahakōṭṭe ; they are the descendants of Portuguese families who fled to the wilderness to safeguard their Faith. Although three centuries of continuous domicile in Ceylon have almost removed the vestiges of their European origin, they have not forgoten it completely.[21]

The suggestion that the people of Pallimunai are the descendants of the Catholic colonists brought to Mannar by the Portuguese in 1560, is not sufficiently founded on fact. These colonists were Paravars from Punnaikkayal in the Fishery Coast and were persuaded to come to Mannar to escape the annoyance to which they were subjected by the Vadagars, on account of their Faith.[22] Many of them returned to their country during the plague in Mannar in 1564, which carried off about 4,000 persons, or about half the immigrants.[23] Those that remained have retained their name as distinct from other racial or tribal groups.

We may, therefore, conclude that the little community of the Catholics of Pallimunai, are Kannāḍiyars but with a strain of Portuguese blood in them.

20. *Oratorian Mission* by Fr. Perera S. J., p. 62
21. *Orientalist*, Vol. 11, pp. 184—186
22. JCBRAS, No. 60, p. 203, note 2
23. *Jesuits in Ceylon* by Fr. Perera, p. 15, 20

THE ALEXANDER JOHNSTONE PAPERS

By H. W. TAMBIAH

MUCH VALUABLE information, useful to sociologists, historians and students of law, is contained in the despatches of Sir Alexander Johnstone to the Secretary of State and in his other writings, all of which may be described as the "Alexander Johnstone Papers". The despatches which were sent to the Colonial Office, are now found in the Public Record Office in London. Sir Alexander also had a large collection of very valuable documents in his private library, some of which were either gifted by or purchased from his heirs and they are to be found in the Public Record Office. Duplicates of the despatches sent to England are found at the Ceylon Archives, while some papers are to be found at the Colombo Museum.

Sir Alexander also wrote learned articles to the Journals of the Royal Asiatic Society in England.[1] Besides, during his stay in Ceylon he had collected priceless documents dealing with Ceylon, and some of these he presented to the Royal Asiatic Society, of which he was the founder. His despatches, although contained in manuscripts which are often difficult to decipher, contained wealth of information on the history and culture of Ceylon. Ceylon was fortunate in obtaining photostat copies of some of his despatches through Mr. J. H. O. Paulusz, the Government Archivist, and Sir Ivor Jennings, the Vice-Chancellor of the Ceylon University. In this article an attempt is made to apprise the research student of the wealth of material which is contained in some of his (Sir Alexander's) despatches and writings which the writer has come across during his work.

The life of Sir Alexander Johnstone

A short biographical sketch of Sir Alexander will not be out of place before we consider his writings. Sir Alexander was the second Chief Justice of Ceylon during the British regime and had a varied and brilliant career. Before he came to Ceylon, he had close and intimate associations with South India, his father having obtained civil employment at Madras under Lord Macartney and settling down in Madura in 1781. Alexander was trained by Swartz the Missionary and Thomas Munro (later Sir Thomas Munro). Among the languages he was conversant with were Tamil, Telugu

1. See article on the Marriage Customs of the Hindus and Muslims. *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. II.

and Hindustani, through the knowledge of which he was able to appreciate the cultural heritage of India.

Sir Alexander was called to the Bar, and as a result of an accidental meeting with Fox, he turned his thoughts eastwards and accepted the post of Advocate-General of Ceylon. In 1805 he was promoted Chief Justice. During his regime he contributed in a very large measure to the cultural development of the Island. The magnitude of his work can only be appreciated if his despatches are read in full. In 1809 he was summoned to England to advise the British Government and many of his suggestions were adopted in the instructions issued to the East India Company. After he was made a knight he returned to Ceylon in 1811, as the President of the Council and in 1817 he acted as an Admiralty Judge.

Under his guidance, a system of universal popular education was introduced into Ceylon, religious liberty was restored and slavery was finally abolished, while trial by jury was introduced for the first time into the country.

After his return to England in 1819, he established the Royal Asiatic Society. His contributions to this Society were immense. In 1832 he was made a Privy Councillor and it was chiefly due to his advice that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was established as a final Court of Appeal in Colonial litigation.[2]

The Sources of the Despatches of Sir Alexander Johnstone

When he was in Ceylon, Sir Alexander made an effort to get an insight into the working of the administrative and legal machinery of Ceylon and the results of his labours are embodied in a series of despatches.[3] Duplicates of some of these are found in the Ceylon Government Archives in manuscript form.[4] But his despatches in full are only found in the records of the Commonwealth Relations Office in England The discovery of the few volumes of duplicate copies of Sir Alexander's despatches by the writer is due to the efforts of Mr. Mottau, the Assistant Government Archivist.

The Hindu Laws

In one of the despatches [5] is to be found an article, written by Mr. Ellis, a Civil Servant, printed in an Indian Law Magazine

2. See *Dictionary of National Biography* by Howard Kenneth (1908 edition) for a further biography.
3. See C.O. 53/123 ; C.O. 54/124 ; C.O. 416/19 ; G. 1–G. 8 ; C.O. 416/24 ; C.O. 416/27 ; J. 11–J. 17, C.O. 416/28–J. 18.
4. See Archives (Cey.) lot 5/No. 79.
5. C.O. 53/123.

dated 19th January, 1833. Its preamble says[6] "that a Sir Alexander, while Chief Justice and President of the Council of Ceylon, having been authorised by the Government to frame for the use of the native inhabitants of that Island (a considerable portion of whom are Hindus) a short and simple code of laws, founded upon their ancient customs and adapted to circumstances of their country, collected during his residence in Ceylon and his travels through the Peninsula of India for that purpose, a great variety of documents relative to the Hindu and all other systems of the native law, and amongst others, the following account of the different systems and sources of Hindu Law in the Peninsula of India, drawn up for the use of the Civil Servants at the Madras College by the late Mr. Ellis, a Madras Civil Servant thoroughly acquainted with the laws and literature of the Hindus of the Peninsula of India. As it appeared of a character to interest jurists in general, it was obligingly communicated by Sir Alexander Johnstone to us."

This article is of great interest to students of Hindu law as it gives the sources of Hindu Law and the leading text books current at that time on this subject. Of particular interest to the Tamils of South India and Ceylon, are the treatises in Tamil on Hindu Law referred to by the Author.

The Customary Laws of the Tamils of Ceylon

Sir Alexander Johnstone also collected the customary laws of the Tamils of Ceylon.[7] These laws were varied : The Mukkuwas [8] of Batticaloa had a system of laws akin to the Marumakattyam and Aliyasantana laws of India (the customary laws differ slightly among the Mukkuwas of different parts of Batticaloa and Trincomalee). The Tamils of Colombo known as the Colombo Chetties [9] and the Tamils of Puttalam and Calpentyn had their own customary laws founded on the pattern of the Hindu law but differing from it in many respects. The Tamils of Trincomalee, Jaffna, and Mannar had their own laws known as the "Thesawalamai". The Vanniars (Tamil residents of the Wanni District) had their own customary laws which were replaced by the "Thesawalamai" during the Dutch regime. The Parawas of Tuticorin, some of whom were in Ceylon during the early 19th Century had their own customary laws.

The Sinhalese Customary Laws and Land Tenures

The despatches also give an insight into the Customary laws of the Maritime Sinhalese. There has been much controversy

6. Ibid.
7. See C.O. 54/123, Schedule I.
8. Sometimes spelt as Mouas in the Johnstone Papers.
9. Spelt as Chitties in the despatches.

regarding the customary laws of the Maritime Sinhalese. According to some writers [10] the laws of the Maritime Sinhalese were the same as the Kandyan law. Valentyn an early writer sets out the Sinhalese law as follows :—[11] "The Sinhalese have established national laws or old customs where the will of the King does not interpose to make any alterations. The children inherit the landed property which does not descend exclusively to the eldest son ; but when the right of primogeniture is allowed, the son has to support the mother and the children. All debts are doubled in the course of two years and he who has no means of paying, pays by means of slavery. No man can marry a woman who has run away from her husband, before the husband has married another woman. Children followed the status of the mother in case a slave married a free person. A thief had to pay seven fold : otherwise he became a slave. Old people barter their children and some of them even pawn them". This account of the Sinhalese law closely resembles the Kandyan Law.

The despatches of Sir Alexander also give an insight into the land tenures, the customary services of the various castes and also the application of the Roman-Dutch Law.[12] The preamble states : "The different modifications of the Roman-Dutch Law introduced among the Sinhalese inhabitants of the Western and Southern Maritime Provinces of Ceylon, and the ancient Sinhalese laws and customs of the Provinces (according to the most ancient Sinhalese histories of which Sir Alexander had translations), were found to have been the same as those in the Kandyan country, they have been, however completely obliterated ; but a few of them are still to be found in their original form relating to the local laws and customs of the Western and Southern Maritime Provinces of Ceylon."

Sir Alexander refers to the English translations made on his directions, of the very able Memoirs of the late Dutch Dissawe De Costa. This gentleman was a Dissawe or a Collector of the Provinces of Colombo for nine years, before the British took possession of Colombo and gives in his memoirs a detailed account of the internal Government of the country by the Dutch and of the different laws and customs which "were in force in the Sinhalese Province under their government, particularly of those laws which relate to what were called the service lands, the properties of which were bound by the tenures on which they held those lands to perform various services for the Government."

10. See Hayley on Kandyan Law, page 24 ch.
11. See *History of Ceylon* by Philalethes 1817, Valentyn 48, 21.
12. See the report of De Costa 54/124, Schedule 8—De Costa was the Dissawe of the Western Province during the Dutch period.

De Costa's account is full of interest to students of legal history and sociologists.[13] In describing the services to be performed by the various castes among the Sinhalese, he gives us first hand information of the caste system among the Sinhalese during the last days of the Dutch Government.

Kandyan Law

The preamble to one to the despatches states :[14] " The laws which prevail in the Kandyan country ; of these Sir Alexander Johnstone has a great number of different collections, some made by the Portuguese, some by the Dutch Government, some collected by himself from different persons whom he had sent into the interior of the country, to collect information upon the subject for him while he was in the Island between 1802 and 1817, but the necessity of referring to any of these collections is removed by the copy of the collections made by the late Sir John D'oyly at Kandy in 1815, of which the Royal Asiatic Society on the suggestion of Sir Alexander Johnstone has recently published a copy with an introductory letter upon the subject from Sir Alexander to that Society. Sir Alexander had given a copy to the library of the Colonial Office."

In the despatches of Sir Alexander are also found Doyly's *Sketch of the Kandyan Kingdom* [15] ; Sawers *Digest of Kandyan Laws* [16] ; Opinions of the validity of some sections of the Kandyan countries[17] ; Replies to question on Kandyan Laws by Captain Wyners [18] ; Replies of the Agents of the Government on Law and Judicial proceedings in the Kandyan Provinces.[19] Notes on offences tried before the Kandyan Courts, 1826–1829 [20] ; and returns of Civil Cases before the Kandyan Courts [21] ; Many of these sources have not been referred to by the writers on the Kandyan Law[22] ; and have yet to be investigated by students. The original sources from which Kandyan Law has been developed are few and the collections of the Kandyan Law made during the Portuguese and Dutch period and the other documents referred to above should be of great interest and value to students of legal history.

13. C.O. 54/123, page 13.
14. C.O. 54/124, Schedule 9.
15. See C.O. 416/19, G–1 ; C.O. 54/124.
16. See C.O. 416/19, G–2.
17. See C.O. 416/19, G–3.
18. C.O. 416/19, G–5.
19. C.O. 416/19, G–6.
20. C.O. 416/19, G–7.
21. C.O. 416/19, G–8. The documents referred to in footnotes 11–17 are not yet available in Ceylon and the writer is indebted to the notes made by Mr. Paulusz.
22. See Modder and Hayley on the Kandyan Law.

The History of Ceylon

Sir Alexander also collected three ancient books on the *History of Ceylon*. The preamble to his despatches states [23] : " That Sir Alexander begs to refer to the English translation made by his dictation from the Pali and the Sinhalese language of the three most ancient histories of Ceylon called the *Mahavanse*, the *Rajavali*, and the *Raja Ratnakara*, the copies of the originals of which Sir Alexander produced after many years of research from the interior of the Island ; having considerable experience he caused a perfect copy of each history to be prepared for himself by the most intelligent priests of the Buddhist religion, who, previous to the preparing of these copies had compared and collected all the different copies which were to be found of each of the histories, in all the different Buddhist temples in Ceylon."

" These perfect copies of the originals, Sir Alexander has presented to the Royal Asiatic Society of Literature. The English translations of these Sir Alexander, some years ago, at the request of his friend Dr. Kennell, Dean of Manchester, presented to one Mr. Upham who has nearly completed them for publication and is about to publish them in a few months in three volumes large octavo."

" Alexander begs also to refer to the book published by Mr. Upham some years ago from the papers and writings given to him by Sir Alexander Johnstone and which always had great influence in the customs and the manners of the people who profess the Buddhist religion in that Island."[24]

The Laws of the Mohamedans

The Johnstone papers also contain valuable information on Mohammedan Law as it existed in Ceylon during the Dutch and the early British period. In his reports to His Majesty's Government, Sir Alexander, after referring to the Mohammedan inhabitants of Jaffna, says :[25] " The others are the Lebbes or Mohammedans, inhabitants who are descended from the Arabs of the house of Hashim, who were driven from Arabia in the early part of the 8th Century by the tyranny of the Caliph " Abu Al Melekibna Nuirau " and who proceeding from the Euphrates southwards settled among the coasts of Ceylon as well as along those of the Peninsula of India."

23. C.O. 54, 124, Schedule 9.
24. See C.O. 123, 54.
25. Van Leeuwan's Commentaries (Ceylon Edition Appendix).

Referring to the Mohammedan Code collected by the Dutch, Sir Alexander says :[26]

" With respect to the second collection the Dutch Governor Falck, during the period of this government, caused a collection to be made by the Mohammedan priests of Batavia of what they conceived to be the Mohammedan Law concerning the rights of inheritance and marriage and sent it to Jaffna, in order that the Lebbes or Mohammedan inhabitants of the Province might point out in what respects it differed from the local customs that prevailed among them. They accordingly did so ; and the Governor ordered the original collections as modified by those customs to be circulated among the Lebbes at Jaffna. At my suggestion an English translation was made of this collection and printed at the same time that the ' Thesawalame ' was printed."

Sir Alexander got this Dutch Code translated into Tamil and English and sent copies to the Muslims resident in the various districts of Ceylon. The Johnstone Manuscripts contain the Tamil version of this Code and the comments sent by the leading Muslims of the various parts of Ceylon.[27] After consulting the body of Muslims in Ceylon, Sir Alexander got the Mohammedan Code translated into English [28] with such changes as were necessary.

Much light is thrown on the Dutch compilation of the Mohammedan Code in a letter of November, 1807, by Sir Alexander to His Excellency the Governor in which he says: [29] (*See* letter of November 1807 by Sir Alexander Johnstone to His Excellency the Governor).

" Governor Falck found after much inquiry that there were no persons in this island well versed in the Mohameddans law and in consequence of there being no fixed rule according to which the headman could be compelled to make decisions the people of the Mohammedan faith were totally ignorant of what was not their law and were subject of course to great aggression from each headman deciding cause according to his own partial or corrupted opinion."

26. See C.O. 123. 54.
27. The translator was Mr. Vanden Berg who in a letter addressed to Mr. De Vos gives a historical account of the Mohammedan Code. According to him the Mohammedan Code of 1806, prepared at the instance of Sir Alexander was a translation of the Dutch Code known as Byzondere Wetten Aangaande Mooren of Mohammedan en audere inlandsche natien (special law relating to Moors or Mohammedans and other nations races) Vandenburg refers the student to the new statutes of Batavia, Vol. 9.410 of Vander Cheys called on for a history of the Mohammedan Code. See De Vos on Mohammedan Law in Ceylon, page 2.
28. See Mohammedan Code of 1806.
29. Schedule of C.O. 54. 124.

" He therefore sent a report on this subject to the Governor General of Batavia who directed a short Code to be framed by the best informed and the most learned of the Mohameddan priests who resided within the Government. In obedience to this order the Code No. 8 relating to the law of inheritance and of marriage was drawn up and it was afterwards forwarded by the Government of Batavia to that of Colombo. Governor Falck submitted it for consideration to all the headmen of the Moorish inhabitants of the settlements and upon their approving and declaring it to be perfectly applicable to the circumstances of all the Moors under their Superintendence, ordered it to be considered law by all the Dutch Courts of Justice."

" Since the conquest of these territories by the English, this code has not been made to be published or so much attended, as it ought to have been ; the consequence of which is that the lower classes of subjects of Mohammedans ; being totally ignorant of their law upon the commonest subjects, are obliged to refer on every occasion, however trifling to their headman for information how to act ; this gives the headman so much influence and is a source of so much secret emolument, fees being always taken by them for their opinion, that they are naturally enough extremely anxious to prevent the Government from publishing the contents of this Code."

" In going round the island I perceive that almost all the headmen had a copy of it either in Malabar or Arabic of the Code, but they kept it as private as they could, evidently with the view of enchancing the value of their own opinion upon questions on the Mohammedan Law."

" I some time ago, caused some printed copies of it to be posted up in the principal mosques in the Province of Colombo ; this appears to me to be the surest way of making it generally known and I should strongly advise a similar measure to be adopted in all other Provinces."

" These statements, in addition to the several letters which I had the honour of writing to your Excellency from Jaffna and the draft instructions which I drew up for the Agents of Revenue of Jaffna, Trincomalee, and Matara, will, I trust, afford sufficient materials for making a customary code applicable to the wants and in unison with the feelings and prejudices of all the different natives who are domiciled within His Majesty's settlement on the island."

" Whenever I know which of these local laws and usages Your Excellency may think proper to retain and which you may deem

it expedient either to alter or to annul, I shall take the liberty of submitting my opinion as to the form in which such code is to be arranged."

Legislation of the Dutch

In a schedule attached to one of his despatches,[30] Sir Alexander collected and translated a list of all proclamations issued by the Dutch Government during its regime.

The despatches state that, " the Proclamations together with a complete translation into English, which Sir Alexander caused to be made of the volume in Dutch, all the *placaats*, general history of the Dutch East India Company properties in India will afford the fullest information of all knowledge that the Dutch Government had of the history of Ceylon from the earliest period to the year 1725, as well as that system of policy which the Dutch did with respect to that island ; the part of voluminous history which relates to Ceylon forms nearly one volume folio in print. The English translation of it made by Sir Alexander Johnstone's direction form two volumes folio manuscript.[31] The latter was presented by Sir Alexander to the Royal Asiatic Society and now is in the history of this Society."

" Sir Alexander Johnstone is in the daily expectations of receiving from Goa and Lisbon complete series of all the legislative acts and private regulations made by the Portuguese Government relative to their possession of Ceylon while they had any authority in that island. These documents together with the English translations which Sir Alexander, whilst he was in Ceylon caused to be made of all the Portuguese histories and memoirs relative to any part of that island will afford a very complete view of the system of Government which prevail in Ceylon, while under the Portuguese authority."[32]

30. The two volumes of the Dutch legislation are probably those collected by Governor Simmon, see Catalogue by Miss Jurianz; a copy of one volume is still preserved in the Archives.

31. Students of Ceylon History can extract valuable information regarding the Dutch Regime from the volumes, if they are available in the Public Record Office in London.

32. Lot 5. 79 of the *Ceylon Archives*, p. 71–73 such as Religion, p. 74 ; Concubinage and Adultery, p. 75 ; Military, p. 76–77 ; Arrack taverns and shops, p. 79 ; Weapons and Gun Powder, p. 86 ; Thefts, p. 82 ; Commerce, pp. 83–84 ; Coins, p. 85 ; Roman Catholics, p. 86 ; Dual, p. 87 ; Gentoos p. 88 ; Burghers and Citizens, p. 87 ; Sinhalese, p. 91 ; Produce of the Country, p. 92 ; Lands, p. 93 ; Law of Prescription Proclamation of 11, August, 1671—fixes the period of 3 years acquisitive prescription ; Proclamation of the 7th February, 1710, provides for the impounding of trespassing animals that damage plantations by keeping them for three days obtaining compensation from the owner, failing which to hand over the same to Government through the Dissawe.

The Dutch legislation will give the reader a history of the social conditions and the matters on which the Dutch legislated.

In the duplicate copies of the despatches still preserved in the Ceylon Archives there is a list of proclamations dealing with various matters.[33]

Legislation by the British

Sir Alexander also sent with his despatches,[34] a list of all proclamations and regulations made by the British from 1795 to the year 1807. In 1807, Sir Alexander proposed to Thomas Maitland the formation of a special code upon the local custom of the people applicable to the circumstances of the country, for the use of the inhabitants of Ceylon. It is with this object that he collected the various customary laws of the peoples of Ceylon and sent them in his despatches.

Laws Against Catholics

Sir Alexander also collected all the discriminatory laws passed by the Dutch to suppress the Roman Catholic religion.[35]

The Law of Slavery

Sir Alexander collected the various provisions on slavery from the Old and New Statutes of Batavia and other Dutch Proclamations and sent them in his despatches to the British Government.[36] These provisions give an insight into the conditions of slaves and will be of interest to students of Sociology. Sir Alexander Johnstone collected these statutes in order to make out a case for the abolition of slavery, and it was mainly due to his efforts that slavery was finally abolished in 1848.

Orders and Proclamations of the Military Government in Ceylon During the Early British Regime

Sir Alexander sent an authentic copy of all proceedings, proclamations and orders which relate to Ceylon when the British possessions were under the Government of General Stewart, the English Commander-in-Chief who conquered Ceylon from the Dutch in 1795.[37]

33. Schedule C.O. 54. 124. XI.

34. See C.O. 54. 124. Schedule XIII.

35. C.O. 54. 124. Schedule XII.

36. C.O. 54. 124. Schedule XV.

37. Ibid. Schedule XVI.

This volume is of interest to students of Ceylon History as it sets out the conditions under which the different Dutch possessions were surrendered to the British and also gives the orders issued by the Military Government for the maintenance of peace and order.

De Meuron's Report

Another interesting document found in Sir Alexander's despatches is the report by De Meuron.[38] A Committee was appointed in Ceylon by Lord Buckinghamshire for the purpose of making a detailed report of the revenues, industry and agricultural projects of Ceylon at the time the Island was surrendered to the British. This information was obtained from the best informed European and Ceylonese servants of the former Dutch Government by General De Meuron, who embodied them in his report.

Translation of Simon Van Leeuwans Commentaries on the Roman-Dutch Law

When the British officials took the administration of justice from the Dutch, they found that apart from the Statutes of Batavia, local Dutch legislation, and certain customary laws of the people, the Roman-Dutch law was being administered in certain matters. Books on the Roman-Dutch law were either in Dutch or medieval Latin and a translation of a good text book was found to be necessary for the English Judges who were called upon to administer the law. Sir Alexander selected Simon Van Leeuwan's *Commentaries on Roman-Dutch Law* out of all the text books on Roman-Dutch Law and ordered its translation. This task was undertaken not by jurists or lawyers but by Civil Servants. Although, it was generally meant only for the use of the officers and practitioners of the Supreme Court, it was later handed over to Mr. Butterworth, a book seller in Fleet Street for publication by Sir Alexander, and was published in 1802. This edition is known as the Ceylon Edition of Van Leeuwan's Commentaries on the Roman-Dutch Law.

