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A Review of the Latest Writing on Ceylon History and Allied Subjects.

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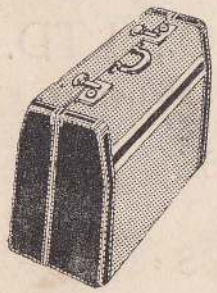

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Parakrama Bahu I.

Eight-hundred years ago King Parakrama Bahu I. ascended the throne of a united Ceylon, to begin an illustrious reign of over thirty years. His political achievement of unifying the country, the shrewd foreign policy in South India and his religious endowments make him the greatest hero in Sinhalese history. Entitled the "Great", his irrigation works at Parakrama Samudra water a thousand more acres than does the Gal-Oya reservoir. But just as under Parakrama the Sinhalese were at their greatest, a bare fifty years after his death, the entire political system had collapsed, the irrigation works were in ruins, and the very land which was occupied for over a thousand years was deserted for the different climes of South-west Ceylon.

To commemorate the 800th anniversary of Parakrama's accession, the entire July issue of the *Ceylon Historical Journal* will be devoted to a study of various aspects of the Polonnaruva Period by eminent scholars in Ceylon History. Among the articles will be a life of Parakrama by Dr. B. C. Law while Professor K. Nilakanta Sastri writes on Parakrama Bahu and South India. Professor G. P. Malalasekera's Buddhism in the Polonnaruva Period, Professor O. H. de A. Wijesekera's Sanskrit and Pali Culture in the period, and Mr. C. W. Nicholas' Irrigation Works of Parakrama Bahu, will be among the other articles. The introductory paper on the Polonnaruva Period is written by Dr. A. L. Basham, Reader in Indian History at the University of London, while a bibliography of all the sources for a study of the period will also be included. Several other articles are besides in preparation.

* * *

The Soulbury Commission

The history of half the events that lay behind the making of the Soulbury Constitution under which Ceylon is governed today, lies hidden in the secret archives of the Colonial Office in London—and will remain so for the next fifty years. Sir Ivor Jennings has in his publications dealt with some of these intricate developments leading to Dominion Status, from the point of view of Ceylon and her leaders. The hitherto unrepresented view of the British Government and the Colonial Office and above all of the Commissioners themselves is now given by Sir Frederick Rees, former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Wales, who as a member of the commission is able to bring to bear on the subject his personal knowledge on the reasons for, and the events behind the recommendations of the commission, which as noted before, will not be accessible to the student for years to come. Sir Frederick's article specially written for the *Ceylon Historical Journal* will be published in our October issue.

* * *

Capt. Joao Ribeiro

One of the most interesting "Histories" of Ceylon left by Portuguese writers is the *Historic Tragedy of the Island of Ceylon* by Captain Joao Ribeiro, an officer who served in Ceylon in the last twenty years of Portuguese rule. Besides an account of the political events of these last years, the book contains the authors reasons for the downfall of Portuguese hegemony in the East. The most valuable section is however those chapters (written in a style similar to Knox, who was captured by the Kandyans a few years after Ribeiro left Ceylon) on the economic and social conditions of the Maritime Sinhalese in the middle of the 17th century. The book thus has an immense value as a source of history, but it has not been evaluated, though the text alone has been printed several times. This historical evaluation has now been done by Professor C. R. Boxer, Professor of the History of the Far East at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, who writes a special article for the *Ceylon Historical Journal* which will be published in the October number.

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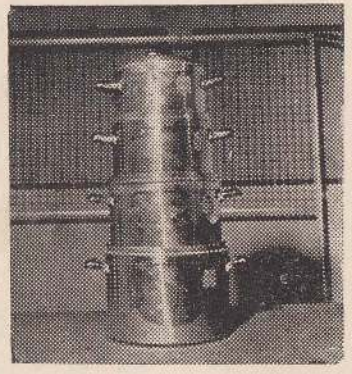

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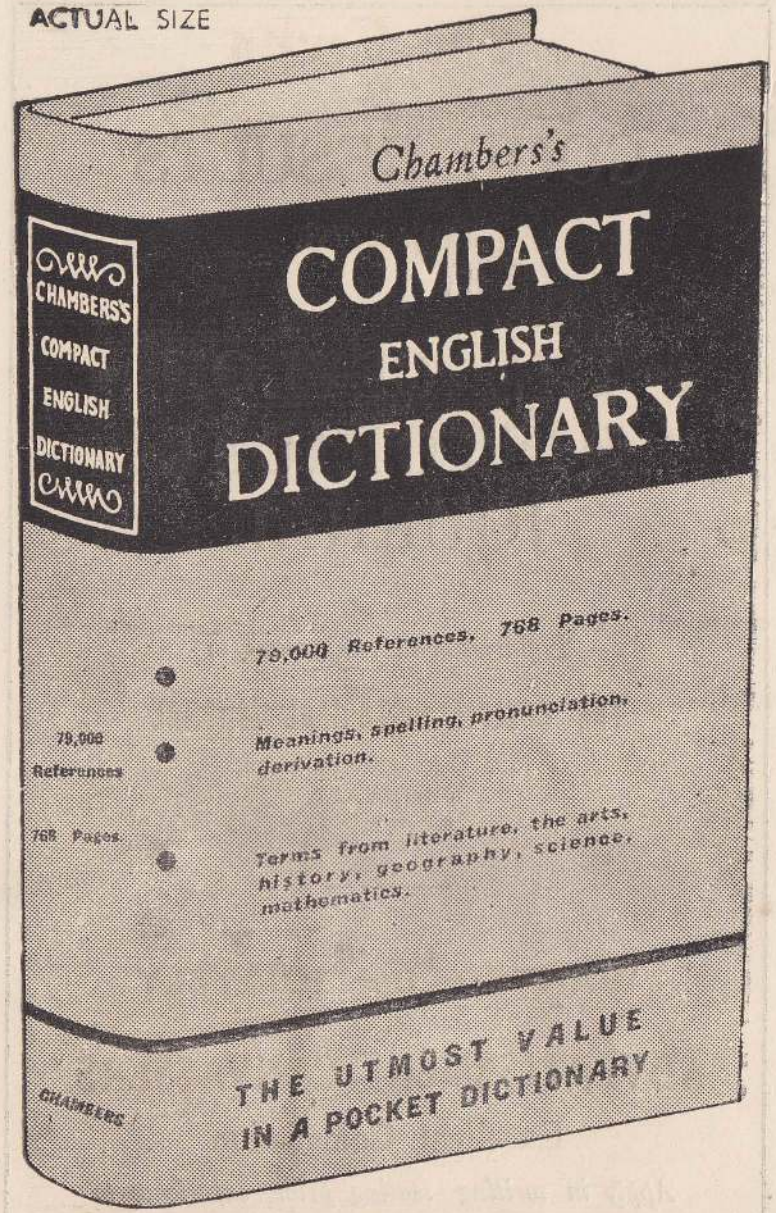

AMAZING VALUE FOR FOUR RUPEES

The Ceylon Historical Journal

VOLUME III NUMBER 2

EDITOR: S. D. 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.

The Journal is published quarterly in January, April, July and October of each year. Editor: S. D. Saparamadu; Editorial Committee: B. J. Perera and S. M. Haniffa; Manuscripts and books for review should be addressed to: The Ceylon Historical Journal, 129, Dutugemunu Street, Dehiwala.

The Editors regret that owing to unavoidable delays the publication of the Journal has not been regular for some time. A double number in print now will be issued at the end of June to make up for the arrears.

OCTOBER 1953

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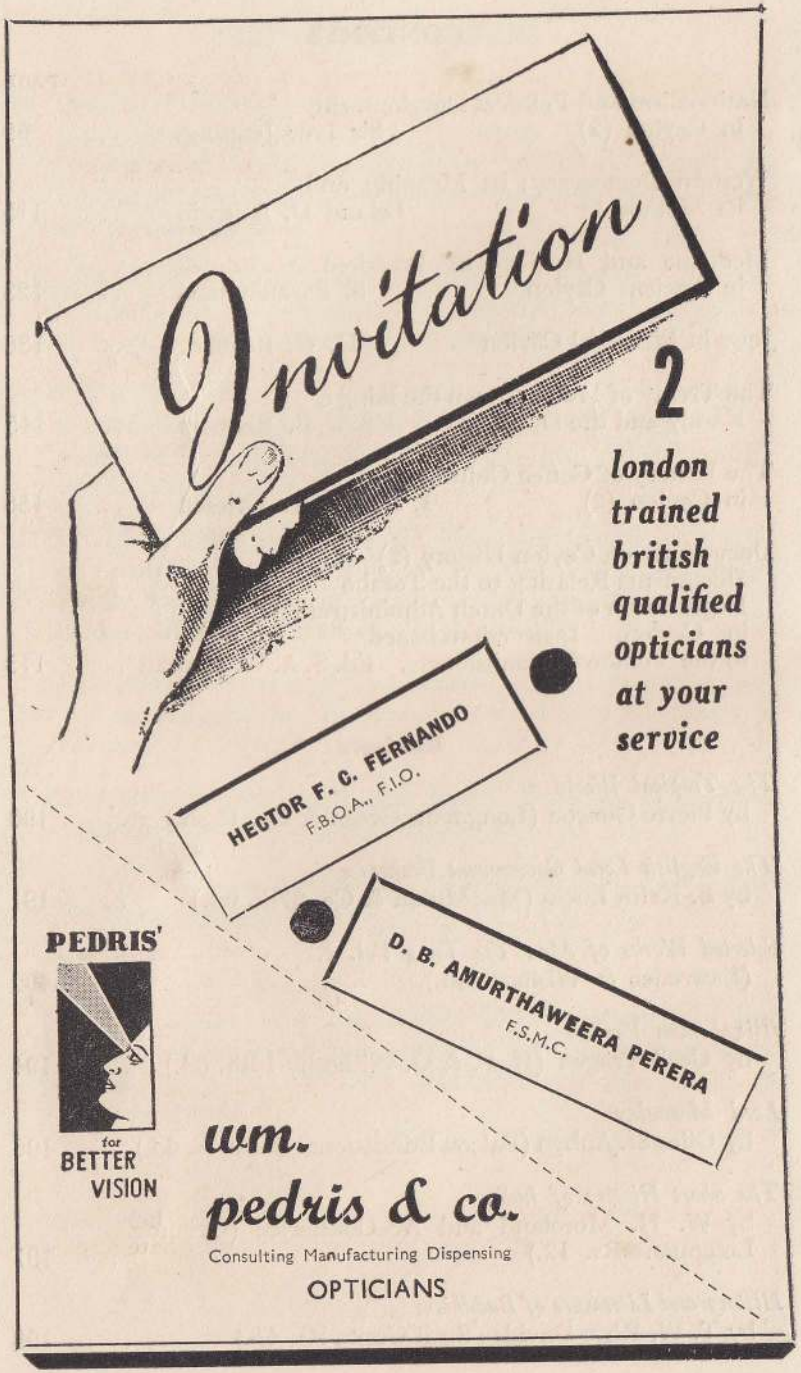

NATIONALISM AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN CEYLON (2)

THE BACKGROUND OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

By SIR IVOR JENNINGS

(*Issued in Co-operation with the Institute of Pacific Relations, New York*)

(*Continued from the last issue*)

The Attitude of the British Colonial Office

The history of Ceylon's independence written in Ceylon ought to be supplemented by another history written in the Colonial Office. The rule of anonymity and the day-to-day business of the Office presumably make such a history impossible. All that one can do is to depict the Colonial Office as seen from Ceylon, and especially through Ceylonese telescopes.

An Englishman knows the Colonial Office to consist of hard-working and benevolent civil servants, doing their best to understand conditions in the colonies and to advise the Secretary of State on the policies likely to benefit their peoples. They are neither crooks nor supermen but ordinary civil servants, possessing the high standard of probity and conscientiousness which the civil service as a whole has maintained. By 1939, however, they looked quite different to the Ceylonese nationalists, for whom they were the instruments of a cleverly devised and almost perfectly executed "imperialist" policy designed to maintain the high standard of life which the British enjoyed at the expense of the poor Ceylonese (among others), to provide raw materials and markets for British manufacturers, and to these ends to retain British control by encouraging communal conflict, keeping the nationalists quiet by hypocritical assurances, and generally finding every possible excuse to prevent the acquisition of "freedom". This "anti-imperialism" had varying degrees of emphasis among the Ceylonese politicians, and even among the members of the Board of Ministers, but anybody who cast doubts on the interpretation was deemed to be an "imperialist" himself.

Whether the Colonial Office knew what an evilly-minded ogre it was deemed to be does not appear. It evidently considered that Ceylon was "difficult" and was surprised to see how often its benevolent motives were misconstrued, but no adequate steps were

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taken to make British colonial policy known or to counteract the nationalist propaganda in this particular field. The annual speech of the Secretary of State on the Colonial Office Estimates was regarded as a " bromide " of no particular significance. The phrasing of official documents relating to the colonies often appeared to be singularly inept, perhaps because the draftsman was thinking in terms of semi-literate Africans, while the ordinary Ceylonese politician was at least as well-educated as the Secretary of State himself. During the war particularly the Ceylonese were patronisingly thanked for their " loyalty " ; they were not " loyal ", though they were (for the most part) very willing to help Britain—they were loyal to their own country. Documents directed to Ceylon always bore evidence of more careful drafting, but quite often they missed their objectives.

No doubt much of this was inevitable. The nationalists wanted to push on with self-government at a pace which the Colonial Office thought to be dangerous, and frustrated nationalism produced sinister motives for quite honest doubts. The Indian politicians had long since gone into opposition to the British Government and all its instruments, and their propaganda affected the Ceylonese attitude. Even so the Colonial Office seemed to be singularly lacking in its understanding of local opinion. Ceylon was utterly different from the other colonies, and with few exceptions the Colonial Office officials seemed to be thinking of East and West Africa. Nor did it help that Ceylon was associated with Malaya and Hong Kong, where the political problems were entirely different.

The Colonial Office was represented in Ceylon by the Governor, who after 1931 was advised by the three Officers of State—the Chief Secretary, the Legal Secretary and the Financial Secretary—who were *ex-officio* members of the Board of Ministers and the State Council. He had a small secretariat of his own, but his Secretary was a comparatively junior civil servant and there was nothing comparable with the Political Department of the Government of India. His principal political adviser was the Chief Secretary, who until 1942 was a senior civil servant of long experience in Ceylon. Unfortunately it was the wrong sort of experience, since it was purely administrative and was gained not in political circles in Colombo but in out-station Kachcheries or administrative headquarters. The Chief Secretary probably knew more about the Ceylonese villager and his problems than the Colombo politician, whose life may have been spent in a select Colombo school and the Colombo Law Library, but he knew little about the politicians with whom he had to deal as Chief Secretary.

A change occurred in 1942, when Sir Robert Drayton was appointed Chief Secretary. As a member of the colonial legal service he had been appointed Legal Secretary from Tanganyika, and so he knew very little about Ceylon ; but having at once taken up a post which required diplomatic skill as well as legal knowledge he had made it his business to study not merely the political problems but also the politicians. The civil service disliked being led by a Chief Secretary who was not a civil servant, but it is reasonably clear that it was he who first saw the means by which the constitutional problem might be resolved. It was certainly assumed by Mr. Senanayake and Sir Oliver Goonetilleke that he supplied the first drafts of the documents which led to the Constitution of 1946. For a time, indeed, he was even consulted off the record, though later it was thought that he had a constitutional scheme of his own which he was urging in opposition to that of the Ministers. It must however be emphasised that his appointment as Chief Secretary was one of the factors which in the end enabled the constitutional problem to be settled. Had a civil servant of long administrative experience been appointed instead, the constitutional history of Ceylon would have been different and, probably, less happy.

The Governor of a colony has two functions which become incompatible at the last stages of colonial government. As the representative of the Secretary of State he is ultimately responsible to His Majesty's Government for the policy of the colony. In this capacity he has to work with the local politicians, to advise and to warn but at the same time to control, for he must have " reserve powers " by which he can if need be over-ride their decisions. On the other hand he is the representative of the King and as such he has to keep a semi-regal state, to exercise the " dignified " functions of royalty, to act as head of local society, and generally to segregate himself from the people. These functions are incompatible because the one requires informality and the other formality. The Governor is at once Prime Minister in absentia and King : he is indeed almost a George III who has no " King's friends."

It would be difficult to find an abler Governor than Sir Andrew Caldecott, the last colonial Governor, for Sir Henry Moore covered the transition and very properly became the first Governor-General. Even with the assistance of Sir Robert Drayton, though, it was impossible for him to achieve a footing of informality with the Ceylonese Ministers. When there was no doubt about the meaning of the declaration issued on the 26th May, 1943, none of the Ministers thought of consulting the Governor. When difficulties arose in the course of the negotiations formal " conferences " were summoned, but they were not conferences. The Ministers listened to what the Governor had to say and the Governor listened to what

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the Ministers had to say, but there was no discussion on the questions at issue. The Governor's various functions was confused. He could not advise and warn, like the King, because he had reserve powers and was regarded as the representative of " imperialism ". He could not negotiate, as the representative of the politicians in London, with the politicians in Ceylon, for he was the King's representative, " His Excellency."

It may be that these conflicts could be resolved given the right approach, but in Ceylon they were not resolved because the autocratic Governor of the crown colony glided almost imperceptibly into the quasi-monarch of near-Dominion Status. The Ministers' attitude to the Governor was determined by the fact that his predecessors had been autocrats. It may be, too, that his attitude to the Ministers was due to the fact that he had been autocratic Governor of Hong Kong and a senior official in autocratically-governed Malaya. Nobody thought of adjourning the conferences on Mr. Wijewardena's verandah and in the Civil Defence Department to the more splendid environment of the Governor's residence.

The Colonial Office derived its knowledge of Ceylon problems from two sources, the Governor's official and demi-official telegrams and despatches, and the relevant documents, including the debates published in Hansard and the reports in the newspapers. Sir Andrew Caldecott's despatches will no doubt be a real contribution to history when they become available to the public, for he had both unusual perspicuity and a literary style rare in a Governor; but he was too remote from the confidential discussions to know what was going on among the Ministers. Nor is it justifiable in any country, above all in Ceylon, to judge what politicians say in private from what they say in public. The apparent conflict between the Sinhalese Ministers and some of the Tamil leaders wore a very different complexion in private from what it bore in public, not because they were dissembling their real opinions, but because all politicians have to pose in public.

The atmosphere completely changed in 1945 after Mr. Senanayake's visit to London. This appears to have been suggested by Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, who took occasion to visit London to consult the Ministry of Food late in 1944, soon after the appointment of the Soulbury Commission. It may be noted that though Ceylonese politicians had been conducting an agitation for constitutional reform for forty years, this was the first time that any of them had been invited for consultations. There had been deputations to London after the first World War; but it seems probable that some of the civil servants who had been dealing with Ceylon and studying Ceylon politics met a Ceylonese politician for the first time. It should be added that Mr. Senanayake was not the guest of His

Majesty's Government; nor did he choose to ask the State Council for a vote; he had therefore to raise privately the whole cost of his mission.

The visit was educational on both sides. Mr. Senanayake was one of the few Ceylonese politicians who had had doubts about the popular theory of " imperialist exploitation ". The doctrine which had been laid down in the Civil Defence Department, that British politicians were much like Ceylonese politicians and British civil servants much like Ceylonese civil servants, was found to be true. What is more, the good faith of the Colonial Office—which in accordance with the Indian tradition was not accepted in Ceylon—was established. The Secretary of State was open to persuasion; and when he or his colleagues were not persuaded he was able to explain why, if not officially at least " off the record ". It appeared, too, that Mr. Senanayake was a surprise to the Colonial Office. His official " character " had been built up from despatches, speeches and newspaper reports; evidently the Colonial Office had not expected a shrewd old farmer. The Soulbury Report, which was then in proof, had proved unexpectedly favourable and Mr. Senanayake in his own person re-inforced this favourable impression. It is believed that the Secretary of State recommended Dominion status in 1945, though the Cabinet did not agree until his successor repeated the recommendation two years later.

This personal contact was of fundamental importance because it changed the technique which had been faulty. Pressure from the State Council and the Board of Ministers from 1932 to 1937 produced a decision that the new Governor, Sir Andrew Caldecott, should report on the subject of further constitutional reforms. His report was an able document which was not acceptable to the State Council because it did not go far enough. In retrospect it seems clear that the Board of Ministers should have accepted the report as an instalment, persuaded the State Council to accept it, and then pressed for more. Instead, the report was put to the State Council in resolution and debated at enormous length. Inevitably all the communal claims were staked out, all the accusations about imperialist exploitation were brought forth, and all the constitutional experts produced their pet theories. In 1941 a declaration, promising a " commission or conference " after the war was issued by the Secretary of State and, of course, rejected. Why it was issued passes comprehension. It was known that it was going to be rejected by the Ceylonese, and the promise of a commission or conference after the war seemed to preclude any constitutional development at all during the war.

In 1943 another attempt was made. A declaration was issued declaring that the post-war re-examination of the reform of the

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Ceylon Constitution would be directed towards the grant to Ceylon of full responsible government under the Crown in all matters of internal civil administration. Certain conditions relating mainly to defence and external affairs were laid down, and it was said that once victory was achieved the British Government would proceed to examine by " commission or conference " such detailed proposals as the Ministers may have been able to formulate in the way of a complete constitutional scheme. Acceptance of any such proposals would depend on the specified conditions being satisfied and on their subsequent approval by three-quarters of all the members of the State Council.

The meaning of this curious document, which was sent without explanation, was by no means clear, and the Civil Defence Department spent considerable effort in its study. The procedure seemed clear enough. The Ministers would prepare a constitutional scheme, which they would submit to a " commission or conference " and, if it was shown to satisfy the conditions set out it would then be submitted to the State Council and if approved by at least 43 votes, would be put into operation. It was thought that this was an ingenious attempt to overcome the communal problem. Unanimity could never be obtained so long as any minority could put up its price for agreement without the risk of something less attractive being forced on it ; but, if the Ministers produced a reasonable compromise they would get a three-quarters majority and, since a three-quarters majority was enough, they would in fact get almost a unanimous Council.

The difficulty lay not in the procedure but in the conditions, which were loosely drafted and were capable of several interpretations, some favourable and some unfavourable. The Civil Defence Department, believing in the honesty of British intentions, took the favourable view, and Mr. Senanayake decided to advise acceptance. His task was by no means easy. Hardly any section of opinion was prepared to give the Colonial Office the benefit of the doubt ; opinions were already being expressed that this was another bluff to keep the Ceylonese quiet until the end of the war. Others thought that a voluntary abdication of power by Britain was unthinkable. Ireland and India showed that it could be forced but not persuaded, and so there must be something in the document which gave Britain the reality of control, though with her usual diabolical skill it was carefully hidden.

Mr. Senanayake had a memorandum prepared and took the precaution of showing it to Sir Robert Drayton. It is worthy of note that nobody thought of asking the Governor or the Secretary of State for an explanation, but Sir Robret could be consulted off the record. He took care not to approve, but he also made it plain

that he would not disapprove when the memorandum came before the Board of Ministers. Some of Mr. Senanayake's Ceylonese advisers, however, thought his interpretation far too optimistic. The Board of Ministers thought it too good to be true, but eventually it was agreed to accept subject to an interpretation given by the Board, announced in the State Council, and sent to the Secretary of State.

The drafting of this interpretation proved to be extremely difficult. There was no doubt about the procedure, but some of the members of the Board and some of the advisers outside gave a much less favourable interpretation to the substance. After three meetings, however, the text was agreed upon. It was accepted by the State Council and forwarded to the Secretary of State. His reply expressed his " great interest " in the document with the remark that he would not be expected to comment upon it at this stage. This reply was shown by the Governor to a Minister, who read it as a rejection of the Ministers' interpretation. Mr. Senanayake called on the Governor later in the day and was not shown the document, which was sent to him next day. This procedure suggested that rejection was intended, for the Governor knew that Mr. Senanayake had produced the Ministers' interpretation and that he had forced it through against opposition. It must therefore have been shown to another Minister, and not to Mr. Senanayake, in order to stimulate opposition. Though some took the view that the document and the procedure were merely examples of the political ineptitude of the Secretary of State's advisers, Mr. Senanayake thought he had been bluffed. Eventually the Secretary of State produced another document in which he explained that he could not find anything in the Ministers' interpretation which was " essentially irreconcilable " with the Declaration.

These incidents have been given in some detail in order to show the lack of contact between the Colonial Office and the Ceylonese Ministers. Presumably the Declaration of 1943 had some precise meaning. It could not be gathered from its terms, for even the legal experts could not agree. Presumably, too, there was some explanation given to the Secretary of State and the Cabinet, but no such explanation was given in Ceylon. Nobody thought of asking the Secretary of State, or even the Governor, what it meant. The Officers of State had sat in the Board of Ministers and had assisted in the drafting of the Ministers' interpretation ; but either they did not know or they had no power to explain what the Declaration meant.

These events took place between May and July, 1943. In accordance with their interpretation of the Declaration the Ministers produced a draft Constitution in February, 1944. Not until July

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1944, did the Ministers discover that, in the opinion of the Secretary of State, they had misinterpreted the procedure laid down by the Declaration of May 1943. There had never been any difference of opinion about this procedure. The experts and the Ministers had differed about the provisions which had to be inserted in the draft Constitution, but everybody had agreed about the procedure to be followed in preparing it. It had been set out clearly in the Ministers' interpretation, which the Officers of State had helped to draft. The Secretary of State had said that he found in the interpretation nothing "essentially irreconcilable" with the Declaration. The procedure had been criticised by the Ministers' opponents in the State Council, and the Ministers had defended themselves by showing that they were following the procedure laid down by the United Kingdom Government. When, twelve months later, the British Government said that the procedure had been wrong, the explanation to be given by the Ceylonese was obvious : it was perfidious Albion again.