In his despatches Sir Alexander sent a copy of this translation and the history of its publication.[39] Commenting on the work Sir Alexander states "although the English of this translation is from the translators having been Dutch men and natives of the Island not so correct as might have been wished and the translation itself, the rapidity with which it was made, and from the variety and multiplicity of the avocations of the translators at the time they were engaged making it not so clear as under the circumstances might

38. C.O. 54. 124. Schedule XV.

39. For an adverse comment on the translation see preface to Kotze's edition of Simon Van Leeuwan *Commentaries on Roman-Dutch Law*, Vol. 1, p.

have been expected ; yet upon the whole it is of great use as affording a view of the state of the Roman-Dutch law which prevails in Ceylon and may make Her Majesty's necessary it is for the protection of lives the liberty and the property of the inhabitants of Ceylon to frame for their use a short and clear code of the law applicable to the citizens of this country and the manners and customs of the people." [40]

Memoirs of De Costa and Regulations of the Dutch on Services to be Performed by Various Castes

Sir Alexander also collected the Regulations of the Dutch Governors in respect of the different services the various castes in Ceylon were bound to perform to the Government. The despatches state [41] that Sir Alexander submitted a plan for protecting the natives from forced labour and Lord Londonnerry, after considering the matter, prohibited Government from exacting forced labour but was prevented by his resignation as Colonial Secretary, from sending a despatch for that purpose. Sir Alexander along with his despatches sent also the memoirs of Dissawa De Costa, the memoirs of Mr. Burnend and also a translation of the memoirs of the Dutch Governors on the subject.[42] These documents are original sources from which the sociologist and the historian can study the conditions in Ceylon during the Dutch and early British periods.

Laws and Customs of the Parsees

Another curious document found among the despatches of Sir Alexander is the collection of the laws and customs of the Parsees. He says,[43] "As it is of the greatest possible advantage to the prosperity of the Island to induce so industrious and so respectable a class of people as the Parsees of Bombay and Surat, Sir Alexander was preparing when he left the Island a complete but short code of the laws and customs which their principal priests at Bombay and South Surat informed him were in use among the Parsees of these two places. These laws and customs were founded upon the principles contained in *Zend Avesta* subject to certain local modifications which were deemed advisable by the Parsees themselves after they had quitted their native country and settled at Surat and Bombay. An outline of these laws and customs which were given to Sir Alexander by the best informed merchants resident in Ceylon is found in the despatches.

40. C.O. 53. 124. Schedule XIX.

41. The Memoirs of the Dutch Governors. See *Ibid.*

42. See C.O. 54. 124. Schedule XX.

43. C.O. 54. 125.

Report on the Wanni Districts by Nagel

Sir Alexander also sent a translation of a report made to the Dutch Governor Van der Graffe by the land agent Nagel, on the Wanni District of Ceylon,[44] presently a part of the North and North-Central Provinces of Ceylon.

The report states that the Wanni is so termed because of the extreme heat experienced during the day time. The report deals with the boundaries and divisions of the District, the nature of its inhabitants, the origin, religion, and laws of its inhabitants, the state of the Wanni lands, the nature of its cultivation and finally the advantages of good Government.

Another series of despatches contains the circuit diaries and reports of the Wanni[45] Districts and other papers.[46]

44. The Pali and Wanni mean chieftain. Dr. Raghavan is of the view that the Wanniars were the warrior caste akin to the Rajputs of Northern India who claimed descent from the fire and hence were known as Wanniars. (See *Ceylon Observer* of 27-9-53).

45. C. O. 416/28, J. 19.

46. Diary 1811-12 C. O. 416/28, J. 20.

COFFEE CULTIVATION IN CEYLON (1)

By I. VANDEN DRIESEN

I–The Coming of Coffee

The Coffee shrub was apparently known in Ceylon, long before its systematic cultivation as a cash crop, began in the 19th Century. But there is some uncertainty as to when exactly, it first appeared in the Island. Some writers argue that its introduction was the work of the Dutch, and that coffee was unknown in Tropical Asia until the Dutch introduced it into Java in 1690, whence it was brought to Ceylon, probably about the same year.[1] Others maintain that the Arabs introduced coffee into India, and that before the arrival of the Portuguese and the Dutch, the tree had been grown in Ceylon too. They point out, however, that the preparation of a beverage from its berries was totally unknown to the Sinhalese, who only employed its tender leaves for their curries, and its delicate jasmine-like flowers for ornamenting their temples and shrines.[2] It is noteworthy that on the occupation of Kandy, after its cession in 1815, the English found the coffee tree growing in the vicinity of the temples ; while gardens had been formed by the Kandyan king, on the banks of the Mahaveli-ganga,[3] and close to his palace at Hanguranketa.

However, while there are these differences over the " coming of coffee " there is general agreement that it was the Dutch who first encouraged its cultivation on commercial lines. Soon after their capture of the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon in 1656, they set out to interest the local peasantry in the cultivation of the shrub, and though some difficulties were experienced initially,[4] the payment of good prices—5 stuivers the pound—led in time to a fair amount of coffee being grown in the low-country, around Galle and Negombo. By 1739, the annual coffee export had reached 100,000 lbs., and it

1. Ferguson : *Ceylon in* 1903, p. 61 ; Mills : *Ceylon under the British*, p. 222 ; Suckling : *Ceylon*, pp. 300–304 ; *Tropical Agriculturist*, 1887–88, Vol. VII, p. 146.
2. Tennent : *Ceylon*, Vol. II, p. 226 ; Shand : Article in *Journal of the Society of Arts*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 181 ; Sirr : *Ceylon and the Cingalese*, p. 157.
3. The Mahaveli-Ganga—the Ganges of Ptolemy—is the longest river in Ceylon. Rising in the south of the Island, near Adam's Peak, it traverses more than one-third of the mountain zone, drains upwards of four thousand square miles and flows into the sea, near the harbour of Trincomalee, on the North-Eastern Coast.
4. " Regarding the cultivation of coffee, the native has been persuaded thereto with great trouble ". *Memoir of Governor Jan. Schreuder*, p. 76. Though no reasons are given by the Governor, one can assume with considerable certainty, that the behaviour of the local inhabitants in this particular, was due in the main, to their ignorance of the value of money.

appeared that coffee would, before long become one of the major articles of trade.[5] At this juncture however, there came a sudden reversal of policy, and after that date one finds a falling off in the incentives held out to the coffee-grower.

This change in the attitude of the Dutch government was due partly to their absorption with the cinnamon trade, and partly to their fear that the increasing exports of coffee would lower the price of the commodity abroad. Large quantities of the article were already being produced in their East Indian Colonies, and since production costs were lower, and profits higher in those areas, it was considered best that the further expansion of the industry in Ceylon should be checked. The prices paid to local growers were therefore lowered from 5 to 2 stuivers the pound. This new policy soon succeeded in achieving its aim, and in 1762, Governor Jan Schreuder reported that the " native planted coffee not nearly so eagerly as before, or brought the bean to market."[6] By the end of the Dutch period (1796), coffee exports had dropped by nearly 4/5ths of its previous total, and stood at only 20,863 lbs.[7]

When the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon passed into British hands in 1796, the new rulers endeavoured to stimulate the cultivation of coffee. Governor North's optimistic accounts of the industry's prospects, induced the Colonial Department to contemplate the encouragement of coffee cultivation by a subsidy to growers, but the idea was subsequently dropped, since North's successor, Sir Thomas Maitland thought that such a measure would be " precarious, if not untimely nugatory ", in view of the smallness of the quantities then being produced.[8]

Nevertheless, the good prices—5 to 10 rix-dollars the parra of 30 lbs.—which the British paid, led native growers to expand production, and Colombo and Galle soon became the centres to which itinerant Moors,[9] who acted as middlemen, brought sizeable and increasing quantities of coffee. Export figures for these early years of the British administration were as follows :—

5. In a memoir in the *Asiatic Journal*, Vol. XII, p. 444, M. Burnard writes : " Coffee succeeded very well in the Western parts of the Island. It was superior in quality to the coffee of Java, and approached near to that of Arabia."
6. *Memoir of Jan. Schreuder*, p. 76.
7. C. R. de Silva : *Ceylon under British Occupation*, p. 483.
8. C.O., 54, 29. 19th August, 1808.
9. " Moor " is the generic term by which it was customary at one time, in Europe, to describe a Mohammedan, from whatever country he came. The epithet was borrowed by the Portuguese, who, after their discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope, bestowed it indiscriminately upon the Arabs and their descendants, whom in the 16th Century, they found established as traders in almost every part of the Asian and African coast.

1806 about 94,500 lbs.[10]
1810 about 217,500 lbs.
1813 about 216,500 lbs.

This peasant coffee was grown, not on large scale plantations, but in the gardens surrounding the peasants' homes, and along the roadside. Cultivation was of an unscientific nature and the coffee bushes were neither pruned nor manured.[11] " The preparation of the bean for the market was also conducted in a equally haphazard manner. Proper care was seldom exercised when drying the coffee beans, and the fruit was often gathered while still unripe. This latter circumstance however, was due not so much to bad husbandry as to necessity. Birds showed a partiality for the ripe berries, and in order to protect their coffee, the peasants were obliged to gather it before it arrived at perfection. Again, peasant coffee was normally sold by anticipation to Moormen pedlars, who gathered the berries while they were still unripe, lest they should be pillaged before arriving at maturity. Many peasant growers also injured the quality of their coffee by dipping it into water before it was perfectly dry. This admittedly, made it easier to divest the kernel of its surrounding husk, but the widespread use of the practice was probably caused by the fact that wetted coffee swelled considerably, and so enabled the growers (who sold by the measure) to make fraudulent gains.[12]

Neglected during its growth, collected prematurely and damaged by wetting, peasant coffee was never able to command as good a price on the London Market, as did the plantation varieties. Yet the price normally fetched—about £4 the cwt.—was high enough, not only to keep the industry on its feet, but also to ensure its continued expansion.[13]

In the early British period, at least two attempts were made to cultivate coffee on plantation lines ; the first by the Government, the second by private individuals. Both ended in failure.

In 1804, Governor Frederick North, on behalf of the Government attempted to resuscitate the old Dutch plantations in the Maritime Provinces, and even constructed a coffee mill. His expectations however, were not fulfilled, and within a few years the scheme was allowed to lapse.[14] Then in 1812, a civil servant named Bletterman

10. Bertolacci : *Ceylon*, Tables Nos. I–7., pp. 520–553.
11. Tennent: *Ceylon*, Vol. II, pp. 226–227.
12. C.O. 54, 84. 23rd Sept., 1824 ; C.O. 54, 138. 28th Dec., 1833 ; Bennet *Ceylon and Its Capabilities*, p. 134 ; Bertolacci : *Ceylon*, p. 156.
13. C.O. 416, 12, E. 3.
14. C.O., 54, 9. 25th Nov., 1802 ; C.O. 54, 13. Jan. 1st 1804 ; C.O. 54, 16. 8th Feb., 1805 ; C.O. 54, 29. 19th Aug., 1808.

set up a small coffee plantation, and in addition secured the right to export his own produce. This effort also appears to have ended in failure,[15] but is of some historical interest, since it represents the first attempt made by European private enterprise to cultivate coffee.

With the fall of the Kandyan Kingdom in 1815, the upland slopes of central Ceylon where both soil and climate were well suited to the growing of coffee, passed into British hands. A few years later, in 1823, the first large scale coffee plantation to be set up in the Island, came into being at Gampola—the property of a Mr. George Bird.

Bird received considerable encouragement from the local Government. Four hundred acres of land were granted to him free of taxes for 10 years, after which he was required to pay an annual tax of 6 fanams. He received in addition, a loan of 4,000 rix-dollars from the State.[16] The Home Government however, were not particularly pleased with this arrangement. Secretary of State, Lord Bathurst, while allowing that it was advantageous to Ceylon for Europeans to enter upon cultivation, and while not objecting to the terms on which the land was given out on lease, objected to the loan of 4,000 rix-dollars being made. He questioned the expediency of affording encouragement in the shape of pecuniary assistance, and pointed out to the Governor, that there were always advantages of a local nature which it was in the power of the Government to afford, and which would be found to offer sufficient inducements without it being necessary to contribute any portion

15. C.O. 54, 43. 12th June, 1812.

16. C.O. 54, 84. 31st Dec., 1823 ; C.O. 416/2 A.5 ; Fergusson : *Ceylon in* 1903, p. 61. In C.O. 54, 211, 15th April, 1844, a despatch from Governor Sir Colin Campbell to the Secretary of State, maintains that Bird's plantation exceeded 400 acres, and goes on to throw some light on the further consequences of this grant. Pointing out that Bird was the first to embark on large scale coffee growing, Stanley wrote that in December, 1827, the former had received a grant from the Crown for 589 acres of land. "The conditions of the grant reserved to Government an annual rent of nine-pence an acre, payable from 1st January, 1835. This rent however, was never called for, and it was not until 1836 that the proprietors pointed out, that of the 589 acres granted, and for which they were liable for rent, 300 acres had been purchased by them from private parties, who had set up their claims to the same, since . . . . the grant, and which claims upon investigation appear to have been fully established". The Government therefore, had abandoned its claim to these areas, and though intending to consult the Secretary of State about the rent due from the remaining land, had done nothing, and the matter had been dropped. Campbell now suggested that Bird be allowed to purchase the 289 acres which belonged to the Crown, at 5*s.* the acre, and that the unclaimed rent be remitted. He pointed out that this was the only instance in which a money rent was reserved to the Crown. To this plan the Secretary of State agreed.—C.O. 55, 85. 16th Aug., 1844.

of the public funds towards it. Nevertheless, since the agreement had already been sanctioned by the Government, Bathurst allowed it to stand.[17]

In the period between Bletterman's experiments and Bird's venture, coffee production did not cease. The natives of the Island turned their attention to the cultivation of the shrub in even larger numbers than before, and the annual output increased rapidly, particularly after the fall of the Kandyan Kingdom in 1815.[18]

Average export per year :—

1806–1813	..	261,500 lbs.
1816–1820	..	434,800 lbs.
1821–1825	..	1,100,000 lbs.[19]
1826–1833	..	2,061,400 lbs.

While information relating to this growing peasant cultivation of coffee is extremely limited, we know at least that the English market in this article was very profitable. The London price was about £4 per cwt., whereas coffee could be procured locally from the Ceylonese producer at 5 to 10 rix-dollars per parra of 30 lbs. Up to a late date however, the major portion of Ceylon coffee was exported to India, where it fetched 30 to 35 Sicca rupees per maund of 82 lbs. The trade was about equally in Ceylonese and European hands, the article being collected through local agents in the districts.[20]

This increasing cultivation of coffee, the Lieut-Governor, Sir James Campbell, noticed and remarked upon : observing to the Secretary of State, that it obviously resulted from the advantages of British rule, ". . . a mild and equitable administration of Government, had brought", he wrote, "a freedom of commerce, which must be productive to the Kandyans, for in one article of the produce of the country, coffee, the trade has increased in a more than ten-fold degree within the last three years".[21] It is difficult however, to agree completely with the Governor, for, while the sudden burst of economic activity on the part of a section of the Kandyan peasantry was no doubt caused partly by the

17. C.O. 55, 66. 19th June, 1824.

18. During the years, at least one other European tried his hard at coffee planting. A Captain de Bussche opened a plantation in the maritime provinces in 1817, but failed through inability to compete with the more cheaply producing Ceylonese and through soil and climatic conditions in the maritime provinces being unfavourable for coffee culture. C.O. 54, 66. 19th Nov., 1817.

19. C. R. de Silva : *Ceylon under the British Occupation*, pp. 483–485.

20. C.O. 416, 12. E 3.

21. C.O. 54, 84. 5th March, 1823.

stability and peace which followed upon Britain's acquisition of the entire Island, it was caused also by a wider understanding among the Kandyans, of the concept of commercial value ; a concept which had little meaning to the overwhelming bulk of population in the time of the Sinhalese kings. The rapid increase in coffee production by the Kandyans is therefore significant, not only as an example of the virtues which follow upon a settled administration, but also as one of the earliest indications we have, that commercial concepts were rapidly spreading in areas where they had hardly existed before.

This growing trade made it difficult for Campbell to remain unenthusiastic about coffee, and during his administration the Government Agents opened up several experimental coffee plantations, notably in the Seven Korales. Campbell's enthusiasm however, was soon tempered by apprehensions as to the final results of this experiment. He appears to have felt that all private growers of coffee would be ruined ; they could hardly be expected he said, to compete with a rival who had no labour costs. " For the work on the Government's plantations was performed by Rajakariya, *i.e.*, customary services owed to the State, by every inhabitant of Ceylon. The Government apparently made use of the services of those who inhabited the neighbouring villages. No permanent staff, or costs of feeding and housing this labour are mentioned in any of the documents relating to this period. In fact, Lieut-Governor Campbell, stated emphatically to the Secretary of State in 1824, that coffee was being cultivated by the Government, " without the cost of a pice."[22]

Sir Edward Barnes, who followed Campbell as Governor in 1824, entertained none of the latter's misgivings on the subject. Confident that coffee was destined to have a great future in Ceylon, he did everything within his power, to promote its cultivation. Governmental example would, he thought, act as an incentive, not as a restraint to private enterprize, provided of course, that the extent of the former was kept within reasonable limits. Accordingly in 1824, he ordered Mr. Moon, Superintendent of the Botanical Gardens at Peradeniya to cultivate a portion of the lands in the vicinity of the Gardens with coffee.[23] He was certain that within a few years, the receipts arising from the sale of this produce would repay the expenditure incurred in the formation of the plantation, as well as the whole of the expenditure on the Botanical Gardens. It would in addition, serve " as a most useful and judicious example to the inhabitants of the country, by inducing them to turn lands

22. C.O. 54, 84. 23rd September, 1824.

23. C.O. 54, 98. 11th June, 1827. A total of 200 acres was set aside at Peradeniya for coffee cultivation. C.O. 54, 84. 31st December, 1823.

to a lucrative account, that cannot be employed in the cultivation of rice."[24]

The conviction that Ceylon possessed all those natural advantages which could make her a prosperous coffee-growing Colony, seems to have extended from Barnes the Governor to Barnes the man. In 1825 at Gannoruwa, he set up a private plantation, ostensibly in the hope that his example would induce others to follow. If history has proved Barnes' ability as a prophet, the annual yield of his plantation proved his ability as a businessman. It was said to produce 1,000 cwts. per year, of the best coffee exported from the Island, and speculators used his estate as the model on which to base their calculations.[25]

In his attempts to foster coffee cultivation, Barnes did more than merely provide Governmental example. In 1820, by Regulation 6 of that year, he abolished the export duty of 5% hitherto charged on Ceylon-grown coffee,[26] and four years later, he exempted coffee land from the payment of the land-tax of one-tenth of the produce.[27] Finally, in 1829, he repealed the duties charged on the import of agricultural and manufacturing implements, and allowed all those employed in coffee-growing, or in any related manufacture, to refrain from performing the annual public service required from all Ceylonese inhabitants.[28]

Having thus attended to what might be termed the supply side of Ceylon coffee, through the provision of these varied inducements, Barnes turned to the problem of demand. There was nothing he could do to raise the demand for Ceylon coffee in the world market. He tried therefore, by certain precautionary measures, to ensure that the existing level of demand would not be unnecessarily prejudiced. He found that there had grown up a practice amongst the native producers, whereby coffee was wetted, so as to increase

24. C.O. 54, 98. 11th June, 1827 ; C.O. 54, 107. 19th July, 1830 ; C.O. 54, 104. 11th March, 1829. Barnes apparently adopted rather high-handed methods when acquiring land for the plantation at Peradeniya. In 1832, the Secretary of States, writing to the Governor, Sir Wilmot Horton, remarked that, " Sir Edward Barnes, with the view of establishing a coffee plantation attached to the Garden, had resumed on the part of the Crown, certain lands adjacent to it, in the occupation of private individuals and such an exercise of authority had occassioned much dissatisfaction to the parties interested ". C.O. 54, 72. 7th April, 1832.

25. C.O. 54, 104. 11th March, 1829 ; C.O. 54, 138. 28th December, 1833 ; Tennent : *Ceylon*, Vol. II. p. 228.

26. C.O. 54, 77. 8th April, 1820. Regulation of 6th March, 1820.

27. C.O. 54, 118, 25th August, 1831.

28. C.O. 54, 105. 4th November, 1829. Regulation 4 of 1829. Until 1832, all inhabitants of Ceylon were obliged to work without payment, on the roads and bridges in their districts. This device was known as *Rajakariya*

its volume.[29] This was prejudicial to the quality of the berries and the character of Ceylon coffee was as a consequence, losing its prestige on the foreign market. Regulation 14 of 1824 was designed to suppress this practice, and it was therein laid down that any person detected wetting coffee, would "on conviction before any provincial judge or sitting magistrate, be liable to pay a fine, at the rate of ten rix-dollars for every parra of coffee so wetted."[30]

These examples of discriminatory taxation, remission of customs duties, state experiments and the like, show clearly, that the notion that a plantation coffee industry (as distinct from that grown by the peasants) could be successfully developed, did not spontaneously "grow up" in Ceylon. For while it is true that private enterprise played an important part in setting up the coffee planting industry, the numerous measures adopted by the Government, show us that the latter was the agent which deliberately fostered the movement, supplied much of the driving force, and opened the way to individual initiative.

If any further proof is required to show that an attempt was made in the 1820's consciously to develop Ceylon's economy along certain lines, one has only to refer to a letter from Barnes to the Secretary of State. Herein the Governor admitted that ever since his arrival in the Island, he had used his best endeavours, by official as well as personal influence, to inculcate the advantages to be gained by the Colony from attention to the growth of coffee, cotton and pepper, particularly coffee, which might be produced in large quantities, if the industry of the planter was stimulated and assisted by a renumerative price. Ceylon coffee, well picked and properly prepared was, he felt, not inferior to the Mocha coffee so highly esteemed all over the world. If large scale cultivation took place, he was of the opinion that great advantages would accrue ; that the condition of the inhabitants would be improved, and a wider field opened up for commercial speculation and industry.[31] In the face of such a statement, it is difficult to deny the important role played by the local Government in fostering the early development of the coffee planting industry in Ceylon.

At first, these early efforts made by the Government to foster coffee growing in Ceylon, met with particular success only in the sphere of peasant cultivation. Between the years 1820 and 1824, exports of peasant coffee increased by over 100%.

29. Coffee was sold not by weight but by volume, in these early years.

30. C.O. 54, 84. 23rd Dec., 1824 ; C.O. 54, 138. 28th Dec., 1833 ; Bennet : *Ceylon and Its Capabilities*, p. 134.

31. C.O. 54, 95. 2nd August, 1826.

Year	Export of Peasant Coffee[32]
1820 ..	539,661½ lbs.
1821 ..	580,837½ lbs.
1822 ..	1,073,355 lbs.
1823 ..	1,263,765 lbs.
1824 ..	1,213,603 lbs.