The decision of July, 1944, was to appoint the Soulbury Commission with terms of reference which the Ministers regarded as inconsistent with the Declaration of 1943. When the Soulbury Report had been issued the British Government published a White Paper in October, 1945, in which, by clear implication, it was agreed that the Ministers' interpretation had been correct. By that time the tangle had been unravelled through the tact of the Soulbury Commission and the personal discussion between the Secretary of State and Mr. Senanayake ; but there ought never to have been a tangle.

It is useful to draw a contrast with the proceedings in 1947. The new Secretary of State was Mr. Creech Jones, who had been Parliamentary Under-Secretary when Mr. Senanayake was in London in 1945. The proceedings began with a personal letter from Mr. Senanayake to Mr. Creech Jones, asking that his proposal for Dominion status, set out in a letter of August, 1945, be re-considered, and suggesting that Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, who by a remarkable coincidence was about to take leave in England, be consulted. In June, 1947, a White Paper was issued announcing that "fully responsible government" would be conferred on Ceylon. When Mr. Senanayake saw this in draft he realised that it would be misrepresented in Ceylon. He knew from telephone conversations with Sir Oliver that Dominion status was intended, and so he sent a personal telegram to Mr. Creech Jones explaining why he disliked "fully responsible government". Mr. Creech Jones, in a personal telegram, explained why that phrase was used, said it would be difficult to change it without further delay, but said that Mr. Senanayake might use his telegram at his discretion. Mr. Senanayake then allowed the statement to be issued and

immediately gave his own interpretation in the exact language of the Secretary of State, though without saying so. The story of "perfidious Albion" was of course again propagated—but not by the Ministers.

The Commissions

The Constitution of 1833, which lasted with minor amendments until 1910, was based upon recommendations made by Lieutenant-Colonel Colebrooke in a series of comprehensive reports. The Constitutions of 1910, 1920 and 1924 were apparently devised in the Colonial Office after consultation with the Governor. That of 1931 was based on a report of a Commission presided over by Lord Donoughmore. The Constitution of 1946 was based on a draft produced by the Ministers, but was amended on the recommendation of a Commission presided over by Lord Soulbury and after consultation with Mr. Senanayake. The amendments of 1947, conferring Dominion status, were agreed between the Colonial Office and Mr. Senanayake.

It is tempting to infer that a Constitution devised or approved by a Commission has some chance of success, while one devised by the Colonial Office has little chance. This would be a superficial interpretation, and yet there are obvious advantages in a Commission. Enough has been said above to show that in Ceylon, at least, the Colonial Office was an object of suspicion. Its good faith was invariably in question, not only because the motives of British policy were invariably distorted, but also because the Colonial Office never explained itself. Explanations were no doubt given by the Governors in their speeches in the Legislative Council, but colonial governors are rarely good politicians, for they are almost invariably promoted civil servants. A man who has spent a lifetime in learning to keep silent can hardly be expected to be a first-class propagandist. Ceylon cannot complain of its governors, for the office was the "plum" of the colonial service, but they had not learned how to meet the accusation of perfidy. Besides, their observations pledged His Majesty's Government, with the result that most of them correctly inferred that the less they said the better.

On the other hand, a Commission is an independent body whose observations pledge nobody. It has the advantage, too, that it takes evidence from every responsible person who offers it. Much of it is utterly useless ; most of it states a case with the overemphasis that advocates must invariably employ ; but every person feels some satisfaction through having his "day in court" even if his plea is rejected. The Colonial Office and the Secretary of State are not only remote ; they are institutions, not persons of flesh and

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blood ; they cannot be approached because they do not exist ; and even a deputation to London produces only a promise that their representations will be carefully considered. A deputation to the Governor secures a promise that its views will be forwarded to London, but even if a White Paper is eventually published, there is no evidence which the Secretary of State has really read, digested and thought about. A Commission in Ceylon, on the other hand, listens carefully, has everything taken down by stenographers, asks questions, argues, and finally records its views in a published document.

Further, when a Commission recommends a constitutional scheme, it gives its reasons. The Secretary of State for the Colonies never gives, or indeed could give, an exhaustive analysis of the working of Constitution, the diverse ambitions of the various political groups, the communal and other difficulties which obstruct the efficient conduct of government, and the local factors which determine the pace of advancement towards self-government. All these found a place in the report of a Commission. Many will disagree, but there will always be some who will appreciate the case made by the report. The Donoughmore Commission said much about communalism in language which nationalist politicians could not only approve but quote. It said something about corruption, and there were many in Ceylon who expressed similar disapproval. It explained why immediate self-government was not practicable, and some of its reasons were accepted even though the conclusion was disliked. Nothing leads more easily to frustration than such a document, expressed in a dozen lines, as the Declaration of 1941. Even the Declaration of 1943 would have been rejected if Mr. Senanayake's sturdy commonsense had not been available. " All or nothing " becomes an impossible policy when it is explained why it cannot be all and why it ought not be nothing.

It is of course true that a Commission is invariably ill-informed. The country poses in order to secure a favourable verdict, and only the lack of unanimity enables the Commission to get somewhere near the truth. A story about the Donoughmore Commission is worth quoting because, though it is almost certainly apocryphal, it illustrates the problem. It is said that the Commission was driving through the countryside with Ceylonese politicians, when a discussion arose about the intelligence of the villagers. It happened that some villagers were working in the paddy-fields near by and it was suggested that they should be questioned. The villagers' answers to various questions, when interpreted, gave the Commission a very high sense of the standard of their political knowledge. When the Commission had passed, the " villagers " went to the resthouse, changed into coat and trousers, and drove back to Colombo in their own cars. This, it is alleged, was the origin of adult franohise under the D noughmore Constitution.

This is no doubt one of the fictions invented on the verandah at sundown ; but it is certainly true that all the early invitations to the Soulbury Commission were organised in the Civil Defence Department, that whenever the Commission went on tour an Assistant Civil Defence Commissioner telephoned ahead to make certain that the Commission was well received, and that some of the evidence against the Ministers' scheme was drafted in the Department with the intention of inducing the Commission to disagree with it. It was indeed by no means a coincidence that Sir Oliver Goonetilleke found it necessary to discuss food problems in London as soon as the names of the Commissioners were announced. A bad case cannot be made good by such devices, but it is certainly true that when a school is inspected by His Majesty's Inspector the school is on its best behaviour.

There is, too, the danger that the Commission will propose some scheme which will not work. The Donoughmore Commission produced a highly complex constitution which did work, but Mr. Senanayake was correct in saying, as he did in 1945, that the fact that the Ceylonese could work so difficult a Constitution was in itself evidence of " fitness to govern ". None of the Donoughmore Commissioners had had much experience of the process of government, except in Parliament, and nobody with Ceylon experience would have suggested the Executive Committee system. It created problems which might have been foreseen, though evidently they were not, and above all it prevented the development of a party system, cutting across communal boundaries, which seemed to be the essential requirement of the Island.

The Soulbury Commission had a much easier task, for though it had power to make what recommendations it thought fit, it could in practice do no more than suggest modifications of the Ministers' scheme. Behind the Ministers was a large majority of the State Council and without their support no Constitution would be accepted. The fundamental objective of the Commission—which it fully attained—was to restore the good relationship between the Colonial Office and the Ministers which had been broken through inept handling in the middle of 1944. Even so it is worth noting that the Commission made constitutional proposals which would not work. The Ministers had been compelled by the Declaration of 1943 to vest powers in the Governor. Their draft provided accordingly, but they had no intention of making the provision easily workable. On the contrary, they inserted all the checks and balances that they could think of, believing that at the " commission or conference " contemplated by the Declaration they would be able to trade concession for concession. The Soulbury Commission made these complicated provisions even more complicated, thus

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presenting Mr. Senanayake with an unanswerable argument : these provisions would not work in practice, therefore they should be swept away.

The Transition to Self-Government

The fundamental constitutional problem of the colonial empire is how to bring about the transition from autocratic crown colony to self-governing Dominion. It cannot be said that the experience of Ceylon has enabled that problem to be solved, but it has at least indicated the limits within which further experiments must be conducted.

It should be noted in the first place that the problem is not only to transfer power from colonial administrators (for whom British politicians are responsible) to local politicians, but also to transfer administration from the former to local administrators. Though it may be possible, as it has been in Ceylon, for some European administrators to continue in service under popular control, it is unthinkable that the whole process of administration should remain in European hands, because only very adaptable officers, interested in and acceptable to the local population, can effectively work with local politicians. Also, if there is a high proportion of overseas officials their dismissal will be one of the first effects of self-government, with consequences which may be disastrous. India dismissed all the European civil servants, while retaining some technical officers, with the result that New Delhi suffers from a shortage of experienced officers. Burma dismissed the whole lot and threw its administrative machine into chaos. Ceylon dismissed nobody but allowed retirement on favourable terms to Europeans and Ceylonese alike. Four of the fourteen Permanent Secretaries and several Heads of Departments were European in 1948, though most of the younger Europeans had decided to seek careers elsewhere. Obviously this is a desirable position, for a sudden withdrawal of senior officials inevitably weakens administration ; but it was politically practicable only because the great majority of the officials were Ceylonese.

For this process to be practicable, it is essential that opportunities should be available for the local inhabitants to obtain academic and technical qualifications equivalent to those possessed by Europeans. This implies in the first place an adequate system of secondary education. History will probably say that the colonial government did too little for secondary education, but fortunately the missionaries made the necessary provision—the Prime Minister, with his usual generosity, has publicly expressed his country's indebtedness for their efforts—and after 1880 Buddhist and Hindu socieites prevented a Christian monopoly.

Secondary education alone, however, is insufficient. There must be provision for university and technical education. This provision was made in Ceylon, in the first instance, by a system of scholarships to the United Kingdom. It was not on a large enough scale to provide a complete public service, and the transition to self-government would have been impossible but for the existence of a comparatively wealthy section of Ceylonese who were able to send their sons abroad for higher education. There comes a point at which it is cheaper to establish institutions of higher education in the country itself, and this is in any case desirable because in principle local education is better than education in England. The Ceylon Medical College was established in 1870 and was recognized by the General Medical Council in 1888. Apart from a few specialists imported on short-term contracts because of the rapid development of the medical service, the medical practitioners both inside and outside the government service are all Ceylonese. The Ceylon Law College was established and the legal profession has been completely Ceylonised for many years. Other forms of technical education lagged behind, and a University College was not established until 1921. Owing to more local disputes than to the colonial governments, a University was not established until 1942—at least 15 years too late. It is, however, unnecessary to lay emphasis on this problem because, largely through Ceylon experience, a new colonial policy has followed upon the Report of the Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies in 1945 and is being put into execution through the Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies and the Colonial University Grants Committee.

Even when qualified Ceylonese candidates were available, however, Ceylonisation was not achieved without difficulty. The infusion of Ceylonese into the higher ranks of the public service was resisted by the senior European officials not as a policy but as a practice. In theory they accepted the policy ; in practice they preferred it to be carried out in other Departments. What is more, they had some reason for their attitude. A Ceylonese with the same qualifications as a European might not have had, and probably had not had, as broad an education as the European and might lack the qualities which would make him an equally efficient administrator. His home education would almost certainly have been inferior ; his school education might have been inferior ; and his higher education, if acquired in Ceylon, would have been inferior. This was of course inevitable, for education is essentially a matter of environment and tradition, and in Ceylon these have had to be created. On the other hand, the Ceylonese had an advantage which the European could not share unless he had been in the country a long time and had not segregated himself into a European " colony ", a knowledge of the people.

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For these reasons the process of Ceylonisation was inevitably slow, though it seems certain that until 1933 it was slower than it need have been. In that year the State Council passed a resolution, known as " the March resolution ", to the effect that in future no non-Ceylonese was to be appointed to the public service except with the approval of the State Council. This having been accepted in principle by the Government, the bias went the other way. Whereas before 1933 it was not always easy to secure the appointment of a Ceylonese, after 1933 it was not easy to secure the appointment of a non-Ceylonese. Canvassing and even less reputable methods were adopted by some candidates, and there is no doubt that the quality of administration deteriorated. This was, however, the State Council's only effective means of enforcing rapid Ceylonisation, and it would not have been necessary if the Colonial Office had insisted that the Ceylon Government follow that policy not only in theory but in practice.

To find politicians capable of taking control of administration is by no means so difficult a task. The middle class produces them more readily than it produces administrators and technical experts. This is indeed one of the problems of the transition. To assert that the Ceylonese were " not fit to govern " was, in their view, to add insult to injury. What they lacked was not ability but experience, but how could they gain experience if the British retained control ? In their view, too, inferior government by Ceylonese was superior to better government by foreigners, and they produced the appropriate quotation—good government is not a substitute for self-government. Nor did they all agree that government by British officials was good government, for they considered that the British officials governed in the interest of Britain—imperialist exploitation was the common phrase—and not in the interest of the people of Ceylon. The use of the Kandyan hills for tea and rubber estates, though it enriched the country and enabled the middle class to live, was regarded as imperialist exploitation because, so they siad, it deprived the Kandyan villages of their *chenas* and imposed an alien population of Indian Tamils upon them. The banks which financed Ceylonese coconut estates and plumbago mines were examples of exploitation because they also financed tea and rubber and the import trade in non-Ceylonese hands. The absence of textile mills was explained as due to the desire of Lancashire to find markets even when Japan supplied nearly all the textiles ; and this was confirmed when quotas were placed on Japanese goods by Order in Council in 1932.

That there was much confusion of thought in all this is evident ; the point is that it was inevitable. After 1947 the tide turned full circle, and tea and rubber as well as coconuts and cocoa were cherished as the sources of revenue. Foreign capital, which had

been branded as imperialist until 1947, was almost implored to come in. Even education policy felt the change, for " English, more English and better English " became a far more popular slogan that it had been five years before, or even twenty years before. Clearly the solution to this problem, though it was not always realised between 1919 and 1947, was to give more responsibility to the Ceylonese as soon as possible. Economics became a tolerable science as soon as politics came into Ceylonese hands.

There were, however, some difficulties in a rapid transition, apart from the slowness of the Ceylonisation of the public services. The politicians were drawn from a small middle class, the remainder of the population being either illiterate or so near to illiteracy that it could hardly be expected to form views on political questions. In 1928, when there was an elected majority in the Legislative Council, only 4 per cent. of the population had the franchise. Nor did the politicians suggest any substantial extension, for they feared an illiterate electorate. They wanted power to be transferred from a European oligarchy to a Ceylonese oligarchy. The Donoughmore Commission insisted, however, that any further transfer of power must be accompanied by a widening of the franchise, and in 1931 adult franchise was introduced. On the whole it was successful. There was a great increase in electoral corruption and some corrupt politicians were elected. Members had still to be literate in English and were therefore drawn from the middle classes, but they were compelled to pay far more attention to the conditions of the people. On the whole, too, the illiterate voter was not a bad judge of men —when he was not bribed—even though he knew nothing of politics. Certainly the extension of the franchise produced fewer difficulties than the nationalist politicians had contemplated.

Secondly, communalism was a major difficulty which was increased through the widening of the franchise. Since the illiterate knew nothing of politics but voted for personalities, the race, religion and caste of the candidates became important. Nor did candidates hesitate to appeal to the electors on these lines. It was said that there was a great increase in communalism between 1931 and 1939. It is doubtful if this was so, but certainly it paid to be a communalist.

Thirdly, there was an absence of parties. Mainly, this was a reflexion of the importance of communalism. The electors voted on personalities, which often depended on race, religion or caste. On the other hand among the Sinhalese it often depended on wealth or family influence. There were groups like the Ceylon National Congress, the Sinhala Maha Sabha, and smaller bodies, but they had no organisation in depth and they did not appeal to the electors as parties.

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Finally, the conventions which regulate political life in western countries did not obtain. The establishment of a democratic Constitution implies the acceptance of principles of social and political obligation, of tolerance of opposing opinions, of political integrity, and the rest, which are invariably difficult to establish.

It is probable that these difficulties, which are admirably set out in the Report of the Donoughmore Commission, were exaggerated, but they were undoubtedly real. It seems to have been thought they they required a period of tutelage, but it is clear that tutelage would not solve all the problems. Ceylonisation was likely to proceed faster without tutelage than with it, for the politicians would necessarily provide the means by which their sons and nephews and the sons and nephews of their prominent supporters could secure lucrative jobs and turn out the foreigners. An educated electorate could not be provided in less than a generation even if ample funds could be provided for education—and compulsory education for a large population with a high birth rate, a high death rate, and a low taxable capacity is so expensive a process that it is difficult to contemplate. Communalism seemed actually to increase under tutelage because a minority community could put up its price for collaboration against the " foreigner " so long as the foreigner held the reins. Finally, a sense of responsibility could not be created so long as responsibility was vested in the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

[*To be concluded in the next issue.*]

WESTERN DEMOCRACY: ITS MEANING AND ITS METHOD

By LELAND D. BALDWIN

DEMOCRACY IS probably the most dynamic force that has ever struck the modern world. Certainly with its twin, the Industrial Revolution, it has knocked down so many of the Humpty-Dumptys of tradition that the world will never be the same again. Democracy was not, of course, developed solely by England nor even by the English-speaking peoples. There were forms of democracy rising in the Middle Ages in most of the countries of Western Europe, but it may be doubted if they would have survived, or at least triumphed, without the example and the encouragement (often unconscious) of England. The mechanics of the democratic process can best be observed in the English-speaking countries. Let us turn now to an exposition of those mechanics as we know them today.

Democracy is a positive political process for putting the evolving will of the people into effect in order to advance toward liberty, equality, and fraternity. It bears in itself the means of improvement, but it is a process and not a structure and therefore can never lay claim to perfection without destroying its essential nature. Democracy seeks to preserve and reconcile the rival sovereignties and moral values of the individual and of society and to use them as positive aids in developing a higher social and moral order. It means the federation of individuals to form society, not their complete surrender to society.

The first characteristic of the method of democracy is this : *government* of the people, by the people, and for the people. In the modern state this means in a practical sense that the people wield not immediate power but, through their representatives, *ultimate* power. It is, however, their duty to exert continual pressure in the direction of their desires. Such popular pressure is usually readily discernible, and it is notable that lobbyists of special interests are most successful when the pressure they exert is in harmony with the trend of the times. The very populousness of the modern state and the complexity of its problems signify that the chief result of an election is to register approval or disapproval of the trend the government has taken. Unfortunately no fool-proof way has yet been found by which party members can choose good candidates.

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The primary has been rather a disappointment and often an aid to deliberate abuse because it lends itself to machine control and to the exclusion of selected groups, such as Negroes, from political rights.

The will of the people is determined and put into effect by *a changing balance of social conflict*, that is, by a never ending regrouping of social forces in temporary appliances to promote their own interests. This means that we must agree on fundamentals—on the rules of formalized conflict by which the social and political battle is to be carried on. Disagreement on method means that social and political interests cannot find a ground for compromise and it is likely to mean violence and war. The majority force no sooner takes office than a counterforce begins to form to combat it. This counterforce operates by certain rules and restraints (whence it is known in England as " Her Majesty's loyal opposition "), but it takes shrewd advantage of its opponents' mistakes and in the end always becomes in its own turn the force in control. Then the process is repeated as a new alignment of counterforces moulds itself in conformity to new trends and strives to overturn the force intrenched in office.

Democracy and only democracy, frankly seeks guidance in this interplay of social interests and is willing to change its program as the political, economic, and social balances shift. " Good " to the democrat lies in the *method* to be used for improvement. Now regardless of our desire to be honest and accurate, our different backgrounds, interests, and attainments lead us to hold different views of the same problem and to favour different solutions. So one group or another of us is always viewing with alarm whatever solution is proposed and prophesying the downfall of the democratic way if it is put into effect. Totalitarians, on the other hand, seek to strangle social conflict by setting up a single complete and " perfect " structure which forbids free expression of desires and to which they insist that society must conform. As Sgt. Alvin C. York, the outstanding American hero of World War I, said : " In a free country there's a heap more complaint than suffering. In a dictatorship there's a heap of suffering and no complaint."

But how does democracy insure that its social conflict does not result in the triumph of might over right ? There is no insurance save in the eternal vigilance of the people. Said Jefferson : " I know no safe depository of the ultimate powers of society but the people themselves ; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion by education. Democracy has evolved in the West as groups have fought their way to equality with those already in control of government,

and this conflict has been regarded as essential training in experience and responsibility. This means of rising was so generally accepted that it became implanted as a part of the Western conscience ; hence the belief that if a people wanted freedom they would strive for it, and hence the fact that when Asians began the struggle for independence they were aided by Westerners of conscience and goodwill.

We set up certain methods which are intended to provide insurance against the triumph of right over might, but they are valueless unless we make ourselves responsible for their use. The exercise of democracy is like walking ; a continually arrested falling forward ; just so, if we in a democracy do not continually readjust our social balance, we pass over to totalitarianism. Constitutions and laws, be they ever so perfect, are no guarantee in themselves. Indeed, the good law of today may become the strait jacket of tomorrow, for times change and institutions must change with them or human liberty is lost. There is no automatic fool-proof way to guarantee liberty.

The basic controls of democracy lie in the individual's self-restraint and courage. Both are oral qualities ; and whether or not they are regarded as innate, they can be developed and strengthened by precept and example. Self-restraint is the monitor that tells us when to forego our own desires and opinions and yield to the general will ; it is the basis of social order. Courage is the quality that enables us on occasion to stand up against the general will for what we believe is necessary because it is just ; it is the means by which society advances. No law of church or state can take from us our right to object, if we are willing to take the consequences. Self-restraint is good, but it is the lesser virtue because it can become the acquiescent tool of tyranny. Courage can on occasion become the spearhead of tyranny, but its active nature makes it even more the vitally necessary spearhead of liberty. There always will be men and women with the courage to stand up for what they believe is right, whatever the consequences. The tree of liberty ", said Jefferson, " must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants."

Thus successful democracy (like walking) demands a superb sense of balance and restraint. The purpose of education in a democracy is to teach this balance and restraint—a " sense of the limits of power ". There appears to be danger that as political democracy increases the effectiveness of democratic government will decrease. This danger is only apparent, not real. There is no paradox here, for the democratic process has never envisaged the admission of new voters to a share in the government until they are prepared. Social classes have been undergoing the educative process that we daily

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see illustrated in the growth of a child into a responsible voter. It is true that without this educative process democracy will break down ; that is why it is absolutely essential for us to educate both the child and the adult in and out of school.

Democracy calls for training in the ideals of the aristocrat. In its best sense the word aristocracy means the ascendance of intellect, character, and judgment—and that is exactly what Jefferson sought. Surely no fairminded democrat would object to deferring to such aristocratic leaders. " There will be a social order ", says T. V. Smith, " in which every man lives richly his own life, leads where his knowledge justifies, and follows where his ignorance compels ". In order to be ideally successful a democracy would have to be made up of aristocrats in the best sense.

There most of us stick, for we are convinced that most men have low instincts, in spite of the fact that it has not been proved that the masses cannot be educated up to aristocratic standards. We refuse to make the career of teaching attractive to the best talent, we fear to launch out on ambitious and progressive educational programs, and we even refuse to finance the schooling of the new generation on a scale proportionate to that of the old. We have good sound reasons. Who, runs the familiar refrain, will collect the garbage if everyone is educated ? The answer lies not in a permanent slave class, but in rewards. If no automatic system of disposal can be found, many of us would collect garbage for three months if during the rest of the year we could live graciously after our own ideals with books or sports or travel.

The historian Rotovtzeff finds the cause of the decay of ancient civilization in " the gradual absorption of the educated classes by the masses and the consequent simplification of all the functions of political, social, economic, and intellectual life, which we call the barbarization of the ancient world ". Granting that this is true, salvation would have lain not in the compartmentation of classes but in the education of the masses. A society cannot stand still, for a living organism which has stopped growing has paved the way for death. Perhaps universal education was impossible in the ancient world, but we have no excuse for saying that today except for our own fear and selfishness. Our failure to educate successfully will mean the swallowing-up of civilization by the ignorant masses as inevitably as in ancient Rome.

Successful democracy demands that not only must we know the point at which to compromise, but we must know when not to compromise. An opponent of liberty has expressed the democratic dilemma succintly ; " I demand liberty in the name of your principles ; I refuse it to you in the name of mine ". Here is a

pitfall, open and unconcealed, but one around which the narrowness of the democratic path does not permit a detour. The enemies of liberty are experts in hiding behind our civil liberties while they undermine the foundations of democracy, which are those very civil liberties. These enemies, however, will be a problem only to the extent to which we fail to implement democracy ; it is in a way an indispensable barometer of how well or how ill democracy is performing its functions. " I think ", wrote Justice Holmes in his famous dissent in the case of *Abrams vs. United States*, " that we should be eternally vigilant against the attempts to check the expression of opinions that we loathe and believe to be fraught with death, unless they so imminently threaten immediate interference with the lawful and pressing purposes of the law that immediate check is required to save the country."

There will come a time when outside events, usually combined with our own shortsightedness, will demand that we lay aside our tolerance and fight. Lincoln was confronted by the dilemma of setting aside Constitutional guarantees or of observing the letter of the law and handicapping the war to save the Union. His decision was that he would not allow the Constitution to prevent the preservation of the democracy which it had been established to, preserve. The danger that democratic tolerance will promote its own death was clearly illustrated when Kerensky, by allowing complete freedom to the Bolsheviks in 1917, paved the way for the overthrow by Lenin of Russia's liberal republic ; a similar toleration of Hitler in the 1920's led to the institution of the Nazi regime in 1933 and the death of German democracy.