Plantation coffee on the other hand, did not respond as quickly. For in spite of all that the Government had done, two difficulties still stood in the way of a rapid expansion of plantation cultivation. Firstly, there existed a discriminatory duty on Ceylon coffee imported into the U.K. Secondly, plantation owners had still to master the correct technique of coffee growing.[33] Neither of these considerations affected the peasants. Their coffee trees, growing in the gardens about their homes, cost nothing to maintain, and labour was in addition supplied free by members of the family. These two difficulties combined to produce a cost of production so low, that they were able, notwithstanding the existence of discriminatory duties and faulty methods of cultivations, to grow their coffee at a fair profit.

It was not long before Barnes realised that while these obstacles remained, plantation coffee would not offer profits lucrative enough to attract any large body of investors. The Governor therefore turned his attention to the subject of tariff discrimination, and a petition on the question submitted in 1829, to Sir George Murray, the Secretary of State, by the firm of Messrs. Bentert and Huxham, at the request of "the other resident merchants in Ceylon, the English and native cultivators, and all native dealers in that article was accompanied by a strong supporting despatch from Barnes.[34] As matters then stood, West Indian or British plantation coffee, paid an import duty of 6*d.* per lb., while East Indian coffee under

32. C.O. 54, 95. 2nd August, 1826.

33. These two factors led before long to the closing down of the Government owned plantations. Those in the maritime provinces and the Seven Korales were so badly sited, and the methods of cultivation employed on them, so unscientific, that in spite of their labour costs being negligible, the plantations had all proved uneconomic, and been abandoned or sold before 1831. The plantation at Peradeniya was well sited but here too bad methods of cultivation, and the burden of the discriminatory duties proved too much and in 1832, the plantation was sold by auction. C.O. 54. 112. 3rd Feb., 1831 ; C.O. 54. 114. 21st Nov., 1831 ; C.O. 54. 114. 10th Nov., 1831 ; C.O. 54. 118. 31st Dec., 1832 ; C.O. 54. 138. 20th Dec., 1833 ; C.O. 55. 72. 7th April, 1832 ; C.O. 55. 74. 22nd June, 1864 ; C.O. 54. 72. 7th April, 1832.

34. C.O. 54. 105. 15th July, 1829 ; C.O. 54. 105. 15th August, 1829.

which Ceylon produce was classified, was asked to pay a further 3*d*.[35] Thus the duty on Ceylon coffee was 50% more than on the West Indian product, and while the former was sold at 33*s*. per cwt. with a 84*s*. per cwt. duty, the latter paid only 56*s*. per cwt. as duty. The petitioners asked for a remission of this heavy duty, on the ground that, " the prosperity and welfare of this Island depends very much on the encouragement given to the growth of coffee . . ." They pointed out also, that the impression existed in England, that if Ceylon coffee was admitted on the same terms as British plantation coffee, it would be equally incumbent on H.M.'s Government to admit the whole of what was termed " East Indian coffee ". They stressed therefore, that while the term " British plantation coffee ", described what was essentially the produce of the plantation, at least nine-tenths of the East Indian coffee was imported from possessions not belonging to the Crown or to the East India Company, *e.g.*, Java, Sumatra and Mocha. The interests of the Island, they felt, ought not to be put in competition with such foreign possessions. Finally, the petitioners pleaded in addition, for the repeal of that part of the Act (George IV., Cap. 114, section 7) which prevented the import into Mauritius of any coffee produced within the limits of the East India Company's charter, and asked that the produce of Ceylon be allowed unrestricted import.[36]

But the Lords of the Committee of Trade in the Privy Council, were not disposed to make the requested concessions. They replied that the arguments advanced by both Governor and merchants, did not appear to them to be of sufficient weight to justify the changes they recommended, and that in any case, the " present state of West India concerns were such, that they were not prepared to recommend any alteration on the duty on coffee ". With these few sentences explaining nothing, the entire matter was dismissed.[37]

In the years that followed therefore, coffee continued to be chiefly a peasant crop, and Ceylon's increasing exports were mainly grown by the natives of the Island, either by the roadside, or on the land surrounding their homes. Between 1821 and 1825 coffee exports averaged 1,100,000 lbs. per year. These figures were nearly doubled at 2,061,400 lbs. over 1826 and 1833, the figures being as high as 4,134,300 lbs. in 1838.[38]

35. C.O. 54. 105. 15th July, 1829 ; Tennent : *Ceylon*, Vol. II, p. 230; Mills: *Ceylon under British Rule*, p. 226.
36. C.O. 54. 105. 15th July, 1829.
37. C.O. 54. 105. 15th July, 1829 ; C.O. 54. 105. 15th August, 1829 ; C.O. 54. 95. 2nd August, 1826 ; C.O. 54. 98. 24th July, 1828 ; C.O. 54. 106. 23rd January, 1829 ; C.O. 54. 106. 19th March, 1829 ; C.O. 54. 109. 21st Dec., 1836 ; C.O. 54. 107. 2nd Sept., 1830 ; C.O. 54, 109, 8th Feb., 1830 ; C.O. 54. 113. 27th July, 1831 ; C.O. 55. 72. 1st Feb.,1829; C.O. 55. 72. 21st Feb., 1829 ; C.IO. 55. 72. 1st Jan., 1831 ; C.O. 54. 114. 10th Dec., 1831.
38. C. R. de Silva : *Ceylon under the British Occupation*, p. 485.

The prospects for coffee cultivation took an upward turn in 1835, when the duties on Ceylon and West Indian coffee were equalised. Both were henceforth, to enter England at 6d per pound.[39] Coupled with these fiscal facilities, another important change was in progress, which vastly enlarged the demand for coffee, not only in Great Britain, but over a great part of Western Europe ; especially in Belgium and France. This was the annually diminishing consumption of wine, concurrently with an increasing consumption of coffee and tea. Commenting on this phemenon, the report of the *Enquete Legislature Sur l'Impotdes Boissons*, issued in Paris in 1851, said : " So great has been the change of manner and habits in the United Kingdom, even within the last twenty years, that had the population in 1854, taking it at 27,600,000, drank coffee, tea, and cocoa in the same proportion as the population of 1835–6, (the latter being about 24,350,000), the increase in the consumption of these articles would have been only 8,125,000 lbs., whereas it has actually been 42,918,215 lbs. In 1801, the individual consumption of coffee in Great Britain was one ounce per annum for each person ; in 1841 it had risen to 1 lb. 5½ ozs."[40]

The demand for Ceylon coffee was further increased by the conduct of the slaves in the West Indies, after their emancipation. The refusal of the freed slaves to work on the plantations, paralysed Ceylon's most formidable rivals in Jamaica, Dominica, and Guiana and the West Indian export to the United Kingdom began rapidly to decline.[41]

Imports of Coffee into the United Kingdom. [42]

Year	West Indies	Ceylon
1827	29,419,598 lbs.	1,792,448 lbs.
1837	15,577,888 lbs.	7,756,848 lbs.
1847	5,259,449 lbs.	19,475,904 lbs.

While these changes were taking place, the correct methods of coffee cultivation were being evolved in Ceylon. The improvement was largely due to the work of R. B. Tytler, a trained tropical agriculturist who studied the Jamaican methods from 1837 and in the latter year introduced them on his plantation in Ceylon.[43]

39. C.O. 54. 105. 15th July, 1829 ; C.O. 54. 109. Feb. 8th, 1830.
40. Quoted by Tennent : *Ceylon*, Vol. II., pp. 228–229.
41. Mills : *Ceylon under the British Rule*, p. 227.
42. Dawson : *Economic and Statistical Studies*, pp. 205–206 ; Tennent : *Ceylon* Vol. II., p. 229.
43. Pridham : *Ceylon*, Vol. II, p. 871 ; Ferguson : *Ceylon Illustrated*, p. 61.

Coffee growers in the Island were thus offered an expanding market combined with dwindling competition at the same time that the United Kingdom import duty was equalised and successful methods of cultivation were introduced. Consequently, coffee growing in Ceylon now assumed a new importance, and what has been termed the " coffee mania " set in. Barnes' desire to turn Ceylon into a coffee growing Colony was now being fulfilled. Plantation coffee had come into its own ; no longer were there serious barriers to hamper its development in the Island.

The plantations set up in Ceylon during these years, were all of them European owned, and their produce began rapidly to overhaul the total amount grown yearly by the local peasantry. The plantation therefore, was not the agent which introduced coffee to Ceylon. It was rather the instrument whereby coffee growing was converted from a minor cultivation into the principal export of the Island.

The economic activity which characterised these years, is well expressed in the figures relevant to the period. The increasing demand for Ceylon coffee, is reflected in the upward trend of prices.[44]

1834	..	15*s.* 3*d.* per bushel
1835	..	15*s.* 3*d.* per bushel
1836	..	22*s.* 6*d.* per bushel
1837	..	22*s.* 3*d.* per bushel
1838	..	30*s.* per bushel
1839	..	25*s.* per bushel
1840	..	32*s.* 2*d.* per bushel
1841	..	36*s.* per bushel
1842	..	45*s.* per bushel

The reaction to these stimulating prices is depicted by the statistics relating to the quantity of coffee annually produced in Ceylon, and those showing the yearly land sales.

The production statistics show a nine-fold increase, in the total annual quantity produced within the short period of nine years.[45]

Quantity of Coffee Produced in Ceylon

Year	Bushels	Year	Bushels
1834 ..	138,800½	1839 ..	365,062¼
1835 ..	161,975 11/28	1840 ..	858,000
1836 ..	190,161½	1841 ..	956,850
1837 ..	223,697¼	1842 ..	1,254,263
1838 ..	220,735¼		

44. Prices given are the *highest paid* in Ceylon From the *Blue Book* for the year 1833–42. C.O. 59 Series.

45. From *The Ceylon Blue Book*. C.O. 59 Series.

The land sale returns reflect the rush for land after 1835, the year in which the plantation coffee " mania " commenced in Ceylon.[46]

	Land Sold Acres		Land Sold Acres		Land Sold Acres
1833 ..	146	1837 ..	3,662	1841 ..	78,686
1834 ..	337	1838 ..	10,401	1842 ..	48,534
1835 ..	434	1839 ..	9,570	1843 ..	59,800
1836 ..	3,920	1840 ..	42,582		
				Total ..	258,072

The most valuable statistics for our purpose, *i.e.*, those relating to the acreage under coffee are unfortunately incomplete, and do not include the total of coffee-growing land in the Central Province—the most important coffee district, since no returns were available owing to the lack of a comprehensive survey. The fact that 258,072 acres were sold between 1833 and 1843, however, together with the Governor's assertion that the land was sold to coffee growers, is sufficiently indicative of the vast extension which took place in coffee culture after 1833.[47]

The land sold was in the main, Crown property, and the amounts realised by the state, through such sales—at an upset price of 5*s.* per acre—serve as a further index to the growth of coffee cultivation.

Year	Amount Realised
1836 ..	.. £ 4,743
1837 ..	.. £ 5,465
1838 ..	.. £ 7,475
1839 ..	.. £ 8,240
1840 ..	.. £19,995
1841 ..	.. £29,712
1842 ..	.. £25,956
1843 ..	.. £29,600

It is impossible, owing to a lack of evidence, to state in precise terms, what proportion of the increased production of coffee was grown on plantations, and what quantity of the land sold became the property of plantation agriculturists. One can safely assume however, that the major portion of both was the result of an influx of European planters, since the Governor Sir Stuart Mackenzie draws attention in his despatches, to the " English settlers, whose property and whose numbers are daily increasing ",[48] and to " the

46. *Ceylon Government Almanac for* 1847.

47. C.O. 54. 130. 2nd Nov., 1833 ; and *Ceylon Blue Book*—C.O. 59 Series.

48. C.O. 54. 179. 9th April, 1840.

numerous applications for the purchase of lands in this Colony (many I am happy to say from British capitalists) and the obviously increasing demand for land for the culture of coffee and other tropical products."[49]

Governor Mackenzie's successor, Sir Colin Campbell, into whose period of administration (1841–47) the coffee boom continued, also made similar statements. He estimated that the annual investment of British capital in coffee cultivation, at that time "considerably exceeded" £100,000 per year, and the rate of growth was such he said, that within "a few years the export should equal the consumption of Great Britain",[50] for the cultivation of coffee was "extending with extraordinary rapidity".[51] Within the six years 1838–1843, as many as 130 coffee estates were brought under cultivation in the Central Province.[52]

On the other hand, the importance of peasant coffee should not be under emphasized. Hardly any of the new plantations opened during the coffee "mania" were in bearing before 1839, yet the quantity of coffee produced annually until that year, exhibited a gradual but steady increase. Peasant coffee-growers must therefore have reacted favourably to the higher profits, which the rising coffee prices and the removal of import duties on Ceylon coffee entering Great Britain, had made possible. In other words, the total quantity produced by the peasants increased during this period, but after 1839, formed a diminishing proportion of the Island's total output.

Of the many problems faced by the early planters, insufficiency of transport and a shortage of labour, were the most serious. The first was a problem they shared in common with peasant growers of coffee but the second was one peculiar to the large and usually foreign owned estate.

A necessary concomitant of the sudden growth of coffee cultivation, was the development of the means of communication. The late thirties and the early forties accordingly saw a great extension of the road system ; an extension largely motivated by and designed to suit the coffee interest. The first three decades of the British administration had seen the building of a few trunk routes, almost all by them for military reasons. Those that came with the growth of the coffee enterprise, were not only more numerous, they were in addition, mainly constructed for purely economic reasons ; their

49. C.O. 54. 171. 16th July, 1839.
50. C.O. 54. 190. 22nd Nov., 1841 ; C.O. 54. 189. 9th Aug., 1841.
51. C.O. 54. 199. 18th Nov., 1842.
52. C.O. 54. 203. 23rd March, 1843.

direction determined not by strategic considerations ; but by the location of estates. The coffee boom therefore coincided with the era of road building and it later provided the stimulus which led to the construction of the Island's first railways.

An equally grave problem was that presented by the inadequacy of estate labour. The local population, partly owing to their unfamiliarity with the wage-system, partly owing to the independence which their possession of land conferred upon them, could not be attracted on to the plantations. The planters had thus, no alternative but to introduce immigrant labour, which they secured from the neighbouring sub-continent of India, and from 1839 onwards labourers from the Coromandel and Carnatic coasts began to arrive by the thousand.[53]

	Indians Arriving at Northern Ports			Indians Arriving at Colombo		
	Men	Women	Children	Men	Women	Children
1839	1,971	182	90	461	6	9
1840	2,487	303	173	839	4	8
1841	3,461	362	162	1,062	1	2
1842	7,487	262	152	1,538	17	14
1843	3,149	81	119	3,149	81	129

A large number of Ceylon's early coffee planters were Civil Servants and other Government employees : "The Governor and the Council, the Military, the Judges, the Clergy and one half the Civil Servants penetrated the hills, and became purchasers of Crown lands".[54] This resort to plantation agriculture by so great a proportion of the Island's Civil Service, stemmed directly from the inadequacy of their incomes. In 1832, the frequent adverse balances in the Government's finances had led to a series of economy measures, one of which reduced the salaries of Civil Servants and abolished their pensions.[55] Administrative officers came as a result, to look upon plantation agriculture as a means whereby their meagre incomes could be supplemented. The results were disastrous, for their economic interests were soon in rivalry with their duties, and as early as 1842, one of the Under Secretaries of the Colonial Office, complained to the Secretary of State that Public Servants in Ceylon were guilty of neglecting their official business. The brevity of the reports submitted from the Island, were alone he said, a sufficient index to the Civil Servants being more concerned with their plantations than with their work.[56]

53. Despatch 6 of April 21st 1847, to the Secretary of State.
54. Tennent : *Ceylon*, Vol. II., p. 231.
55. C.O. 55. 74. 14th Sept., 1832 ; C.O. 54. 122. *Colebrooke's Report*, p. 52 ; C.O. 54. 122. 28th May, 1832.
56. C.O. 54. 197. 13th July, 1842 ; Skinner : *Fifty Years in Ceylon*, p. 222.

The Governor, Sir Colin Campbell, was at first inclined to disagree with the Colonial Office. Replying to an inquiry on the question made by the Secretary of State, he wrote that he was not aware, that the possession of land had rendered Public Servants less efficient than they would otherwise have been. There was in any case, no rule that a public servant should not be a land-owner, and Campbell emphasized that the introduction of any such rule would be extremely unjust, since the "salaries of Public Servants have been reduced to a bare subsistence, and the only prospect a Public Servant can ever have of realizing independence must consist in the investment of his funds in land."[57]

A year later however, even Campbell was forced to admit that inefficiency in the Public Service was descernible.[58] Along with this report, the Secretary of State also received information, that the Colonial Secretary and certain other officials, were continually absent from the capital, spending most of their time on plantations they had acquired. The Colonial Office therefore decided to bring this lamentable state of affairs to an end, and in November, 1844, the Governor was informed that henceforth, "no Civil Servant was to be permitted to engage in any agricultural or commercial pursuit for the sake of profit". All those who owned estates, had within a reasonable period of time, either to dispose of their property, or leave the Public Service.[59]

Acting on these instructions, Campbell presented the Civil Servants with the alternative of seeking employment elsewhere or disposing of their estates within twelve months. Against this order, the Civil Servants immediately protested, and the Secretary of State was presented with a petition which so far as status went, bore an impressive list of signatures. Among the signatories were the Auditor General, the Government Agents of Galle, Kandy, Colombo and Trincomalee. The District Judges of Trincomalee, Jaffna, Galle, Mannar, Kegalle, Negombo and Badulla, numerous Assistant Government Agents and Fiscals.[60]

The petitioners pleaded that it was unjust that they only should be prevented from owning plantations, when the other grades of public service were allowed to retain this privilege. They objected also to the publicity given to the Secretary of State's despatch, which had been loudly applauded by both press and public.[61]

57. C.O. 54. 202. 24th Jan., 1843.
58. C.O. 54. 211. 21st May, 1844.
59. C.O. 55. 85. 30th Nov., 1844 ; C.O. 55, 85. 4th Dec., 1844.
60. It should be noted that two of the signatories, *i.e.*, the Auditor-General and the Government Agent of Colombo were members of the Executive Council.
61. C.O. 54. 216. 12th Feb., 1845 ; C.O. 54. 217. 11th April, 1845.

For both these grievances, Campbell had a ready answer. He had earlier written to Lord Stanley the Secretary of the State, that there were other Public Servants, besides those in the Civil Service, who possessed lands and cultivated coffee, to whom his order did not extend, i.e., Judges of the Supreme Court, Law Officers of the Crown, Officials in the Customs, Surveyors not confirmed in their appointments, and Military Officers on full pay stationed in the Island. He had however, stressed that ownership of plantations had not adversely affected the work of these officials, and this Lord Stanley could now quote as justification for limiting his order to Civil Servants alone.

To the second charge, Campbell replied that publicity was unavoidable. The Colonial Office order would in time have leaked out to the public, and the attempt at concealment would thus have served ultimately to discredit the Government.[62]

The entire question was finally brought to a close in 1846, when the Governor tried in a small way, to aid the Civil Servants, by suggesting that the right to possess plantations should be dependent on the acceptance of certain conditions, and not prohibited altogether. He proposed firstly that officers of the service be allowed to buy land, only with the prior permission of the Governor. (He added however, that sanction in particular cases was not to be regarded as a precedent). Secondly, that no officers should own land in those districts in which they exercised any civil authority. Thirdly, that none should be personally occupied in the management of their lands. Fourthly, that land-ownership should not in any way interfere with their duties. Fifthly, that the Governor should have the power to withdraw permission to own land, whenever he so wished. Finally, with regard to those who already owned land, he proposed that if such land lay within the district wherein these officers exercised authority, they should as an alternative to selling their lands, have the right to apply for transfer, to some other administrative area.[63]

Despite the checks and safeguards suggested by Campbell, the Secretary of State did not agree that Civil Servants should once more be allowed to embark upon coffee cultivation. He was willing however, to make one concession—that those who already possessed estates, should be permitted to retain them, provided such ownership was in accordance with the rest of Campbell's proposals, and that under normal circumstances, officers not owning land were given preference in matters affecting posts and promotion. On this note, the issue as to whether one section of the administration

62. C.O. 54. 216. 12th Feb., 1845 ; C.O. 54. 271. 11th April, 1845.
63. C.O. 54. 224. 7th May, 1846.

should be permitted to indulge in plantation agriculture or not, was allowed to rest.[64]

Meanwhile, the coffee industry was still experiencing boom conditions. Crops were plentiful and prices high, moreover, a few plantations, opened experimentally in the higher elevations, were producing yields beyond the expectations of the most optimistic. The area under coffee was increasing, and the enterprise was moving into the mountainous zone of the Island, which seemed to offer, in soil and climate, the richest field yet discovered.[65]

Coffee Prices (Year Average on London Market)		Coffee Exports	
1843 ..	55*s.* per cwt.	1843 ..	94,847 cwts.
1844 ..	56*s.* ,,	1844 ..	133,958 ,,

Amount of Coffee Annually Produced in Ceylon [66]		Acreage under Coffee	
	Bushels.		Acres.
1843 ..	288,453	1843 ..	31,769
1844 ..	377,173¾	1844 ..	44,221

Land sales over this period exhibit a sharp fall. This resulted from an increase in the upset price of land in 1844 from 5*s.* to 20*s.* per acre. Those who had previously bought land in large quantities with the intention of re-selling at a profit, now ceased buying, and only *bona fide* coffee planters made purchases. In spite of the decline the acreage sold in 1844 was still considerable. A true picture of the activity of 1844, would be conveyed if to the acreage sold that year, were added the total re-sold by speculators. That such sales took place is certain, but the precise amount re-sold is not known.

Land Sales

1843	..	59,800 acres
1844	..	12,712 ,,

The increasing prosperity of the coffee industry however, did not last long. By the middle of 1845, its fortunes began to decline, and Ceylon coffee then found itself faced by the first depression in its history.[67]

64. C.O. 54. 224. 7th May, 1846. (Enclosure).
65. The *Economist*, 1846, p. 145.
66. For all statistics, *vide Ceylon Blue Book*—C.O. 59 Series.
67. Pridham : *Ceylon and Its Dependencies*, Vol. I, p. 383 ; Mills : *Ceylon under the British*, p. 235 ; C.O. 54. 235. 10th May, 1847 ; B.P.P. 1847,, Vol. XXXVII. Tennent to Gray. 10th May, 1847.

II.—The Coffee Depression

The downward trend of coffee prices, which began in 1844, lasted until 1849. During these years, two marked price falls are distinguishable, viz., between 1844 and 1846 and 1847 and 1849.