It is this kind of sordid fact that lies behind the democratic diplomatic policies which to the idealist seem inconsistent with the principles of democracy. Wendell Wilkie expressed a cold fact when he said that only the productive are strong, and only the strong are free. Coach Leahy of Notre Dame said it another way ; prayers work best when the players are big. We must learn that such order as nature has is dog eat dog. We need might that right may survive. But we must have so sound a sense of values that when the victory is won we will go back to the method of tolerance and compromise. Without right our might is no different from that of the brute.

This view of the mechanics of democracy would not be clear unless it pointed out that there are minor differences of method among the democratic nations. The essential point is not whether the constitution is written or unwritten, whether the laws are declared in the name of a king or a president, or whether elections are held at stated intervals or whenever the executive loses the confidence of the majority of the legislature. The essential test of

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democracy is whether or not the people can and do put out the executive and the lawmakers and put in others more nearly to their liking.

The ideal way of advancement is not to tear up the social tree and replant it, but to stir up the earth around the roots and let in the air and moisture. Admittedly there are times when a social system has become so solidified that gradual change is all but impossible. How then can democracy get its start in a nation which has never known it ? It may make headway secretly among serious thinkers. It may be preached openly in a state still ostensibly autocratic but too decadent and inefficient to enforce restrictive laws. It may even be instituted occasionally by a monarch or dictator with the best interests of his people at heart. The commonest method, however, is by revolution—and seldom a single revolution, for the autocratic elements are usually strong enough to keep the political pendulum swinging for generations. This condition is especially observable in Hispanic America. The winning of democracy takes a long struggle. On the palace of the Viceroy of India there was inscribed this motto : " Liberty will not descended to a people ; a people must raise themselves to liberty ". Democracy cannot succeed until a people agree to it and write its precepts in their hearts, and that takes generations. Heine observed that the Frenchman loved freedom as his mistress, the Englishman as his wife, and the German as his grandmother. It was a more bitterly tragic German than Heine who wrote : " The flag of the democratic Republic was never raised in our hearts."

Democracy is the political expression to the highest degree of human judgment, balance, restraint, and courage. It is not being, but becoming ; it can be lost, but never fully won. It is eternal conflict because each generation will have problems which have never been faced, and which must be met with skill and courage ; everything depends on their solution, for democracy once lost can be regained only with blood and toil. It is no wonder, as Jefferson said, that " timid men prefer the calm of despotism to the boisterous sea of liberty ". " All life is an experiment ", said Justice Holmes. " Every year, if not every day, we have to wager our salvation upon some prophecy based upon imperfect knowledge ". There are no sure guides ; each generation must depend upon itself. Even if democracy disappears, humanity will begin the long struggle back, for the yearning for liberty is fundamental in human nature.

Democracy has certain rules which govern its procedures. In the first place it is a *government by law*, not by the whims of rulers. The basic issue between any two forms of government is over the right to make the law and to control its administration. Only at this point is the form of government important, for if the constitution

and its application do not put these powers into the hands of the people that government is not a democracy. The law is supreme, even over the highest executive power.

In order to protect individual liberty under law the people reserve to themselves certain *civil liberties*[1] : freedom of speech, press, religion, and assembly ; the right to a " day in court " to protect themselves against executive tyranny or misapplication of the laws ; and the right to change their executive or their legislative representatives when new problems or a shifting balance of opinion demands new policies. Civil liberties may change their form (as when a panel of judges replaces a jury) ; but these changes must be made with the full knowledge and consent of the people, and the substance of the guarantees of liberty must not be altered. Without these civil liberties there can be no change willed by the people because without them the people cannot develop or express a desire for change. The right to investigate, decide, and recommend is fundamental, even to a minority so small it can never hope to gain office.

The second rule of democracy is that *both sides must be willing to compromise*. The only thing which we can consider inevitable is a change of circumstances. In order to survive we must be prepared to adapt ourselves to change, and the means we use to become adapted with the least social strain are civil liberties. Therefore no subject of conflict is exempt from compromise *except the exercise of civil liberties*, for it is by breaking down civil liberties that totalitarianism makes its insidious entry. Of course, this is a hard rule to obey, but no people can implement democracy until they are willing to agree to accept it. It means that a sincere effort is made to distinguish between moral principles on the one hand and opinions, prejudices, and self-destructive stubbornness on the other. Enforced religion, prescribed modes of dress, censorship of news, race prejudice, prohibition, all lose or will lose their standing as principles. Thus, with principles reduced to a minimum (and ideally including only the support of civil liberties), the democrat finds that he can agree with his fellows on most issues and that subjects of conflict can usually be compromised.

The method of compromise means that laws and rights are evolutionary, not static. *Democracy is a process, not a set form.* It is in a way continuous revolution. The force now entrenched in the government finds itself confronted by a counterforce which arises from compromise, or perhaps the intrenched force steps down and

1. Technically *civil liberties* are exemptions from arbitrary governmental interference with person, opinion, or property: *civil rights* are those such as the right to be free from slavery, to sue, give evidence, and to hold property; and *political rights* imply participation in the management of the government.

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the counterforce rises to supplant it. But once a force yields on an issue, that issue is ordinarily settled ; the pivot of social balance moves onward. The fact that the names of political parties in a democracy go unchanged, perhaps for generations, is deceptive ; each party may keep a fundamental *attitude* (as liberal or conservative), but its practical program usually accepts accomplished facts and goes on from there.

A third rule of democracy is that it never lays claim to perfection. To do so would make it no better than other political theories which refuse to recognise change because they regard themselves as already perfect. The democrat instinctively distrusts a clear-cut victory for one side, for he insists on the rule of live and let live ; and in order for the defeated party to live, it must maintain a reasonable degree of strength. Many sincere zealots distrust democracy because it does not bring complete political, social, and economic justice immediately, and they jeer about the democrats' promise of " pie in the sky ". The informed democrat need not be alarmed by the zealots' demand for perfection They fail to see that the good law of today is the strait jacket of. tomorrow, simply because times change. Since the basis of democracy is a changing balance of social conflict, an individual or an interest will get what it has inherited or what it earns by its own efforts. It takes no mental giant to find areas of despotism in any exiisting democracy, but there has never been another civilized society where progress advances more smoothly and steadily and where the individual has a greater effect upon its course.

Christian perfectionists are undoubtedly right ; we will never have a perfect society or government until the human heart becomes perfect. Even that would not guarantee an end to struggles over differences of opinion, nor would it guarantee Mother Nature's co-operation in making everything smooth and easy. Democracy is not, never has been, and never will be perfect, but it bears within it the means of approaching perfection. *Freedom is and always has been relative.* Some men have attained some liberty at some times and in some places, and we believe that through the generations more men are attaining more liberty at more times and in more places. For that reason we must judge not by the perfect standard but by whether the means of improvement are present and whether they have been and are being used. The history of democracy is not lily-white ; indeed, it has often been gray—a dirty gray—but by its union of might and right it has steadily advanced the cause of the common man.

MEDICINE AND HYGIENE AS PRACTISED IN ANCIENT CEYLON

By S. PARANAVITANA

THE PRACTICE of medicine and hygiene is a necessity of every civilized community ; and it is reasonable to assume that the people of ancient Ceylon, who had reached a relatively high level of civilization, had a system for these essentials of a cultured life. This assumption is confirmed by numerous references in the chronicles, in Sinhalese literature and in the ancient inscriptions, as well as by archaeological remains. The purpose of this article is to collect the evidence available on the subject ; and though, in the present state of our knowledge, an adequate treatment of it is not possible, such a study may be of use for further research in this field.

The ancient culture of Ceylon, both material and spiritual, was derived from India ; and it may be presumed that from the earliest times, the people of Ceylon, too, practised very much the same system of medicine as was practised in India. So far as the material available for a study of this subject goes, it is apparent that the system followed by the indigenous physicians of Ceylon is the Ayurveda, though as is natural, there were drugs and methods peculiar to the island. It is of course not quite certain whether all the Indian authorities on medicine were known in Ceylon. On the other hand, we also find several works on medicine produced in Ceylon, though these cannot be said to have contributed anything very much for the advancement of the system as a whole.

References to medicine and medical practitioners are found in the earliest historical records of the island. Not only was the *Vaidya* a respected member of the community, but the rulers themselves encouraged the learning of medicine and supported the physicians by royal bounties. Apart from the royal physician attached to the court, the kings also maintained medical practitioners for the benefit of their subjects. This seems to have been done by the old kings of Ceylon, not from a realisation of the fact that the physical well-being of the people is an asset of the State, as is done in modern times, but in order to gain religious merit. Kindness to man and beast alike is one of the cardinal tenets of Buddhism and it is the duty of every sincere follower of the Buddha to relieve the suffering of all living creatures, wherever practicable. Acting on this noble principle, Asoka, the great Buddhist Emperor of India established hospitals for men and beasts not only within his

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own dominions but also in those of neighbouring kings. Ceylon embraced Buddhism due to the missionary activity of Asoka and the early rulers of this island seem to have tried to emulate Asoka, in their own restricted sphere, in providing for the bodily comforts of their subjects.

The *Mahāvaṃsa*, the Pali chronicle of Ceylon, contains numerous references to the founding of hospitals and dispensaries by the kings of ancient Ceylon. Of these the earliest is in the reign of Pandukābhaya (*circa* 4th Century B.C.) the semi-mythical king who, according to tradition, was the founder of Anuradhapura. The chronicle gives us a fairly detailed account of the various buildings which this monarch erected in his capital and the measures adopted by him for the sanitation of the town. In this account, mention is made of a lying-in-home and a hospital.[1] The Pali word translated by " lying-in-home " is however capable of a different interpretation and the commentator himself gives an alternative meaning.

Duṭṭhagāmani (*circa* 101–77 B.C.), the national hero of the Sinhalese, great alike as a warrior and as a patron of Buddhism, on his death-bed recounted his meritorious deeds ; and in the course of this he says : " Constantly in eighteen places have I bestowed on the sick foods for the sick and remedies, as ordered by physicians .[2]" These physicians are said to have been paid from the royal treasury. Moreover, this king, during his reign, is said to have supplied the necessary medicaments to all expectant mothers in his kingdom and rewarded the midwives.

Upatissa II. (*circa* 426–468 A.D.), another king noted for his piety, included the founding of hospitals in his programme of good works. Says the chronicle : " For cripples, women in travail, for the blind and the sick he erected great nursing shelters and almshalls." [3]

The king of Ceylon who is best known for the founding of hospitals is Buddhadāsa (*circa* 398–426) who was himself a physician of great repute. He is said to have been the author of a treatise on medicine ; and a book called the *Sarārthasangraha*, still extant in manuscript, is believed to have been his work. But this, from the language in which it is written, and other internal evidence, does not seem to be a work of the fifth century, the period to which Buddhadasa belonged. The king himself is credited with effecting marvellous cures. The chronicle gives many of these and though they may not be within the bounds of possibility, one of them is narrated here in the words of the chronicle :—

1. *Mahavamsa*, Chap. 10, v. 102.
2. *Mahavamsa*, Chap. 32, v. 38.
3. *Culavamsa*, Chap. 37, v. 182.

" A bhikkhu on his mendicant round in the village of Thusavatthika had been given only dry mendicant's food. When then he went begging for milk he got milk with worms in it which he drank. In his belly the worms multiplied and fed on his bowels. Then he went and told the king. The king asked : ' At what meal did this pain arise and of what kind is it ?' The other answered : ' At the meal that I took with milk in the village of Thusavatthi '. The king recognised that it had been milk with worms in it. Now just at that time a horse had to be cured by bleeding. The king himself bled it, took the blood, gave it to the samana to drink and spake, waiting a moment, ' That was horse's blood '. When the samana heard that he vomited, the worms came up with the blood, the bhikkhu was cured."[4]

Less marvellous, but perhaps more worthy of credence, are two other cures said to have been effected by this physician-king. One of those is his saving : " A Candāla woman, the fruit of whose womb had taken a wrong position, seven times with the child ". The other is the successful treatment of a bhikkhu who was " disturbed in his exercises by a writhing disease and who had become bent like a rooftree."

The legends also tell us of a leper who, in addition to this terrible affliction suffered from the hallucination that the king was his slave. Buddhadāsa first cured this unfortunate man of his insanity by a psychological method of treatment and later is also said to have relieved him of the dread disease of which he was suffering.

We need not take these stories as historical facts. They are nothing but folk-tales ; but the fact that they were attached to the king shows that he must actually have been proficient as a physician. The chronicler has merely related those which were current in his time. Stories about similar impossible operations and cures have been related in the *Vinaya Pitaka* of Jivaka, a famous physician who flourished in the time of the Buddha ; and very often one hears stories of the same sort about ayurvedic practitioners of recent times.

The king is said to have carried his surgical knife in a pocket specially made inside his mantle, wherever he went. It is no wonder that such a king, who took more pride in his skill in medicine and surgery than in the results of his statecraft, did all in his power to establish hospitals and to make medical relief within the reach of the meanest of his subjects He appointed a physician to be in charge of every ten villages and for the maintenance of these physicians, one-tenth of the produce of the fields was set apart He also

4. *Culavamsa*, Chap. 37, vv. 124–130.

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had refuges for the sick set up in every village. Physicians were also appointed for elephants, horses and soldiers. Special asylums were established for cripples and for the blind.[5]

King Dappula II[6] built hospitals at Polonnaruwa and Padavi and endowed them with villages. He also built asylums for the cripples and the blind in various places.[7] Kassapa IV. (*circa* 896–913) is said to have established, both at Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa, hospitals for epidemic diseases, and free dispensaries in various parts of the city.[8]

Kassapa V. (*circa* 913–923) is also said in the chronicle to have founded a hospital at Anurādhapura ;[9] and this statement is confirmed, as will be seen later, by contemporary stone inscriptions. Mahinda IV. (*circa* 956–972) is stated to have distributed medicine and beds in all the hospitals in the island ; and this king's son built a hospital for the laity in the town.[10]

Parākramabāhu I. (1153–1186), the greatest of Sinhalese kings, amidst his wars of conquest and various building activities did not neglect providing for the health of the people. We have in the chronicle a very vivid description of the hospital he established at Polonnaruwa and how the patients were treated therein. " The rulers of men, filled with piety, had another great hall built for many hundreds of sick people, fitted for their sojourn there, and had placed in it, in the way above described, a complete collection of all articles of use. There also he gave to each sick person a special slave and a female slave to prepare day and night, according to need, medicines and food, solid and liquid. There too he had many provender houses built in which a quantity of medicine, money and money's worth and the like were collected. To discerning and skilful physicians who were quick at distinguishing various (bodily) conditions and were versed in all the text books, he gave maintenance according to their deserts, recognising the merits in all of them and made them day and night practise the medical art in the best manner. He himself on the four *Upōsatha* days in the month, having laid aside all his ornaments and having taken upon himself the vow of the sacred day, pure with pure upper garment, surrounded by his dignitaries, was wont to visit the hall, his heart cooled with pity. With an eye that charmed by goodness he gazed at the sick. And as the ruler of men was himself versed in the Ayurveda, he the all-wise summoned the physicians appointed

5. *Culavamsa*, Chap. 37.
6. According to Geiger, Udaya I., *circa* 792–797.
7. *Culavamsa*, Chap. 49, vv. 18–19.
8. *Culavamsa*, Chap. v. 25.
9. *Chulavamsa*, Chap. 52, v. 57.
10. *Culavamsa*, Chap. vv. 31 & 33.

there, tested in every way their healing activities, and if their medical treatment had been wrongly carried out he met them with the right method, pointed it out to them as the best of teachers and showed them the proper use of the instruments by skilfully treating several people with his own hand. Then he tested the favourable or unfavourable condition of all the sick, let those who were rid of their illness have garments given to them and then rejoicing in good, after he had taken his share of the merit from the hands of the physicians and given them their reward, he returned to his place. By such means year by year he being (himself) free from disease, freed the sick from their illnesses."[11]

In this account, one may not accept as absolutely accurate the statement that Parākramabāhu was himself so proficient in medicine and surgery as to be able to teach professional physicians their business. The author of this part of this chronicle has portrayed Prakramabhu as the ideal king and he may not have been so clever as he is depicted to be. Nevertheless, the fact that hospitals were founded in his reign is confirmed by contemporary inscriptions and the description itself is of interest to show what an ideal hospital was taken to be in Ceylon in the twelfth or the thirteenth century.

Among the chief dignitaries of the State, in the administrative system of Parākramabāhu, was an officer called the " Mahavedana " (the Chief Physician). Inscriptions of the period show that there was another officer called the " Suluvedana " (the Deputy Chief Physician).

We have seen above that in the reign of Parākramabāhu, the patients in the Royal hospital were provided with male as well as female attendants. Nurses accompanied the expeditionary force sent by that king from Ceylon to Burma. The medical provisions included in the preparations for the campaign are also interesting. They are described as " different kinds of medicine, preserved in cow horns, for the healing of venomous wounds caused by poisoned arrows, as well as all kinds of remedies for curing the poison of infected water in the many swampy stretches of the country ; also iron pincers for extracting arrow-heads which are difficult to move when they have pierced deeply and the shaft has broken, lastly also skilful physicians and serving women."[12]

Such are the references we find in the chronicles to hospitals and dispensaries and to the practice of medicine in general in old Ceylon. These references are confirmed by the contemporary stone inscriptions of the island. In some of the earliest records of Ceylon, dating

11. *Culavamsa*, Chap. 73, vv. 34–48.
12. *Culavamsa*, Chap. 76, vv. 48–52.

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from about the second century before Christ, mention is made of several individuals who had the title *vejha* (Skt. *vaidya*) " physician ". Inscriptions of the early Christian centuries sometimes contain references to the grant, by the pious, of medical requisites to the Buddhist monks. But it is in the inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries that we have detailed reference to hospitals and dispensaries. A pillar inscription of the reign of Kassapa IV[13], found at a place called Kiribat-Vehera, near Anurādhapura, records immunities granted to a land belonging to the dispensary attached to the Thupārāma monastery. Among the privileges granted to this was the right of sanctuary. A criminal entering the lands belonging to the dispensary could not be arrested by the royal officers without the permission of the officials of the dispensary. Another inscription dating from the same reign mentions the foundation of a lying-in-home by a Chief Secretary named Senal Nakan. The founder of this institution as well as the king himself granted some villages in the Northern Province for its maintenance ; and the villages thus granted were made immune from the ordinary dues to the Government.[14] Yet another inscription which can be ascribed to about the same reign mentions some free-hold lands which were held on the conditions of paying annually, as quit-rent, a certain quantity of dried ginger to a hospital founded by a person named Doti Valakna. In default of the ginger, the land-holder was expected to pay a specified amount of gold to the hospital. The last two records also show us that hospitals were founded in ancient Ceylon not only by kings but also by private individuals.

A pillar inscription of Kassapa V. (*circa* 980–990) at Mädirigiriya in the Tamankaduwa District mentions a hospital which was attached to the monastery at that place. This record mentions the officials of the hospital and also gives the interesting information that dead fowls and goats should be supplied to the monastic hospital by the tenants of the lands belonging to the monastery.[15] This shows that the meat formed part of the diet of the patients in the hospital; but it being, according to the tenents of Buddhism, a sin to deprive any creature of its life intentionally, animals accidentally killed were supplied to the hospital for the needs of the inmates. At the same place is found a long slab of inscription which contained a royal edict about the administration of the hospital. But unfortunately this record is much mutilated and a good deal of information about our subject is thus lost. Here and there in this record we read of " State Physicians ", " employees of the hospital ", " lands belonging to the hospital " and " serfs attached to the hospital."

13. See *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. I., pp. 153–161.
14. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. III., pp. 276–277.
15. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II., pp. 32–33.

A short inscription engraved on a guardstone in a ruin below the hill at Mihintalē registers the gift of certain fields to a hospital. This inscription refers to the building in which it was found and thus we are enabled to identify the remains as those of a hospital. We shall deal with this building and other actual remains of hospitals later.

A slab inscription of Kassapa V. found in the Abhayagiri Vihāra at Anurādhapura, in giving an account of the king's good deeds, mentions that he established royal hospitals near the Southern Gate of the auspicious high street in the inner city (of Anuradhapura) and allayed the fear of disease.[16] The locality would be a short distance to the north of the modern hospital at Anuradhapura. Another inscription, found at the same place and ascribed to the reign of Mahinda IV. mentions the building of hospitals by the king.[17] The long slab inscription at Mihintale, ascribed to the last named monarch, which gives a detailed account of the administration of the great monastic establishment at that place, mentions physicians who were in the service of that monastery ; and lays down the manner in which they were to be recompensed for their services.[18] This record also particularly mentions a physician whose speciality was the application of leeches, a method of treatment still adhered to by Ayurvedic physicians to get rid of impure blood. The document also tells us that the inmates of the monastery were given special diet on the recommendation of the physicians.

Lastly, we have to notice a slab inscription of the reign of Parākramabāhu I. found near the Malvatu-Oya at Anurādhapura, which registers a grant of fields to a hospital established in Anurādhapura by an officer called Sulu Vedana, " the Deputy Chief Physician."

The remains of the monastic hospital at Mihintalē, which has been identified with the help of the inscription referred to above, consist of a quadrangular courtyard in the centre of which was a small shrine and round which were arranged rows of cells on all the four sides. Mr. Bell describes this ruin as follows :—" The site (which faced south) was laid out most symmetrically as an oblong, measuring laterally 118 ft. 6 in. from west to east by 97 ft. 6 in. in depth north and south. This permitted of the quadrated sides on east, west and north being divided up by cross brick walls into a range of seven cells on either hand—the two end rooms double the length of any of the mediate five—and nine cells at the back. To

16. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. I., p. 51.
17. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. I., 0p. 228.
18. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. I., p. 91 ff.

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the front the entrace passage occupied the central position, limiting the number of rooms to four on each side of it. The rooms all faced inwards towards the central shrine. Each chamber was ten feet square ; a narrow verandah ran all round their inner face."

" In the north-east chamber of the quadrangle is to be seen a stone receptacle shaped like a sarcophagus. It is formed of a monolith and measures exteriorly 7 ft. by 2 ft. 6 in. across and 2 ft. deep. Into the top of the stone slab was cut a coffin-shaped hollow rounded to fit head and body, tapering, except for a slight kink half way, from 1 ft. 7 in. at the shoulders to 1 ft. at the feet, and at bottom sloping feetwards with a scooped depression for the buttocks."[19]

A similar stone trough is to be seen near the Thuparama, inside a building which in plan resembles the hospital at Mihintale. A third has been found at Mādirigiriya where, as we learn from the inscription above mentioned, there was a hospital in the tenth century.

These sarcophagus-like troughs of stone are popularly called " medicine-boats ". From references in the *Vinaya Pitaka* and other Buddhist writings, we learn that in the case of certain diseases like rheumatism, these troughs were filled with medicinal water and the patient was made to lie down therein. A trough of this type seems to have been an essential thing in a hospital in ancient Ceylon ; in some places they might have been made of less durable material than stone. We can be quite certain that the buildings in which these troughs are now found *in situ* were originally hospitals.

We have no detailed information as to the methods adopted in the treatment of patients in the old hospitals of Ceylon. But we may reasonably assume that they conformed in general to the principles of the Ayurvedic system. Both male and female attendants seem to have been granted lands to be held on the condition of attending to the patients undergoing treatment at these hospitals. In the hospitals attached to the monasteries, the treatment of patients may have followed the rules laid down in the *Vinaya Pitaka*, regarding the medicaments for bhikkhus. A long section of the *Vinaya Pitaka* deals with medicines and in it mention is made of various kinds of herbs and drugs.[20] The monks themselves perhaps performed the duties of attendants ; for, in the *Vinaya Pitaka*, the Buddha has exhorted the monks to attend on the sick, proclaiming that any one who would attend on him should attend on the sick. He also gives five essential qualities that one attending on the sick

19. *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon* for 1910–11, pp. 19–20.

20. *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XVII., pp. 41–145.

should possess. They are :—(1) He should be able to prescribe ; (2) he should know what is good and what is not good for the patients ; (3) he should wait upon the sick out of love and not out of greed ; (4) he should not revolt from removing evacutions, saliva or vomit ; (5) he should from time to time administer religious consolation to the patient.[21]

Personal hygiene in ancient India and Ceylon was as much a matter of medical science as it was of religion. Detailed regulations regarding personal hygiene given in the treatises on Ayurveda very much resemble the rules laid down for the same purpose in the books on domestic ritual and sacred law, the Grhyasutras and the Institutes of Mānu. Definite instructions are laid down for personal cleanliness, such as the cleaning of the teeth, the use of bath-rooms and lavatories, etc. Similarly, in the *Vinaya Pitaka*, there are numerous rules, sometimes going into meticulous details, about these matters ; and the infringement of any of these formed a minor offence against discipline which had to be expiated by suitable penances. It is not necessary to go into details about these regulations here as any one interested in them can study the original authorities which are now available in English.

Whether all these salutary rules and regulations were observed by everybody in ancient Ceylon, we cannot say. But a study of the remains of the great monastic establishments at Anurādhapura and other ancient sites of Ceylon shows that the monks at least were careful in their observance. In the layout of the monasteries, much attention was paid to the necessary sanitary arrangements. We have remains of privies, urinals and bath-rooms amidst the ruins of these monastic buildings, which show that the Vinaya rules regarding sanitary conditions were not neglected by the inmates of the old monasteries of Ceylon. Many examples of these privies can be seen among the Western Monasteries—now miscalled palaces—at Anurādhapura. The elaboration displayed in the arrangement of these necessary conveniences (*kesakutiyas*, as they are called) is really striking. The following description, by Mr. Bell, of one of the most elaborate structures of this class from the Abhayagiriya area, will give an idea of what they are like :—

" The whole *kesakutiya* structure covers superficially 14 ft. 8 in. by 6 ft. Of this length 6 ft. is given to the *âcamanakutiya* or ablutionary portion, which is separated from the urinal end (5 ft. 8 in. four square) by a 2 ft. crossway for entrance and exit ; inner framing marks the paved space where the washing-chatty (*âcamana-kumghi*) was placed ; from this a small outlet hole discharged the water used. Similarly the stone floor of the urinal

21. *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XVII., pp. 240–243.