Average Annual Prices Paid for Ceylon Coffee on the London Market.[68]

	Plantation Coffee		Native i.e., Peasant Grown Coffee.[69]
1843 ..	55*s.* per cwt.		1843 .. 49*s.* per cwt.
1844	68*s.* ,,	(up to March 1844)	1844 55*s.* ,,
	50*s.* ,,	(from May onwards)	
1845 ..	46*s.* ,,		1845 .. 42*s.* ,,
1846 ..	46*s.* ,,		1846 .. 40*s.* ,,
1847 ..	43*s.* ,,		1847 .. 28*s.* ,,
1848 ..	32*s.* ,,		1848 .. 20*s.* ,,
1849 ..	32*s.* ,,		1849 .. 17*s.* ,,

The first price fall, between 1844 and 1846, was caused primarily by the abolition of the differential duty which had hitherto protected British grown coffee from the competition of the cheaply grown Brazilian and Javanese product. After 1835, Ceylon and other Colonial coffee had entered England at a customs rate of 6d the lb, while East India and Foreign coffee paid 9d and 1s. 3d the lb. respectively. In 1842, the duty was reduced to 4d the lb. on Ceylon and Colonial coffee, 4d the lb. on East India coffee and 8d the lb. on foreign. A further revision was made in 1844, as part of Peel's policy of freer trade, and foreign coffee was given entry at 6d 1 lb. ;[70] the fall in prices was the direct consequence.

As proof of this assertion can be cited the evidence given before the select committee on sugar and coffee planting, set up in 1847 to review the condition of those industries.[71] Two witnesses from Ceylon were called, Robert Christian, a merchant and former resident, and Phillip Anstruther who had been for 15 years, the Colonial Secretary of the Island. Both were men competent to give an opinion on the state of the Ceylon coffee enterprise, and both maintained that the depressed prices were due to the withdrawal

68. B.P.P., Vol. XXIII, 1847–8, Part IV.
69. Prices of native coffee were normally lower than those paid for plantation coffee, since inferior methods were used in the preparation of the former. Figures cited are from C.O. 54. 235. 10th May, 1847 ; B. P.P., Vol. XXXVII, 1849.
70. *Economist* of 12th May, 1948.
71. B.P.P., Vol. XXIII, 1847–8, Pt. IV.

of the distinctive duty which had so long protected British plantations from the competition of Javanese and Brazilian coffee. Christian quoted the price paid for Ceylon coffee between 1838 and 1847 and showed how the fall had occurred soon after the reduction in duties in March 1844. Anstruther agreed, and went on to charge the Imperial Government with breach of faith, insisting that planters had bought land on the assumption that protection would remain and that it was this assumption alone, that had made them agreeable to paying the high price of 20sh, per acre.[72]

Now Christian and Anstruther showed (just as the table of prices does) that a close co-relation existed between the fall in prices and reduction of the import duties ; but they did not explain this phenomenon. What in fact happened, was that the total amount of coffee imported from foreign sources, was able, after March, 1844, to compete on more favourable terms than hitherto, with the Colonial and East Indian categories. A fall in the general level of coffee prices was the result. Furthermore, a larger quantity of foreign coffee began to enter the British market after March, 1844, and the increase in supply served to drive prices down to a still lower level. Statistics relating to the consumption of coffee in England show, that while the consumption of foreign coffee increased by nearly 3⅔ million lbs. between 1843 and 1845, the consumption of the Colonial and East Indian varieties remained almost stationary.

Quantity of Foreign Coffee Consumed in Britain [73]

1843	..	9,900,792 lbs.
1844	..	11,857,601 ,,
1845	..	13,525,236 ,,

Quantity of Colonial and East India Coffee Consumed in Britain [74]

1843	..	20,130,630 lbs.
1844	..	19,536,624 ,,
1845	..	20,792,859 ,,

That the reduction of the import duty on foreign coffee was responsible for the fall in coffee prices between 1844 and 1846, is demonstrated also by the statistics relating to total coffee consumption in Britain. If less coffee was being drunk each year, one might have argued that a fall in demand had precipitated the decline in prices. The figures however, show that an increasing quantity of coffee was being consumed over this period.

72. B.P.P., Vol. XXIII, 1847–48, Pt. IV.
73. *The Economist*, 12th May, 1849.
74. *The Economist*, 12th May, 1849.

Coffee Consumed in Britain [75]

1841	..	28,421,093 lbs.
1842	..	28,583,031 ,,
1843	..	30,031,422 ,,
1844	..	31,394,225 ,,

It is evident therefore, that the fall in prices was not the result of an earlier fall in consumption, since consumption was in fact increasing before 1844. The decline in price must therefore have been due to the cheapening of foreign coffee, and to the increase in its supply—both of which resulted from the reduction in the import duty.

The first fall in coffee prices, while it confounded the expectations of those planters who had entertained an excessively optimistic view of the future, did not bring the expansion of the coffee enterprise in Ceylon to an end. Admittedly, profits decreased, but the margin that remained was apparently large enough not only to induce those who had purchased land shortly before 1844, and between 1844 and 1846, to begin cultivation, but also to attract others to enter the industry. In fact, the total acreage under coffee doubled between 1845 and 1847, and coffee exports in spite of the decline in prices, steadily increased.

	Acres.
Coffee land planted prior to 31st December, 1844	25,198½
Coffee land planted between 1st Jan. 1845 and 31st Dec., 1847	24,872¼
Total acreage planted ..	50,071¾ [76]

Total Acreage under Coffee[78]	Coffee Exports [77]	Value
1844 .. 25,198 acres	1844 .. 133,957 cwts. ..	£267,663
1845 .. 36,051 ,,	1844 .. 178,603 ,, ..	£363,259
1846 .. 46,150 ,,	1846 .. 173,892 ,, ..	£328,791
1847 .. 56,832 ,,	1847 .. 293,221 ,, ..	£456,625

The second fall in coffee prices, that which took place between 1847 and 1849, resulted chiefly from the depression experienced in

75. Ibid.
76. *The Economist*, 12th May, 1849.
77. C.O. 54. 249. 4th July, 1848 ; and Ibid. Figure for 1847 is from *The Blue Book*.
78. *Ceylon Blue Book*, C.O. 59 Series.

England during that period. Incomes in that country started to decline and consumers began to economise on semi-luxuries by using substitutes. In place of coffee, large numbers turned to the consumption of an admixture of coffee and chicory, which, owing to the cheapness of the latter component was sold at low prices. According to McCulloch, a great portion of the coffee sold to the poor at this time, was mixed in the proportion of 84 lbs. of roasted chicory to one hundredweight of unroasted coffee.[79] In 1848, the consumption of chicory was equal to 12,500 tons, of which 11,500 tons are said to have been substituted for, or mixed with coffee.[80] The practice of adulterating coffee had existed in some small degree before 1846, but it was after that date, that it assumed a serious character. We are told too, that chicory alone was not employed, but also burnt beans, peas, rice, damaged grain, acorns, chestnuts, burnt beetroot and many other less innocent articles.[81] In earlier years chicory had not been widely used, nor adulteration much resorted to, since consumers were able to afford pure coffee, and since chicory which was generally produced abroad, had to pay a prohibitive duty of £20 per ton. Now so fast did the demand for this commodity grow, that its cultivation in England increased rapidly, and large quantities were soon being sold at low prices on the home market.[82]

As a result of the fall in incomes and the consequent switch to cheap adulterated coffee, the quantity of pure coffee annually retained for consumption in Britain began to decline, and in the next four years the total amount consumed, dropped by over 6½ million lbs.[83] From 37,411,373 lbs. in 1847, to 31,166,358 in 1850.

While this fall in the demand for coffee was taking place, production in Ceylon was increasing rapidly. Land planted with coffee between 1844–46 by investors who had based their calculations on prices which had prevailed over that period, was now beginning to bear, and the following years accordingly, saw a heavy augmentation of coffee exports from the Island.

Coffee Exports from Ceylon [84]

	Quantity	Value
1847 ..	293,221 cwts. ..	£456,625
1848 ..	280,010 ,, ..	£387,150
1849 ..	373,593 ,, ..	£545,545

79. Supplement to the new edition of *The Commercial Dictionary* by McCulloch.
80. Ibid.
81. *The Economist*, 12th May, 1849.
82. Ibid.
83. Ferguson : *The Ceylon Directory*, 1866–68, p. 284.
84. *Ceylon Blue Book*, C.O. 59. Series ; C.O. 54. 252. 11th December, 1848.

Thus supplies were increasing at a time when demand was falling off. The decline in prices which took place between 1847 and 1849, was the inevitable result.

While the fall in prices adversely affected the Ceylon coffee industry in general, the plantation sector in particular, suffered from a further consequence of the depression in Britain. From 1846 onwards capital began to flow into Ceylon in greatly diminished quantities, and credit from London financial houses became exceedingly difficult to get. Those planters who were unable to secure financial accommodation in Ceylon were thus denied the loans which might have helped them to overcome this difficult period. Owing to a lack of statistical evidence one is unable to state precisely the degree by which capital inflow declined, or the extent to which credit facilities were refused. That these problems existed however is set beyond doubt, by the reference made to them in the despatches of the Governor.[85]

Labour difficulties added to the embarrassments of the plantation owner. From 1846, Indian immigrant labour, discouraged by the hard conditions under which they were obliged to travel, by the ill-treatment often met with on estates, and by frequent non-payment of wages, began to come over to Ceylon in lessening numbers. The fall in the supply of labour, at a time when the demand for that factor had been increased by the setting up of a large number of new plantations a few years earlier, raised costs of production on the plantations by impairing their efficiency and by raising wage-rates. Wages which before 1846 had averaged 18*s*. per month, rose as a result to 20*s*. and above, between 1846 and 1849. [86]

Immigration Returns[87]

	Total Arrivals
1845	73,401
1846	42,317
1847	46,140
1848	32,172
1849	29,430

(Figures for Northern Province only—entries at other Ports unobtainable.)

85. C.O. 54. 235. 10th May, 1847 ; B.P.P., 1847, Vol. XXXIII. Despatch from Tennent to Gray of 10th May, 1847 ; Tennent *Ceylon*, Vol. II, p. 231 ; C.O. 54. 258. 11th May, 1849.
86. *The Economist*, 1846, p. 961.
87. Ferguson : *The Ceylon Directory*, 1866–68, p. 182 ; and *The Ceylon Blue Book*. C.O. 59 Series.

Questions affecting the transport of crops and stores presented a further problem. Plantations which had been newly opened together with those remote from the high roads and not accessible by bullock carts, felt the utmost difficulty in getting their produce to market. And where plantations were open to the most frequented high roads, the total quantity of coffee produced in the Island had so rapidly and prodigiously increased, that all the bullock carts in Ceylon were insufficient to bring the crop to the coast in proper time for its shipment to England.[88] Furthermore the Government revenue, owing to its dependence on the coffee industry, had been seriously depleted by the depression, and the Colonial authorities, in order to remain solvent, were forced strictly to curtail their expenditure. A great deal less was therefore spent on public works. Hardly any new roads were built, and of those already constructed, some were barely maintained and others allowed to fall into desrepair. In addition, a private company, which with governmental guarantees had decided to construct a railway from Colombo to Kandy in the coffee-growing Central Province, was forced to abandon the project for financial reasons. The planters were thus denied the relief which railway construction would have brought to their transport problems. Consequently, transport costs were high during this period of falling prices. For planters, in areas where roads were either non-existent or else in a bad condition, had necessarily to fall back upon human labour, to transport their coffee to the nearest serviceable highway, at a time when wage-rates were enhanced. Once this destination had been reached, all joined in a competitive scramble for the restricted number of carts which plied between Colombo and the coffee districts. The price of stores being carried up, and the cost of coffee being brought down therefore tended to increase.

Concurrently with these economic causes, certain natural disasters helped worsen the coffee-growers plight. Rats appeared suddenly, and for the first time, on some of the highest and most productive plantations. While no reasonable conjectures can satisfactorily account for their coming, the most probable is that the long continuance of the rains had rotted the *Nilloo* (*Strobilanthus*) and other plants on which they were accustomed to feed, and they issued out of the jungle in large numbers to attack the coffee-trees, from which they gnawed off the young fruit bearing branches.

Another and still more formidable visitor was a species of coccus, *Lecanium Coffeae*, commonly known as " the bug " Not infrequent in the forests, and found on a variety of plants, the bug now settled on the coffee trees in formidable numbers. Covering every stem and twig with their scales, they extended over large areas of estates,

88. C.O. 54. 235. 10th May, 1847 ; B.P.P. of 1849. Vol. XXXVI. Speech of Sir J. E. Tennent to the Legislative Council.

and in some cases pervaded the entire plantation. The effects were serious. The coffee berries began to wither and their output to decline, and plantations which had yielded from 10–16 cwts. per acre, experienced a fall in output, which reduced their crop to one-third or less.[89]

The invasion of estates by the bug and the coffee rat (*Golunda Ellioti*) had two-fold results. On the one hand the planter lost directly through the fall in output; on the other, the expenditure incurred in the fight against these pests led to a further increase in the cost of production. Both were effects the grower could ill-afford in this period of falling coffee prices. No exact calculation of the increase in costs, or of the losses sustained can be given, since individual estates suffered in varying degree. The severity of these evils however, is amply demonstrated by letters to the newspapers and other journals, written by interested parties during these years.[90]

The expense incurred through pest control and through labour and transport difficulties, was not solely responsible for the high cost of plantation coffee production. It would in fact, be more correct to say, that these causes served to raise the level of a cost structure which was already high. For in the more prosperous period, before 1846 (and particularly before 1844) planters had allowed a certain degree of laxity to enter into the methods of cultivation adopted on their estates. Indifferent cultivation, absenteeism and much useless and wasteful expenditure was common, we are told, on a large number of plantations, and on others a total want of knowledge of soil and climate had led to inferior areas being cultivated.[91] The sudden change in the fortunes of coffee-growing, thus made drastic economies the necessary pre-condition of survival, for a large proportion of the plantation owners.

The enhanced rates of labour and internal carriage, and the expenditure on pest control however limited the degree by which costs could be reduced. It was therefore, not long before plantations situated in areas where soil, climatic conditions, and the like, were not ideally suited to coffee cultivation—what one might turn " marginal estates "—were forced to close down. As much as 10% of the plantations in existence in 1847, are estimated to have been abandoned by 1849,[92] and the total area under coffee fell by 25%

89. C.O. 54. 249. 4th July, 1848 ; B.P.P. 1847–48. Vol. XLVI.
90. See *The Observer* for these years, and also C.O. 54. 249. 4th July, 1848.
91. Pridham : *Ceylon and Its Dependencies*, Vol. I., p. 383 ; C.O. 54. 258. 11th May, 1849 ; Tennent : *Ceylon*, Vol. II, p. 252.
92. Ferguson : *Review of the Planting and Agricultural Industries of Ceylon*, p. 10, footnote ; Tennent, *Ceylon*, Vol. II, p. 232.

between these two dates. Amongst the plantations abandoned, a high proportion evidently went out of production after the crop for 1849 had been gathered. This conjecture is borne out by the increase in coffee exports until 1849 and its marked decrease after that date.[93]

Total Coffee Acreage [94]

1847	.. ..	56,832 acres
1848	.. ..	51,505 ,,
1849	.. ..	43,338½ ,,

In addition to the estates abandoned, scores of others were forced on to the market, and judging by the evidence available, these changed hands at almost nominal prices.[95] Two valuable estates at Badulla for example, had cost £10,000 but were sold for only £350. Another at Hindugalle, which had also cost £10,000, brought in £500, and a fourth sold in 1843 for £15,000 was knocked down at an auction in 1847 for £40.[96]

While the depression produced bankruptcies, and the sale and abandonment of estates in the plantation section of the Ceylon coffee industry, its impact upon the peasant sector had rather different results. Peasant growers had no labour problems, since members of the family gathered and prepared the coffee for the market, and neither were they affected by the failure of credit from abroad. The higher cost of transport and the damages of rats and insects however, were very severely felt, since the peasant lacked the means and technical knowledge with which to overcome these evils. As a result these factors, coupled with falling prices, soon rendered coffee production unremunerative in many areas, and in these districts the coffee berry was not picked, but allowed to drop neglected from the trees.[97] In other words all those peasant producers who found that the market value of their coffee at Colombo was insufficient to justify the charges for gathering and carriage to the port, gave up coffee growing for the time being, and concentrated on their main agricultural employment—rice-production. Thus in the peasant sector of the coffee industry, the depression served to reduce the growers total income by curtailing one of the

93. *Ceylon Blue Book*. C.O. 57 Series.

94. Total coffee exported in 1849 was 373,593 cwts., and in 1850, 278,473 cwts

95. Mills : *Ceylon under British Rule*, p. 235 ; Mills estimates that at least 1/3 the number of plantations in Ceylon changed hands at extremely low prices, between 1846 and 1849 ; C.O. 54. 251. 16th Oct., 1898 ; C.O. 54. 253. 14th Aug., 1849.

96. Tennent : *Ceylon*, Vol. II., p. 232 ; Ferguson : *Review of the Planting and Agricultural Industries of Ceylon*, 0pp. 10–11.

97. C.O. 54. 249. 4th July, 1848 ; B.P.P. 1847–8, Vol. XLVI, p. 270 ; C.O. 54. 251. 16th October, 1848 ; *The Economist*. 17th Feb., 1849, p. 174.

latter's *supplementary* sources ; it did not, as in the plantation sector curtail the main source of income.

The effects of the depression were also severely felt by that section of the mercantile community, who though not directly engaged in coffee-growing, had strong financial ties with the industry. No statistics showing the proportion of those affected exist, but the available evidence shows that those who suffered most, were the houses whose capital, in anticipation of agency and commission on the crops, had been employed in advances to the proprietors of coffee estates. By this means, funds which ought to have been at liberty for commercial operations, had become fixed in plantations, (many of them of no value) converted into dead loans on mortgage ; further advances had to be made as a matter of necessity to avert the loss of the first, till in some cases the lender became as embarrassed as the borrower. One firm for example, was compelled before its final suspension, to borrow at 12% assigning as security its own liens on estates which had been previously mortgaged to it at 7%. The precaution of making advances, not on the land, but against the forth-coming crop, was also not found in practice to afford a much more effective security. The price falls, injury caused by rats and insects, inadequate transport facilities, etc., all served to offset what advantages the scheme had. " From each or a combination of one or more of these disasters, the receipts are deficient, and the merchant who relied on them disappointed of the proceeds, but left with no other alternative than further advances to prevent absolute loss. Some large estates which had been opened and supported by capital so supplied, have recently been brought to the hammer, owing to the impossibility of contriving this accommodation, and two of the most considerable mercantile houses, each connected with between thirty and forty plantations have become bankrupts."[98]

The coffee depression of the 1840's, affected not only planters, peasant coffee-growers and businessmen, its evil effects were felt also by the Government of Ceylon. Owing to the dependence of the Island's finances upon the coffee industry, the decline in the fortunes of the latter immediately produced a decrease in the amount of the former. Between 1845 and 1849, Ceylon's total revenue fell from £454,146 to £409,306. Expenditure on the other hand did not fall as fast and in 1846 and 1847 the annual deficit was £81,801 and £78,368 respectively.[99] Lord Torrington on his assumption of the Government in 1847, was therefore led to remark that he had arrived in a country with " its treasury nearly empty, its current expenditure largely in excess of its annual income its commerce

98. C.O. 54. 249. 4th July, 1848 ; B.P.P. 1847-8, Vol. XLVI, p. 270.

99. *Ceylon Blue Book*. C.O. 59 Series.

declining, the cultivation of its staple produce suddenly arrested and discouraged, and its general condition leading rapidly to bankruptcy."[100]

Under these circumstances, the Government felt constrained to levy new taxes. Unfortunately, the burden of these taxes, such as the cart tax, gun tax, dog tax, road tax, etc., fell in the main upon that section of the population which could least afford to bear it—the peasantry. Strong anti-Government feelings had already been roused in the country through the Government's failure to recognise customary titles to land, and with the imposition of the new taxes, these sentiments flared into a rebellion. The uprising was easily crushed, but the expense incurred in the process forced a radical curtailment of Government expenditure, particularly in the sphere of public works. Road construction and maintenance therefore suffered, and since this adversely affected the coffee industry, Governmental revenues experienced a further decline.[101]

Faced with the task of finding some other method of increasing the annual revenue, Torrington fell back on the coffee industry. An improvement in the fortunes of the latter would immediately lead to an augmentation of the revenue. The Governor therefore decided to aid coffee-growers by exempting them from the payment of the existing export duty on coffee.[102] The immediate result of this step would be a loss to the revenue of about £15,000 per year, but the Governor was thinking of the long term effects of the measure and as a further stimulant he proposed to set on foot a scheme whereby labour supplies to the plantations could be increased. The relief granted in these two spheres would, he hoped, suffice to put the coffee industry back on its feet.[103]

The repeal of the export duty on coffee, in September, 1848, took place at a time when British Statesmen were progressively freeing the trade of the metropolitan country. One cannot however, attribute the action of the Governor *vis-a-vis* the coffee duty, to a similar belief in the virtues of free trade. This, Torrington himself made quite clear to the Secretary of State : " I have felt it my duty to agree to the surrender of the revenue derived from this . . . article of production. But apart even from the consideration of those higher principles of commercial policy, which are opposed to the retention of export duties in general there are special grounds for the removal of this impediment to the progressive extension of the coffee cultivation of Ceylon . . . . The reduction of the price

100. C.O. 54. 240. 11th Nov., 1847 ; C.O. 55, 89. 17th July, 1848 ; B.P.P 1857, Vol. XXVIII, p. 85 ; B.P.P. 1851, Vol. XXXV.
101. *Ceylon Blue Book*. C.O. 59. Series.
102. The export duty on coffee was £2.10.0 per £100 of coffee exported.
103. C.O. 54. 240. 13th Dec., 1847.

of coffee in the home market and the daily increasing competition with the produce of other countries added to the fact that the expense of cultivation is much greater . . . . combine to render an export duty upon the produce raised, peculiarly objectionable . . . . I am not without hope however, that by judicious encouragement and by adopting measures for attracting a constant supply of labour, the position and prospects of the planters will be gradually and permanently improved." [104]

Contrary to the Governor's hopes the removal of the export duty did not alleviate the coffee grower's distress. Conditions in fact steadily worsened, prices continued to decline, and those engaged in the coffee industry were obliged to look about them for other means of relief. It was not long before a fresh suggestion was made. In October, 1848, a number of planters and merchants submitted a petition to the Colonial Office wherein they asked for a remission of the duty of 4*d*. per cwt. which Ceylon coffee had to pay when imported into England. Native coffee they said, then sold on the London market at 27*s*. per cwt. The import duty was thus about 145% on the sale value, and upwards of 200% on the market value in Ceylon. The tax was less oppressive on the plantation descriptions, but they were of the opinion that a reduction would bring considerable relief, and that it would, without raising prices to the consumer, bring up the market rate to a level which the producers found remunerative.[105]

Torrington's attitude to this request cannot be determined, since none of his despatches or speeches contain his views on the subject. One can however assume that the demand had his support. For he was well aware of the connection between the coffee industry and the Island's finances, and must surely have looked favourably on this attempt at improving the condition of the former.

But the Colonial Office rejected the petitioners' proposal on the ground that it would, if acceeded to, prove " injurious ". To whom and why were not specified in their reply, but the reference was probably to the revenue of England which was at that time still suffering from the effects of the depression.[106] The coffee planters in Ceylon then embarked upon a somewhat different course of action. While not abandoning their attempt to lower the cost of coffee on the London market, by securing a lower import duty on their produce, they endeavoured also to increase the demand for coffee in England, by preventing the adulteration of coffee with

104. C.O. 54. 240. 13th Dec., 1847.
105. C.O. 54. 251. 16th Oct., 1848 ; C.O. 54. 252. 15th Dec., 1848 ; C.O. 54. 259. 14th August, 1849 ; C.O. 54. 257. 12th April, 1849.
106. C.O. 55. 91. 24th Oct., 1848.

other substances. The question of coffee adulteration was therefore vehemently taken up. From May, 1849, onwards a quick succession of petitions were submitted to the Secretary of State,[107] all of them pointing out that the sale of coffee in England had fallen off despite low prices and an increasing population. This restriction of demand was caused said the petitioners, by the admixture of home-grown chicory with coffee. The one was untaxed, the other subjected to a duty. Colonial coffee when imported into Great Britain paid a tax of 3*d*. per lb. Furthermore, this duty was levied on coffee in the raw state, and as a considerable loss in weight occurred in the process of roasting, the duty was equal to almost 4*d*. per lb. upon coffee in its consumable form.[108] The petitioners asked therefore that the duty on Colonial coffee imported into England be reduced and that a similar rate of duty be imposed upon home-grown chicory. In the event of such an arrangement being agreed to, it was their belief that the revenue of Britain would not suffer, and that the grower of chicory would still have sufficient encouragement to continue in business, since he would not have to pay the freight and other charges, which the coffee-grower had to defray, at about 13*s*. 6*d*. per cwt.[109]

The petitioners did not lack support in Britain. Even the reputable *Economist* came out on their side, declared their cause a justifiable one, and called attention to the fact that a duty equal to that charged on Colonial sugar, was imposed on its substitute—sugar beet.[110]

These appeals, however, proved unsuccessful and when the British budget of 1851 was made known, the future of the Ceylon coffee industry looked even bleaker than before. For not only was coffee adulteration not forbidden it was decided also that all existing differential duties should be done away with.[111] This meant that foreign coffee would henceforth enter the British market at the same rate as the Colonial product, and thereby make competition even stiffer than it already was.

As a result of these measures, the flood of memorials flowed from Ceylon with greater strength. The demands they contained however, were not quite the same as before. It was suggested instead, that the import duty be abolished altogether, since this would serve to reduce the high retail price of coffee and thus remove all incentive to adulterate it with chicory.[112]

When this argument also failed to bear fruit, the coffee-growers once again shifted their ground, and asked that their product be given legal protection. They did not demand that the sale of chicory be prohibited, or a duty on it be charged. All they wanted was that chicory and coffee should be sold in their pure forms, and advertised as such.[113]

In Sir George Anderson, Torrington's successor, the coffee planters had a strong ally. Like his predecessor, he too was aware of the coffee industry's importance to the Island's finances, and he strongly urged the Secretary of State to give way to the planters' demands.[114] The only concession which the Home Government would make however was the issue of a Treasury minute declaring that coffee-dealers would henceforth be permitted to sell adulterated coffee, only if the packages were labelled in a plain and legible way with the words, "mixture of coffee and chicory".[115] Further than this the Home Government could not and would not go. For on the one hand, the duty on coffee had been reduced by successive steps within the past few years, from 9*d*. to 3*d*. per lb., and financial considerations made a further reduction impossible. On the other hand, the demand for adulterated coffee was taken, not as an index to a fall in the standard of living, but as a reflection of the public taste, and with the latter, the state, in accordance with political and economic beliefs then prevalent was not disposed to intervene.[116]

The planters of course, were still dissatisfied, but the protests and petitions which followed the Treasury ruling lacked the urgency of former years. For the condition of the coffee industry had begun to improve. Coffee consumption and prices were both rising on the London market and there were clear signs that the depression was ending. The agitation against adulteration thus had the ground cutaway from beneath it and after 1853, no really serious attempts were made to pursue the question any further.[117]

(*To be concluded in the next issue.*)

107. C.O. 54. 258. 11th May, 1848 ; C.O. 54. 259. 9th June, 1849 ; C.O. 54 261. 11th Dec., 1849 ; C.O. 54. 275. 27th April, 1850 ; C.O. 54. 279. 10th April, 1851 ; C.O. 54. 288. 6th March, 1852 ; C.O. 54. 288. 9th March, 1852 ; C.O. 54. 299. 25th April, 1853 ; C. O. 54. 300. 24th June, 1853 ; C.O. 54. 350. 23rd July, 1853 ; C.O. 54. 302. 12th Nov. 1853.

108. C.O. 54. 299. 25th April, 1853.

109. C.O. 54. 258. 11th May, 1848 ; C.O. 54. 259. 9th June, 1849 ; C.O. 54. 261. 11th Dec., 1849.

110. *Economist*. 12th May, 1849.

111. C.O. 54. 279. 10th April, 1851.

112. C.O. 54. 279. 10th April, 1851 ; C.O. 54. 288. 6th March, 1852 ; C.O. 54. 288. 9th March, 1852 ; C.O. 54. 299. 25th April, 1853 ; C.O. 54. 300. 24th June, 1853.

113. C.O. 54. 302. 12th Nov. 1153 ; C.O. 54. 300. 23rd July, 1853.

114. C.O. 54. 299. 25th April, 1853 ; C.O. 54. 300. 24th June, 1853.

115. *The Economist*, 1853. 26th February.

116. C.O. 54. 302. 12th Nov., 1853 ; C.O. 55. 95. 23rd Nov., 1853 ; C.O 54. 302. 23rd Nov., 1853.

117. C.O. 54. 307. 6th May, 1854.

NATIONALISM AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN CEYLON (1)

THE BACKGROUND OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

By Sir IVOR JENNINGS

(This essay is a revised version of a paper circulated at the I. P. R. Conference held in Lucknow in 1950. It is here being published for the first time in cooperation with the Institute of Pacific Relations, New York)

Preface

The Editor of the *Ceylon Historical Journal* has seen a paper of mine on "Nationalism and Political Development in Ceylon", which was circulated at the Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Lucknow in October, 1950. He has asked permission to print the first part of it, an essay on "The Background of Self-Government". I have no objections if it is thought likely to help students, but certain observations about its provenance should be made.

The essay on "The Background of Self-Government" was originally a separate document, and I do not remember exactly how it came to be prepared. It was, I know, written at the request of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, of which I was and am a member. Internal evidence suggests that it was originally drafted in 1948 or 1949 for a study group of Englishmen interested, like me, in developing self-governing institutions in colonial territories. To be useful, it had to be brutally frank not only about British policy as it was displayed in Ceylon but also about the difficulties in the local environment, including the climate of emotion. The result is, probably, that a Ceylonese reader will agree with half of the statements but dislike the other half. It was necessary, too, to be dogmatic, since it was a document designed to facilitate action elsewhere and not an academic dissertion. Obviously much more might have been said on many subjects, especially the historical and ethnological background.

The problem of developing self-governing institutions in colonial territories is by no means as simple as it was assumed to be by Ceylon University Union Society debaters before 1948. In fact, part of the problem was that Union Society debaters expressed widely-held opinions founded not on reason but on emotion. I thought, nevertheless, that the Colonial Office too was wrong. Fortunately the policy was changed in 1949 or 1950. Probably the experience of Ceylon was a cardinal factor; but whether my explanations of that experience had any influence in Whitehall I

do not know; nor indeed do I care, for what matters is not who influenced a decision but whether the decision was right. I am sure that the decision to take risks in developing self-government in Africa and the Caribbean was right, though I am equally sure that, given the difficulties of the problem, some mistakes will be made.

What historical students in Ceylon ought now to do is to remove recent history from its emotional context. Neither the view that "British imperialism" was always nefarious and iniquitous nor the opposite view that British policy was invariably enlightened and beneficial will stand the test of history. British rule had many advantages and many disadvantages. How the historian reads the balance will depend in some degree upon his own prejudices, for all history involves a selection of materials, and subjective influences cannot be entirely avoided either in the selection or in the emphasis. In writing about the seventeenth century conflicts in England, as I have been doing lately, I find that I have to guard against the bias due to my Nonconformist background. In a Ceylon in which aggressive nationalism is still powerful among the older generation —there is a tendency for it to be replaced by an aggressive "leftism" among the younger generation—it is all the more necessary to take precautions against interpreting history in such a manner as to feed one's own emotions. Possibly my essay, which was written when competing emotions were stronger than they are now, will help the younger students towards the achievement of balanced interpretation. A few changes have been necessitated by the lapse of time, but in the main the essay remains as it was written in 1948 or 1949 and amended in 1950.

* * *

Character of the Population.

In comparing Ceylon with other parts of the Commonwealth it is essential to remember two facts. In the first place, it was colonised not from Europe but from India. The Sinhalese, who now form two-thirds of the population of over seven millions, are a fair-skinned Aryan-speaking people who appear to have come by sea from North India. Probably the earliest invasions were in the fifth century B.C., but recorded history really begins with the reign of Devanampiya Tissa (247–207 B.C.), when missionaries from the Emperor Asoka converted the Sinhalese to Buddhism. The Tamils are dark-skinned Dravidian-speaking people from South India. When they began to filter across the Palk Strait is not known. They may have been occupying the Jaffna Peninsula before the Sinhalese arrived, though remains of Buddhist temples in that area suggest that Buddhists, and probably the Sinhalese, occupied the whole Island. Tamil pressure on the Sinhalese kingdom is recorded

from the third century B.C., and there were strong Tamil influences on Sinhalese culture after the fall of Anuradhapura about 1000 A.D. The Ceylon Tamils—the Tamils descended from early invasions—number about 900,000, but there are some 700,000 Indian Tamils, Tamil immigrants of the first or second generation, many of whom retain their homes in South India.

There is also a substantial group of Muslims who call themselves Moors, the name given them by the Portuguese. Among their ancestors, no doubt, were Arabs who came across the Indian Ocean to trade, but most of them seem to have come from South India. Ethnically they differ little from the Tamils and they usually speak Tamil. Most of their ancestors must have been Tamil-speaking Hindus converted to Islam. They number about 370,000. To all these must be added another 70,000 people of Indian origin. The section of the population which does not derive from India is extremely small and cannot exceed 60,000, a figure which includes all the persons classified as Eurasians, though it is certain that the number with one or more European ancestors is very much larger, for most of the issue of mixed marriages, especially those of the Portuguese, have been absorbed into the racial groups of the Sinhalese and the Tamils.

In the second place—and this conclusion follows from the first—the Ceylonese cannot be described as "primitive" or even as "backward" people. Though Indian culture owes little to the Mediterranean culture which has had so profound an effect in Europe, it had reached a high level independently of Western influences. Through the influence of Buddhism, Sinhalese culture attained a very high standard during the first millennium of the Christian era. Anuradhapura was a great city of parks and temples, with architecture which must have been both magnificent and opulent. It was dependent upon the cultivation of paddy through a vast system of irrigation works which displays engineering skill of a very high order. Sinhalese and Tamil are not primitive languages. Sinhalese derives through Prakrits from Sanskrit, as much a language of learning as Greek, and learning was maintained and propagated through the pirivenas attached to the great temples. Tamil is an equally highly developed language, much influenced by Sanskrit, which was the language of the Brahmins. Though it is true that neither language has adapted itself to the culture of the west each expresses an indigenous culture of a high order.

It is true that self-government as now operated in Ceylon is entirely of western origin, but the essential ideas have been absorbed by a population whose cultural inheritance was of real significance. What was required was not the creation of a civilisation where none existed, as would be the case in many parts of Africa, but the

adaptation of ancient civilisations to the new needs of modern science, technology and political theory. As will be mentioned presently, this has been done in Ceylon as in India by the adoption of English as a medium of communication among the educated classes. Neither Sinhalese nor Tamil has yet been adapted to the needs of western civilisation, though some self-conscious efforts in that direction have been made.

Communalism.

Ceylon shares with India the institution of caste. It is true that it is less strong among the Sinhalese than among the Tamils. It is, if not exactly inconsistent with Buddhism, at least deprecated by Buddhists in accordance with an exhortation by the Buddha himself. Nevertheless, every Sinhalese belongs to a caste and knows to what caste he belongs. Very often his *ge*-name or family name is an indication of his caste. The most important element in caste among the Sinhalese is its prohibition of exogamy. Intercaste marriages even among the educated are very rare. There are also a few depressed castes. Though their touch or sight does not produce pollution, as it does among some Hindus, social intercourse even of a distant kind is virtually excluded. Few members of the depressed castes can, for instance, secure post-primary education, and difficulties are constantly arising even over primary education.

The political importance of caste lies mainly however, in its perpetuation of a rigid endogamy. Ethnographic studies both in India and in Ceylon show that the Indian peoples are of very mixed stock. The Indian sub-continent and its neighbouring Island were peopled through vast migrations, and even recorded history is a series of wars and civil wars. In such conditions an admixture of stocks was inevitable ; but when the nomadic peoples settled down and developed the institution of caste a strict endogamy necessarily followed. The Sinhalese and the Tamils have therefore been segregated for centuries and have tended to develop distinct physical characteristics through selective breeding. These characteristics cannot be put on a scientific basis because the stocks are so very mixed, but it is usually possible to distinguish a Sinhalese from a Tamil simply by looking at them. Though it is no longer universally true that a person is out-caste by marrying out of his caste, the caste convention is almost invariably observed, and it follows as a matter of course that inter-racial marriages are equally rare.

This rigid endogamy is easily raised into a principle. Whether there was any race-theory before western ideas came in has apparently not been investigated, but the theories of Gobineau and his successors struck a responsive chord. Whereas the various

" communities " of Europe have been inter-marrying for centuries and thus make nonsense of racialism, the " races " of India and Ceylon have been endogamous for centuries. True, it is in some measure an artificial endogamy. It is quite likely that hundreds of thousands if not millions of so-called Sinhalese have some Portuguese ancestors, for the Portuguese brought few women and mixed freely with the coastal people, and we know that in the second generation the " Portuguese " population was mainly the product of mixed marriages. Since the known descendants of the Portuguese are few, it follows that most of their descendants must call themselves Sinhalese or Tamils, though as a matter of descent they are Eurasians. Among the Sinhalese, if not among the Tamils, this process of absorbing the issue of mixed marriages is facilitated by a curious social tradition that the children take the " race " of their fathers Thus, the children of a Sinhalese father and a European mother are Sinhalese, whereas the children of a European father and a Sinhalese mother are Eurasians—not European because neither the Dutch nor the British follow this tradition.

Even so, mixed marriages are rare exceptions and endogamy is almost invariably observed. The Sinhalese and the Tamils are thus sharply differentiated not only by language, religion and social conventions generally, but also by physical features and by a virtual prohibition against inter-marriage, which in itself limits social contacts, especially among the young of marriageable age. It must therefore be emphasised that the distinction between Sinhalese and Tamils is much sharper than between English and Scots, or English-Canadians and French-Canadians, or even Flemings and Walloons.

The division between the Sinhalese and the Tamils is not, however, the only one. The Ceylon Tamils and the Indian Tamils are of the same " race " ; they are derived from a common stock, speak Tamil, are Hindus, and share the social conventions of Hindu society. If " race " were all that mattered, the Ceylon and Indian Tamils would make common cause against the Sinhalese. In recent times attempts have been made to secure common action among the leaders, but they have not been very successful. For the most part the Ceylon Tamils reside in the Northern and Eastern Provinces and are cultivators or fishermen. Most of the Indian Tamils are labourers in the hills and in Colombo. The two classes are thus separated by geography, history and economic interest. Generally, too, they belong to different castes. The Ceylon Tamils have taken kindly to English education ; the Indian Tamils are generally illiterate or have had a short and inferior education in estate schools, using Tamil as medium of instruction. Caste being stricter among the Tamils than among the Sinhalese, caste endogamy is very rigid and inter-marriage even between educated Tamils from India and educated Ceylon Tamils is rare.

Again, the distinction between the Tamils and the Muslims is not a racial distinction. They derive from a common stock, speak Tamil, and have many social conventions in common. Though some of the Indian Muslims have retained the practice of caste, which is inconsistent with the brotherhood of Islam, there appears to be no caste among the Ceylon Muslims. Nor indeed is inter marriage regarded with aversion by Muslims, who readily take wives from among the Sinhalese and the Tamils, though the wives generally become Muslims. There is a small group of so-called Malays, descendants of the soldiers of the Malay regiments imported by the Dutch and the British, who married Sinhalese wives. Marriages between " Moors " and Malays are not very common, but they do occur. There is some argument over the question whether the Ceylon " Moors " ought to regard themselves as " Moors " or as Muslims, but generally religion and not " race " as the test.

The Burghers, or at least those who call themselves Dutch-Burghers, are descendants of Dutch residents. In most of the families, though not in all, there has been some admixture of Sinhalese or Tamil " blood ", whose consequences show themselves in the pigment of the skin and hair. They are almost invariably Christians, and they inter-marry with other groups much more freely. They dropped Dutch and adopted English as their language immediately after the British occupation, and they almost invariably wear European clothes. They have thus tended to be segregated from the Sinhalese, the Tamils and the Muslims, and, through the operation of colour prejudice, from the Europeans also. The Dutch-Burghers insist on their Dutch ancestry because they form a sort of caste into which Eurasians of all kinds have tended to gravitate. There is even a small group of the absurdly named " Portuguese Burghers ", descendants of Portuguese soldiers and Sinhalese or Tamil women who have not been absorbed, as most of them evidently have, into the Sinhalese and Tamil castes.

Finally, it should be noted that the Sinhalese are divided between the Low-country Sinhalese and the Kandyan Sinhalese. When the Portuguese arrived in 1505, Ceylon was divided into three kingdoms, the Tamil kingdom based on Jaffna, the Sinhalese kingdom based on Kotte (near Colombo) and the Sinhalese kingdom based on Kandy. Dense jungle and steep hills protected the Kandyan kingdom, and it was never captured by the Portuguese or the Dutch. It was ceded to His Britannic Majesty by the Kandyan Chiefs only in 1815, and so for over three hundred years the Low-country was subjected to European influence while the Kandyan

kingdom remained Sinhalese (though the last dynasty of Kandy was Tamil and most of the Sinhalese kings had Tamil wives). The Kandyan Convention of 1815 stipulated the maintenance of the Kandyan customs, and this has been taken to mean that Kandyan personal law applies to persons who can claim to be Kandyans. On the other hand, Kandyans and Low-country Sinhalese of the same caste can and do intermarry, so that the distinction is becoming somewhat artificial. Also, the Kandyan Provinces were opened to immigration by the building by the British of the Kandy road and the invention of the internal combustion engine has brought Kandy within 2½ hours of Colombo. The buildings of the roads enabled the Kandyan hills to be cultivated for coffee, tea and rubber. In consequence there was a large influx not only of Low-country Sinhalese but also of Indian labourers. Kandyan separatism is therefore a historical survival of less significance than the distinction between the English and the Scots, but it is still a factor of considerable political importance.

The social diversity of the population of Ceylon requires emphasis, for it was the principal obstruction to the development of self-government. The small educated minority developed a nationalist movement which in theory ignored "race", religion and caste, but a Ceylon Tamil co-operating in the Ceylon National Congress did so much more self-consciously and subject to far more mental reservations than, say, a Scot co-operating with the Conservative Party in Britain. Apart from his own emotional context, which could not fail to remind him that though he was a Ceylonese, he was also a Ceylon Tamil, he was dependent upon the votes of people whose way of life and thought was determined by the fact that they were Tamils and Hindus of the cultivator caste. Even in 1947, when the problem of self-government had been solved, the election returns show that almost invariably the electors had voted for candidates of their own race, religion and caste. It is true that there were rival candidates of the same race, religion and caste who offered competing policies common to all communities through the collaboration of leaders of different races, religions and castes ; but this was the consequence of the solution of the communal problem and even in 1947 there were groups among the Ceylon Tamils and the Indian Tamils whose policies were wholly communal.

Economic and Educational Differentiation.

Ceylon is essentially a country with a peasant economy which has become a primary producer through the employment of western capital. Historically the basic industry is paddy cultivation. Through its development of irrigation works the Sinhalese kingdom based upon Anuradhapura was able to support a fairly large population. Its size has been grossly exaggerated by nationalist sentiment, but it may have been of the order of four million. The destruction of the irrigation works through incompetent administration, civil wars, Tamil wars, malaria, and possibly climatic changes—for the rainfall may have diminished in the last thousand years—resulted in a progressive diminution of the population through famine, under-nourishment, and disease. Though the Arabs, the Portuguese and the Dutch developed an external trade in spices and gems which presumably enabled some food to be imported—the economic history of the Island has yet to be investigated—the population in 1815 could not have exceeded one million. The first count, that of 1824, gives a population of less than 900,000, but it was based on headmen's returns and may have been an under-estimate. It is nevertheless true that the size of the population depends essentially on the production or importation of rice. If food supplies dwindle the tropical diseases, especially malaria and helminthic diseases, take firmer hold and cause a rapid rise in the death rates. It was no accident that the greatest malaria epidemic of this century, that of 1934–35, followed immediately on the depression which began in the United States in 1929 and reached Ceylon in 1932 through a catastrophic fall in the price of its exports. It is true that the immediate cause of the epidemic was drought, which enabled the anopheles mosquito to breed in the rivers, but similar droughts before and since have had no such catastrophic effects, and it is clear that economic distress weakened the resistance of the population to a disease which rarely kills healthy bodies.

In the 150 years of British occupation the population rose from one million (or less) to seven million. The basic cause has been the development of an export trade in coffee, tea, rubber, coconuts, plumbago, and mica. This export trade has enabled food to be imported to feed a much larger population, and today Ceylon imports two-thirds of its food supplies. It is true that better sanitation and an efficient administration for dealing with the social consequences of flood and drought have kept down the mortality rates, but these have been paid for out of revenues derived from the exporting industries.

Coffee, tea and (though to a lesser degree) rubber have been mainly in the hands of European producers. The export trade is mainly European while the import trade is partly European and partly Indian. European and Indian capital have been the principal means for economic development. The fact that Ceylon offered scope for capital investment has therefore been a factor of prime importance in the development of self-government. On the other hand, the development of the coconut and plumbago industries has been mainly in Ceylonese hands. In some measure the develop-

ment has been indigenous, but it would have been impossible but for the trade developed by the foreigners—mainly but not exclusively European—and the financial institutions established to provide for the export trade, which have been until recently almost wholly in British hands. Moreover, the export trade created a comparatively wealthy middle class which invested its surplus capital in coconuts, plumbago, rubber and, more recently, tea. It will of course be remembered that self-government developed in Ceylon under the old practice of requiring each colony to finance its own development. The change of policy implicit in the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts came too late to have any influence.

The growth of the middle class must be associated with the growth of the export trade. The colonial government of Ceylon, like other colonial governments, was mainly in the hands of European officials. Their number was few and indeed they were too expensive for many of them to be imported. The lower ranks of the administration were staffed by Ceylonese. The village headmen and the chief headmen were fairly substantial landowners of the higher castes, usually known as the Mudaliyar class. The clerks and minor judicial officials had to know English and were therefore chosen mainly from the Burghers and the Eurasians. The coffee boom, which came to a sad end through blight about 1880, stimulated a demand for English-speaking employees in the commercial houses, the banks, the wholesale and retail stores, the government service and the professions (especially law and medicine). English had a high cash value, with the result that those of the Mudaliyar class who could afford it sent their sons to English schools. This English-educated middle class produced sons who themselves required English education. The English-educated not only spoke English but also adopted European customs. The son of an ambitious village headman cut off his *konde*—his " bun " of long hair—put on coat and trousers, and went to an English school.