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was centred by a single slab (about 3 feet square), framed and carved into the low-relief semblance of a two-storied palace. The ' mamoty-shaped ' hollow for evacuation is made to represent a window in the wall of the middle bay of the pseudo-shrine. Above the roof spreads a *makaratorana* formed by a pair of these mythical saurians, back to back, curling outwards from addorsed *makara*-heads ; each beast is best ridden by a gesticulating dwarf, and from its jaws issues a horned lion holding a tasselled loop.

" As headstone to the urinal was set up a vertical slab (5 ft. 8 in. by 1 ft. 8 in.) carved front and back along its top as duplicated makara-and-helix scroll balustrades in one ; inside, the *makara's* feet rest on pilasters, but on the external face these are masked by a *tun-mahal-prâsâda* (three storied palace), miniature in basso-relievo."[22]

On both sides of the hole of the urinal stones are to be found two raised areas carved into the shape of human feet on which the user of the lavatory squatted down in easing himself. Directly below the narrow passage and buried in the ground is a large pot, or a series of pots one above the other. In the latter case, the pot below is of a larger size than the one above it and at the bottom of each pot is a hole. What further contrivances there were for the cleaning and drainage of these lavatories, have not been investigated.

Near the western porch of the Quadrangle (Daladā Māligāva) at Polonnaruwa are the remains of a lavatory in which are to be seen a urinal stone plainly carved, with a square depression and a passage for water, and a stone seat, with four short legs and a square hole in the centre, which must have been used as a commode. A bucket must have been placed below this commode and the night soil removed by sweepers.

We also find remains of bath-rooms among the ruins at Anurādhapura and Polonnaruwa. These were, in most cases, paved with stone slabs and in them we find well-carved basins of stone for washing purposes.

Drainage, too, has been carefully planned by the ancient Sinhalese builders. At the Daladāmaligāva of Anuradhapura, which has recently been excavated, a well-built stone drain running along the southern and eastern sides of the raised quadrangle on which this shrine was built, has been traced to a distance of over 400 ft. The bottom of this drain is paved with well-cut slabs of stone and the sides built with roughly dressed blocks of granite joined together with a hard lime mortar. The breadth of the drain is about 2 ft. ;

22. *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon* for 1911–12, p. 37.

and its depth also is the same. Near the same building we find a passage through the wall to drain out the water from inside a hall. The water was collected in a shallow enclosure of which the ground is paved with stone slabs and with side walls of stone. This enclosure seems to have had a wooden covering, for on the side walls are cuts into which the planks were fitted. The water collected in this shallow pit must have been removed periodically by labourers, for it has no outlet passage.

At the building called the Baddhasimā-pāsāda in Polonnaruwa, the drainage water was taken through stone gutters to three well-like structures, two of them round, the other square, built of brick and mortar and covered with lime plaster, abutting the retaining wall of the raised quadrangle, at the back of the building. These structures are now partly ruined ; but there is no indication that there was ingress to them through the side walls. Whether there was a further passage taking the drainage water from these wells, has not been investigated.

There were also underground drainage passages built of terra-cotta pipes fitted one to the other. Remains of such a drain have been unearthed in the excavations near the royal palace at Anuradhapura and those of another near the Rankot Vehera at Polonnaruwa. Vertical drain pipes of terra-cotta, built into the brick-work of walls, for draining water from the upper stories of shrines and palaces, have also been noticed.

Care was also paid by the ancient Sinhalese to have a supply of good drinking water. Numerous old wells have been found at the ruined cities of Ceylon. These have their sides built either of brick, rubble or well-dressed slabs of granite. A well recently excavated near the royal palace has been bored through the live rock to a depth of about 36 ft., the lower portions of its sides are built of stone and the upper parts of brick. Series of stone steps and passages lead right down to the bottom of the well and it seems to have been roofed over. Remains of numerous stone baths can also be seen at Anurādhapura, Polonnaruwa, and other ancient sites of Ceylon. Apart from the artistic interest attached to these baths, they are also noteworthy for the arrangements made to have a clean supply of water which was brought to them, from the neighbouring tanks and channels, by means of underground pipes of stone or terra-cotta. They were also provided with outlets, built of stone, to empty them when it was necessary.

Measures necessary for the public health of the country were also not neglected in old times. As early as the reign of Pandukābhaya (*circa* 4th Century B.C.), the chronicles say that the king appointed five hundred Candalas to the work of cleaning the streets of the

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town, two hundred Candalas to the work of cleaning the sewers, one hundred and fifty Candalas to carry corpses and as many Candalas to be watchers in the cemetery. These Candalas were made to live in a separate part of the city. The sanitation of the town and matters involving public safety were entrusted to an officer called the *Nagaraguttika* who, in this reign, was the king's uncle.[23] The existence of this office is also attested by pre-Christian inscriptions. The number of Candalas given in the chronicle as appointed for the various sanitary services may possibly be an exaggeration ; but the mere mention of these in the chronicles is evidence for the fact that such services were considered essential.

An officer corresponding to the *Nagaraguttika* of the Ceylon chronicles is mentioned in the *Arthaśâstra* of Kauṭilya, a Sanskrit work on the art of government believed to have been written by the minister of Candragupta, a younger contemporary of Alexander the Great. It was the duty of this officer to enforce certain rules and regulations concerning the health and safety of the inhabitants of the king's capital. Among these, the following deal with sanitary and hygienic measures :—

> " *Whoever throws dirt in the street shall be punished with a fine of one-eighth of a pana ; whosoever causes mire or water to collect in the street shall be fined one-fourth of a pana ; whoever commits the above offences in the king's road shall be punished with double the above fines.*
>
> " *Whoever excretes faeces in places of pilgrimage, reservoirs of water, temples, and royal buildings shall be punished with fines rising from one pana and upwards in the order of the offences ; but when such excretions are due to the use of medicine or to disease, no punishment shall be imposed.*
>
> " *Whoever throws inside the city the carcass of animals, such as a cat, dog, mongoose, and a snake, shall be fined three panas ; of animals such as an ass, a camel, a mule, and cattle shall be fined six panas ; and human corpse shall be punished with a fine of fifty panas.*
>
> " *When a dead body is taken out of a city through a gate other than the usual or prescribed one or through a path other than the prescribed path, the first amercement shall be imposed ; and those who guard the gates (through which the dead body is taken out) shall be fined two hundred panas.*
>
> " *When a dead body is interred or cremated beyond the burial or cremation grounds, a fine of twelve panas shall be imposed.*"[24]

23. *Mahavamsa*, Chap. 10, vv. 80–82.

24. *Arthasastra, Dr. Shamasastry's Translation*, Second Edition, pp. 177–178.

The Sanskrit text from which the above regulations are quoted, was not only known in ancient Ceylon, but kings guided their policy according to its precepts. A study of this work is said, in the chronicles, to have formed a part of the education of the young Prince Parākramabāhu, who later was distinguished as a great administrator as well as a warrior and builder.[25]

These extracts show that in ancient India as well as in Ceylon, the government considered as one of its duties, the enforcement of sanitary rules for the good of the community as a whole.

(*Re-published from the Ceylon Medical Students' Magazine, 1952, by courtesy of the Editor.*)

25. *Culavamsa*, Chap. 64, v. 3.

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JEWS IN MEDIEVAL CEYLON

By H. G. REISSNER

I—The "Jewish Merchants called Radanites"

IBN KHORDADHBEH, provincial postmaster and later director of posts and police in the Eastern Caliphate during the second half of the ninth century C.E., devotes a passage of his " Book of the Roads and the Kingdoms " to the various " routes of the Jewish Merchants called Radanites ".[1] Two of them, both originating " from the land of the Franks " converge on " Sind, India and China ", one *via* the Red Sea, the other *via* Antioch, Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf. Neither route specifically mentions Ceylon ; but in the minds of medieval merchants and writers " *Ceylon* . . . the last of the islands . . . is part of India."[2]

Ibn Khordadhbeh's passage entails a number of problems—linguistic, economic, geographical and historical—whose solution may be beyond the scope of a monograph dealing with a particular area only. G. F. Hourani's *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times*, Princeton, 1951 (p. 78), for instance, accepts Ibn Khordadhbeh's statement relative to the Radanites without questioning the probability or possibility of such far flung voyages. The question as such was broadly analysed, but, in the present writer's opinion, not solved in L. Rabinowitz's recent study *Jewish Merchant Adventurers*, London, 1948. Rabinowitz's contention is that a kind of " ferry " from the land of the Franks to China and back existed in the ninth century and that individual Jewish merchants could and did travel the whole length from the extreme West to the extreme East. There were indeed Jewish communities along the various routes traced by Ibn Khordadhbeh. There is likewise evidence for connections and individual voyages between various stages, such as between France and the eastern Mediterranean littoral, or between the Persian Gulf area and China. But there is no record of a European-Jewish medieval Marco Polo to have assembled first-hand intelligence of his co-religionists in China. The actual achievements were remarkable enough : European merchandise was ultimately exchanged against Indian, Ceylonese and Chinese, and information passed along the line in those days ; however it was all done in stages. The established centers of trade in the Nile Delta, Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia received goods from the West and resold them to the East, and *vice versa*. At a time when political and religious antagonism was prevalent and linguistic barriers formidable, Jewish merchants in the Near East were quick to capitalize on the links they had or could strengthen with both the Far East and the Occident. The Near East was then the intellectual fountain head to which the Jews from peripheric countries would turn for advice. Religion rules supreme in daily life and law. So, conditions were on hand conducive to material and spiritual exchange on a broad inter-territorial scale, between Christian Europe and the Islamic Near East on one side, and between the Near East and Hindu India, Buddhist Ceylon, Confucianist and Taoist China on the other. Jews were an early, but not the only link in that chain. Their commercial status was eventually routed by the political ascendancy of other powers.

1. De Goeje's edition in *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, vol. VI, p. 114. See also the shorter passage quoted from *Ibn al Fakih* (beginning of the 10th c.), l. c. vol. V, p. 270.

2. " *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde* " (9th c.), ed. Jean Sauvaget, Paris, 1948, p. 22. "An island in Further India" is the 6th century geographical definition of Ceylon in " *The Christian Topography of Cosmas* ", trsl. J. W. McCrindle, London, 1897, p. 118.

The testimony that has come down relative to Jews in medieval Ceylon fits into the general picture drawn above. It is to such evidence that we turn attention now.

II—Documents Relative to Jews in Ceylon

The presence of Jews in medieval Ceylon is attested to in equal proportion by two Muslim and two Jewish sources,[3] one each

3. (a) *Abu Zeid al Hasan of Siraf*, 911 C. E.: "In this island there is a great multitude of Jews, as well as of many other sects . . . the king permitting the free exercise of every religion"—cf. E. Renaudot, " *Ancient Accounts of India and China* ", London, 1733, p. 84.

(b) *Edrisi*, 1154 C. E.: "The king of this island makes his residence at Aghna where there is a castle which is the seat of the government . . . He has 16 vizirs, 4 of his nation, 5 Christians, 4 Muslims and 4 Jews. He has assigned to them a place where the persons who constitute these nations gather and where their judicial acts and their history are being recorded. Before the learned men of all these religions (I talk of the Indians, the Greeks, the Muslim and the Jews) assemble various individuals and a great number of people (of different races) who learn in good time to write down the acts of their prophets and the history of their ancient kings and who are anxious to acquaint themselves with the science of the laws and, in general, with matters they are ignorant of" —cf. A. Jaubert, " *La Geographie d'Edrisi* ", Paris, 1836, vol. I, p. 72.

(c) *Benjamin of Tudela*, c. 1170 C. E. : "The inhabitants are ... and 3,000 (other editions, such as Asher, London, 1840, vol. I, p. 141, print: 23,000) Jews live among them"—cf. M. N. Adler, *Jewish Quarterly Review, O. S.*, vol. XVIII. A description of native worship and, in particular, the practice of self-immolation follows thereafter.

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having actually visited Ceylon, the two others relating intelligence available in the Near East. Of the two actual visitors, the Muslim hailed from Siraf in the Persian Gulf and travelled as far east as China. The Jew lived on the Malabar Coast of India and traded with Egypt *via* Aden. Neither had direct relations with Europe. Conversely, the latter two authorities were European, one a Muslim domiciled in Sicily, the other a Jew, a native of Spain. In chronological order the two visitors constitute the earliest and latest sources respectively, with the two others sandwiched in between. The total available evidence covers three centuries from the early tenth to the early thirteenth.

III—Origin and Links of the Jews of Ceylon

The Jewish merchant-visitor came to Ceylon from the Malabar Coast of India. Scant though such evidence is, the present writer is led to believe that, as a community, the Jews of Ceylon were a layer of the Malabar Jews. The time for which the former's presence is documented coincides with the second half of the period of Malabari political control over parts of Ceylon (5th to 13th centuries C.E.). The Jewish group on the Malabar Coast had been firmly established for several hundred years before.[4] Its expansionist vigour, reaching out at various times as far north as the Konkan Coast of India, and east as far as China, is a matter of record.

As a working hypothesis, this need not preclude the possibility that there were occasional movements of individual Jews to Ceylon from places other than Malabar or *vice versa*. Business connections

(d) *Fragment of a letter in Judaeo—Arabic*, determined from the character of the paper and the script, to belong to the late 12th or early 13th centuries, found in the Cairo Genizah. It is addressed to a business correspondent in Cairo by a Jew who speaks of himself in the 3rd person: "He makes journeys from Malabar to Ceylon. But his goods are the whole year in Aden"—cf. E. N. Adler, "*Jewish Travellers*", London, 1930, pp. 100—2. Reports and quotations on sundry goods make up the rest of the letter.

The present writer is aware of the assumption of some authorities that Jacob ibn Tarik, a Jew carried astronomical works from Ceylon to Baghdad about the year 820, but prefers to side with M. Steinschneider, *Jewish Quarterly Review, O. S.*, vol. XIII, p. 108, who assumes rather that ibn Tarik is the translator of these works into Arabic. The name and identity of the carrier remain unknown.

4. Irrespective of the debatable date of the Deed engraved on copper plates and now in the possssion of the Paradesi Synagogue at Cochin, there is an even earlier literary testimony to their presence, viz. St. Jerome's letter to Dardanus cf. *Patrologia Latina*, Paris, 1859, vol. XXII, p. 1104. As far as this writer is aware, the document has never been quoted as confirming the existence of Jewish communities in India as early as the second half of the 4th century C. E.

to Aden and Egypt are indicated in the commercial letter in Judaeo Arabic. Links with the Persian Gulf area must be assumed as underlying the writings of Abu Zeid and Benjamin of Tudela. Connections with China are likely to have existed at one time or another, since, side by side with Muslim and Parsi, there were Jewish trading colonies in Canton, Ningpo and Hangchow. At least one Jewish individual, Isaac, a native of Oman outside the Persian Gulf, had done the voyage to China repeatedly during the 10th century C.E.[5] The Memorial Stone at Kaifungfu in the Yellow River Valley dated 1488 C.E. states that "70 clans" then traced their origin back to a Jewish immigration from India during the reign of the Sung dynasty (960–1126 C.E.). Immigration from "India" may have comprised arrivals from Ceylon; but the Chinese document in stone does not permit of a conclusive affirmation.

Nowhere is there the slightest suggestion of direct connections between the medieval Jews of Ceylon and their contemporary European co-religionists.

IV—Number and Location of the Jews in Ceylon

Abu Zeid speaks of "a great multitude of Jews as well as of many other sects". The Jews alone do not necessarily constitute a "great multitude". It was the accumulation of foreigners that struck Abu Zeid. Benjamin of Tudela, about two and a half centuries later, relates a definite figure that had been communicated to him probably in the Persian Gulf area. The various manuscripts differ between 3,000 and 23,000 heads. The present writer believes that even the lower of the two figures is widely off the mark. For the parent-settlement on the Malabar Coast, Benjamin of Tudela indicates a composite figure of 1,100 male above the age of 13 which is entirely creditable.[6] It would thus appear more reasonable to suggest that the medieval community of Jews in Ceylon had never exceeded a few hundred at the most.

As to their location, the source material (Edrisi) permits to state with assurance only that they had their corporate center at Aghna

5. E. N. Adler in *Memorial Volume to H. P. Chajes*, Vienna, 1933, pp. 1—5, and "*The Marvels of India*", English transl. from the French transl. of L. Marcel Devic, London, 1928, pp. 92—5.

6. See H. G. Reissner, "Indian—Jewish Statistics", in *Jewish Social Studies*, New York, 1950, vol. XII, p. 350.

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which place Sir J. E. Tennent,[7] identifies with Anuradhapura, the historical capital of Ceylon.

V—The Corporate Status of the Jews of Ceylon

Rules of tolerance had a venerable record in medieval Ceylon going back as they did ultimately to the 12th Tablet of Emperor Asoka's Edicts : " A man must honour his own faith without blaming that of his neighbour . . . . Concord alone is to be desired ". Abu Zeid has testified to the free exercise of every religion permitted by the King of Ceylon of which Jews together with many other sects were beneficiaries.[8] Edrisi described in great detail the semi-autonomous status of the foreign traders' communities in Ceylon. The interest on the part of foreign traders in freedom of worship and a degree of at least internal jurisdiction according to their own notions is intrisic. The Muslim community at Canton in China had attained both goals as testified by Suleiman, the Merchant in 851 C.E.[9] However, the status as Edrisi describes it as applicable to Ceylon went one step further. Not only did the various foreign sects have internal jurisdiction severally ; there was also a Council of 16 vizirs, 4 each chosen from the local population as well as Christians, Muslims and Jews. In other words, native and foreign representatives were blended into one consultative agency. The medieval set-up in Ceylon, thus, compares favourably with the later Charter granted by the East India Company, London, on Dec. 30, 1687, to a corporate body to be called " Mayor, Alderman and Burgesses of the Town of Fort St. George and City of Madrassapatam ". The Madras Charter, drawn up though without reference to precedents, aimed at a

7. "*Ceylon*", London, 1859, vol. I. p. 598, n. 2. Nafis Ahmad, "*The Arabs' Knowledge of Ceylon*", *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, vol. XIX, p. 235, July 1945, says, somewhat more cautiously: "The place may be identifiable with Anarajapura". Since all Arab activity focussed on the west and north-west of Ceylon, the "capital" referred to must be looked for in that same area. In Edrisi's days though, Anuradhapura had already been abandoned, and Polonnaruwa, to the east, came to the fore. It is regrettable that Edrisi did not identify the "king" he had in mind either. Ruins of a "Council Hall" with inscriptions naming its members are seen at Polonnaruwa. Independent reference to this Council, as it functioned in the days of king Parakrama Bahu I (1153—1186), crowned at Anuradhapura and rebuilder of Polonnaruwa, is contained in the 14th century *Nikaya Sangrahawa*. However, Edrisi's review generally reflects much earlier source material, including Ibn Khordahbeh, Abu Zeid, Mas'oudi and others. The present writer is, therefore, inclined, pending further investigation, to accept the equation Aghna—Anuradhapura.

8. The earliest of whom there is documentary evidence, incidentally, were Persian Christians in Ceylon about the middle of the 6th century—see "*The Christian Topography of Cosmas*", trsl. J. W. McCrindle, London, 1897, p. 365.

9. "*Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde*", p. 7.

" proper representation " of the " several foreign casts ".[10] Edrisi's King of Ceylon, however, constituted natives and foreigners into one corporate body. In that the latter had a three-quarter majority over the former, the Ceylonese Council fell short of modern democratic concepts ; but the very fact that individually a native vizir was the equal of a foreign one must have attracted the attention of the Sicilian Muslim. Obviously with this in view, Edrisi stressed that the King of Ceylon is a " friend of justice who rules with vigour, vigilant, having the interests of his subjects much at heart and protecting them with great care". The emphasis was perhaps meant also for the benefit of Roger, the Norman, Christian, King of Sicily, at whose desire Edrisi compiled his Geography (About possible economic functions of the Council see the following chapter)

Apart from dealing on a national level, the vizirs of the various sects were to " record their judicial acts and their history ". In line with the universal medieval conception, where all law was ultimately derived from Divine revelation, this assignment must have covered the whole range of civilian commitments from marriage contracts to commercial obligations. Extending Benjamin of Tudela's statement relative to the Jews of Malabar proper,[11] it may be assumed that the daily life of the Jews of Ceylon was governed by Mosaic Law as interpreted in accordance with the rules of the Babylonian Talmud.

Edrisi appears to differentiate between the " vizirs " and the " learned men of all these religions ", the latter being described as teachers of " the acts of their prophets and the history of their ancient kings ". The audiences are composed of individuals " who are anxious to acquaint themselves with the science of the laws and, in general, with matters they are ignorant of ". It seems further that the lectures were open not only to co-religionists but to people " of different races."

As to the identity of the " learned men " of the Jewish faith it must be borne in mind that the institution of professional and paid rabbis and teachers emerged in modern times only. To learn and to teach was previously considered a meritorious act in itself. While rabbis and ministers were formally consecrated, they continued thereafter to earn their livelihood as craftsmen, traders or doctors as the case might have been.

The " Prince of the Captivity " in Baghdad was the ultimate though not always undisputed, authority which, in the days of the

10. H. P. Love, "*Vestiges of Old Madras*", vol. I, pp. 503 and 559f.

11. ed. Asher, vol. I, p. 141.

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Jews of Ceylon, extended "as far as the . . . cities . . . of India".[12] Re-granted permission to the various Jewish communities to elect rabbis and ministers" all of whom appear before him in order to receive consecration and the permission to officiate, upon which occasion presents and valuable gifts are offered to him even from the remotest countries" (which remoteness, incidentally, must be interpreted generally in an easterly direction). Thus the learned men amongst the Jews of Ceylon were at least once in their lifetime under an obligation to travel up to Baghdad ; but in doing so the chances of their meeting European co-religionists were remote, since the administrative authority of Baghdad did not include Mediterranean and European countries.

VI—Livelihood and Liquidation of Ceylonese Jewry

Jews, in line with other merchants, Chinese, Indian, Persian and Arab, were attracted to medieval Ceylon by its natual riches and its geographical position. The exportable wealth of the island consisted mainly of precious stones, pearls and shells which were in high demand in the West provided they could be delivered.

Hundred years before Marco Polo, Benjamin of Tudela[13] had recorded the connection of Jewish merchants with the pearl fishery of another area, that of El-Cathif on the Arabian shore of the Persian Gulf. The local organization of the fishery of pearls in the straits between Southern India and Ceylon has been described by Marco Polo.[14] According to him, "a number of merchants form themselves into separate companies, and employ many vessels and boats . . . They carry with them persons who are skilled in the art of diving . . . The fishery commences in the month of April and lasts till the middle of May. The privilege of engaging in it is farmed of the king to whom a tenth part only of the produce is allowed . . . By the time the period above-mentioned is completed . . . the vessels are then taken to another place full three hundred miles from this gulf where they establish themselves in the month of September, and continue till the middle of October" Marco's note is important because the formation of merchants' companies, the investment of capital in vessels and tools and the utilization of two seasons each year presupposes permanency of residence, not just occasional calls from abroad. Unfortunately, the alternative place is not clearly defined. However, the material interest of the king in the merchants' activities is significant. To

12. loc. c., vol. I, pp. 102/3.—While the authority of the Davidic "Princes of the Captivity" was backed up by the Abbasid government, it was challenged, with varying degrees of success, by the Geonim, the heads of Babylonian Talmudic acadamies—see David Solomon Sassoon, "*A History of Jews in Bagdad*", Letchworth, 1949, pp. 16—91 (passim).
13. loc. c., vol. I, pp. 137/8.
14. "*Travels*", Book III, ch. XX.

establish and interpret trade rules was perhaps an item on the agenda of the king's Council.

The interest of the king in the mining of precious stones is attested to by the 14th century visitor Ibn-Battuta who noted that "all rubies of a value of a hundred fanams belong to the Sultan (Rajah), who pays their price and takes them ; those of lesser value belong to finders".[15] Burzug ibn Sharyar, recording the state of affairs of the 10th century, mentions personal inspections by the Ceylonese kings at seashore warehouses erected as meeting-places for buyers and sellers, the temporary deposit of goods, and probably also for the collection of custom-house dues.[16]

Ceylon was a port of call on the way from both the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea to China. Chinese sources[17] indicate direct voyages of junks to the Persian Gulf not later than the eighth century C.E. Muslims, Jews, Christians and Parsees maintained trading depots in several Chinese sea-ports, but suffered their first reverse due to Baichu's revolt in 877 C.E. when numerous[18] foreign traders in Canton perished. Later on, Ceylon and Kalah (or Kolah) on the south-western shores of the Malayan Peninsula[19] came into prominence as half-way meeting and exchange places between Near Eastern and Chinese interests. But the candle was to be burned from both ends. The Crusades from the late 11th to the 13th centuries and the sack of Baghdad by the Mongols in 1258 struck blows to established trade centres and routes in the Near East. The final victory of the Ming over the Mongol dynasty closed China to foreigners for approximately three hundred years.