The Dutch, true to their colonial tradition, had provided some education in Sinhalese and Tamil and the British continued the Dutch system. Mainly, though, the early development was due to the missionary societies, who provided education through Sinhalese and Tamil but also met the demand for English education. After the Colebrooke Report in 1831, the Government provided schools using English as well as schools using Sinhalese and Tamil and also gave financial assistance to the schools in Jaffna, where English education had become very popular, and where the Government had handed its schools to the missionary societies. After 1884, however, the Government left English education to the missionary societies and the new educational organisations established by the

Buddhists and the Hindus. By 1900 there were about 20,000 pupils in the English schools and about 150,000 in the Sinhalese and Tamil schools, though it must be remembered that the pupils in the English schools were drawn mainly from the middle classes and stayed much longer than those in the Sinhalese and Tamil schools. There was a very large increase in numbers in the present century, and by 1940 the number of children at school had reached 750,000, of whom nearly 100,000 were in English schools.

Since 1945 education through the " mother tongue " has been compulsory in the first five standards (grades) or roughly from 6+ to 11+. At that stage most children of the peasant class leave school, though education is theoretically compulsory to 14. With few exceptions those who remain at school belong to the middle classes and learn through the medium of English. For them English education may continue up to University level. The result is that the middle classes are entirely English-educated, at least from the age of 11 onwards. What is more—and here Ceylon differs from India, perhaps because of the higher standard of living—the English-educated are English-speaking. There is thus a social differentiation of the greatest importance. The peasants and workers speak Sinhalese or Tamil, while the middle classes speak English. The social conventions of the middle classes, including their food and clothing, are essentially western.

It will be seen that the social situation is intrinsically dangerous. In the more highly industrialised countries of the west there is a greater spread of wealth from the very poor to the very rich, but the steps of the gradation are shallow. There is no stark division between " the toilers " and " the bourgeoisie ". In Ceylon there is. The poor are very poor—though a little richer than in India—and though the rich are not very rich, the " bourgeoisie " is differentiated from the " toilers " by language, clothing and other social conventions. The self-conscious attempt of a section of the middle classes to evolve a " national costume " does not help, for it remains a middle-class costume as distinctive as trousers, and the real national costume is the cloth and banian which the middle-classes do not wear in public. Nor does emphasis on the " mother tongue " improve the situation, for though the middle classes make political speeches in Sinhalese and Tamil they speak to each other in English. This differentiation becomes the more marked through oriental ostentation. The wealth is not merely exhibited but flaunted in the shape of gaudy jewellery, expensive sarees, and large chromium-plated cars.

Strangely enough, the class-conflict which develops is not between the " toilers " and the " bourgeoisie " but within the middle class

itself. Right-wing nationalism, as will be mentioned presently, was a middle class product, but so was communism. Like nationalism, it has been imported from the west by English-speaking groups. Within the middle-class there is a clear differentiation represented in the Government service—which dominates social classes far more than in western countries—by the staff officers and the clerks. The former have cars, the latter cycle or ride in buses ; the former marry English-educated wives,the latter sometimes prefer to speak Sinhalese or Tamil at home. These are broad generalisations requiring many exceptions, for often one son becomes a staff officer and his brother a clerk. Nevertheless, the differentiation does exist, and the communist parties—of which Ceylon with its usual tropical luxuriance has three—draw their support mainly from the lower middle-classes. The urban workers are few in number but they tend to support the lower middle-class. The Indian estate workers support their communal representatives, most of whom are merchants or land-owners, but who for political (*i.e.*, non-economic) reasons advise the labourers to support the communist groups where there are no Indian candidates. Among the peasants the communists have made little headway, though they are doing their best to enlist the support of the " lower " castes.

The Nationalist Movement.

For a century after the British annexation the Maritime Provinces were remarkably peaceful. Kandy was more difficult to pacify. There was a serious rebellion in 1818 and several minor disturbances between 1820 and 1858 : but in the Maritime Provinces after 1800 and in Kandy after 1858 the history of Ceylon might almost be described as uneventful. The coffee industry was raising the standard of living and slowly creating a Ceylonese middle class, but the minor controversies which developed from time to time were led by unofficial Europeans and Burghers. With the prosperity of the tea industry which began in the 'nineties, however, the Ceylonese middle class began to grow and from that class, though still very small, came a demand for increased Ceylonese representation in the Legislative Council.

That Council had been established in 1833 in the series of reforms based on the Colebrooke Reports of 1831 and 1832. Colebrooke, one of the disciples of Bentham, laid down the doctrine that government must be for the benefit of the governed and insisted that there should be Ceylonese representation in the Council. Such representation was of course by nomination, and the only possible system of nomination was one in which the " leaders " of the respective communities were appointed by the Governor. These leaders were determined not by political activity but by social prestige.

Except in the case of the Burghers, where professional eminence, especially in law and medicine, could be considered, they had to be selected from among the wealthier members of the highest castes. When it was desired, as it was late in the nineteenth century, to increase the representation the method inevitably adopted was to increase the number of communities represented. What was later called " communal representation " was alleged to be an invention of the British to divide the Ceylonese and so enable the British to govern. Until the present century, however, there were no Ceylonese ; there were Burghers, Sinhalese (Kandyan and Low-country), Tamils, Indians, Moors and Malays. Nor were these in any sense political groups ; they were not even social units, for the Sinhalese and the Tamils were collections of castes, while the unity of the Moors and Malays was the unity of Islam. Indeed, the British began to unify the indigenous inhabitants, though quite unconsciously, partly through English education and partly through the classification which divided the population into Europeans, Burghers and " natives ". The Burghers and the " natives " became, in due course, under the stimulus of the nationalist movement, the Ceylonese. It is not an exaggeration to say that the Ceylonese as a people were invented in the present century.

Various patriotic societies came into existence early in the century, and in 1910 their petition produced the first substantial change in the Constitution since 1833. The petitioners were described as " mostly belonging to the professional and commercial middle classes " and " a very small minority . . . of the natives of Ceylon who have assimilated an education of a purely western type ". The official majority in the Legislative Council was retained, there being eleven official to ten unofficial members. Of the ten unofficial members four were elected for communal constituencies —European Urban and Rural, Burgher, and " Educated Ceylonese ". The other six were nominated by the Governor to represent the Kandyan Sinhalese, the Low-country Sinhalese, the Tamils (2 seats) and the Moors. It will be seen that communal election followed from communal nomination while the representation of Ceylonese as Ceylonese began with the representation of that small section of it which had received English education.

The war of 1914–18 provided a great stimulus towards nationalism. Partly, the causes were international. The educated Ceylonese must see the world mainly through slightly coloured English spectacles, not only because English is the only European language known to them but also because their instruments of publicity are tied to London. Until recently the local press used English, and even now the Sinhalese and Tamil newspapers are for all practical purposes translations of the English newspapers. Circulations were inevitably small, though they are increasing

rapidly with the spread of education. The space devoted to international news has had to be small because cables were expensive —though cheaper from London than from other capitals—and separate representation, except in London, impossible. Managers and editors were either British or Ceylonese trained or educated in England. Many of the feature articles have been taken from English newspapers and periodicals. In short, the English newspapers are English in a double sense, and indeed are very like provincial newspapers in England.

The wartime propaganda, unofficial as well as official, which asserted that Britain was fighting for the freedom of small nations, the right of self-determination, the prevention of imperialist aggression and so forth, became for the nationalists propaganda for the "freedom" of Ceylon. Everything said about "brave little Belgium" could be adapted to "brave little Ceylon", the essential difference being that brave little Belgium was invaded in 1914 and brave little Ceylon in 1505. When President Wilson included among his Fourteen Points the right of every nation to govern itself freely he enunciated a doctrine which the educated Ceylonese could hardly fail to apply to themselves.

The greatest impetus came, however, from an incident in Ceylon itself. For some years there had been a little trouble of a kind very familiar in India, the playing of music before mosques. In 1915 this trouble became more serious in Kandy and started riots in several parts of the country. Though the cause was religious, the spread of rioting seems to have had an economic impulse. In the villages and small towns the small shopkeepers ("boutique-keepers") were generally Muslims. Owing to the war there was a shortage of imported rice and prices had risen. Also, the boutique-keepers were money-lenders. They gave goods on credit, receiving payment in paddy when the crop was gathered and, no doubt, making a handsome profit on the double transaction, especially while the price of paddy was rising. Rumours of attacks by the Muslims on the Sinhalese were therefore followed by attacks by the Sinhalese on Muslim boutiques.

This series of small riots would have had no political repercussions had not the Europeans also become excited. The basic cause was no doubt war neurosis, but there were other factors. The European community, numbering five or six thousand, had never had much contact with the Ceylonese. The planters lived lonely lives on their estates, surrounded by Indian Tamil labourers and knowing little or nothing of the lives of the Kandyan villagers. The commercial community of the "Fort" in Colombo lived in a fortress of their own devising, a society carefully segregated even from the educated Ceylonese, who were not allowed into the clubs, who were

never entertained at home, and whose pretensions to a greater share in the government of their country were regarded as exhibiting a growing "native insolence."

It is less understandable that the Governor and his advisers should have so misunderstood the situation as to proclaim martial law, enrol the planters and commercial men as special constables carrying arms, and authorise summary justice. What is more, the Ceylonese leaders were arrested, among them Mr. D. S. Senanayake, the present Prime Minister. These leaders had in fact done their best to stop the rioting ; but when they were seen haranguing vast crowds those who knew no Sinhalese were quite likely to assume, and did assume, that they were encouraging the rioters and, in fact, were using the war-time conditions to foment rebellion.

A subsequent Commission drew attention to the errors and the Governor was transferred ; but a more important consequence was the consolidation of the nationalist forces. The leaders of the Ceylon Tamils used their political acumen and forensic skill to defend the Sinhalese, and even those Sinhalese leaders (like Mr. D. S. Senanayake) who had not taken an active part in the campaign for increased representation now decided that they must play a part in the agitation for self-government. Nationalism had secured a specific grievance to add to the general complaints of a colonial people who had learned to demand "freedom."

In 1919 the nationalist organisations came together to form the Ceylon National Congress on the lines of the Indian National Congress, and in 1920 they secured a new Constitution in which, for the first time, the unofficial members held a majority, with 23 out of 37 members, though only 12 were elected. Also, no community had a majority if the minority were supported by the 14 official members, who thus held the balance of power. Naturally this did not satisfy the nationalists, especially the Sinhalese, but when attempts were made to secure an agreed scheme, the conflict of interest between the Sinhalese and the minorities began to appear. The Sinhalese, as the majority, were willing to accept the ordinary assumptions of representative government and were anxious for territorial representation. The minorities, and especially the Tamils, were anxious for self-government, but did not wish to exchange British domination for Sinhalese domination. The failure of Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, the Tamil leader, to secure nomination for Colombo proved the deciding factor ; and though the Congress was willing to permit communal representation as a temporary concession, most of the Tamils resigned and left the Congress as a predominantly Sinhalese organisation.

Nevertheless it obtained another amendment of the Constitution

in 1924, and for the first time representative government, in the technical sense, was conferred. Of the Legislative Council of 49 members, 34 were elected, though 23 only were elected for territorial constituencies, the other 11 being elected for communal electorates. Three seats were filled by nomination by the Governor, and there were 12 officials. This arrangement worked so badly that the Donoughmore Commission was appointed in 1928. Its recommendations, modified in some respects, were approved by a majority of 2 votes only, and from 1932 to 1943 there was constant agitation for self-government.

Characteristics of Ceylonese Nationalism.

Ceylonese nationalism was essentially a product of western education and its ideology was not fundamentally different from that of nineteenth century Europe. Frequently those of us who have passed beyond this stage find it to be singularly Victorian. It lacked a Garibaldi, a Palmerston or even a Parnell. Nor was there a Gandhi or a Nehru. The Tamil brothers, Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam and Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan, were only comparatively eminent, for they would not have achieved such eminence in the neighbouring sub-continent, and they broke away from the Congress in 1921. Sir James Peiris and Sir Baron Jayatilaka were competent, each in his own way ; but neither had much popular appeal. The Ceylon National Congress, unlike the Indian National Congress under Mahatma Gandhi's inspiration, never succeeded in arousing the enthusiasm of the common people. Possibly the consequences were beneficial, for Ceylon nationalism never went to extremes.

It had in any case some special characteristics. They may perhaps be classified as follows :—

(*a*) *Racialism.*—For reasons already given, nationalism was superimposed upon racialism. The Sinhalese and the minorities lived in the same country, which as an Island was clearly a geographical unit and was therefore thought to be a political unit. Though it has been alleged—for instance before the Soulbury Commission—that the Sinhalese leaders were aiming at " Sinhalese domination " and though there has been a genuine attempt by some of the leaders, notably Mr. D. S. Senanayake, to ignore racial divisions, the existence of the Sinhala Maha Sabha, a communal organisation headed by a Cabinet Minister, shows that even among the Sinhalese who, possessing a majority can afford to be generous, racial communalism plays an important part, while among the minorities politics have been thought of primarily in communal terms. Nationalism would have been stronger had it been more nearly unanimous.

(*b*) *Reaction to Colour Prejudice.*—The fact that in the caste system the Sinhalese and the Tamils operated the worst type of illogical and unscientific social distinction did not prevent them from objecting to the milder type practised by many Europeans. On the contrary, the assumption that members of the higher castes were superior beings led them to react fiercely to the assumption by another caste with white faces that those with brown faces were inferior. It must however be realised that the caste analogy is not accurate, for colour prejudice was never uniform. At the one extreme were the Christian missionaries in charge of schools, whose selfless devotion to the cause of Ceylonese education received universal recognition. At the other extreme were many of the planters, and still more many planters' wives, whose contemptuous treatment of " the natives " aroused a cold fury against the country which produced them. On the whole colour prejudices was more noticeable in Ceylon than in England. Many educated Ceylonese were cheerful extroverts who fitted well into English university life and could treat with co1 tempt the occasional insult, though there were others to whom a single insult counted more than a hundred friendships. The common opinion, though, was that the English at home were more liberal than the English abroad. Possibly the difference was more apparent than real, for in England the Ceylonese moved in a circle of his own devising, whereas on board ship and in Ceylon he was perforce in contact with Englishmen of different types. The public schoolboy who became a planter tended to be less intelligent than the public schoolboy who became an undergraduate and his " public-school manner " was more objectionable. On the other hand, the secondary-schoolboy who joined a Colombo bank or commercial firm, though usually less objectionable in his manner, was even more inclined to social segregation, simply because he was not interested in the country or its people and sometimes had very odd ideas about what sort of people they were.

Whether segregation was due to colour prejudice, to the Englishman's tendency to make a home from home, to the constraint which many feel in the presence of different social conventions (particularly where, as was common until recently, the women either could not speak English or left all the talking to their husbands), or to any other reason, the result was the same. Why, it was asked, should these people behave like demi-gods in our country ? Colour prejudice (or whatever it was) thus created a common bond among educated Ceylonese, a reaction to " British imperialism " and an anxiety to get the " foreigners " out of the country. Inevitably it made difficult gradual transition from paternal government to self-government.

(*c*) *History and Fables.*—The excavations at Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa show that eight hundred to a thousand years ago the Sinhalese had reached a very high level of cultural and scientific attainment. Nationalism, and especially western claims to superiority, led to an exaggeration of this attainment. The *Mahavamsa*, the Sinhalese Chronicle, is obviously based on fact, but equally obviously contains a great many fables. These fables have been added to. Ceylon, it is said, was the Granary of the East ; Anuradhapura was greater than the modern London ; the population of Ceylon before the Europeans came ran into many millions (one politician gave the figure 84 millions) ; the Sinhalese were civilised while the ancient Britons were covered with woad—which antedates Sinhalese civilisation by about a thousand years.

Unfortunately, if this was history it was not Ceylonese history but Sinhalese history. It was indeed the Tamils who turned the Sinhalese out of Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa. History thus supported not nationalism but communalism. In some measure this tendency was countered, apparently quite unconsciously, by quietly ignoring the three hundred years which separated the Polonnaruwa period and the Portuguese period. In any case history has little to say about that period ; and though it was never actually alleged because it was manifestly untrue, there was a sort of tradition that Ceylon was a land of culture until the Portuguese arrived. Undoubtedly they did not improve the Island culturally, for though they developed arts and crafts and left behind a musical tradition they also destroyed the temples within their jurisdiction. On the other hand, they did not destroy the culture of the Kandyan kingdom, which they never conquered ; and it can hardly be alleged that Kandy sustained a great cultural tradition.

(*d*) *Language.*—Modern culture was introduced to Ceylon by the Portuguese and the process continued under the Dutch and the British. Each group used its own language for this purpose, and indeed Portuguese obtained such a wide currency that it was used even by the British in the early years of their occupation. Many Portuguese words, a few Dutch words, and some English words have been incorporated into Sinhalese and Tamil, but they relate mainly to the common things of daily life, from bread to motor-buses, which have filtered in with the Europeans. Neither language has been used in any substantial measure to express modern learning nor would either be capable of use for this purpose without a great deal of development. The language of education beyond the elementary stage is English, and even for elementary education English is much more useful, not only because all the paraphernalia of teaching is readily available in that language, but also it expresses more easily the things which have to be taught—arithmetic, grammar, history, geography and the rest. Higher learning in

fact supplies the language for elementary teaching, and there is little higher learning in Sinhalese or Tamil except in matters of religion. Further, the best teachers—and one might even say the only good teachers—are those who use English and cannot, except with great difficulty, teach in Sinhalese or Tamil.

Nationalism has necessarily sought to raise the prestige of what are called, significantly enough, the national languages. Unfortunately there is not one national language but two such languages, Sinhalese and Tamil. The national languages, in other words, do not unify the nation ; they divide it. What is more, they divide it by separating the people into language-groups which are also racial groups. The fact is often glossed over by the use of the phrase " the mother-tongue ". When the Special Committee on Education was taking evidence in 1941–42 the first item in its questionnaire was : " Are you in favour of education through the mother-tongue ?" The answer was almost invariably in the affirmative, and it was left to a European to ask the obvious second question—what is the mother-tongue. Eventually the Committee achieved a definition which showed clearly the racial implication. The mother-tongue of a Sinhalese is Sinhalese and the mother-tongue of a Tamil is Tamil. This produced the odd result that a child apparently of Sinhalese ancestry who spoke Tamil at home—and there are many such cases in the areas formerly dominated by the Tamils—had to be taught through Sinhalese. The Committee could not decide that the mother-tongue be the home language because the home language of many members of the middle class was English and the nationalists wanted to force parents to speak Sinhalese or Tamil to their children. The rule that a Tamil-speaking Sinhalese must be taught through Sinhalese has now been modified, but it is still true that an English-speaking Sinhalese must be taught through Sinhalese or Tamil even if he knows only English.

Nevertheless the nationalists are fighting what may prove to be a losing battle. The Christian missionaries did not in any way discourage the use of Sinhalese and Tamil ; on the contrary they learned one of these languages and produced the necessary books. They provided English education for those who wanted it—at first the Burghers—and found the demand for English from the Sinhalese and the Tamils to be constantly rising because of its economic value. Nor could the nationalists urge the contrary in the early years of their movement, for English was the means by which the Ceylonese could replace the European administrators and urge their claims in the legislature. When in 1911 an English expert made the obvious suggestion that primary education ought to be in Sinhalese or Tamil his advice was scouted as an imperialist device to prevent the political advancement of the Ceylonese. The attitude had changed thirty years later because under the Donoughmore Constitution the

Ceylonese had control. They could then blame the British for having introduced and popularised English education, which had " denationalised " the Ceylonese.

The official policy is now to develop bilingualism by making Sinhalese or Tamil the first language and English the second language. So far the result has been to give everybody an elementary knowledge of Sinhalese or Tamil and enormously to increase the demand for English. While the politicians as a body demand more and more Sinhalese and Tamil, as individuals they demand more and more English schools in their constituencies. Meanwhile little effort has been devoted to the task of producing literature in Sinhalese and Tamil. A bilingual schoolboy reads Sinhalese or Tamil text-books at school, but at home he reads English children's books for amusement ; and though Sinhalese or Tamil is the language of the middle-class nursery, English is the language of the verandah, a much more important place. Since a knowledge of English is spreading downwards through the social classes it is easier to imagine the triumph of English than that of the " national languages."

(*e*) *Religion.*—Christianity and Islam are what Ceylon calls " proselytizing " religions : they seek, that is, to make converts. Since its great extension after the birth of the Prophet, Islam has been relatively stable : it has retained the allegiance of the faithful, but it has not made many converts. On the other hand, every minister of the Christian religion is a missionary who takes seriously the Biblical admonition to carry Christianity to all peoples. Hinduism is not merely a religion but a way of life ; and this implies, if the tautology may be forgiven, that Hinduism is a religion for Hindus and Buddhism is fundamentally a philosophy whose professors are expected to achieve enlightenment by meditation.

It followed inevitably that in Ceylon Christianity was the aggressive religion. The Portuguese, in Ceylon as elsewhere, sought to impose Christianity on the people, and the Roman Catholics are the largest group in spite of the Dutch attempt to suppress them. The Dutch, too, allowed no toleration of other religions than their own brand of Protestant Christianity. In fact, though, the great mass of the people have remained Buddhists, Hindus and Muslims. British toleration was actually more effective, for it allowed the missionaries of all sects to propagate their faith and, until recently, they found no opposition. Even now, with English education widely spread, 40 per cent. of the University students are Christians. There was a time when an Anglican bishop could prophesy that the people of Ceylon would become entirely Christian.

This has not happened because the nationalist movement harnessed religion to their chariot. Hinduism and Buddhism became

aggressive not through the priests but through the politicians. Today the Christian politician suffers from a serious handicap, for politically he represents a minority. Among the Sinhalese, indeed, conversion to Buddhism is sometimes a sign of an awakening interest in political questions. The division among the Hindus and the Buddhists has not, however, caused any communal tension, for they are both tolerant religions, and the nationalist is intolerant, if at all, only in relation to Christianity, which is an importation from the west and therefore objectionable.

Methods Employed by the Nationalist Movement.

When Ceylon obtained independence in 1948, emphasis was laid on the fact that it had been obtained without bloodshed. The emphasis was not undeserved. On the contrary, not only was bloodshed avoided but so were even the most pacific forms of non-co-operation. The nationalists retained their membership of the Legislative Council until it was abolished ; they assumed office in 1931 under the Donoughmore Constitution and remained in office, subject to the normal exigencies of age and elections. Some of the leaders suffered imprisonment in 1915, but almost fortuitously and certainly not because they courted it. The difference between Ceylon and India is so great that it demands explanation. It is however by no means easy to find a convincing explanation.