Such Jewish settlements along the routes as depended entirely upon foreign trade were liquidated (Persian Gulf area and Ceylon) ; those which had found roots in local trade, crafts or agriculture (South-western Arabia, Malabar Coast and Konkan Coast in India) survived. This is the interpretation which the present writer derives in relation to the former from the complete silence of source material since the end of the twelfth century.[20] In the absence of catastrophes of which otherwise there is no dearth in Jewish annals it is assumed that such liquidation was a gradual

15. Ed. H. A. R. Gibb: *Ibn. Batuta, Travels in Asia and Africa.* pp. 256/7.
16. "*'Aja'it-ul-Hind*", p. 119
17. Referenced in "*Relation da la Chine et de l'Inde*", p. XXXIX.
18. Abu Zeid—see "*Ancient Accounts of India and China*", p. 42—gives a figure of 120,000 dead, which El-Mas'udi, "*Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems*", trsl. A. Sprenger, London, 1841, vol. I, p. 325; raises to 200,000.
19. El-Mas'udi, loc. c., vol. I, p. 328.
20. For the Persian Gulf area see Walter J. Fischel, "The Region of the Persian Gulf and its Jewish Settlements in Islamic Times", in *Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume*, New York, 1950, pp. 208—9.

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and amicable one. The indigenous population of Ceylon had previously taken no active part in foreign trade operations, but being of a peaceful disposition, had put no obstacles either in the coming or going of foreign traders. When the Portuguese landed in Ceylon at the beginning of the 16th century they found no Jews, and none ventured back while the former were in control.

VII—The Coming of European Jews to Ceylon

The Portuguese circumnavigation of the Cape, followed up by Dutch, English, French and Danish expeditions is indicative of long cherished European aspirations to establish direct connections with the Far East. As regards European Jews, some eventually came to Ceylon in the wake of the English during the 19th and 20th centuries. That small band was headed by the brothers Worms who, in 1841, restablished an estate " Rothschild " in the Pusilawa hill district above Kandy. When Sir J. E. Tennent visited with them, their estate consisted, besides unfelled forest, of upwards of one thousand acres of coffee trees in full bearing. The following appreciation is left in the visitor's own words : " Their practical knowledge of planting was acquired during its experimental stages ; and no capitalists in the colony have contributed more to its advancement by judgment and moderation in times of excitement and firmness and perseverance in periods of difficulty . . . Ceylon, in the plenitude of commercial success, will remember with gratitude the names of men like these who were the earliest pioneers of its prosperity."[21]

21. *Ceylon*, London, 1859, vol, II. pp. 250 ff.

THE TREATY OF 1766 BETWEEN THE KING OF KANDY AND THE DUTCH

By E. REIMERS

(*Concluded from Vol. II.*)

The Kandyan Ambassadors who had left Colombo on December 22, with the draft of the revised terms now proposed by the Dutch returned on January 28. They had submitted it for approval to the King who was in general agreement with most of the items but had flatly rejected the claim for the unoccupied portions of the coast which he characterised as an unfriendly act. He also insisted that permission for the collection of cinnamon in his territory should be applied for yearly as usual by letter from the Governor and the accompanying train of presents, which, he claimed, formed part of his income. As might have been expected in the circumstances, the conference which took place on the next day between the ambassadors and the two Dutch commissioners who had acted in a similar capacity on the previous occasions came to an abrupt end after the ambassadors had made an ineffectual attempt to retain the salt-pans on those portions of the coast. Negotiations were summarily broken off by the commissioners, and the ambassadors were informed that hostilities would be resumed immediately. However, on being informed by the interpreters that the Dutch were determined to obtain control of the whole coast in view of the frequent attempts by the English at Madras to carry on trade negotiations with the King and Pybus's mission to Kandy, and that they considered that measure absolutely necessary for their own security, the ambassadors applied for an armistice of twelve days in order to obtain further instructions from the King. The request was debated at the meeting of the Secret Committee on January 31, at which the whole situation was reviewed, and it was decided to grant the concession on condition that Major Duflo's force of 800 which was now in the Matale district was provisioned by the King's people. The reasons, among others, for compliance with their request were the dejected bearing of the ambassadors at the last conference and their unusually subdued tone during the discussions, their frequently expressed longing for peace, and reports which had come in from the outposts of the more friendly attitude of the Kandyans towards the troops stationed there. The Dutch themselves had come very nearly to the end of their resources both in men and money. There was considerable sickness among the troops and coolies, particularly the latter, due it was thought to the

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rigours of the previous year's campaign, and Colonel Feber's force of 2,000 had to remain idle owing to the want of coolies for his transport. All attempts to win over some of the King's ministers had signally failed, and even if it could be proved that the Pretender was the son of King Narendra Sinha and he was crowned, it would hardly be a change for the better, as he was in all respects a Coast Nayakar. Matters, too, on the opposite coast were far from favourable for the Company, as the English were steadily increasing their influence there and were now making preparations for the capture of Tanjore ; and taking everything into consideration, every effort should be made to arrive at an amicable settlement with the Kandyans, now that they appeared to be in earnest to end the state of war with the Company. The decision was conveyed the next morning (February 1) to the ambassadors who had stayed behind in Colombo, and a reply from the King was received on February 7, whereby the ambassadors were directed to do their utmost for the retention of the salt-pans, but, failing that, to sign the treaty.

The negotiations were accordingly resumed the next day, and at a conference which lasted late into the night the draft of the treaty was finally approved. The ambassadors pointed out that the King could not forego the presents sent to him yearly as they formed part of his income, that permission had to be applied for as usual for the collection of cinnamon in his territory, and, lastly, that pride of precedence should be given to his name in the treaty. Strangely enough the retention of the salt-pans was not urged by the ambassadors, very probably as they had already been convinced by the commissioners that every foot of the coast-line was necessary for their security. The Company, for their part, agreed to despatch yearly the usual train of presents under explicit stipulation that their ambassadors were received with the same ceremonial and courtesy as that accorded to the Kandyan ambassadors in Colombo and that they were not subjected to such indignation as having to kneel before the King, failing which the embassies would irrevocably be discontinued. It was also agreed that if the King insisted that permission should be obtained for the collection of cinnamon in his territory, the same condition should apply for the removal of salt from the salt-pans, and, as regarded his request that pride of precedence should be given to his name in the treaty, it was decided that that should be done only in the copy intended for him.

Four copies of the treaty [1] thereafter very elaborately engrossed in Sinhalese and Dutch on large sheets of parchment, intended respectively for the Directors in Holland, the Supreme Government

1. A photostat copy of the Treaty which was obtained from Batavia is in the Archives.

at Batavia, the Ceylon Government and the King. The treaty was formally presented for signature on the 14th of February at a full session of the Council of Policy, the Governor presiding. It was first read out to the ambassadors at their request, and it was only after considerable persuasion and the promise that the objects of sacred interest [2] which had been removed from Kandy during its occupation would be restored to them that they reluctantly signed the document. They were also assured that the King's subjects could freely visit all places of religious worship in the Company's territory. Two Dutch officials immediately left for Hanguranketa (the palace at Kandy had not yet been rebuilt) taking with them the treaty for ratification by the King who duly signed and sealed all four copies.

A Kandyan deputation again visited Colombo in the middle of May for clarification of certain articles of the treaty and for the delimitation of those portions of the coast now ceded to the Company. It was finally agreed that their breadth should be reckoned at 3,000 Rhineland feet, more or less in so far as the hills and rivers permitted, instead of the "Sinhalese mile" [3] appearing in the treaty.

The final act in the sordid drama was an unsuccessful attempt made the next year by the King to have the treaty revised by direct approach to the authorities at Batavia.

The ambassadors, five in number, and their retinue were to embark at Galle in a ship, the Vrijburgh, which was placed at their disposal by the Dutch authorities at Colombo.

After leaving Kandy, the embassy and the accompanying courtiers, other officials and retinue, all numbering 1,361, proceeded to Colombo by the Ruanwella route and were received with much ceremonial at Colombo. They were then escorted by Dutch troops and a large number of lascarins to Galle, convenient halts along the route having already been arranged for at the resthouses and specially erected sheds, all of which were draped with white linen. The embassy was received at the Dutch posts on the way to Galle with similar ceremonial as at Colombo and finally reached Galle whose cannon boomed out their welcome from the walls of the fort. Then amidst the booming of cannon from the fort and the ships in the harbour, and volleys of musketry from the military who lined

2. These included the silver "machine" weighing 210 lbs. referred to earlier (the relic Casket or Karanduwa) with which it was originally intended to pay a douceur to the expeditionary force which entered Kandy.

3. Or *hetekma*, the distance a man can walk in a *peya*, or the sixtieth part of a day and night, equal to 24 minutes, vide Codrington's Glossary.

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the way from the ambassadors' lodgings to the harbour, the ambassadors and the royal letter and presents were conveyed on board.

The members of the mission who were Pilimatallowwa Ralahami, Disawa of the Three Korales and Saffragam (Sabaragamuwa), Palipana Ralahami, Disawa of Matale, Yatawatte Ralahami, Disawa of Welassa, Dodanwela Ralahami, Disawa of Udapalata, and Morahella Mohandiram Ralahami sailed for Batavia on May 13, but only three of them returned on October 21, Palipana and Dodanwela having died on the homeward voyage.

A few extracts translated here from the official diary of Colombo relate to the reception of the ambassadors accorded by the Dutch and their departure from Galle, and, particularly, the ceremonial and pageantry which marked the occasion :—

5th April (1767) : Received a letter from the Disawa of the Three Korales and Saffragam, Wijayasundara Rajapaksa Panditha Pilimitallouwa Mudianse, addressed to His Honour the Disawa of the Colombo District, Godfried Leonhard de Costa, written on behalf of the Court with reference to the matter of the embassy which it was their intention to send to Batavia and regarding which His Honour Van Angelbeek had already been communicated with, informing him that the embassy would also carry a royal letter and that it would set out on the journey to Colombo on the second day after the Sinhalese New Year.

6th April : The Disawa was informed in reply that His Excellency the Governor had been written to some time ago regarding the embassy referred to but that no reply had yet been received owing to his being so far away at the time, and that the delay was owing to that cause ; however, that the Government knowing as they did that His Excellency would right willingly accede to their request, had already, in anticipation of his consent, given orders that a ship should be held in readiness for them. He was also informed that the embassy would first have to go by land to Galle, since it was impossible to sail direct from here (Colombo) to Batavia at this season of the year owing to the southerly winds, and that this route would enable them to show their solicitude in a fitting manner for the royal letter and presents as well as for the ambassadors, but chiefly that they might be brought on board in comfort and with all due ceremonial.

12th April : Received another letter from the above-mentioned King's Disawa addressed to the Hon. the Disawa de Costa informing him that since the embassy had to go to Galle, it had been decided that it should proceed by way of the Saffragam Province in order to accomplish the journey as early as possible.

13th April : In reply to the above ola, the Disawa was informed that no resthouse had been made ready in the korales adjacent to Saffragam to receive His Majesty's ambassadors, and that the necessary orders had already been given to prepare the resthouses lying between Sitavaca and Colombo and Colombo and Galle. He was therefore requested, as there was no time to make any change in the programme, to suggest to the Court that the ambassadors might set out a little earlier than originally intended for Sitavaca, in order that they might be escorted from there by us in all comfort, first to Colombo and thereafter to Galle. Further, as there was no time for a reply to this letter, that he should also inform the Court that we would expect the embassy to arrive at Sitavaca and not by way of Saffragam.

18th April : Information having been received of the arrival of the ambassadors and their retinue at Sitavaca, there left to receive them, on the

20th April : The Senior Factor and Secretary of Policy the Hon. Joan Gerard van Angelbeek, in quality as Disawa, and the Captain-Lieutenants Paulus Engelaar and Jan de Ridder, with a company of the military under command of a Captain, a Lieutenant and an Ensign, from whom information was received on the

22nd April : That they as well as the embassy had arrived at Hanwella on the 21st, also that they intended leaving Hanwella at 6 the next morning in order to reach Grand Pass about 4-30 in the afternoon.

23rd April : The ambassador having been unexpectedly delayed here and there on the way owing to the elephants in their train, they arrived at Pas Nakalagam at 7 in the evening and left that place for Wolvendaal at half-past 7 in the following order :

(1) Six elephants ;
(2) A ranchuwa (company) of Lascarins of the Guard in charge of a Mohandiram with the necessary drummers and pipers, and a standard ;
(3) A ranchuwa of Lascarins of the Attapattu, also in charge of a Mohandiram, &c., as above ;
(4) A ranchuwa of Lascarins of the Siyana Korale in charge of Mohandiram, with standard ;
(5) A ranchuwa of Lascarins of the Hewagam Korale ;
(6) The presents ;
(7) A body of Kandyans with their banners, jingals and pikes, accompanied by drummers, trumpeters and tom-tom beaters, item, other native musicians ;

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(8) An elephant on which sat the last-named of the ambassadors with the royal letter in his hand, under a Talpat (palmyra leaf) which was held over him by an attendant who was seated behind ;

(9) A company of grenadiers ; and

(10) The ambassadors and our commissioners in coaches.

Having arrived at Wolvendaal, three volleys were fired by the military and twenty-one shots by the artillery from the field-pieces placed there.

A translation of the treaty, which was originally published in the " Orientalist " is given below :

Know all men that their High Mightinesses the Illustrious and Mighty Dutch East India Company, on the one part, and his Imperial Majesty, the Illustrious and Powerful Prince and Lord Kirti Sri Raja Sinha, Emperor and King of Kandy, together with the Nobles of the Realm and Lords of his Court, on the other part, have mutually agreed to put an end to the war existing betwixt both powers, and to conclude a treaty of peace and amity, on the following conditions, as the foundation of a new peace and eternal friendship, agreed upon for their mutual advantage, and hereby confirmed by the persons thereto named by both parties, viz., on the part of the Illustrious and Mighty Company in the name of their High Mightinesses the Illustrious States-General of the free United Netherlands, the Honourable Governor and Director, and the Members of the Government of Ceylon, and on the part of His Imperial Majesty the Illustrious and most powerful King of Kandy, by His Ambassadors Extraordinary, the Illustrious Nobles of the Realm, Dumbara Ralahami (Grand Disava of Matale), Pilima Talave Ralahami (Grand Disava of Saffragam and Three Korales), Angammana Ralahami (Grand Disava of Udapalata), Muvattara Ralahami (Grand Secretary to the King), and Moragama Muhandiram Ralahami.

Art. 1.

Henceforward there shall be an everlasting friendship betwixt the King of Kandy, his Nobles of the Realm, and other subjects on the one part, and their High Mightinesses the States-General of the free United Netherlands and the Mighty Dutch Company and their inhabitants on the other part.

Art. 2.

His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Kandy and the Nobles of his Court acknowledge the Illustrious and Mighty States-General

of the United Netherlands and the powerful Dutch Company as lawful and supreme Sovereigns of all the lands they possessed on this Island before the present war, viz., the kingdom of Jaffnapatam with its dependencies and the Wanni Provinces, the Island of Mannar with its subordinate provinces from the Province of Puttalam, Kalpitiya and its dependencies, the Disavaship of Colombo, the District of Galle, the Disavaship of Matara, Batticaloa, and Trincomalee, and the lands formerly dependent on those places ; and His Imperial Majesty and the Nobles of his Court do hereby relinquish all right and title to the aforesaid lands which they may have formerly had or pretended to have.

Art. 3.

The King of Kandy and the Nobles of his Court cede over and above to the aforesaid Company the sovereignty over all the sea coasts round all the Island, in so far the Company did not possess them before the present war, viz., on the west side from Kayimal to the District of Jaffnapatam, and on the east side from where the District of Jaffnapatam ends as far as the river Valave, and these coasts are ceded in the aforesaid manner, to the breadth of one Sinhalese mile in land, more or less as the situation of the hills and rivers will permit.

Art. 4.

To limit the boundaries of the ceded countries Commissaries shall be appointed by both parties, and the measuring shall commence from the high watermark on the continent, not comprehending thereunder the small Islands Navikkarai, Konantivu, Puliyantivu, &c., and as it is not the Company's intention to enrich itself at the expense of His Majesty's revenues, the Company promise to pay him yearly the same amount as was formerly received from the countries now ceded to them ; the Commissaries who limit the boundaries shall also make the necessary arrangements respecting the revenues.

Art. 5.

On the other hand, the Illustrious Company acknowledges the King as Sovereign Prince of all the other Districts of this Island.

Art. 6.

The Illustrious Company from a regard to peace and amity will restore to the King all the Districts conquerred by them during the war, except the sea coast, lands and places in its vicinity within two hours' walk of the sea, agreeably to Article 3.

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Art. 7.

Permission will be granted to all the King's servants and subjects to fetch without paying anything for it, either to the Company or any other person on their part, as much salt as they please from the levayas and other salt pans to the east, and from Silavam and Puttalam on the west.

Art. 8.

In the same manner the Company shall be permitted to peel cinnamon in the King's lower territory, viz., the Disavaship of Saffragam, the Three and Four Korales, and the Seven Korales as far as the hill named Balane.

Art. 9.

The King shall issue orders for the cinnamon which grows in the highlands eastward of the Balane mountain to be peeled by his subjects and delivered alone to the Company at Galle, Colombo, or Matara at the rate of five pagodas for each bale containing 88 lb. of good fine cinnamon.

Art. 10.

The Company shall, exclusive of all others, receive ivory, pepper, cardamoms, coffee, arecanut, and wax, on paying the following rates, viz., for 1 lb. of pepper with 5 per cent. overweight 4 stivers or 1-24th pagoda, 1 lb. of coffee with 5 per cent. overweight 2 stivers or 1-48th pagoda, for one amunam containing 26,000 good dried betel nuts which shall be delivered on the part of the King for 3 rixdollars or 1½ pagoda, for every 100 lb. good pure wax 25½ rixdollars or 12½ pagodas.

Art. 11.

As the Company never traded here in ivory the price of it is not known, and therefore this Article will in process of time be arranged.

Art. 12.

If in process of time the Company be in want of any other products from the King's country the prices will be fixed according to equity.

Art. 13.

Their mutual subjects shall be allowed to trade with each other for which purpose the inhabitants of Kandy will be permitted to come and go to and from Colombo, Galle, and all other places, and sell and purchase with the same liberties and privileges as the subjects of the Company ; in like manner the Company's inhabitants will be allowed to trade in the King's country, so that both nations in future shall be considered as one, and enjoy equal privileges.

Art. 14.

As it is now the interest of both contracting parties to encourage the cultivation of the country products and to prevent smuggling, the King as well as the Company engage and promise to aid each other, and therefore whatever seized in the King's territory, although it belongs to a Company's subject, shall be forfeited without any notice thereof being taken for behoof of the King's treasury, and in the same manner shall be forfeited to the Company all that is seized in their territory, although the property of a King's subject.

Art. 15.

If the King shall be in want of any foreign goods, the Company will provide His Majesty with them agreeably to the musters if they are to be had.

Art. 16.

On the other hand, the King and the Nobles of his Court engage to supply the Company at Batticaloa and Trincomalee with such timber as the Company shall want.

Art. 17.

All prisoners, whether Europeans, Malays, and Sepoys, all deserters either European or Native Infantry, and all rebels who have deserted the Company's territory shall be immediately delivered up, and the guns taken from the Company at Hanvalla and other places shall be returned again to them.

Art. 18.

In future the runaway slaves from each party shall be immediately seized and delivered up, and a reward of 10 rixdollars paid as a gratuity to the person who apprehends and returns them to their masters.

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Art. 19.

In case any of the Company's subjects commits in the King's territory any depredations or crime meriting corporal punishment, such person shall be seized by the King's people and delivered with the proofs of his crime to the Company, who will give speedy satisfaction to the party injured ; and the Company shall treat the subjects of His Majesty in the same manner when guilty of any outrage in their territories.

Art. 20.

In this manner an intimate friendship will be maintained betwixt both powers, and the Mighty Company engage to protect His Imperial Majesty and the whole Empire against any foreign force, and in such case the King and his Nobles promise to assist the Company to their utmost either with arms, troops, or coolies, and to continue with them until the enemy have been driven out of the Island.

Art 21.

His Imperial Majesty and the Nobles of his Court shall therefore not carry on any correspondence, much less conclude any treaty, with any other European nation than the Dutch, and they engage to deliver to the Company all foreign Europeans that may come into their country. They shall not enter into any contract or carry on any correspondence with native princes to the prejudice of the Mighty Company.

Art. 22.

On the other hand, the Illustrious Company engage on their part not to conclude any treaty with foreign powers against or to the prejudice of the King of Kandy.

Art. 23.

For the cultivation of mutual friendship ambassadors shall be sent by both parties, who will make the necessary arrangements for fetching of salt and dried fish and the peeling of cinnamon ; they shall be received with such marks of honour and distinction as become intimate friends and allies ; the ceremonies shall be the same on both sides.

Art. 24.

These Articles shall be solemnly observed and fulfilled by both parties ; but should it happen contrary to expectation that anything is done by either party not agreeable to these conditions, or if anything is neglected, these Articles of peace and friendship shall not be considered as broken, but on the injured party's preferring a complaint and demanding satisfaction, it shall be given within six weeks.

Art. 25.

On the other hand, should satisfaction not be given within six weeks after it has been demanded, or be refused, the party that fails shall be considered as having transgressed the treaty, and the injured party shall have the right of seeking satisfaction by force of arms.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands and affixed the great seal of the Mighty Company in the Castle of Colombo, this 14th day of February, 1766.

(Signed) L. W. Falck,
J. T. Feber,
D. Burnat
G. L. De Coste,
A. De Ly,
J. L. Van Angelbeek,
P. L. Schmidt,
A. Moens,
J. H. Borwater.

(Signed in Sinhalese) Srilanka Devesvara
Sri Kirti Raja Sinha.

(*Concluded: The two earlier parts of this article appeared in Vol. II No. 1 & 2 and Vol. III No. 3 & 4 of the Journal.*)

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COFFEE CULTIVATION IN CEYLON (2)

By I. H. VANDEN DRIESEN

(Concluded from Volume III. No. 1.)

III—The Period of Recovery and Boom

The first signs of economic recovery were discernible about mid 1849, but the process was retarded in Ceylon, by political disturbances and the impoverished state of the revenue. Both these factors prevented Governor Torrington from satisfying the demand for a greater expenditure in the transport system, and as a consequence, the cost of coffee production tended to be higher, and profits lower, than they might otherwise have been.

On the other hand the coffee enterprise emerged from the period of depression as a far more efficient industry. The virtues of economical management had at last been learnt. The useless and wasteful expenditure of former periods, the evils resulting from inexperience in the art of cultivation, and the total want of proper knowledge of soil and climate, which had led a considerable number of coffee-growers to ruin, were no longer present.[118] After 1947, the cost of growing, gathering and shipping coffee was very materially diminished. "It is no exaggeration to say", wrote a contemporary, "that there is not a single well-established principle which now guides the management of estates, and the conduct of their proprietors, that was not preceded by a directly opposite policy prior to 1845. Observation has since discerned the true tests of soil and aspect, former delusions as to high altitudes have been exploded, unprofitable districts avoided, unproductive estates abandoned ; and in lieu of the belief that a coffee-bush, once rooted, would continue even after to bear crops without manure, and to flourish in defiance of weeds and neglect, every estate is now tended like a garden, and the soil enriched artificially in proportion to the produce it bears. Expenditure has been reduced within the bounds of discretion ; an acre of forest land can be brought under crop in 1857 for 1/10th what is cost in 1844."[119]

The state of the exchanges was also now favourable to the coffee-growers. Bills drawn against shipments of coffee at six

118. *C.O.* 54, 307. 6th May, 1854 ; *C.O.* 54, 314. 24th Jan., 1855.

119. Tennent, *Ceylon*, vol. II., p. 232.

months sight in 1847, were often only saleable at 6% to 8% discount. By the end of 1848, they were selling at par, and in the years immediately following, at 2% and 3% premium.[120]

A great many planters were posessed of still another advantage. They had bought estates at low prices when the slump was at its worst. These, emancipated from the load of debt under which they had been struggling ; created anew as it were, for a mere trifle, became profitable to the new purchasers, and a scale of production which had been totally inadequate to meet the inevitable charges on the previous burden of debt, became profitable when those charges ceased.[121]

Fair prices and an increasing consumption of coffee, continued during the administration of Sir George Anderson who succeeded Torrington in 1850.[122]

	Coffee Prices		Consumption in Gt. Britain	
	Plantation Per Cwt.	Peasant Per Cwt.		Lbs.
1849–50 ..	32 *sh.* ..	17 *sh.* ..	1850 ..	31,166,358
1852 ..	41 *sh.* ..	28 *sh.* ..	1852 ..	32,978,432
1854 ..	44 *sh.* ..	35 *sh.* ..	1854 ..	37,350,924

Anderson however, had been sent out with strict orders to save revenue and he only too faithfully obeyed his instructions. In spite of revenue surpluses,—£85,843 between 1850 and 1854, the expenditure on roads was increased by only a few thousands of pounds per year, and before long the policy of the Government met with loud denunciation. Their protests unheeded, the indignant planters founded the Planters' Association in 1854, to give effect to their complaints respecting the bad state of the roads and the non-construction of extensions and spur lines.[123] The Association however, was barely a year old, when a new Governor, Sir Henry Ward assumed the direction of affairs, and embarked upon a policy which met most of the planters' demands. Sir George Anderson left the Colony in January, 1855, and Sir Henry Ward took up the reins of Government in the following May.

Sir Henry Ward appeared on the scene at a peculiarly opportune moment. The man and the hour had arrived together. Coffee was back on its feet again. Rising prices and an economical scale of production opened up for it a brilliant prospect. All that was

120. *C.O.* 54, 249. 6th July, 1848 ; B.P.P. 1847, XXXVII., p. 204 ; *C.O.* 54, 258. 11th May, 1849.

121. Speculeum : *Ceylon, her present condition*, p. 115.

122. Ferguson, *Ceylon Directory*, 1866–1868, p. 284 ; *C.O.* 59. Series—*Ceylon Blue Book ; C.O.* 54, 307, 6th May, 1854 ; *C..O.* 54, 314, 24th Jan., 1855.