An explanation can no doubt be found in the character of the people. Though Ceylon has one of the highest crime rates in the world, and often it is violent crime, a Ceylonese crowd is extremely orderly. It is not law-abiding like an English crowd, for it has no respect for private property : it is content to stand or sit quietly, even if it has no right to stand or sit there at all. What it would do if it were urged to violence it is impossible to say, though it may be guessed that most would stand by to watch the fun. Even the communist marches are mild affairs, for the crowd is astonishingly passive. Fear of the police is not the cause, for the police are not at all fearsome. The fact is, though, that the nationalists have never encouraged violence or even " non-violence ". Their arguments have been, so to speak, academic and reserved mainly for the middle-class. No doubt religion has played a large part ; for Buddhism even more than Hinduism encourages passivity. Possibly, too, the westernization of the middle-class, which has proceeded much further than in India, has been important. The English constitutional ideas which inspired the nationalist movement may also have created a tradition of orderly political agitation.

Even more importance would perhaps be attributed to the people involved. They were teachers, lawyers and landowners, men of a conservative trend of mind whom patriotism had made into

politicians but who were generally happier in doing other things like writing about religion (Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan), editing Sinhalese literature (Sir Baron Jayatilaka) or conducting agricultural experiments (Mr. D. S. Senanayake). No doubt if need be they would have led their people to the barricades, but such action would have been out of character and in any case the people were more likely to watch others go. A few of the semi-eminent would be in the front row in order to get their photographs in the newspapers, but the ranks of Tuscany were more likely to go there to cheer than to go into action.

These explanations do not seem to be adequate, and one would like to find the cause in the attitude of the Colonial Office. The Government of Ceylon was of course more intimate than that of India. The personalities of the Governor and his principal officials were known not to more people than in India but to a much higher proportion of the people, for the number of people was very much smaller. Government was concentrated in a small Secretariat in Colombo not much larger than, say, New Scotland Yard and not spread, as in India, through a vast bureaucracy. " Mr. Mother Country " was not remote. Nevertheless, the European officials and the Ceylonese leaders lived in different worlds whose orbits crossed occasionally but were distinct. Nor is there any evidence that the Colonial Office was more liberal or conciliatory or intelligent than the India Office.

Possibly an explanation is to be found in the character of the newspaper press. One large section of it was British-owned and, until recently, was thought to represent the planting interests. The Ceylonese-owned newspapers were not vulgar " rags " but serious journals which took *The Times* and the *Manchester Guardian* as their models. Ceylonese nationalism owes much to a businessman, Mr. D. R. Wijewardena, who organised the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon and kept the nationalist press at a high level, though his name is hardly known even in Ceylon. As a Buddhist he could not advocate, or allow his newspaper to advocate, methods of violence. As a Cambridge graduate well read in British politics he regarded Press, Parliament and Platform as the instruments of political action.

The nationalist movement was in fact, curiously academic. The minor leaders repeated the slogans about imperialism, exploitation, dividing and ruling, and the rest, which came in from India. Occasionally they asserted, like the Indians, that the British would never give up control until they were forced, but they never drew the logical conclusion, drawn in India, that either violence or non-violent non-co-operation was the solution. The greater men —the Ponnambalam brothers, Sir James Peiris, Sir Baron Jayatilaka and Mr. D. S. Senanayake—rarely used the slogans, though

their actions were in some degree affected by them. Their methods were the methods of constitutional agitation, the motion in Council, the memorandum of the Governor, and the deputation. Had these methods proved unsuccessful a new generation might perhaps have arisen—there were signs of its development in the Ceylon University College—pledged to less constitutional methods.

That they did prove successful may be due to an alliance—indeed, an old friendship—between Mr. D. S. Senanayake and Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, with Mr. D. R. Wijewardena as adviser in the background. This alliance, under Sir Oliver Goonetilleke's influence, produced a slight but significant change of technique. In 1942, Sir Baron Jayatilaka resigned his post as Leader of the State Council, which he had held since 1931, and accepted the post of Ceylon Government Representative in New Delhi. Sir Baron was a sincere patriot, like most of his colleagues (and unlike most Indian politicians) no orator. He had been a schoolmaster and he did much to make Sinhalese literature a serious study, but he lacked judgment in political affairs. He had been mainly responsible for the gross blunder of the Pan-Sinhalese Ministry in 1936. His chief defect—was an academic frame of mind which treated Britain as an institution, usually called " British imperalism ". Britain did this and that because Britain's interests were so and so. Though Sir Baron did not realise it, this had a Marxist background. The British capitalists (unspecified) governed Britain ; they needed markets and raw materials in the colonies, and so Britain's policy was directed towards increasing their profits. The thesis was worked out by Lenin in his pamphlet on *Imperialism* by misreading J. A. Hobson's statistics and failing to distinguish (as of course a Marxist is entitled to do) between colonies and self-governing Dominions. Lenin's British capitalists became, for Sir Baron, an anthropomorphic Britain.

Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, too, had been a schoolmaster, but he had entered the Public Service and became Auditor-General. When it became necessary after Pearl Harbour to organize a civil defence service, which must depend mainly on voluntary service, he was the obvious choice. A few months later, when food supply and control seemed likely to break down, these additional functions were vested in him under the control of the Minister for Agriculture and Lands, Mr. D. S. Senanayake. When the Minister and the Commissioner had their daily discussions, however, it did not relate only to food supply and control, but the general strategy for the attainment of " freedom " was laid down in the Civil Defence Department.

Mr. Senanayake had no academic background at all. A loyal son of a great missionary school, his cricket was excellent but his scholastic performance so poor that he was sent to look after the

family estates. Here his zest for cricket became a zest for agriculture and the jungle, whence came his nickname, Kalay John or Jungle John, though nobody knows where the John came from for his names are Don Stephen. For a political leader he was and is strangely inarticulate, but like Sir Oliver he knows his own people and, after the Riots of 1915 brought him into politics, he became an astute political manager.

The change from Sir Baron Jayatilaka to Mr. Senanayake supported by Sir Oliver Goonetilleke produced the change of technique. The robot " Britain " became half-a- dozen persons of flesh and blood—Colonel Oliver Stanley, Sir Charles Gater and Sir Edward Gent at the Colonial Office, Sir Andrew Caldecott (Governor), Sir Robert Drayton (Chief Secretary), and Sir Geoffrey Layton (Commander-in-Chief) in Ceylon. " What do these people want ?" asked Sir Oliver, " What should I want if I were in their positions ? If we help them will they give us freedom ? How can we do a deal with them ?" Ceylon had something to offer : support for the war effort immediately, and some agreement about Commonwealth defence afterwards. There was, of course, no formal offer until 1945 : but Mr. Senanayake and Sir Oliver Goonetilleke set out to demonstrate that without the collaboration of the Ceylonese not only the defence of Ceylon but the recapture of Burma and Malaya would be impossible and that collaboration of the Ceylonese was dependent upon an approach to self-government being made.

(*To be concluded in the next issue.*)

DOCUMENTS ON CEYLON HISTORY

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

READERS MAY remember that when this Journal was inaugurated, in a statement of its aims and scope, we expressed the hope that it " would help in organising available material and in doing so serve the general reader with work which is perhaps not very easily accessible ". In accordance with this intention, it has been decided to devote one section of each issue to the publication of original documents of importance to research students, with brief historical introductions.

The publication of important historical documents should be an integral part of the function of an Historical Journal. The need is even greater in the context of the present situation in this Island. The non-availability of original sources, quite apart from their being properly indexed and classified, is the greatest problem of the research student in Ceylon today. There are scattered throughout the Archives at Nuwara Eliya, Lisbon, the Hague and London a number of valuable documents relating to the Portuguese, Dutch and British periods of Ceylon History. It is intended therefore, to make a careful selection of documents, yet unpublished, that will throw light on particular problems of Ceylon History, and publish them, thus making them available to any research student who could make use of them and interpret them in whatever manner he prefers.

It is quite unnecessary here to dilate on the value of original sources for the student of history. The document representing as it does the view point of personalities who took an actual part in the events of the period recorded, is, or ought to be, the starting point of all historical research. Historical interpretation has got to be periodically revised in consultation with these original sources. It is therefore essential that the student should have at hand the source of historical information so that he can check on the accuracy or otherwise of the interpretation given to them in the innumerable articles and books that are published on history.

In this, the first in the series, we publish a document from the Archives of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, Rome. It is a letter from Fr. Francis Xavier, Vicar-General of Missions, to Governor Horton, setting out the state of Catholicism in Ceylon in 1832.

DOCUMENTS ON CEYLON HISTORY

I- THE LETTER OF FATHER FRANCIS XAVIER TO GOVERNOR HORTON ON THE STATE OF CATHOLICISM IN CEYLON, 1832.

Ed. by Rev. ROBRECHT BOUDENS, o.m.i.

We are publishing here the Italian text and the translation of an interesting document from the Archives of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, Rome, (*Scritt, rif. nelle Congr. Generali, a.* 1834, *vol.* 494, *ff.* 417*v*–419*v*). It is a letter, dated January 13th, 1832, written by Father Francis Xavier, Superior and Vicar-General of Missions in Ceylon,[1] to His Excellency Robert William Horton, Governor of the Island[2]

What are the circumstances in which the letter was written ? The Holy See had, before the erection of Ceylon as an Apostolic Vicariate (Dec. 3rd, 1834), no direct administrative relations with the Church on the Island, enjoying the privilege of the Portuguese Padroado. On the other hand, Rome had no diplomatic representatives in England and its Colonies. When the Holy See needed some information concerning the Church in one of the parts of the Empire the usual way of communication was a letter to one of the Vicars Apostolic of England who thereupon took the matter up with the Government.[3]

So it happened that when there was a question of promoting Ceylon to the status of an Apostolic Vicariate, Rome addressed herself to Mgr. Baines, o.s.b., Vicar Apostolic of the Western District of England,[4] asking him to seek for information concerning

1. Fr. Francis Xavier, from the Oratory of Goa, was ordained a priest on May 31st, 1806 by Archbishop Galdino. Cfr. *Monim. Goana Ecl.* III, 27. He was appointed Vicar Apostolic of Ceylon by the decree "*Cum vicariatus apostolicus in insula Ceylan*" (Dec. 1st, 1834) but died before the news reached him. For the erection of Ceylon as Vicariate Apostolic cfr. J. Rommerskirchen, o.m.i., *Die Errichtung des Apostolischen Vikariates Ceylon,* in *Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft* 1(1936) 124–132.
2. R. W. Horton was the Governor of Ceylon from 1831 till 1837.
3. N. Kowalsky, o.m.i., *Die Errichtung der Apostolischen Vikariate in Indien* 1834–1838 *nach den Akten des Propagandaarchivs* (pro ms. Rome 1950), p. 229. I am indebted to this work for much of the information given here.
4. Mgr. Peter Aug. Baines, o.s.b., was born in 1787. He received the episcopal consecration as titular Bishop of Siga on May 1st, 1823, and became the co-adjutor of Bishop Collingridge, Vicar Apostolic of the Western District, succeeding him in 1829. He died in 1843. Cft. Cath Encycl. II, 207–208, v. *Baines*.

the state of the Roman Catholic religion and the Missionaries in Ceylon. Mgr. Baines wrote to the Governor of the Island who referred the matter to Fr. Francis Xavier. As Superior of the Mission, Fr. Francis Xavier was particularly well placed to answer the questions which were asked him. It is Fr. Francis Xavier's answer to the Governor that we are publishing here. Its content is of no little interest for the knowledge of the state of Catholicism in Ceylon in the beginning of the year 1832, and consequently for the religious state of the Island in general. It will be interesting to note that, after the legal position of the Catholics had been completely changed by the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1806 a certain progress had been made by Catholicism ; the number of Catholics had more than doubled in comparison with the figures at the end of the Dutch rule and the number of Churches had remarkably increased.

DOCUMENT

Chiesa di S. Lucia Collan China, 13 Gennaro, 1832.

Eccellenza,

Per dar effetto ai comandi di Vostra Eccellenza consegnatami dai Revmi Signori Sacerdoti, i quali ebbero l'onore di Udienza da Vostra Eccellenza, colla quale furono incaricati di dare alla stessa Eccellenza Vostra dei rassegnamenti sopra i punti che sieguono ; cioé :

1° Da chi ricevono i Revdi Signori Missionari Romani Cattolici in Ceylon la lorá autorita, i loro poteri, e la loro giurisdizione ?

2° Quali sono le scienze che essi imparano ?
3° Quanti ne sono al giorno d'oggi nell'Isola ?
4° Quanto sarebbe l'ammontare dé loro introiti, e delle loro spese ?
5° Qual sarebbe il numero dei Cristiani Cattolici e delle loro Chiese ? Mi sia permesso di umiliare a Vostra Eccellenza ció che segue.

Primieramente quando perdettero i Portoghesi l'impero di quest'Isola, e che se ne impadronirono gli Olandesi, tutti i sacerdoti, che in quel tempo si trovavano nell'Isola furono costretti di andarsene.

I Cristiani nell'Isola restarono cosí privi dei loro Pastori per[5] quarant'anni, e per conseguenza gran numero di essi diventarono Idolatri ed altri col diventare guastati nel morale cadero in pericolo di simile disgrazia pelle loro anime. Intanto un certo missionario, il quale nel suo ritorno da Malacca a Goa sbarco in Ceylon, essendosi informato di tal stato di cose, ne fece consapevole al suo primo giungere in Goa il Venerabile Padre Giuseppe Vas, uomo di animo eroico, di zelo grande, e di santissima vita, il quale avea fondato a Goa la Congregazione dell' Oratorio di S. Filippo Neri.

Questo zelante ministro di Gesú Cristo, pieno dello Spirito di Dio e infiammato di zelo pella salvazione del prossimo lasció Goa a piedi, e dopo d'aver sostenuto grandissime fatiche a durezze nel viaggio, giunse in Ceylon nell'anno 1687 e cominció a lavorare nel servizio del Cristianesimo in questo paese con tanto fervore che in cinque anni gli riuscí non solamente di ridurre quelli che si erano smarriti, ma pure di convertire molti idolatri. Il numero de' Cristiani essendosi

5. f. 418

cosí cresciuto al segno che gia non bastavano loro i soli suoi lavori, procuró che venisse al suo ajuto un rinforzo di Missionari della sullodata Congregazione per prestargli assistenza nella salvazione delle anime Cristiane.

Mentre che il Padre Giuseppe Vas, ed i suoi compagni lavoravano nel coltivare questa vigna, Sua Eccellenza Revma Monsignor Carlo Tommaso Tournon, Patriarcha di Antiochia, spedito dalla Santa Mem: di Clemente PP. XI per fare la visitazione dei Cristiani nell'India col titolo di Nunzio Apostolico, giunse alla spiaggia di Coromandel. Cotesto Prelato essendosi avanzato sino al Regno di Madura, ed essendosi informato del gran progresso dal Cristianesimo nell'Isola di Ceylon mediante il zelo, e le premure del Ven. Padre Giuseppe Vas gli mandó due lettere in lode del suo zelo e per esotarlo a seguitare nel sacro ministero collo stesso fervore, a santo ardore, e ben tosto spedí al Santo Padre un'altra lettera, la quale avendole ricevuta detto Sommo Pontefice, fu motivo che subito incaricó Sua Santitá di quella missione i sacerdoti della Congregazione sullodata di S. Filippo Neri sotto la giurisdizione del Vescovo di Cochin. Da quell'epoca sin ad oggidí, che saranno[6] scorsi circa 145 anni, la surriferita Congregazione in virtú dei poteri accordatile provvede alla Missione gli Ecclesiastici, dé quali ha bisogno pel suo sostegno. Il numero esistente per adesso ne e quattordici, non contandovi uno, che morí nell'anno scorso, e due altri che tornarono alla loro patria ; e siccome non basta il numero attuale, mi sono indirizzato al Prelato, il quale stá alla testa della nostra Congregazione per ottenere un ulteriore rinforzo, il quale spero che verrá spedito quest'anno.

In quanto al numero de Cristiani e delle Chiese in quest' Isola i rapporti ecclesiastici, che mi fo l'onore di compaiagare, e che devo ogn'anno umiliare al Governo lo mostrerá spiegatamente a Vostra Eccellenza: devo pero quí osservare che ciascheduno dei missionarij ha nel distretto affidatogli piú cappelle, che portano il nome di Chiesa, le quali sono per lo piú ristrette assai, coperte di paglia o di Olas per motivo della povertá della detta popolazione, a senza verun commodo per l'abitazione del missionario. Ad onta dell'incommodo che ad essi risulta, i missionarij si trasportano una volta all'anno in dette cappelle per l'istruzione dei Cristiani e per amministrargli i Sacramenti.

Per quanto spetta alle cognizional scientifiche, ed all'istruzione dei missionari, devo far consapevole a Vostra Eccellenza che vengono istruiti i missionari a Goa in Accademie Reali ossia in Seminarj, come pure nel nostro Convento nella lingua Latina, nella Filosofia, nella Teologia dottrinale, e nella Teologia morale. Questo é il corso degli studj riputato necessario pel nostro ministero.

Dopo essersi fatto l'esame vengono approvati tanto dai Graduati della nostra Congregazione, quanto da Sua Eccellenza Revma Monsignor Arcivescovo Primate di Goa ; di poi vengono eletti da una radunanza della nostra Congregazione, e spediti in Ceylon essendo stati prima approvati da Sua Eccellenza Rma Monsignor Arcivescovo Primate, ed accettato da Sua Eccellenza Revma Monsignor Vescovo di Cochin.

In quanto agl'introiti, ed alle spese de'missionarij mi dispiace molto il dover far consapevole Vostra Eccellenza, che il nostro introito[7] é tenuissimo ; giacché non abbiamo rendite fisse ne dal Governo, ne dai Cristiani ; neppure siamo possidenti di campi in coltura, o in pascolo. I nostri introito consistono in sole offerte volontarie, le quali si fanno dai Cristiani nelle chiese, ed essendo coteste piccolissime, si trovano costretti i missionarij di vivere meschinamente assai sia nel vestire sia nel mangiare. Essendo del tutto volontarie queste offerte riescono maggiori in alcuni anni di abbondanza, ma negli anni di sterilitá diminuiscono. Non posso perció determinare con esattezza il montante del nostro introito, ne tampoco il restante, fattane deduzione delle nostre spese. Solamente posso dire,

6. f. 418v
7. f. 419

che negli anni fertili il totale del nostro introito potra giungere a 600, o 700 lire sterline ; ma negli anni sterili non giunge a 100. Negli anni fertili potranno restare, toltene le spese, 50, oppore 60 lire sterline piú o meno, ma negli anni di carestia ci troviamo nell'obbligo di aver ricorso a quel residuo dagli anni scorsi pel nostro tenue mantenimento. Quí devo far osservare, che in alcune missioni di quest'Isola non vi e nessun introito, perció si vedono a altri Missionarij nell' obbligo di assistere i loro confratelli in quelle missioni somministrando il necessario pel loro sostegno dall'introito comune. Di piu trovandosi avanzato di etá qualche missionario, oppure per motivo della sua cattiva salute incapace del lavoro viene dal comune introito proveduto ; e perció il piccolo restante degli anni di abbondanza si riserva per tali bisogni. Con tutta franchezza posso assicurare Vostra Eccellenza, che per quest'anno fattasi la deduzione di tutte le sopradette spese, restano in cassa 36 lire sterline in circa, delle quali si fa riserva pei bisogni ulteriori.

In quanto all'ammontante delle spese annue di ognuno de missionarij, mi fo l'onore di rappresentare con tutta lealta a Vostra Eccellenza che non oltrepassa a somma di 25 a 30 lire sterline annuali, della qual cosa non deve maravigliarsi Vostra Eccellenza, giacché essendo, come é stato giá detto tenuissimo il nostro introito, ci vediamo costretti a vivere colla maggior economia, e povertá.

Capisco che vorrebbe inoltre sapere V.E. se abbiano tutti i missionarij una eguale giurisdizione, oppure se abbiano quelli piú, o quegli meno. Alla qual domanda posso rispondere che hanno tutti[8] ugual giurisdizione, la quale ricevono in occasione della loro ordinazione e dell'approvazione da Monsignor Vescovo, me ne ha autoritá sola sopra tutti di loro il solo superiore, ossia Vicario Generale di questa missione, la quale gli viene conferita dal Vescovo di Cochin, Don Frey Tommaso de Norenje, il quale pel momento stá al di fuori e Monsignor Frey Manuel di S. Gioacchino Nave, o il suo sostituto.

E' questo il rapporto, che colla piú perfetta lealtá posso umiliare a Vostra Eccellenza essendo colla piú dovuta rispettosa servitú.

Di Vostra Eccellenza

Devmo umilissimo Servitore vero,

P. Fras. Xaverio,
Superiore e Vicario Generale della Missione Cattolica nell'Isola di Ceylon.

TRANSLATION

Church of S. Lucia, Collan China,[9] 13 Jan., 1832.

Excellency,

Certain Rev. Fathers had the honour of an audience with you, at which you charged them to report to you on the following points :—

1. From whom do the Rev. missionaries in Ceylon receive their authority, powers and jurisdiction ?
2. What is the education they have ?
3. How many are they actually in the island ?
4. What is the sum of their incomes and expenses ?
5. What is the number of Catholic Christians and how many churches have they ?

In reply to your request, may it be permitted me to tender you the following statement.

8. f. 419v
9. Kotahena.

Firstly, when the Portuguese lost the command of the Island and the Dutch took it over, all the priests who were at that time in the Island were compelled to quit.

The Christians of the Island remained thus deprived of their Pastors for forty years, and in consequence a large number of them became pagans while others with the degeneration of morals were exposed to the danger of a similar disgrace to their souls. At that time, a certain missionary,[10] on his return from Malacca to Goa, landed in Ceylon and on growing aware of this state of affairs, reported the matter as soon as he arrived in Goa, to Venerable Fr. Joseph Vas—man of heroic soul, great zeal and of very holy life, who had founded the Congregation of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri in Goa.

This zealous missionary of Jesus Christ, full of the Spirit of God and inflamed with zeal for the salvation of his neighbour, left Goa on foot and after having suffered great fatigue and difficulties on his voyage, reached Ceylon in the year 1687. He began to work in the service of Christianity in this country which such fervour that in five years he succeeded not only in reducing the number of the lost sheep but also in converting many pagans. The number of Christians having thus increased so that he alone could not cope with the situation, he procured the aid of reinforcements of missionaries from the same Congregation of the Oratory to lend him a helping hand in the salvation of Christian souls.

While Fr. Joseph Vas and his companions were labouring in this vineyard, His Excellency Most Rev. Mgr. Charles Thomas Tournon[11], Patriarch of Antioch, sent by Pope Clement XI. of revered memory to make a visitation of India with the title of Apostolic Nuncio, reached the coast of Coromandel. This Prelate advanced upto the Kingdom of Madura and was informed of the great progress of Christianity in the Island of Ceylon through the zeal and eagerness of Ven. F. Joseph Vas. He forwarded him two letters[12] to praise his zeal and to exhort him to continue in the sacred ministry with the same fervour and holy ardour. He soon despatched to the Holy Father another letter which, having been received by the Supreme Pontiff, was the motive wherefore His Holiness immediately charged the priests of the above-mentioned Congregation of St. Philip Neri with this mission, under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Cochin. From this time up to today, a period of about 145 years, this Congregation in virtue of the powers accorded it, provides this mission with the priests it needs. The actual number of priests is fourteen, not counting one who died last year and two others who returned to their native land ; since the present number does not suffice, I have appealed to the Prelate in charge of our Congregation to obtain further reinforcement which I hope will be sent this year.[13]

With regard to the number of Christians and churches in this Island, the Ecclesiastical Reports that I draw up and that I have the honour to forward to

10. It was a Canon of the Cathedral of Goa. Fr. S. G. Perera, s.j., states that the ship in which he was sailing was on his way back after a canonical visitation of Macao (not Malacca). Cfr. *Life of the Ven. Fr. Jos. Vaz*, Colombo 1953, p. 12.

11. Mgr. C. T. Tournon was born in 1668. In 1701 he was appointed as a legate *a latere* in order to settle some matters concerning the struggle of the Rites in Malabar and China. He was a great defender of the papal rights. Named a Cardinal in 1707 he died in 1710. Cft. Cath. Encycl. XV 1, v. *Tournon*.

12. S. G. Perera s.j., O C. pp. 190–195

13. D'SA, *History of the Catholic Church in India*, II, 102, gives the number of 16 for 1833. We can thus conclude that the promised reinforcements were sent.

the Government every year, will give Your Excellency full details.[14] I must however here note that each of the missionaries has, in the district assigned to him many chapels that carry the name of churches but which are for the most part rather small, covered with straw or ola leaves by reason of the poverty of the population, and without any convenience for the residence of the missionary. In spite of the inconveniences that meet them, the missionaries betake themselves once or twice a year to these chapels, for the instruction of the Christians and to administer the Sacraments.

In so far as knowledge and education go, I must inform Your Excellency that the missionaries are educated in Goa in the Royal Academy,[15] or in seminaries as well as in our college, in Latin, Philosophy, Dogmatic and Moral Theology. This is the course of studies deemed necessary for our ministry.

After an examination, the missionaries are approved by graduates of our Congregation as well as by His Excellency Mgr. the Archbishop—Primate of Goa. Then they are selected by an assembly of our Congregation and sent to Ceylon, having been again approved by the Primate and accepted by His Excellency the Bishop of Cochin.

With regard to financial receipts and expenses, I am very sorry to inform Your Excellency that our income is exceedingly small, since we do not receive fixed revenues either from the government or from the Christians, nor do we possess lands, arable or pasture. Our income consists solely of voluntary offerings which the Christians make in the churches ; these same being very small, the missionaries are compelled to live poorly so far as food and clothing goes. These offerings, being entirely voluntary, increase in years of abundance and decrease in years of scarcity. I cannot therefore determine exactly the total income nor even the balance that remains after deducting the expenses. I am only able to state that our income may mount up to 600 or 700 sterling in fertile years but in the lean years it does not even reach 100. In good years a balance of 50 or 60 approximately may remain, once expenses have been deducted, but in the years of scarcity we are obliged to draw on reserves made in the preceding years for our modest maintenance. Here I must note that in some missions of this Island there is no revenue at all and the missionaries have to be assisted by their colleagues who allot the necessary sum for their sustenance from the common funds. Besides, if a missionary is advanced in years or in bad health and is thus unable to work, he is provided for from the common fund : and so the small balance of the years of prosperity is reserved for such needs. In all frankness I can assure Your Excellency that for this year about 36 remain in hand after expenses have been deducted, which sum is reserved for further needs.

With regard to the annual expenses of each missionary, I have the honour to inform Your Excellency in all sincerity that this does not exceed the sum of 25 to 30. Your Excellency should not wonder at this, for, as already stated, our revenue is small and we are obliged to live with the greatest economy and in poverty.

14. A statistical abstract was added to the latter. The original is not found in the Prop. Archives. However a summary was made in Italian (S.R.C.G., a. 1834, Vol. 949, ff. 421–423). There we learn that the Catholics, possessed 313 churches in the Island. 25 could contain more than 1,000 people, 36 from 500 to 1,000, 173 from 100 to 500, 79 less than 100. There were 63 schools supported by the missionaries or the Christians. From the figure of 61.774 regular church-goers, the author concludes to the number of 185.000 Catholics approximately.

15. This is a reference to the College of Rachol, founded in 1569. In 1793, it was the Oratorians who got its direction. Cft. Pinto Lobo, *Memoria*, Chapter VIII : *Seminário Patriarcal de Rachol*, pp. 275–321.

I understand that Your Excellency would like to know besides if all the missionaries have equal jurisdiction, or some more and some less. To this demand I can reply that all have equal jurisdiction which they receive by their ordination and the approval of the Bishop. Only the Superior or Vicar General of this mission has authority over the others which is conferred on him by the Bishop of Cochin, Don Frey Thomas of Norenje[16] (who actually is away from His See ; Mgr. Frey Manuel of St. Joachim Navel[17] takes his place as substitute).

This is the report that I tender Your Excellency with the greatest loyalty.

Being, with the most respectful service, the devoted and humble servant of Your Excellency,

Fr. Francis Xavier,
Superior and Vicar-General of the Catholic Missions in the Island of Ceylon.

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1. His name was Tommaso de Noronha e Brito O.P. His nomination as Bishop of Cochin was presented by the Government in 1816, and confirmed in 1819 ; he was consecrated in 1821. The following year he returned to Portugal "*por motivos que se relacionabam com os acontecimentos politicos*". In 1823 he was presented as Bishop of Pernambuco, Brasil, and confirmed in 1828. On that occasion he resigned the See of Cochin. He died in 1847. Cfr. F. De Almeida, *História da Igreja em Portugal*, T. IV, p. IV, p. 385.
2. After the resignation of Tommaso de Noronha e Brito, Fra Manuel de S. Joaquim Neves (as his name is to be written) became the administrator of the diocese.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917-1923, Volume III.—By E. H. Carr. (*McMillan & Co.*—36*s.*).

"The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917–1923" is only a part of a more ambitious project—"A History of Soviet Russia" planned by Mr. Carr and running into 3 volumes. The third volume has as its sub-title, "Soviet Russia and the World," and covers the foreign affairs of the Soviet State in the early years after the Revolution.

Soviet Russia is not just a nation-state in a world of nation-states. It is something more. It is also the headquarters of world revolution. Hence Soviet foreign policy had always a dual aspect, a source of uncertainty, bafflement and annoyance to the foreign-offices of capitalist democracies. Apart from this Narkomindel and Comintern aspects of Soviet foreign policy, there was the Asiatic and European aspects of the country's foreign policy which has to be studied. Mr. Carr's great merit lies in presenting all these aspects in their authentic complexity and rich inter-connexions. The reader is allowed to sort out, if needs be, the different strands, for his particular study.

The apparent contradictions inherent in Soviet foreign policy, faced the revolutionary leadership at a very early date. The Russian peasantry wanted peace, and securing an early peace was the surest guarantee of the security of the new regime. This fact made an agreement with the capitalist states imperative. But on the other hand international revolution was the only possible guarantee for the security of the revolution. This necessitated an intensification in the campaign to promote revolution in Europe—a task which cut across national boundaries and diplomatic procedures. How to resolve this inherent contradiction in foreign policy was the great problem which faced Soviet leadership and it stands to the credit of Lenin that he worked out a formula which gave scope for both policies to be carried out at one and the same time. It was the shifting of emphasis that was to make all the difference.

Mr. Carr, rightly, devotes great attention and attaches much significance to the Brest-Litovsk treaty.

For it was in the deliberations that preceded and followed the Brest-Litovsk armistice, when the hope for an immediate world-revolution receded into the background that Soviet leadership hammered out a "synthesis which was to shape Soviet relations with the world for several years to come". Certain cardinal facts emerged out of these deliberations :

(i) The necessity to establish a national state and normal foreign policy till the days of world revolution. "The illusion that diplomacy and foreign policy were no more than an evil legacy of capitalism and that the headquarters of proletarian dictatorship would be the general staff of a militant movement rather than the capital of an established state" had to be abandoned.

(ii) Another "fundamental fact" as Radek pointed out, "stood at the cradle" of Soviet foreign policy. It was the split in the capitalist world which had enabled the Soviet Government to establish itself and was the best insurance for its survival. Lenin recognized the latter principle in his, "Theses on the question of the immediate conclusion of a separate and annexationist peace."

(iii) Receiving aid from capitalist countries was also approved during the days of German advance. While Bukharin, Uritsky and others differed, Lenin approved of this step in his famous minutes', "I request you to add my vote in favour of taking potatoes and ammunition from the Anglo-French imperialist robbers."

From the recognition of the pragmatic value of the division in the enemy camp it was only a short step to the conscious exploitation of it as an asset of Soviet Foreign Policy and the abandonment of any doctrinal assumption of uniform and unvarying hostility to the capitalist world.

This was to be carried on side by side with all attempts to promote world revolution, by example, precept, propaganda and encouragement and as Litvinov often did, through the aid of diplomatic immunity.

Lenin wrote about the Brest-Litovsk treaty in the Pravda as " one of the historical turning points in the history of Russian—and international—Revolution."

The two aims of Russian foreign policy merged as one during the interventionist phase when the entire capitalist world was resolved to crush the revolution and separated themselves in 1921 when Russia and the Revolution were recognized in the comity of nations.

The thesis of " peaceful co-existence " was first put forward by Chicherin and now, as we know, perfected by Stalin.

Mr. Carr has several excellent chapters on Russia's relations with individual countries—France, England, Asia and Far East.

But a man of Mr. Carr's scholarship should have avoided a statement like, " Marx gave little thought to colonial questions, since it did not occur to him that the colonial or backward regions of the world would be called on to play any part in the overthrow of capitalism ". Both from his letter to Engels and a series of articles he contributed to " New York Times", Marx, on the contrary, revealed a profound awareness of the significance of " colonies ", " Asia ", and the " backward regions " in the final overthrow of capitalism."

Apart from this, Mr. Carr's book is an excellent analysis of Soviet foreign policy and is definitely better than Mr. Louis Fischers, " Soviets in World Affairs ", which so far was the standard text for Soviet foreign policy.

S. C. MANICA VASAGAR.

Some Characteristics of the Indian Constitution—By Sir Ivor Jennings Q.C. (*Oxford University Press, Madras*—Rs. 4).

This booklet contains the text, in an expanded form, of the three lectures delivered by Sir Ivor in the University of Madras in March, 1952, for the Sir Alladi Krishnaswamy Aiyar Endowment. The Indian Constitution says the author " is the longest in the world ", and to do justice to it would require a whole course of lectures rather than the three that the Endowment prescribes. However, being lectures for a University audience, the attempt of the book is more to provoke discussion rather than to explain, and the method adopted has been to take the Constitution's " peculiarities ", and discuss them. Such a survey as Sir Ivor himself admits, is unbalanced and incomplete, but it certainly makes the readers think.

After the author has finished his 80-page survey of its characteristics, the Indian Constitution comes off a poor second best. It is too rigid and too long, including within itself many provisions that need not have been included at all, or could have been enacted by ordinary legislation. It increases its inflexibility besides with a Bill of Rights and the " Directives of Social Policy ". Experience has shown that the enumeration of the former does not guarantee anything and that the best Bill of Rights is useless, unless there is an active public opinion to uphold it.

Similarly, the Directives of the Social Policy bind future generations without having any appreciable value for the present. In contrast, communal and minority problems, the existence of which the Congress has consistently refused to accept since 1917, is not dealt with at all in the Constitution, and the seeds of future difficulty may be discerned here. Likewise the legacy of the 1935 Act, on which the federalism of the Constitution is based, has written into the present Constitution several features, such as the itemizing of government business into two spheres which were meant to be interim measures. Certain portions of the Constitution besides show downright bad draftmanship.

But for this longest constitution in the world (it was also the costliest), an explanation exists in the mood and circumstances of the time. The culprit is alas, the British Raj—the irresponsible alien government created a fear among the Indian people, of government and of law, and thus both became dangerous quantities that had to be carefully enumerated constitutionally, in as great a detail as possible, and kept well curbed and fettered.

The Indian Constitution by virtue of its length and rigidity will continue to be a hunting ground for constitutional lawyers for many years to come. This booklet, however, outlines a method of study and raises problems in a way that deserves emulators.

D. W.

Illustrated English Social History Vol. III—**The Eighteenth Century** —By G. M. Trevelyan, O.M. (*Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd.* 21s.)

Perhaps no one is better suited than G. M. Trevelyan to write on a theme like English Social History. English historical scholarship from the time of Lingard to modern times, has not, it can safely be asserted, produced any historian who can write on social history with the same charm of style and accuracy for facts as Mr. Trevelyan. Macaulay's style was certainly charming. Its majestic flow was brilliant, but the same amount of eulogy cannot be paid to the element of accuracy in his works.

But Trevelyan embodies in himself the truthfulness of the dictum that history is both a science and an art. Science, in so far as submission is necessary to the critical approach and a really scientific outlook in the collection of facts. An art, in the way the many-coloured picture pattern of reality is brought out in all its freshness, colour and vividness.

The task of writing social history demands of the historian the latter quality in a very high degree. It stands to the credit of Trevelyan that he has given us a picture of the social history of England with a vividness that is truly impressive.

The eighteenth century in England is a bridge between the old and new England in more senses than one. In Trevelyan's picture portrayal of 18th century social life, we get to know the leisured aristocracy with roots deep in the soil as well as the new industrial class that was emerging. The agrarian England with and without enclosures, the city of London, the Court, the Church conflicts, all are brought out with a lucidity of detail that is really amazing.

The pace of the narration itself is very slow, and characteristically enough, the book begins with Defoe in his solitary ride across rural England. Truly intimate pictures of country life for which the early 18th century was justly famous, food, drama and music and other aristocratic as well as folk pastimes, libraries and even domestic servants, the floating population of maids are given.

The illustrations, generally vie with Mr. Trevelyan in giving one a real picture of England. One is convinced, that, the idea that illustrations go well only with

infant readers should be discarded. They fill a real need, especially in the history of a country's social life—if it is to be accurately portrayed. In the 18th century, the " artist with the sketch book jotting down either for his own pleasure or for antiquarian record . . . . " has appeared and hence a more true picture can be obtained than is possible from the more conventional pieces of the early centuries. Ruth C. Wright should be congratulated for her very apposite selections of illustrations.

This volume is a real improvement on the earlier volumes, brilliant as they were, in their own way.

S. C. MANICA VASAGAR.

Life of the Venerable Father Joseph Vaz, Apostle of Ceylon—By Fr. S. G. Perera, S.J. (*Loyola House*, Galle. Rs. 5).

Students of Catholic history will welcome this reprint of Father S. G. Perera's scholarly work on the life of the Venerable Father Joseph Vaz. Published originally at Ranchi, India, during the war, the book has not been as readily available to scholars as one would wish. The second edition besides has the advantages of an analytical index and fresh illustrations though the appendix on " The Process for the Canonisation of Father Vaz " which was a useful addition in the previous edition has been left out. The few pages devoted to outlining the sources for the study is a commendable practice which other authors of history books could emulate, particularly in India and Ceylon.

The book itself is too well known to require more than a short introduction. The life of Father Vaz is outlined with care, from his birth through his ordination and early labours in Kannara to his arrival in Jaffna in 1687. The year indeed is a significant one for the Church in Ceylon. After ministering to the faithful there for four years Fr. Vaz went to Kandy, where following a period of missionary tours in the Kandyan Provinces, the Oratorian Mission was founded. After a life spent in piety and labour for the faithful Fr. Vaz died and was buried in Kandy in 1710. The Catholics of Ceylon indeed owe a debt to Fr. Vaz for it was due to him that the Church was saved from extinction and its future ensured.

The work throughout shows the genuine and deep scholarship which has characterised all the writings of the late Fr. Perera and not only the Catholic but the ordinary lay reader will find much in the book that is of profit. Intimate glimpses are afforded besides, into life in the Kandyan Kingdom at the turn of the 17th century.

N. B.

Muslim Contribution to Tamil Literature—By M. M. Uwise. (*Tamil Manram*, Galhinna, Kandy. Rs. 2).

Muslim Tamil Literature is the first publication of a new firm of Tamil publishers, the Tamil Manram of Kandy. Based on a dissertation successfully presented for a Master of Arts degree of the University of Ceylon, the book is a scholarly work, well worth the attention of the common reader while the interested student of Tamil Literature will find it of considerable worth. Muslim contribution to Tamil Literature is a subject little studied up to now, and the publication of this book ought to focus more attention to it.

More than two hundred works of Muslim authors are collected and analysed under the heads of literary forms, prose works, mystical works and works on the theology and ethics of Islam. A well written introduction and conclusion presents the gist of the book's thesis while the comprehensive bibliography and the additional

appendix on the script enhances its value for the scholar. The constant Tamil references provided throughout to illustrate the arguments in the main chapters is a commendable method.

A defect however is that while the contents of the various works are outlined, no attempt has been made anywhere to evaluate them as contribution to Tamil Literature as such, nor is there more than a passing attempt to show how these Muslim writings are connected to and placed in relation to the body of Tamil Literature.

But all this would be to ask too much of a pioneer scholar, though the publishers might note to make these additions in subsequent editions. These slight defects, however, should not be taken as disapproval of Mr. Uwise's work ; on the other hand we congratulate him on his excellent collection of these little known writings, the publication of which alone is a service to Tamil scholarship.

N. B.

E. W. Perera, Patriot and Scholar—By J. A. Will Perera. (*Free Press Publications.* Rs. 1.50).

This is a short biography of the late E. W. Perera, one of the many stalwarts of the freedom movement, who came to the limelight following the riots of 1915. A gifted leader, E.W. Perera obviously lacked the virtues of both compromise and ability to work in unision with others. Not surprisingly, he was " left behind " in the General Elections of 1936 and died in comparative obscurity sixteen years later ; and if we are to believe the present writer, nursing a grudge against those whom he believed to have been responsible for his eclipse, even though the latter had proceeded to win Independence after dropping him.

This biography first written in the form of newspaper articles, is an attempt to acquaint the public with facts about E. W. Perera known only to the author, who claims to be his cousin. In these conditions one does not expect and does not get a good historical evaluation of any worth. We are not shown what exactly was E. W. Perera's contribution to the National movement nor is an estimate made of it. What we get instead is a series of anecdotes, and worse, polemic against those whom the author believes were responsible for his hero's eclipse. Thus D. B. Jayatilaka, D. S. Senanayaka and others are roundly condemned as " opportunists " while the contributions of leaders like James Peris, Arunachalam and Ramanathan are glossed over.

The book is poor biography and of little value to the student. No doubt when the history of the national movement is written, the name of E. W. Perera will play a part, but it is doubtful if he will be given as great a measure of importance as the men whom the present author condemns as oppurtunists.

C. L.

Ceylon under the British Occupation, 1795-1833, Vol. 1—By Colvin R. de Silva (*Colombo Apothecaries Co., Ltd.*) Board cover, Rs. 10. Cloth cover, Rs. 15).

The reading public and particularly the younger generation who has known this masterpiece only from library copies, will welcome this new edition of Volume One of Dr. Colvin R. de Silva's *Ceylon under the British Occupation*, which has been reprinted after nearly ten years.

The task of evaluating the worth of this book has long since been completed and we could only, as so many other reviewers have done before us, unhesitatingly recommend the book to all students reading Ceylon history from the University

Entrance level upwards. The common reader too, will find much in it that is worth knowing.

The book is an attempt to present a reasonably detailed and accurate account of the early period of British Rule in Ceylon. It is based on all such materials as has been accessible both in Ceylon and in England.

The introductory chapter is a sketch of the general position immediately prior to 1795. Thereafter different lines of development are worked out in separate sections. The first section treats of the political unification of Ceylon under the British Crown. After an account of the capture of the Maritime Provinces from the Dutch, the line of policy which culminated in the British Occupation of the Kandyan Kingdom too, is followed to its end. The second section traces administrative development. The administrative history of the Kandyan Provinces being considered separately from that of the Maritime Provinces, as the former were administered as a separate unit during this period. This section also contains a chapter on judicial development.

Since the companion volume of this work has also been out of print for a considerable time, the publishers could with advantage offer the reading public the second volume.

D. D.

THE CEYLON HISTORICAL JOURNAL

Vol III No. 2 to be issued at the end of March

Articles by

Sir Frederick Rees	—	The Soulbury Commission
S. Paranavitana	—	Medicine and Hygiene as Practised in Ancient Ceylon
Sir Ivor Jennings	—	Nationalism and Political Development in Ceylon (concluded)
I. H. Vanden Driesen	—	History of Coffee Culture in Ceylon (concluded)
H. G. Reissner	—	Jews in Medieval Ceylon
E. Reimers	—	Dutch Kandyan Treaty 1766 (concluded)
Ed. Ralph Pieris	—	Documents Relating to Dutch Administration in Ceylon
L. Petech	—	Unpublished Chinese References to Ceylon.

1153-1953

PARAKRAMA BAHU I.

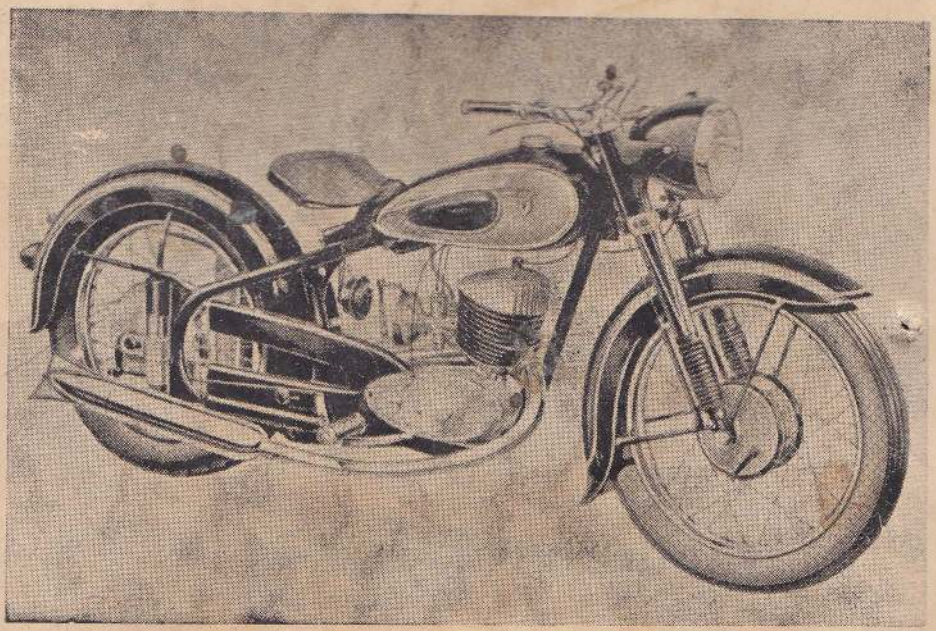
In commemoration of the 800th anniversary of the accession of King Parakrama Bahu I, the Ceylon Historical Journal presents a special number of several studies in his life and the time in which he lived. Among the articles will be:—

The Age of Parakrama Bahu.
The Life of Parakrama Bahu.
Parakrama Bahu and South India.
Irrigation work of the Polonnaruva Period.
Cultural and literary activities.
Bibliography.

Contributors :—

B. C. LAW, K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, A. C. BASHAM, C. W. NICHOLAS.

DKW
Motor Cycles



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