123. Ferguson : *Review of the Planting and Agricultural Industries of Ceylon*, p. 11.

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needed was encouragement of the proper sort. This encouragement Ward provided. Seeing that Ceylon's economic development was closely interwoven with the fortunes of the coffee-planting industry, the Governor turned to the construction of roads and railways, to the encouragement of cooly immigration, and to the pushing of land-sales. As a result, the acreage under coffee experienced a rapid expansion, exports increased, imports reacted similarly, and the Island enjoyed an era of hitherto unequalled prosperity.[124]

Acreage under Coffee [125]

1852	..	57,885¾ acres	1860	..	119,883 acres
1853	..	69,996½ ,,	1861	..	135,422 ,,
1854	..	70,516½ ,,	1862	..	150,000 ,,
1855	..	85,505⅓ ,,	1863	..	152 000 ,,
1856	..	137,762¼ ,,	1864	..	155,000 ,,
1857	..	154,958 ,,	1865	..	160,000 ,,
1858	..	154,958 ,,	1866	..	160,000 ,,
1859	..	118,266¼ ,,			

Exports of Coffee [126]

1852	..	372,370 cwts	1860	..	620,132 cwts.
1853	..	328,971 ,,	1861	..	648,025 ,,
1854	..	407,621 ,,	1862	..	605,178 ,,
1855	..	506,540 ,,	1863	..	828,587 ,,
1856	..	440,819 ,,	1864	..	671,164 ,,
1857	..	602,266 ,,	1865	..	927,440 ,,
1858	..	544,507 ,,	1866	..	886,762 ,,
1859	..	589,779 ,,			

Average for 5 years	1852-57	..	411,264	cwts.
Average for 5 years	1857-62	..	600,942	,,
Average for 5 years	1862-67	..	783,826	,,

Value of Coffee Exports.[127]

1852	.. £ 692,893	1857	.. £1,496,645	1862	.. £1,545,284
1853	.. £ 655,602	1858	.. £1337,122	1863	.. £2,126,222
1854	.. £ 850,845	1859	.. £1,467,497	1864	.. £1,744,793
1855	.. £1,125,282	1860	.. £1,574,033	1865	.. £2,343,532
1856	.. £ 981,723	1861	.. £1,656,733	1866	.. £2,247,038

124. *C.O.* 54, 322. 9th June, 1856.

125. Figures from 1852–1861, are from the *Ceylon Blue Book* and are incomplete; the average in the N.-W. Province, being excluded, since they "could not be ascertained". Figures from 1862–60 are from Ferguson, *Review of the Planting, etc.*, p. 31. The low average figures for 1859, '60 and '61 are probably a statistical error since the despatches, etc.,of this period contain no references to any setbacks suffered by the coffee industry.

126. *Ceylon Blue Book.* The fluctuations in the quality annually exported, resulted from part of one year's crop being held over and exported in the following year. The year's crop, unless exported before the break of the monsoons, had to go into storage until the weather turned favourable.

127. *Ceylon Blue Book.*

Average 5 years	1852-57	..	£ 861,269
Average 5 years	1857-62	..	£1,506,406
Average 5 years	1862-67	..	£2,001,374

Revenue and Expenditure.[128]

	Revenue.	Expenditure.	Excess of Rev.	Excess of Exp.
	£	£	£	£
1952 ..	412,835 ..	386,519 ..	26,316 ..	1,065
1853 ..	412,835 ..	386,519 ..	26,316 ..	—
1854 ..	408,041 ..	393,268 ..	14,773 ..	—
1855 ..	504,174 ..	457,137 ..	47,037 ..	—
1857 ..	578,028 ..	535,804* ..	42,224 ..	—
1858 ..	654,961 ..	594,333* ..	60,629 ..	—
1859 ..	747,037 ..	698,268* ..	48,768 ..	—
1860 ..	767,100 ..	705,440* ..	61,660 ..	—
1861 ..	751,997 ..	635,230* ..	116,767 ..	—
1862 ..	759,135 ..	626,654* ..	132,482 ..	—
1863 ..	952,790 ..	738,194* ..	214,596 ..	—
1864 ..	978,492 ..	838,193* ..	140 299 ..	—
1866 ..	962 873 ..	917 669* ..	45 204 ..	—

*The above sums are exclusive of the following amounts expended under Surplus Fund Ordinances and charged on the balance of former years. 1857. £27 656 ; 1858 £40 256 ; 1859, £53,826 ; 1860, £78,425 ; 1861, £19,7 59 ; 18 2, £3,484 ; 1863, £120 ; 1864, £250,000 ; 1865, £28,162 ; 186.6, £40,324.

Coffee Prices Per Cwt. (Av.).[129]

Year.	Plantation.	Peasant
1852	.. 41 ,,	.. 28 *s.*
1853	.. 43 ,,	.. 32 ,,
1854	.. 44 ,,	.. 35 ,,
1855	.. 44 ,,	.. 33 ,,
1856	.. 46 ,,	.. 39 ,,
1857	.. 51 ,,	.. 43 ,,
1858	.. 53 ,,	.. 39 ,,
1859	.. 54 ,,	.. 40 ,,
1860	.. 54 ,,	.. 40 ,,
1861	.. 45 ,,	.. 40 ,,
1862	.. 54 ,,	.. 40 ,,
1863	.. 54 ,,	.. 40 ,,
1864	.. 54 ,,	.. 40 ,,
1865	.. 54 ,,	.. 40 ,,
1866	.. 54 ,,	.. 40 ,,

128. *Ceylon Blue Book.*

129. *Ceylon Blue Book. C.O.* 59 series.

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The coffee boom was not confined to the plantations alone—it extended also to the peasant sector of the industry. Moreover, influenced by the success attending the larger plantations, many peasant growers gave up the haphazard system of cultivation previously employed, and adopted scientific methods in its stead. They followed the example of economy and good management set them by the Europeans, and an infinity of small holdings, especially in the neighbourhood of Kandy were planted with coffee.[130]

The revival of coffee prices led not only to an increase in the efficiency of the peasant growers ; it led to an increase in their numbers as well. Of the 130,000 acres yielding coffee in 1856, it was estimated that at least 50,000 acres were owned by the natives of Ceylon, and that between 1849 and 1869, from 1/3rd to 1/4th of the total quantity of coffee shipped yearly was "peasant" coffee.[131]

Of the number of peasants engaged in coffee cultivation, and the amounts annually earned by them however, we have no evidence, other than a general statement by Governor Ward, that the sum annually paid for peasant coffee, varied between £250,000 and £300,000.[132]

Exports of Peasant Coffee.[133]

	Quantity Cwt.	Value £		Quantity Cwt.	Value £
1856	114,962	715,139	1862	126,710	253,421
1857	172,254	372,837	1863	158,517	317,034
1858	190,068	380,136	1864	95,448	190,896
1859	178,436	356,872	1865	231,505	464,520
1860	143,321	286,643	1866	195,291	390,582
1861	231,753	265,626			

While prices, within the period 1852–66, were not as high as those fetched in the early 1840's, the cost of production had fallen so greatly that plantation coffee selling at 44 *sh.* the cwt. is said to have brought in handsome profits.[134] The increase in price to 54 *sh.* per cwt. in 1854, and its stabilization at that figure, must therefore have been productive of enormous profits. This point cannot be further elaborated, since hardly any statistical information

130. *C.O.* 54, 335. 5th July, 1858.
131. *C.O.* 54, 328. 20th June, 1856 ; Ferguson, *Ceylon in the Jubilee Year*, p. 62.
132. *C.O.* 54, 328. 20th Jan., 1856.
133. *C.O.* 59 series. *The Ceylon Blue Book.* Fluctuations in export figures are due to part of one year's crop being held over and exported in the following year.
134. *C.O.* 54, 335. 5th July, 1858 ; *C.O.* 54, 338. 9th Dec., 1858 ; *C.O.* 54, 344. 4th July, 1859 ; Ferguson : *Review of the Planting and Agricultural Industries of Ceylon*, p. 12.

relating to either earnings from, or investments in coffee cultivation are available, but the official correspondence of these years often refers to the former as being high, and tells us that this led in the early 1860's to the influx of a great deal of capital into Ceylon.[135]

The profitableness of coffee, and the facility with which advances could be obtained in England, led however, to a gradual return of that reckless expenditure in the management of the plantation, which had characterized the early 40's. As before, the inevitable check was administered by conditions prevailing abroad.

In 1866, severe financial pressure was felt on the London money market, and though coffee prices remained unaffected, the advances and loans on which planters had grown dependent, became almost unobtainable. Many of these advances had been indiscriminately made, and many investments injudiciously chosen. The unsoundness of these transactions was made apparent in 1866, when difficulty was experienced in realizing even "safe" investments. As a result, all Ceylonese securities, good and bad alike, were viewed with suspicion, and a large number of planters were obliged to find their financial requirements out of their own profits. This led immediately to efforts at cost reduction, and in 1866, the attention paid to estate expenditure came to be as strict as it had been in 1847–9.[136]

Till 1868, the effects of the financial situation in London were felt in Ceylon, but after that date conditions reverted to normal, and coffee went forward along the path of prosperity. Prices remained high and steady, exports increased, and surplus revenues continued to accumulate.[137]

Coffee Prices.[138]

	Plantation	Peasant
1866	54 *sh.* per cwt.	40 *sh.* per cwt.
1867	54 ,, ,,	40 ,, ,,
1868	54 ,, ,,	40 ,, ,,
1869	54 ,, ,,	40 ,, ,,
1870	54 ,, ,,	40 ,, ,,
1871	54 ,, ,,	40 ,, ,,

135. *C.O.* 54, 369. 27th May, 1862 ; Ferguson : *Ceylon Directory*, 1873–Introduction ; Ferguson : *Ceylon in the Jubilee Year*, p. 64 ; *C.O.* 54, 377. 15th Aug., 1863 ; *C.O.* 54, 379. 1st September, 1863; *C.O.* 54, 392. 17th Aug., 1864 ; *C.O.* 54, 392. 30th Aug. 1864 ; *C.O.* 54, 427. 15th Sept. 1867.
136. *C.O.* 54, 415. 12th Oct., 1866 ; *C.O.* 54, 427. 14th Sept., 1867.
137. *C.O.* 54, 432. 11th Jan., 1868.
138. Statistics are from *The Ceylon Blue Book. C.O.* 59 series and from Ferguson, *Ceylon Directory*, 1873.

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Export of Coffee.

	Plantation		Peasant.	
	Quantity Cwts.	Value £	Quantity Cwts.	Value £.
1866	.. 676,558	.. 1,826,410	.. 210,314	.. 420,628
1867	.. 720,174	.. 1,944,470	.. 148,099	.. 296,198
1868	.. 788,737	.. 2,129,590	.. 218,584	.. 437,168
1869	.. 835,686	.. 2,256,352	.. 168,822	.. 337,644
1870	.. 885,728	.. 2,391,466	.. 128,176	.. 256,352
1871	.. 814,710	.. 2,199,717	.. 140,341	.. 280,682

Total Coffee Exports.

	Quantity	Value
1866	.. 886,762 cwts	.. £2,247,038
1867	.. 868,273 ,,	.. £2,240,668
1868	.. 1,007,321 ,,	.. £2,566,758
1869	.. 1,004,508 ,,	.. £2,593,996
1870	.. 1,013,904 ,,	.. £2,647,818
1871	.. 955,051 ,,	.. £2,480,399

Acreage under Coffee.[139]

1866	..	160,000 acres	1869	..	176,467 acres
1867	..	168,000 ,,	1870	..	185,000 ,,
1868	..	176,000 ,,	1871	..	195,627 ,,

Revenue and Expenditure (£)

	Revenue	Expenditure	Excess of Rev	Excess of Exp.
1866	.. 962,873	.. 917,669	.. 45,204	.. —
1867	.. 969,936	.. 927,932	.. 42,004	.. —
1868	.. 925,266	.. 974,950	.. —	.. 49,684
1869	.. 946,495	.. 881,373	.. 65,122	.. —
1870	.. 1,091,606	.. 1,026,870	.. 64,736	.. —
1871	.. 1,121,679	.. 1,064,184	.. 57,495	.. —

IV —The Coffee Crash

By 1870, the Ceylon coffee industry had reached its zenith Prices were high, exports large, and problems affecting production, few in number The favourable condition of the coffee enterprise reacted upon the revenue and with large surplus balances to its credit, the Government was able to undertake numerous schemes,—particularly in the sphere of communications,—which aimed at the further development of the Island's economy. In short, a

139. *C.O.* 59 series. *The Ceylon Blue Book.* The falling off of the revenue in 1868 was caused by (*a*) the failure of the rice harvest ; (*b*) the decline in tolls and cart licenses which followed the construction of the railway.

golden age appeared to lie ahead Yet fifteen years later, coffee had ceased to be the Island's most important product, and former growers of the shrub were desparately trying to save what they could of their fortunes, by turning to the cultivation of other crops.

The sudden collapse of Ceylon's most important staple was caused primarily by "*Hemileia Vastatrix*" popularly known as the coffee-leaf disease.

First noticed in one of the youngest coffee districts, Madulsima, in 1869, the coffee blight rapidly spread all over the coffee zone. It made its appearance in saffron-coloured blotches on the under side of the coffee leaf, which gradually sickened under its influence, and at last fell from the bough. The green tips of the boughs then withered and in the worst cases the boughs, and eventually the stem and root perished.[140] At first it was treated as a matter of little moment by all but the Director of the Botanical Gardens, Dr. Thwaites, and for several years it apparently did little harm, crops being only slightly affected, and any decrease being attributed to seasonal influences rather than to the pest. Another cause moreover, served most effectually to blind the eyes of all concerned to the insidious progress of the pest, and the gradual but sure falling-off of crops,—namely, a sudden and unprecedented rise in the value of coffee in Europe and America—a rise equivalent, in a few years, to nearly fifty per cent.[141] This great increase in the value of his returns more than sufficed to compensate the Ceylon planter for any diminution of crop. It did more ; it stimulated a vast extension of cultivation into the largest remaining reserve, known as the wilderness of the Peak, extending from Nuwara Eliya through a succession of upland valleys in Dimbula, Dickoya and Maskeliya, to the Adam's Peak range, an area of forest covering some 400 square miles. The rush into this region began in the time of Governor Sir Hercules Robinson, (1866–1872) who energetically aided its development by extending roads and bridging rivers, thus utilising some of the large surpluses which the sale of the lands and the increased customs and railway revenues afforded him.[142]

A cycle of favourable—that is comparatively dry—seasons still further contributed to the success of the young high districts, so that coffee (which had previously been supposed to find its suitable limit at 4,000 or 4,500 feet) was planted and cultivated profitably up to 5,000 and even 5,500 feet. All through Governor Gregory's administration (1872–77) the high price of coffee and the active

140. Administration Report on the Central Province, 1871—found in Ferguson. *The Ceylon Directory*, 1873, p. 211 ; *C.O.* 54, 488. 13th October, 1873 ; *C.O.* 54, 493. 10th June, 1874.

141. Ferguson : *Ceylon in the Jubilee Year*, p. 64 ; *C.O.* 54, 493. 11th Aug., 1874.

142. Ferguson : *Ceylon in the Jubilee Year*, p. 64 ; *C.O.* 54, 467. 14th Sept. 187

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extension of the cultivated area continued.[143] The competition became so keen that forest-land which ten or twenty years before would not have fetched as much as £2 an acre, was sold as high as £15, £20 and even £28 an acre ; and even at this price, planters calculated on profitable results.

Yet, in spite of the opening up of thousands of acres of fresh land, the annual output of coffee did not reach 1,000,000 cwts., after 1870. Manure was extensively used, but the leaf fungus did not allow the coffee shrubs to bear heavily in consecutive years. The period 1870–80 was therefore characterized by a fluctuating crop.[144]

Annual Coffee Prices and Acreage under Coffee.[145]

Coffee Prices :

	Plantation.	Peasant.	Acreage.
1870 ..	54 *sh.* per cwt.	40 *sh.* per cwt.	185,000 acres
1871 ..	55 ,, ,,	40 ,, ,,	195,627 ,,
1872 ..	55 ,, ,,	40 ,, ,,	206,000 ,,
1873 ..	88 ,, ,,	80 ,, ,,	219,974 ,,
1874 ..	90 ,, ,,	76 ,, ,,	237,345 ,,
1875 ..	100 ,, ,,	80 ,, ,,	249,604 ,,
1876 ..	106 ,, ,,	80 ,, ,,	260,000 ,,
1877 ..	106 ,, ,,	82 ,, ,,	272,243 ,,
1878 ..	107 ,, ,,	78 ,, ,,	275,009 ,,
1879 ..	107 ,, ,,	70 ,, ,,	265,000 ,,
1880 ..	104 ,, ,,	70 ,, ,,	252,431 ,,

Annual Coffee Exports.

	Plantation		Peasant	
	Quantity Cwts.	Value £	Quantity Cwts.	Value £
1870 ..	921,506	2,488,081	132,523	264,922
1871 ..	775,454	2,093,668	170,397	338,759
1872 ..	582,432	1,572,468	140,623	281,245
1873 ..	829,765	3,733,943	121,577	486,309
1874 ..	634,179	2,853,809	96,758	362,842
1875 ..	809,835	4,049,174	114,431	457,728
1876 ..	585,783	3,104,651	79,843	665,626
1876 ..	585,783	3,104,851	79,843	319,373
1877 ..	892,051	4,638,669	82,282	337,353
1878 ..	585,372	3,219,548	46,237	175,700
1879 ..	725,324	3,844,221	54,414	779,738
1880 ..	611,842	3,181,579	44,753	152,160

143. *C.O.* 54, 493. 10th June, 1874 ; *C.O.* 54, 494. 6th Oct., 1874 ; *C.O.* 54, 494. 12th Oct., 1874 ; *C.O.* 54, 534. 22nd Nov., 1881 ; Shand in *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, vol. 38, p. 182.

144. *C.O.* 54, 508. 20th Aug., 1877 ; *C.O.* 54, 512. 10th Feb., 1878 ; *B.P.P.* of 1882, Vol. XLIV., Report of 12th Aug., 1882.

145. Statistics from *The Ceylon Blue Book—C.O.* 59 series.

	Total Exports. Cwt.	Value. £
1870 ..	1,054,029	2,753,004
1871 ..	945,851	2,432,427
1872 ..	723,055	1,853,713
1873 ..	951,342	4,220,252
1374 ..	730,937	3,216,651
1875 ..	924,266	4,506,902
1876 ..	665,626	3,424,624
1877 ..	974,333	4,976,022
1878 ..	631,609	3,395,249
1879 ..	779,738	4,029,229
1880 ..	656,595	3,333,739

From about 1875 onward , coffee-growers began to take serious notice of the problem presented by the leaf-disease since the annual crop was now growing steadily smaller. Experiments were made and advice sought from abroad, but all in vain. From one estate to another, the disease spread rapidly. Liberian coffee was then introduced in the hope that its large size, strong habit and ability to grow at low elevations would enable it to resist the leaf fungus. Yet this experiment too ended in failure. Trials were also made with Nakanaad Mysore coffee seed, but as in the case of Liberian coffee, Hemileia Vastatrix seemed to find a more congenial host in the newcomers than in the ordinary Ceylon Arabian coffee bushes.[146]

At this juncture came a blow which combined with the leaf-disease, put an end to the planters' belief that the trials with which they were faced, would soon be overcome.—The high prices which had shielded Ceylon coffee from the full effects of the leaf disease, began to decline. The fall in prices, which began in 1889, was not one half as severe as that experienced in the 1840's. In fact, prices did not at any stage, drop below 80 *sh.* the cwt. But the leaf-disease had so curtailed output and raised the cost of production, that even at this high figure, estates were unable to pay their way, and a large number of producers had no alternative but to abandon or sell their plantations.

The decline in coffee prices after 1880 was caused in the main by two factors. The increase in the supply of low-grade from Brazil, and the fall in the standard of living in Great Britain, consequent on the " Great Depression " of 1879–84.[147]

146. *The Coffee Planters' Manual*, p. 262 ; Ferguson : *Ceylon in the Jubilee Year*, p. 82 ; *C.O.* 54, 477. 1st July, 1872 ; Share *Journal of the Royal Society* p. 82 ; *C.O.* 54, 477. 1st July, 1872 ; Share *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, vol. 38, p. 182.

147. *B.P.P.* of 1881, Vol. LXIV.—Report of 30th Oct., 1880 ; *C.O.* 54, 542. 21st Dec., 1882 ; Share—*Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, Vol. 38, p.182

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The leaf disease extended to the coffee districts of India and Java with similar results in devastated crops, but in the greatest coffee country of all—Brazil, the producer of low-grade decsriptions—the impetus to an exte1 sion of cultivation, which the high prices from 1873 onwards had given, was not checked by the presence of this fungoid, or other coffee diseases, and rapidly increasing exports from that country, soon brought such a glut of low grade coffee on to the world market, that the prices of these categories fell sharply. Meanwhile, a severe economic depression was setting in, and in Great Britain, falling incomes led consumers to substitute the cheaper descriptions of coffee for the more expensive Ceylon product. A leading journal on Economic affairs, summed up the matter as follows : " . . . . . When prices of Brazillian coffee a year ago stood at less than half the price of Ceylon coffee, the consumption of the high priced descriptions fell off, and a large amount of trade was diverted to the low-priced qualities, which were so cheap comparatively. Sales of Ceylon coffee may also have been pressed by weak holders obliged to sell at any price. Hence although the last crop was a very poor one, the large stocks held of Ceylon and East Indian coffees were drawn upon without materially raising quotations even for a time. Again, Java coffees have to some extent, been taken as a substitute for Ceylon descriptions, ... and retailers are credited with holding very small supplies, having held off from going into the market owing to their expectation of a further reduction in values."[148]

Seriously affected by the fall in prices and the leaf disease, the Ceylon coffee industry early in 1880, found itself confronted with still another problem—the failure that year of the City of Glasgow bank. This together with other financial difficulties in England, reacted disastrously through the Oriental Bank in Colombo on the Ceylon planting enterprize. The Oriental Bank, an institution with wide planting connections, after a vain attempt to save itself by restricting operations, was forced to close its doors in May, 1883.[149] The consequent withdrawal by capital from the Island, coupled with unfavourable seasons, falling prices and the leaf disease, brought coffee from bad to worse and in the season 1882-83, with 200,000 acres in cultivation, the export was only 260,000 cwts. or less than the amount shipped thirty years earlier from 1/3rd that area. This falling off in the annual coffee crop reacted adversely

148. *The Statist* : 12th April, 1884.

149. *The Statist* : 28th June, 1879 and 24th July, 1886 ; *C.O.* 54, 522. 20th Nov., 1879 ; *C.O.* 54, 528. 20th Nov., 1880 ; *B.P.P.* of 1881, Vol. LXIV.

on the revenue, which declined by over half a million sterling in 10 years—and on many branches of local trade and industry, e.g., carters, carpenters, etc. The economic development of the country was in consequence sharply arrested for almost a decade.[150]

Annual Coffee Prices and Acreage under Coffee.[151]

	Plantation.	Peasant.	Acreage.
1880 ..	104 *sh.* per cwt.	70 *sh.* per cwt.	252,431 acres
1881 ..	100 ,, ,,	70 ,, ,,	252,431 ,,
1882 ..	81 ,, ,,	47 ,, ,,	220,000 ,,
1883 ..	81 ,, ,,	47 ,, ,,	174,000 ,,
1884 ..	80 ,, ,,	47 ,, ,,	150,000 ,,
1885 ..	80 ,, ,,	49 ,, ,,	127,000 ,,
1886 ..	91 ,, ,,	63 ,, ,,	98,000 ,,

Quantity of Coffee Exported.

	Plantation.		Peasant.	
	Quantity. Cwts.	Value. £	Quantity. Cwts.	Value. £
1880 ..	611,842 ..	3,181,579	44,753 ..	152,160
1881 ..	407,222 ..	2,036,111	29,769 ..	101,214
1882 ..	429,203 ..	1,716,814	35,499 ..	81,649
1883 ..	290,593 ..	1,307,669	14,823 ..	44,470
1884 ..	287,509 ..	1,150,039	11,886 ..	29,715
1885 ..	295,038 ..	1,180,153	20,611 ..	51,528
1886 ..	169,163 ..	761,235	10,046 ..	35,164

	Total.	
	Quantity. Cwts.	Value. £
1880 ..	656,595 ..	3,333,739
1881 ..	437,233 ..	2,137,326
1882 ..	466,173 ..	1,803,151
1883 ..	307,244 ..	1,358,536
1884 ..	302,808 ..	1,188,285
1885 ..	320,975 ..	1,244,996
1886 ..	184,044 ..	831,563

150. *C.O.* 54, 527. 10th Aug., 1880 ; Ferguson : *Ceylon in* 1903, pp. 64–65 *C.O.* 54, 533. 14th July, 1881 ; *C.O.* 54, 536. Letter from W. T. Thiselon Dyer to the Colonial Office ; *C.O.* 54, 542. 21st Dec., 1882 ; *C.O.* 54, 548. 4th July, 1883.

151. Statistics are from the *Ceylon Blue Book* ; *C.O.* 59 series.

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Revenue and Expenditure

	Revenue	Expenditure.	Excess of Rev.	Excess of Exp.
	£	£	£	£
1877 ..	1,596,205 ..	1,437,266* ..	159,039 ..	—
1878 ..	1,543,321 ..	1,448,497* ..	94,824 ..	—
1879 ..	1,382,688 ..	1,376,985* ..	5,703 ..	—
1880 ..	1,298,355 ..	1,337,295* ..	— ..	38,940
1881 ..	1,283,108 ..	1,268,743 ..	14,365 ..	—
1882 ..	1,140,147 ..	1,171,374 ..	— ..	31,227
1883 ..	1,162,179 ..	1,145,834 ..	16,345 ..	—
1884 ..	1,162,722 ..	1,154,833 ..	7,889 ..	—
1885 ..	1,186,019 ..	1,182,300 ..	3,719 ..	—
1886 ..	1,004,035 ..	1,030,201 ..	— ..	26,166

* The above sums are exclusive of the following expenditures, charged against the surplus revenue of former years :

1877 ..	£196,702
1878 ..	£124,642
1879 ..	£ 30,945
1880 ..	£ 30,945
1880 ..	£ 20,021

Hardly any information relating to peasant coffee cultivation during these years, exists. But one is able, with the aid of the statistics relevant to this period, to form a rough picture of the probable sequence of events.

From the fall in the quantities of peasant coffee annually exported after 1871 ; a fall which took place despite rising prices—it is evident that peasant growers were seriously affected by the leaf disease. From 170,397 cwts. in 1871, exports declined by over a third in under ten years, i.e., to 44,753 cwts. in 1880.[152] That this was not due to any other cause, such as the voluntary substitution by some other crop for coffee, is certain, for such behaviour on the part of any large number of growers, would surely have evoked comment in the Governors despatches, newspapers, etc., and would in addition have been represented in the yearly customs returns. Again, the yearly exports of peasant coffee, declined at a faster rate than did those of the plantation varieties. Since the slower fall of the latter was due to the vast extension of cultivation into the higher elevations, it is safe to assume that peasant-growers did not participate in the rush to open up the " wilderness of the Peak ". Peasant coffee must therefore have collapsed before plantation owners were convinced that coffee production in Ceylon was doomed. For this collapse, the leaf disease was mainly responsible.

152. *C.O.* 59 series. *The Ceylon Blue Book* ; *B.P.P.* of 1881, Vol. LXIV., p. 233.

The Depression of the 1880's could have played no part in the process, since, peasant growers were independent of bank loans and other forms of financial accommodation, and since prices did not fall until 1882, by which date peasant cultivation had already declined to a mere fraction of what it had previously been.

By about 1883, it was plain that King coffee's reign was drawing to a close. The yearly output of coffee continued to decline, and none of the preventive measures taken could counteract the spread of the leaf fungus, which was now attacking estates in the higher elevations. The anxiety of the planters, was now becoming greater and greater. People were trying to sell out, but estates found no buyers. " All around me there seemed to be an air of expectation of disaster . . . . . the crisis was acute : the colony was practically in a state of paralysis ", and about 400 of the 1,700 European planters then in Ceylon, left the Island.[153] The danger of concentrating on the cultivation of a single staple was now becoming evident. For with every estate cultivating a similar crop, it required only a short time for the disease to engulf the entire planting area. Ceylon, in short, was providing the world with a classic example of the hazards of monoculture.[154]

It was the leaf disease therefore, and not the Great Depression, that was primarily responsible for the destruction of Ceylon's coffee enterprise. Depressions had been experienced and survived before ; that of the 1880's merely made circumstances more difficult for the planting interest. It certainly hastened the collapse, but on its own, it could not have dethroned coffee.

This fact the coffee planters fortunately recognized. They saw that not plantation agriculture as a whole, but the limitation of cultivation to a single staple had to be given up. They remembered also the frequently reiterated advice of Dr. Thwaites, Superindent of the Peradeniya Botanical Gardens. For nearly two decades Thwaites had called for agricultural diversification, and from the first appearance of *Hemileia Vastatrix*, he had constantly drawn attention to the dangers of confining cultivation to a single crop.[155] The planters drugged by coffee's success had turned a deaf ear, but now time had proved that Thwaites was right, and it was on lines suggested by him, that cultivation progressed in the years that followed. Throughout the seventies, Thwaites had experimented with alternative forms of plantation agriculture,—in particular

153. Lewis : *Sixty Years in Ceylon*, p. 26, 128.

154. *C.O.* 54, 548. 4th July, 1883 ; *B.P.P.* of 1883, Vol. XLV. Report of 1882 ; *B.P.P.* of 1884–5, Vol. LII., Macleod to Derby ; *C.O.* 45, 494. 6th Oct., 1874 ; *C.O.* 54, 508. 20th Aug., 1877 ; *B.P.P.* of 1884–5, Vol. LII., Macleod to Derby.

155. *C.O.* 54, 531. 11th Jan., 1881 ; Ferguson : *Ceylon in* 1873, p. 73.

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with tea, cocoa, and chinchona bark. To the growing of these, in what has been described as the " era of new crops " . . . (1882–1895) the planters now turned.[156]

It was not long however, before cocoa and cinchona bark betrayed their early promise. The former was severely affected in 1884, by a pest known as the " Sucking Bug " (*Helopellis Antonii*) and the latter, confronted by falling prices, began to go out of production after 1884.[157] Tea on the other hand, proved eminently successful. So rapidly was its cultivation taken up by the planting community that by 1886, the acreage under tea surpassed that under any other crop.[158] For a while it even appeared that Ceylon would once again make the mistake of concentrating on a single staple, but the introduction of rubber cultivation at the turn of the century, happily prevented the re-emergence of a monoculture.

Cocoa.[159]

	Acreage.	Quantity	Price in London
1878 ..	300 acres ..	10 cwts. ..	—
1879 ..	500 ,, ..	42 ,, ..	—
1880 ..	3,000 ,, ..	121 ,, ..	—
1881 ..	5,460 ,, ..	283 ,, ..	—
1882 ..	7,000 ,, ..	864 ,, ..	£108 a cwt
1882 ..	7,000 ,, ..	864 ,, ..	£105 ,, ,,
1883 ..	10,000 ,, ..	3,377 ,, ..	£ 95 ,, ,,
1884 ..	11,000 ,, ..	9,241 ,, ..	£ 80 ,, ,,
1885 ..	12,800 ,, ..	7,466 ,, ..	£ 92 ,, ,,
1886 ..	12,500 ,, ..	13,056 ,, ..	£ 85 ,, ,,

	Acreage.	Cinchona Quantity.	Exported Value
1878 ..	5,578 acres ..	72,127 lbs. ..	£ 8,873
1879 ..	10,000 ,, ..	186,797 ,, ..	£ 17,129
1880 ..	20,000 ,, ..	507,368 ,, ..	£ 51,908
1881 ..	33,568 ,, ..	1,161,898 ,, ..	£126,714
1882 ..	45,000 ,, ..	1,314,554 ,, ..	£126,461
1883 ..	55,000 ,, ..	4,655,944 ,, ..	£384,917
1884 ..	64,000 ,, ..	7,489,005 ,, ..	£449,340
1885 ..	48,000 ,, ..	11,865,280 ,, ..	£415,156
1886 ..	39,000 ,, ..	12,325,642 ,, ..	£397,387
1887 ..	26,000 ,, ..	14,007,302 ,, ..	£437,025

156. *C.O.* 54, 532. 29th April, 1881 ; *C.O.* 54, 531. Jan. 18th, 1881 ; *Ceylon Blue Book—C.O.* 59 series ; *B.P.P.* of 1883, Vol. XLV. Report of 1882.
157. *Blue Book—C.O.* 57 series ; Ferguson : *Review of the Planting and Agricultural Industries of Ceylon*, p. 57.
158. *C.O.* 54, 532. 29th April, 1881 ; *Ceylon Blue Book—C.O.* 59 series. ; Lewis : *Sixty-four Years in Ceylon*, pp. 126–7, 184, 195.
159. Statistics are from the *Ceylon Blue Book—C.O.* 57 series.

Acreage under Tea.

	Acres.		Acres.		Acres.
1867 ..	10	1874 ..	350	1881 ..	13,500
1868 ..	200	1875 ..	1,080	1882 ..	22,000
1869 ..	250	1876 ..	1,750	1883 ..	32,000
1870 ..	250	1877 ..	2,720	1884 ..	70,000
1871 ..	250	1878 ..	4,700	1885 ..	102,000
1872 ..	260	1879 ..	6,500	1886 ..	150,000
1873 ..	280	1880 ..	9,274		

Exports of Tea.[160]

	Quantity.	Value.
1873 ..	2 packages+ 23 lbs. ..	£ 5
1874 ..	4 packages+ 492 ,, ..	£ 190
1875 ..	4 packages+1,438 ,, ..	£ 240
1876 ..	7 packages+ 757 ,, ..	£ 190
1877 ..	2,105 lbs. ..	£ 345
1878 ..	19,607½ ,, ..	£ 2,090
1879 ..	95,969 ,, ..	£ 8,522
1880 ..	162,575 ,, ..	£ 15,064
1881 ..	348,157 ,, ..	£ 32,299
1882 ..	697,268 ,, ..	£ 59,180
1883 ..	1,665,768 ,, ..	£ 91,617
1884 ..	2,392,973 ,, ..	£143,578
1885 ..	4,372,722 ,, ..	£284,226
1886 ..	7,849,888 ,, ..	£510,242

The transference to the " new crops " was not restricted to the plantation sector of Ceylon's economy. The process was parallelled in the peasant sector, where those who had previously grown coffee turned in large numbers to tea, cocoa and cinchona cultivation. No statistics as to the acreages under, or outputs of these crops in the peasant sector are available, but the leading agricultural gazetteer of the period, refers to both as being " considerable."[161]

The collapse of the coffee industry, and the change over to the new products did not immediately result in the creation of a completely different economic structure in Ceylon. Like coffee, tea, cocoa and cinchona were cash crops, and they required for their successful cultivation, a steady supply of labour, good roads

160. *Ceylon Blue Book—C.O.* 59 series.
161. Ferguson : *Review of the Planting and Agricultural Industries of Ceylon*, p. 32 and 60–1.

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and railways, ports, banks, etc. In other words, though certain crops were substituted for coffee in the late 70's and throughout the 80's, no radical change in the basic economic structure of the Island was necessary. The new products merely took over the edifice their predecessor had constructed, and in the years which followed, plantation agriculture and the cultivation of cash crops continued to exert a strong influence on Ceylon's historical development.

[*Concluded*]

DOCUMENTS ON CEYLON HISTORY (2)

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE TOMBO REGISTRATIONS OF THE DUTCH ADMINISTRATION IN CEYLON: INSTRUCTIONS ISSUED TO THE TOMBO COMMISSIONERS.

Edited By S. A. W. MOTTAU

THE EXECUTIVE and legislative orders of the administration of the Dutch East India Company in Ceylon were published and proclaimed from time to time by means of *placcaats* or notices in Dutch and the native languages, which were posted up in prominent public places for the general information of the inhabitants, and often implemented by notice throughout the villages by means of beat of tom-tom in special circumstances.

The executive orders issued by the Central Administration to the chief officials of the various departments, institutions and professions were conveyed by means of definite and permanent memoirs of instructions, which were revised from time to time according to the demands of the development of the administration and the general social and economic conditions of the country and its inhabitants.

Among the series of such instructions there are three separate sets of rules issued on the orders of the respective Governors for the guidance and direction of the tombo commissioners or registrars in connection with the system of land registration maintained by the Dutch during their administration of the maritime districts of Ceylon. These instructions indicate the various measures adopted by the administration at the time to compile both a complete and permanent cadastral survey of all the immovable property of the Company and private individuals (which may well be called the "Doomsday Book" of the Dutch maritime districts of Ceylon), and a census of all the inhabitants living within its domain.[1]

1. For a detailed account of the origin and history of the Dutch Tombos and a summary of their contents : see "Report of the Dutch Records in the Government Archives" by R. G. Anthonisz, 1907, pages 112 *et seq.*, and "Catalogue of the Archives of the Dutch Central Government of Coastal Ceylon" by Miss M. W. Jurriaanse, 1943, pages 242 *et seq.* See also the accounts by the various Dutch Governors in their memoirs to their successors cited below :
   Memoir of Hendrick Becker (1716), translation by Sophia Anthonisz (1914), pp. 6–8. Original text in *Ceylon Government Archives*, No. 1/2682.

(*footnote continued next page*)

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The Tombo thus compiled was intended to serve a dual purpose. Firstly, it was to be a statistical record of the population and property in the various districts and villages ; and secondly, it was to be an economic survey of the revenues and other resources of the Company from the land taxes and feudal services of its subjects.[2] At the present day, however, it serves a still further purpose not anticipated at the time of its compilation, in that it is used to furnish authentic certificates of title to ownership, which are admissible as legal evidence in the absence of notarial deeds, in cases of land disputes. In this way, it is incidentally still also a minor source of revenue to the Government, there being an average of over 450 applications for extracts from the Dutch Tombos per year.[3]

Three different memoirs of instructions were issued for the three main registrations which took place at reasonable intervals as follows :—

(1) The first main registration carried out on the orders of Governor van Gollenesse,[4] which lasted from 5th June, 1742 to 6th August, 1759 ;

Memoir of Jacob Christiaan Pielat (1734), translation by Sophia Pieters (1905), p. 18. Original text in *Ceylon Government Archives*, No. 1/2685.

Memoir of Gustaaf Willem, Baron van Imhoff (1740), translation by Sophia Pieters (1911), pages 20–25. Original text in *Ceylon Government Archives*, No. 1/2687.

Memoir of Joan Gideon Loten (1757), text and translation by E. Reimers (1935), pp. 21–23.

Memoir of Jan Schreuder (1762), text and translation by E. Reimers (1946) pp. 61–66.

2. " It consists of a hoofd and land register of all persons and their holdings in the country in which each province and district are shown separately and where we can see at the first glance how considerable and extensive the Company's territories are, what number of inhabitants reside therein, what services they are under obligation to perform for the Company, what maintenance and privileges they derive thereby, what dues the inhabitants must render to the Company as Lord of the Land both from their gardens and fields, what and how many cultivated lands there are still to be found in the Corles and Districts which are suitable for converting into gardens and fields and with what right of ownership and under what categories the inhabitants possess their lands, according to which the farmers of these dues recover them yearly from the inhabitants."
" And indeed in all civilized countries nothing is so proper and natural than that the particulars regarding one's own territory and subjects should be noted down in writing in such a manner that it would not be possible for a child to be born or a greybeard however old he may be to die without some mention being made thereof."
See Memoir of Jan Schreuder (1762), translation by E. Reimers (1946), pages 61 and 63 respectively.

3. See Administration Reports of the Government Archivist for the years 1951 and 1952 : the figures for these two years were 519 and 450 respectively.

4. Julius Valentyn Stein van Gollenesse, Governor of Ceylon from 11th May, 1743 to 6th March, 1751 A.D.

(2) The revision ordered by Governor Schreuder,[5] which lasted from 9th June, 1760 to 13th November, 1761 ; and

(3) The new Tombo compilation ordered by Governor Falck,[6] which lasted from 5th September, 1766 to 9th September, 1771.

It is apparent from the contents of the several rules laid down in the first of these instructions (see Document 1 below) that Governor van Gollenesse, in framing the same, strictly adhered in every detail to the recommendations made in this respect by Governor van Imhoff in the memoir left by him for his successor in office on giving up the reins of Government.[7] Several desultory and imperfect registrations were carried out in previous years,[8] but it was Governor van Imhoff who undoubtedly gave the final impetus to the compilation of a comprehensive and authentic tombo, and also to the establishment of the Landraad Court which dealt with lawsuits in matters affecting land. This registration was accordingly conducted by summoning the inhabitants village by village to the Landraad to produce their title deeds for registration by special commissioners who held daily sessions there for the purpose. Where the deeds could not be produced, claims on land had to be supported by proper witnesses, the decision of the Landraad in such cases being final, subject always to the confirmation of the Governor in Council.[9]

This registration took as long as 17 years and extended over the regimes of five successive Governors. It was hampered by a series of delays and postponements resulting from various causes, chiefly owing to the opposition of the native chiefs, the difficulty of securing the attendance of the inhabitants at the sessions of the Commissioners, various pleas such as floods, harvesting, attendance on embassies and illness being made an excuse for their absences. The prevalence of small-pox in the villages and the difficulty of releasing the services of suitable commissioners were also definite obstacles in expediting the execution of the work.

5. Jan Schreuder, Governor of Ceylon from 17th March, 1757 to 11th November, 1762.

6. Iman Willem Falck, Governor of Ceylon from 6th August, 1765 to 7th February, 1785.

7. See memoir by Governor Gustaaf Willem, Baron van Imhoff, for his successor (1740), translation by Sophia Pieters (1911), pp. 20 *et seq.*, *Original Dutch Text in Ceylon Government Archives*, No. 1/2687.

8. See references to memoirs of Governors Becker and Pielat to their successors, cited in Note 1 above in p. 1

9. See Rules 7, 10 and 12 in Document 1 below.

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Governor van Gollenesse, in his memoir for his successor dated 28th February, 1751, gives a comprehensive report of the progress made in this tombo registration up to the time of his departure, which contains interesting details in regard to the various types of taxes levied on gardens and sowing-fields and the rules adopted for calculating comparative sowing extents in the various districts according to the Sinhalese and the Dutch systems of computation.[10] The final report dated 20th August, 1759, made by the Tombo-keeper Benjamin Gerritsz, who undoubtedly played a very prominent part in this and in subsequent registrations, which gives details in the form of a diary of the various stages of progress of registration in the several pattus and kōrales, is incorporated in the minutes of the Dutch Political Council of 14th September, 1759.[11]

The second tombo registration carried out on the orders of Governor Schreuder (see Document 2) was really a revision undertaken immediately after the completion of the first, and was necessitated by the various changes which had occurred during the lapse of 17 years since the commencement of the same. The procedure followed at this revision was completely different to that of the first. Special Commissioners, with the necessary assistants and native officials, were sent out on circuit throughout the country, village by village, and were reasonably compensated either by batta or the provision of rations towards their subsistence while on duty in the villages. (See provision in Article 13 of Document 2 below). The reason for this change of procedure by Governor Schreuder is not sufficiently clear from the documents examined ; it was perhaps due to a desire to have more authentic records by inspection of the lands and personal investigation by the Commissioners on the spot.

This revision was completed within a period of 17 months, except in the Siyane and the Hapitigam Kōrales where it was hampered by internal disturbances and difficulties caused by the inhabitants of the neighbouring Kandyan districts ; and the amendments were made on the first set of completed tombos which were used as working drafts for the purpose.[12] Governor Schreuder, in his memoir for his successor dated the 17th March, 1762, gives an account of the lines on which this revision was conducted, to which he also adds a list of useful definitions of the various types of land tenures recognised and in use at the time.[13] The periodical

10. See photostat copy of text filed in the *Ceylon Government Archives*, pp. 410 *et seq.*

11. See *Ceylon Government Archives* No. 1/130.

12. See Articles 2 to 5 and 12 in Document 2 below.

13. See translation by E. Reimers (1946), pp. 62 *et seq.*

progress reports on this revision submitted by the Tombo-keeper are reproduced in the Dutch Political Council minutes of 15th October, 6th November and 17th November, 1761.[14]

It is significant to note that in the third and last registration during the Dutch period, called " De Nieuwe Tombo " (the new Tombo) by the Dutch, which was carried out on the orders of Governor Falck, after a full discussion in the Council of the " pros " and " cons " of the two methods previously followed, it was decided to adopt the first, on the lines originally advocated by Governor van Imhoff. The reasons are fully stated in the minutes of the Council meeting of the 5th September, 1766, a translation of which is published in the preamble to the instruction issued on the occasion (see Document 3 below). The desire to effect a speedy completion of the work and to avoid the burden of heavy expenses on the inhabitants that would result from protracted circuits through the villages by the Special Commissioners were no doubt the chief reasons for the decision to revert to the original procedure of summoning the inhabitants to attend at the Landraad,[15] and this final registration was carried out accordingly. It was begun on the 5th September, 1766, after the settlement of the troubles with the Kandyans and the restoration of internal peace by the Kandyan Treaty of the 14th February, 1766, and took five years to complete. The monthly lists and progress reports required to be furnished by the Special Commissioners and the Tombo-keeper to the Governor in terms of Article 11 of the instruction are summarised and discussed in the Council minutes of the years 1767 to 1771,[16] and their final report dated 9th September, 1771, is recorded in the Council minutes of 31st October, 1771.[17]

We publish below translations of the three sets of instructions referred to above. In them one may study the various measures adopted by the Dutch from time to time in their efforts to eliminate all risks of fraud or faulty registration in the matter of title to ownership of property or declaration of official status or obligatory feudal service likely to ensue from false statements made by the inhabitants, as well as from bribery, corruption or lack of diligence in their work on the part of the Commissioners. Officials of proved integrity and experience in local land customs and usages were specially appointed to carry out this work, and every possible precaution was taken to guard against undue influence on the part of the native chiefs and village headmen, in the light of past experi-

14. See in *Ceylon Government Archives* No. 1/137.

15. See also the reasons given in Governor van Imhoff's memoir to his successor, p. 23 of translation by Sophia Pieters (1911).

16. See *Ceylon Government Archives*, Nos. 1/151 to 1/163.

17. See *Ceylon Government Archives*, No. 1/163. The original letter is filed in *Ceylon Government Archives*, No. 1/522.

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ence gained in similar registrations previously carried out in the various Dessavonies. It will be seen from the various Articles in these instructions that the Tombo-keeper held a very responsible office, and was therefore not placed under any subordinate chief officer but directly under the Governor, in order to ensure his protection " against all the hatred which an officer in his place would all too quickly bring down upon his head, particularly in carrying out the duties of his office."[1]

DOCUMENT No. 1[19]

After the reading of an instruction drawn up by the Honourable the Governor for the Tombo-registrars, the same was fully approved by all the members of this assembly, and it was resolved to issue a copy for the Dessāvonies both here and also at Galle and Matara for their information.

Instruction[20] *for the Direction of the Commissioners in connection with the new Land-registration in the Colombo and Matara Dessāvonies and in the Galle Kōrale.*

1. The Kōrale or pattu to be registered must previously be surveyed by experienced and reliable native commissioners,[21] to whom the kōrālas, atukōrālas, vidānas and mayorals or village chiefs must clearly report all gardens, cultivated and uncultivated lands situated in each village, whether they belong to the Honourable Company or are possessed by anyone else as service paravenies, accommodessans, or their own property, or under whatsoever designation it may be, with precise information, not only of the owner and on what authority he possesses the same, but also of the sowing extent of the fields and of what sort they are, the aforesaid village chiefs or native commissioners being held responsible in case it is found that this report is not truly rendered.

2. The head [or family] tombo must then likewise be compiled, and no one, of whatever caste, status or sex they may be, should be omitted from it ; and, in order to rectify all irregularities, which for some time past have but too frequently crept in, the commissioners must, when registering the inhabitants, also investigate the caste of the father, and revert the son to his former servitude, in case it is found that he has in an unauthorised manner changed from a lower to a higher status, ignoring any olas, whether the same be issued by the respective Commandeurs or Dessavas (as they have no validity therefor), and it must be presumed that such olas have been improperly and deceitfully obtained.

3. When this is completed and the olas of the registered lands are handed over to the Tombo Commissioners,[22] the village chiefs and all the male inhabitants who

18. See memoir of Governor Schreuder (1762), page 63 of translation by E. Reimers (1946).
19. Translated extract from the Dutch Political Council minutes of 16th November, 1745 : In *Ceylon Government Archives* No. 1/96.
20. This instruction is not incorporated in the Council minutes, but copies are filed in *Ceylon Government Archives* No. 1/2457 and prel. No. 3319, from which this translation has been made.
21. A list of the native chiefs of kōrales and native officials who were appointed to expedite the completion of the tombo registration appears in the Dutch Political Council minutes of 5th February, 1745 : See *Ceylon Government Archives* No. 1/94.
22. A list of the officers appointed as permanent tombo commissioners for the Colombo Dessavony appears in the Dutch Political Council minutes of 5th July, 1745 : See *Ceylon Government Archives* No. 1/95.

have any possessions, whether of gardens or lands, must be summoned by the Dessāva, and they must appear with their letters of proof before the Commissioners, who must examine them one by one, and investigate anew how many gardens and lands they possess, their extent and of what sort they are, also how many gardens and lands they possess in other places and on what authority or under what denomination they possess the same, admonishing them that if this information is not truly and honestly given, they will be severely punished[23] and the concealed lands taken over to the Company, which information must then be verified with that of the native commissioners and duly registered.

4. Wherefore above all things, it must be seen that the good inhabitants are not needlessly detained, but sent back to their villages again as soon as possible, for which purpose then it must also be seen that no more people come in than can be attended to in about three or four days, it being the duty of the mudaliyar or such chief of the kōrale which is being registered (who must always be present during the registration and consequently be posted up with the necessary information of everything that takes place) to summon at the proper time the inhabitants who have to appear before the Commissioners, after the summoning of the same has been duly ordered beforehand by the Dessāva.

5. The Commissioners shall not register as service paravenies and accommodessans more than what they are entitled to in terms of the regulations, and shall revert the excess holdings to the Honourable Company, showing them under the designation of surplus lands and gardens.

6. Those who profess to have cultivated any land may not [be permitted to] support the same with witnesses, as such lands are never given out without documentary titles ; but they must prove the same with olas or deeds of gift, or otherwise pay " anda " or half [of the produce] thereof, and this must be clearly recorded in the Tombo, indicating also by whom, to whom, and in which year the deeds of gift were given, and the extent of the land mentioned therein.

7. Similarly, all those who profess to own any land by purchase, inheritance or donation must prove the same by documents or unimpeachable witnesses, which latter however shall not be permitted without the foreknowledge of the Governor.

8. And since we have more and more experienced that some avaricious persons who possess some gardens and lands clandestinely and illegally have managed to dispose of them by sale in a most crafty manner, yea that some have not scrupled to alienate even their service paravenies and accommodessans, so much so that the Commissioners of the Tombo are often misled thereby and induced to legalise the same at their registration by representing that the present possessors have acquired these gardens and lands by purchase, without properly investigating what right the seller has had to transfer the same to another, one must in future not remain satisfied with the same, but it must clearly appear feasible to the aforesaid Commissioners that the seller has had the right to sell, and the same must be briefly indicated in the Tombo.

9. Moreover, all sales [of land] which have taken place since the publication the " placcaat " issued in this connection dated the 9th October, 1743[24] without the ratification of the Landraad being null and void, nevertheless, in order to accommodate the good inhabitants in this respect, the same shall now be admitted.

23. See Dutch Political Council resolution of 7th March, 1744, ordering that those who make false statements at the Tombo registration shall be placed in chains for a period of 3 years : In *Ceylon Government Archives* No. 1/90.
24. Prohibiting the sale and alienation of grants of land in the Colombo district, without leave from the Landraad. See Dutch Political Council minutes of 27th January, 1744, in *Ceylon Government Archives*, No. 1/90.

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The members of the Landraad are however recommended to rectify no sales unless they are certain that the seller has the right to the same.

10. All disputes arising over the ownership of lands which require investigation shall be referred by the Commissioners to the full Court, and one of the aforesaid Commissioners shall assist in case of further differences occurring therein concerning the new tombo in order to furnish the necessary elucidation thereof.

11. And as there is no doubt that the old tombos have not been compiled with the necessary precision, the work should be done without detriment to the Honourable Company, but in strict compliance with what has been prescribed in articles 5, 6, 7 and 8 above. Disputes between private parties should, however, be duly examined and circumspectly handled, as they may at times throw some light on the question of length of possession in this connection.

12. As the Commissioners may, during the course of the tombo registration, at times be confounded through ignorance of orders and usages, they shall refer it (in writing if it is a matter of some importance) to the President of the Landraad, who, with his counsellors, shall make a provisional order thereon ; but the matter should however be submitted to us, and our further approval thereof awaited ; and the Commissioners shall in future be punished with a fine if they are found to have made any incorrect entries.

13. And since it has more and more been our experience that the influential natives, who are in no little way opposed to this registration,[25] among other acts of cussedness, at times even try to cause obstruction, so that the lawful owner is not warned and is thus prevented from appearing before the Landraad or the Commissioners and is thereby deprived of his lawful right, the Landraad is therefore advised to devise a means to ensure that the people are duly summoned so that they may be held responsible ;[26] but if it appears at the time that such summons has not been served, then the case of such individual must always be investigated afresh by the Landraad without the requirement of any other formalities of the permission of the Governor therefor.

14. Regarding all other disputes and difficulties, the various orders given by us from time to time (and particularly the law of possession) must be observed, which must always be regarded by the Commissioners as the chief object of their functions.

15. And since the private individual will take good care, in case any injustice is done to them, to lodge their complaint thereof, but as to the interests of our Lords and Masters [27] (God help it) no one pays sufficient attention, the Commissioners are therefore most earnestly commended to conduct themselves as honourable and diligent servants, and always, according to their oath and duty, see that the Honourable Company is not mulcted or deprived of their just due by the deceitful inhabitant.

25. See memoir of Governor Becker (1716), p. 7 of translation by Sophia Anthonisz (1914) ; and memoir of Governor Van Imhoff (1740), p. 20 of translation by Sophia Pieters (1911).

26. The procedure approved for the issue of summons to inhabitants to ensure their attendance at the Tombo registration appears in the Dutch Political Council minutes of 27th August, 1746 : See *Ceylon Government Archives* No. 1/100.

27. " De Heeren Zeventien " or " Court of Seventeen " : the Directors of the Dutch East India Company in Holland.

16. And since the " catherns "[28] recently received from Galle have been very carelessly compiled, it must be borne in mind here in this connection that it has been ordered that all the " catherns " from the outposts shall be properly written up, as for instance : " Siyane Kōrale, Meda pattu, Village or Villages (Name) 1745 "; and the " catherns " shall also be numbered from No. 1 onwards till the completion of the registration of the entire kōrale or district ; furthermore, the pages must be folio-numbered and the fields of each vidany must be numbered from No. 1 onwards till the completion of the same.

17. When anyone does not possess more land than what his services entitle him to in terms of the orders, then it will not really be necessary to examine so minutely how he came to own them, even if it happens to be that he had acquired them in an unlawful manner (as it would be all right if he rendered the obligatory services therefor), provided that the Commissioners take good care to examine well whether he also possesses anything else besides this and therefore has a surplus.

18. And it is most strange and improper that the people of Galle and Matara have divided the service paravenies among the heirs, since this may only be done in the case of purchase and such like paravenies of which they have obtained an absolute ownership, whether by lawful gift or by cultivation, and service paraveny land must always devolve on one individual, either the eldest son or the person who, according to the customs of the country, undertakes to perform the Company's service in the place of the father.

19. It is also hereby expressly ordained that the properties should in future no longer be described under the bare designation of " paraveny ", but it should be specifically stated whether it is a purchase, service or gift paraveny (for we presume that all properties come under these three categories), with a clear indication, in the case of a purchase or gift paraveny, by whom, to whom, why and when the land or garden was sold or given away, and with details of its extent as stated in the deed of purchase or gift, and also according to the survey report in case this latter could be made.[29]

20. In case the Commissioners at times have to wait for the people and the latter do not appear at the proper time to have their lands registered, the fact must be mentioned in the monthly report that has to be rendered to the Governor, upon the penalty of a fine of 100 rix-dollars on the signatories if the information is not truthfully rendered.

21. The tax levied on an inhabitant in respect of his gardens and lands shall also be indicated in future in a separate column.

22. But particular care must especially be given at Galle and Matara to the " divel " lands, to see that no fraud takes place in regard to them, and that a pertinent note thereof is made in the Tombo.

23. Finally, the Commissioners should also note that olas which have been issued in respect of gardens or land subsequent to our resolution dated the 10th of

28. An anglicized form of the Dutch word " katern ", which means " a collection or quire of sheets of paper, each having a single fold."

29. Special sworn surveyors were appointed to assist in the Tombo registration, e.g., " The tombo of the Siyane Kōrale having now been completed, the Surveyor Van Lier is appointed to make occasional surveys of the district, village by village, according to the time at his disposal." See Dutch Political Council minutes of 10th July, 1745, in *Ceylon Government Archives*, No. 1/95.

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July last[30] must no longer be accepted, except in the case of accommodessans of lascarins or those of similar status, which, as in former times, must have been handed down with the foreknowledge of the Governor or Commandeur ; but all kinds of deeds of gift must be prepared at the Political Secretariat here and at Galle and copies of the same properly registered and preserved.

Colombo, the 15th November, 1745.

(Signed) J. V. Stein van Gollenesse.

DOCUMENT No. 2[31]

The Right Honourable the Governor having further tabled a memoir drafted by him for the guidance of the Tombo holder, to be strictly and circumspectly followed by him in connection with the revision of the Tombo, the same was accordingly read out at this meeting, and, having found to be both necessary and apposite in every detail, it was decided to incorporate the same as such in these minutes, and to furnish copies of the same to the Dissava, the Landraad and the Tombo-keeper for their information : .

Memoir for the guidance of the Tombo-keeper, to be strictly and circumspectly followed in connection with the revision of the Tombo.

Article 1.—The revision of the Tombo shall commence in this place with the Four Gravets and the Vidany of Gampaha and the Salpiti Kōrale, and shall be conducted in the presence of two Commissioners from the Landraad and the chiefs of each district under revision, for which purpose the first-named and the Tombo-keeper must hold sessions from 8 to 12 o'clock in the morning and from 2 to 6 o'clock in the afternoon.

Article 2.—After completing the work on the Four Gravets, the Salpiti Kōrale and the Vidany of Gampaha, and making copies of the now existing tombos, the Tombo-keeper, assisted by a mohottiyar of the undersigned and a mohandiram of the Dessava's Gate, shall proceed inland, and there do the revision of the other korales and districts, taking great care to see that those which are the earliest to have been registered are the first to be taken up again for revision.

Article 3.—Having arrived in the country, the Tombo-keeper, in the presence of the said mohottiyar and mohandiram and the respective mudaliyars, muhandirams and lesser chiefs of the kōrales under registration, and also with the attendance of the kōrale (in so far as his services are in any way available) shall make the necessary amendments both in the Head as well as in the Land Tombo and delete in the Family Rolls the names of those who have died and those who have absconded, and also, on the other hand, enter and describe those who have come from other districts or been born since the last tombo registration, indicating their obligatory services.

30. " It being the practice hitherto, when making gifts of land or gardens by the Chief Authority, for the Dessava to give the grantee a gift-ola, and that practice being now found to be inconvenient owing to the necessity of having to have these translated on every occasion on which they are produced in order to know the contents thereof, it is resolved that in future all persons receiving such gifts of lands or gardens must obtain a Secretarial deed of gift in support of the same ". See Dutch Political Council minutes of 10th July, 1745, in *Ceylon Government Archives*, No. 1/95.

31. Translated extract from the Dutch Political Council minutes of 20th December 1759. In *Ceylon Government Archives* No. 1/131.

Article 4.—The Tombo-keeper must properly and accurately note in the Land Tombo all such gardens and sowing-fields as each family might have prepared, cultivated and planted since the last registration, indicating particularly whether they have done so with or without consent, the number of jak, coconut and arecanut trees planted in the gardens, and the extents of the sowing-fields, and what dues they yield annually to the Honourable Company.

Article 5.—The Tombo-keeper must further endorse against the names of the present owners all the gardens and sowing-fields which have changed hands since the last tombo registration up to the present time by sale, gift, inheritance, law-suit, etc., with precise information at the same time as to the manner in which the present owners have come to possess the same.

Article 6.—The Tombo-keeper must in no circumstances permit the alteration of the house or family [ge] name of the inhabitant, and also, as far as possible, try to avoid alterations in the names of the gardens and sowing-fields ; but in case such alterations are nevertheless applied for or become necessary in special circumstances, the Tombo-keeper shall allow them, showing the reasons for which such alteration is desired, and taking care to see that it is always indicated in the Tombo how such gardens and sowing-fields were previously named, who was the planter, cultivator and owner thereof, and on what authority the renaming took place.

Article 7.—The Tombo-keeper must, on the completion of every district or kōrale, always get the respective Commissioners and all the chiefs who were in attendance to sign that everything was conducted in their presence ; and meanwhile, if the revision continues for so long, the said Tombo-keeper must report monthly in a written statement to the undersigned how many villages they have revised and how many families such villages contain, and also how many gardens and sowing fields they have discovered to be without lawful owners.

Article 8.—The Tombo-keeper must, on the occasion of every lease, furnish the Honourable Dissava of these lands with a special statement of the sowing-fields discovered to be without lawful owners, in order that the obligatory customs in respect of the same may be included in the usual terms and conditions of lease.

Article 9.—The Tombo-keeper shall further, on the demise of owners who have no children, grand-children, or even brothers or sisters, withdraw for the Company all gardens which are situated in cinnamon-growing districts and are held on documentary titles from the successive Governors, even those which have been planted with consent and the dues of which have already been paid up, in order that the amount previously paid to the Company in respect of the same may thereupon be paid out to the heirs, in terms of the resolution of the 24th December, 1757 ;[32] similarly, in the case of all service paraveny lands and lawfully-owned accommodessans in the cinnamon-yielding districts, on the demise [of their owners] as aforesaid, in which case their heirs shall thereupon be given lands and other plots for cultivation and sustenance.

Article 10.—And since it has more often than not been our daily experience that the native chiefs [themselves] possess the greatest part of the illegally-owned Company's lands, the Tombo-keeper must, therefore, during his stay in the country, not depend solely on the reports of the native chiefs alone in respect of these [lands], but also employ the services of private confidantes as a surer means of eliciting the truth more definitely.

Article 11.—In order to avoid any plea of ignorance by the native chiefs, it shall be the bounden duty of both the Tombo-keeper and the Commissioners to admonish the said chiefs in most emphatic terms before the commencement of the revision,

32. See *Ceylon Government Archives*, No. 1/123.

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that, in terms of the decree of the undersigned Governor [issued] by mandate ola, they must not only render a true and explicit account of the numbers of individuals (whether Sinhalese, Malabar, Chetty, Moor, Javanese, Chinese or Chalia man or woman), likewise of the gardens and sowing-fields in their district, but also take care that they do not declare any lands belonging to others as their own, or unusually harass the rest of the inhabitants and thereby cause them to be despoiled of their lawful rights, and much less deprive anyone through hatred, envy or enmity, or enrich others through favour, upon the penalties attached thereto of a fine of 50 rix-dollars for the benefit of the Diaconate, dismissal from office, and banishment from this place, either in chains or otherwise, according to the circumstances of each case.

Article 12.—When carrying out the revision, one fair copy of the Tombos, containing space for the making of amendments, shall be retained by the Tombo-keeper, but the original or so-called draft tombos (or at least so far as they have been copied) must immediately on the commencement of the revision, be sealed in their presence by the special Commissioners with the seal of the Landraad and the cachets of the said Commissioners and the Tombo-keeper, and thus deposited in the Landraad and locked up there in a special almirah, and should on no account whatsoever be unsealed again in the absence of the Tombo-keeper.

Article 13.—Finally, the Tombo-keeper shall draw double batta during the time he remains in the country, and must therefore purchase all his provisions at the fixed prices, and demand or take nothing whatsoever as gifts from the inhabitants. He must also see that the mohottiyar and the mohandiram do not draw daily more than a "pehindum"[33] each for their own and their servants' sustenance and the said "pehindum" shall consist of nothing else and cost no more than what is indicated below :

For the Mohottiyar

2½ medieds of rice	..	rix-dollars	..	–. 5
¼ medied of butter	..	,,	..	–. 3
2 fowls	..	,,	..	–. 1½
5 eggs	..	,,	..	–. 5/8
2 coconuts	..	,,	..	–. 2/8
Saffron, salt, pepper, Sinhalese ears[34]		,,	..	–. 1
½ medied of lamp-oil	..	,,	..	–. 1
		rix-dollars	..	–. 12½

For the Mohaadiram

2 medieds of rice	..	rix-dollars	..	–. 4
¼ medied of butter	..	,,	..	–. 3
2 fowls	..	,,	..	–. 1½
5 eggs	..	,,	..	–. 5/8
2 coconuts	..	,,	..	–. 2/8
Saffron, salt, pepper, Sinhalese ears[34]		,,	..	–. 1
½ medied of lamp-oil	..	,,	..	–. 1
		rix-dollars	..	–. 11½

33. Raw provisions supplied to chiefs, headmen, etc., by the inhabitants of the villages, as opposed to "adukku" or "cooked provisions."

34. This is the literal translation of the phrase used in the Dutch text ; it is not clear to which commodity this term was applied.

And, in order further to ensure that the above orders will be duly carried out, the said Tombo-keeper and the Commissioners must guarantee the same by a special oath ; and likewise must they after the entire revision of all the tombos, and also the respective native chiefs after the completion of each korale or district, be bound to declare on oath in the Landraad, that the necessary amendments have been correctly and honestly effected by them, with no wanton or wilful prejudice whatsoever either to the Honourable Company or to the inhabitant, or corruption through gifts or favours of any kind whatsoever, or even by muleting anyone through enmity or enriching another through favour.

Colombo, the 20th December, 1759.

(Signed) JN. SCHREUDER.

DOCUMENT No. 3[35]

Considering the great need in respect of the Head and Land Tombo of the Colombo dessavony owing to the many material changes which have taken place among the inhabitants and their possessions since the [last] revision, and particularly during the recent troubles, both by death and desertion, as well as by purchase, inheritance, confiscation or other circumstances, since the debateable question has now been brought up for discussion as to the manner in which their revision can best be conducted with the greatest effect and with the least trouble, and particularly whether this ordained work should be performed by Commissioners of the Landraad and a Surveyor, who should make a circuit through the kōrales for this purpose (as suggested by the Councillor-Ordinary Mr. Schreuder in the memoir left by him as outgoing Governor of this Island), or whether the inhabitants should be summoned here from the country for the purpose to attend before the Landraad in convenient batches to record their names, families, possessions and other details needed for the tombo registration (as prescribed by His Excellency the late Mr. van Imhoff, of beloved memory, in the memoir left by him as outgoing Governor of this Island) : it was accordingly reflected (after due regard to the advice rendered by the merchants Anthony Diderig, former Lieutenant Dissâva, both at Matara and at this place, and William Jakob van de Graaff, Superintendent of the Mahabadda),[36] as persons who were well experienced in land matters that, by adopting the former method one would not run the risk of being deceived in these matters through false or insufficient information and reports by the inhabitants, to which one is liable to be entirely exposed by pursuing the second method ; but that, as against this, it can also be argued, firstly, that the despatch of Commissioners and Surveyors involved a much longer time, and must at the same time inevitably be a very heavy burden on the inhabitants, and secondly, that the whole work would then entirely depend not only on the honesty of the Commissioners and Surveyors but also on their vigilance, who, being allowed a free hand in this important commission, can easily be cajoled by the inhabitants who have [special] interests or even be misled by deceitful reports and witnesses, while, on the other hand, the second method affords the prospect of a very quick progress and completion of the work, and the counteracting fears of fraudulent reports by interested parties could easily be eliminated by levying heavy penalties for suppressing or rendering of false statements of any possessions, and by surprise test-surveys of any of the registered lands and gardens regarding which there may be some doubt, whereby the guilt of the informants will undoubtedly be discovered through the jealous nature of the natives ; it was thereupon unanimously agreed and resolved to adopt this latter method in preference to the former, and to have the revision accordingly done by the Tombo-keeper and two Commissioners from

35. Translated extract from the Dutch Political Council minutes of 5th September 1766 : *in Ceylon Government Archives No. 1/149; see also copy filed in prel. No. 4539 (old Galle No. 628).*

36. The "Great" or Cinnamon Department.

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the Landraad, who shall hold sessions at the Landraad-house daily for the purpose, and, in that work, carefully follow the instruction already compiled for them in advance, which, having thus been read out at this meeting, was approved and confirmed, as follows :

Instruction for the direction of the Commissioners of the Landraad and the Registrar of the Tombos in the matter of the compilation of the new Tombo.

Article 1.—The new tombo registration approved at the session of the 5th instant shall take place at the Landraad-house in the presence of two Commissioners from the Landraad, who shall meet daily, except on Sundays and other Church days, at 7 o'clock in the morning at the Landraad-house, and devote themselves only to that work, but they shall be relieved weekly by others and assisted by the Tombo-keeper Benjamin Gerritsz, the superior direction of this work resting with the Honourable the Dessava.[37]

Article 2.—The registration shall begin with the Four Gravets, to be followed first by the Salpiti Korale, then by the Vidany of Gampaha, and thereafter the remaining korales one after the other, according to the order in which they were last revised, so that that which has been longest in existence shall be taken up first for revision ; and the Honourable Dessava shall summon [the inhabitants of] such korale, pattu or vidany as is next due to be taken up half a month in advance by beat of tom-tom and posting up of written notices, to appear under their chiefs, up to and including the vidanes.

Article 3.—The Commissioners must see that every morning, before the registration begins, there is indicated in the margin of the draft tombo the date and the names of the Commissioners, who shall daily sign under the cathern when they cease work, in order that it may be seen at a glance how many families and possessions are registered and dealt with by the Commissioners each day.

Article 4.—In carrying out the registration, the Tombo-keeper shall call up the families to be registered one after the other, in the same order in which they appear in the old Tombo, and enter them in the new Tombo under the same numbers which they bear in the old Tombo, omitting those which have since died, and inserting or adding those who have since been born.

Article 5.—No one shall be shown in the Tombo as a mudaliyar, mohandiram, korala, mahavidana, vidana, atukorala, arachchi, kangani, patangatyn, bass, safframadu appuhamy, vibadda, or as any other chief, unless he has furnished proof of his professed status (in the case of offices up to and including mahavidanas, with an act of appointment by the Right Honourable the Governor of this Island, and in the case of lower offices, with a certificate of the Honourable Dessava of Colombo), and the Commissioners shall not only hold the Tombo-keeper to a careful observance of this article, but shall examine the acts [of appointment] and certificates themselves before they are registered.

Article 6.—The lascarins, mayorals, naindes, extra-ordinary officials and coolies shown in the old tombo must on no account whatsoever, except on a special written order of the Honourable the Governor, be taken over to any other office in the new Tombo, but each individual must, on the contrary, be registered under his former status ; and those who declare themselves as lascarins, particularly, must prove that they have held this office prior to the year 1748, those who since that year have managed to sneak in to the lascarin service from lower offices being reverted

37. Chapter 4 of Dessava D. T. Fretz's memoir of 1792 on the Colombo dessavony relates to the duties of the Dessave in connection with the Tombo registration : see pp. 15–18 of the Dutch text in Ceylon Government archives No. 1/2709.

to their former status and registered in the Tombo under the office which they held in the year 1748 ; and the lascarins of the year 1748 or earlier must be entered according to the registered rolls, and no supernumeraries must be shown as confirmed lascarins.

Article 7.—The family having been thus registered, their permanent possessions must be registered under the same number in a separate roll, omitting such of their lands, gardens, and inheritances or portions as have been alienated from the family since the last land tombo, and taking in those which they have since acquired ; and the Commissioners and the Tombo-keeper must carefully examine the title of ownership or possession in respect of each piece of land or inheritance, namely, whether they have been acquired by purchase, donation, or deed of gift, whether they have been planted with the consent of the Company or occupied without consent, a particular note whereof must be made in the Tombo ; and there must be further indicated in it the individual possessions of the entire family and also what each individual member of the family separately owns, whether the Company's share [of the produce] of the sowing-fields and gardens planted both with as well as without consent have been paid up, and if not, what thither they must pay to the Company for the same, and what they particularly possess for their services.

Article 8.—The Tombo-keeper shall not allow an alteration of any kind in the "ge" or family name of the landholder, and he must also try, as far as possible, to avoid alteration of the names of the gardens and sowing-fields ; but in case, however, the same is required or applied for in special circumstances, the Tombo-keeper shall, with the foreknowledge and approval of the Commissioners, allow it, indicating the old name, and taking care that it can always be seen from the Tombo how such gardens and sowing-fields were formerly named and who planted and possessed them.

Article 9.—Besides the lascarins, mayorals, naindes, coolies, extra-ordinary officials, village smiths, potters, barbers, tom-tom beaters, horn-blowers, pipers, dancers, dhobies, wood-cutters and all such feudaries, no one may possess anything free for his service ; the accommodessans of the aforesaid feudaries are clearly prescribed and indicated in the last regulation, and proof must be furnished for their surplus holdings.

Article 10.—Every chief of a household and each individual member of the same, who possesses any separate plot of land or inheritance besides the family possessions, shall be obliged to declare truthfully and without concealing anything, the extents of their lands, gardens or inheritances, and with how many coconut, jak and arecanut trees they are planted ; and an accurate note thereof must be made.

Article 11.—In addition to the record in the Tombo, the Tombo-keeper shall maintain a separate list of all lands, sowing-fields, gardens or inheritances in respect of which no legal certificates of ownership are furnished, and in it indicate in which year they have been clandestinely occupied, so far as this information can be elicited, and this must especially be observed in regard to the lands occupied since the last tombo registration, and particularly during the troublous times,[38] of which list a copy must be furnished every month to the undersigned, together with a written report by the Commissioners and the Tombo-keeper of the number of villages that have been revised.

Article 12.—During the revision the Commissioners and the Tombo-keeper shall also especially see that no accommodessans or service (paraveny) lands are given away as marriage portions to daughters, as these must always pass on to the male

38. The war with Kandy and the revolts at Matara and other places which preceded it (1760–1766 A.D.).

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descendants, who must render the services imposed thereon. For the same reasons, no service paraveny lands may also be sold or alienated in any other way, to which the Commissioners and the Tombo-keeper must carefully pay attention during the examination of the titles of ownership, acknowledging or taking over to the Tombo no other sales than those of free paraveny lands which are acquired by sale or by gift, of which authentic deeds of sale or gift must be furnished.

Article 13.—The Tombo-keeper shall not register anyone under any family whatsoever as an adopted, or under the designation of an adopted son, without a clear indication of his obligatory service.

Article 14.—As soon as the new tombo of a pattu is completed, the Commissioners shall hand over the original or draft [of the same], duly signed, to the Landraad, where the same shall be sealed and deposited, after a copy of it has been given to the Tombo-keeper, in order that subsequent amendments and endorsements may be recorded in it, for which purpose the necessary space must accordingly be left in the copy ; and the original tombo shall not be unsealed except on the order of the Honourable the Governor, and that too in the [presence of the] entire Landraad, or, in case of emergency, by the Honourable the Dessava and two Commissioners from that Court, and in the presence of the Tombo-keeper ; and after the necessary proof has been extracted therefrom, it shall be sealed afresh, and no alteration whatsoever shall be made nor anything written therein.

Article 15.—After the completion of the revision and the handing over of the old tombos to the Landraad as hereinbefore mentioned, the Tombo-keeper alone shall make no cancellation, whether of gardens or fields ; but if anyone furnishes proof by deeds of purchase or gift that he has bought any gardens or fields from anyone since the revision, or obtained them from the Chief Authority for planting or cultivation, then the Tombo-keeper must show the certificates thereof to the ordinary Commissioners of the Landraad, and if they find them to be authentic, he must maintain a separate record thereof and have it duly endorsed by them, and thereafter, by virtue of the same, show such plots [of land] separately in the margin of the revised tombo between the registered possessions, without any erasure or addition, indicating at the same time under what folios or numbers they appear in the separate record signed by the Commissioners, so that anyone desiring to do so may see at a glance on what evidence such gardens or fields were admitted after the revision, and what Commissioners were present on the occasion.

Article 16.—But if anyone wishes to sell gardens or sowing-fields which have been planted and cultivated without consent, the owner must first obtain the permission of the Landraad, so that the same may be properly surveyed by the sworn Surveyor, but without a fee, in order that the sale may not be effected without proper deeds, to which the Tombo-keeper and the Commissioners shall pay careful attention.

Article 17.—When issuing extracts, the Tombo-keeper must give the entire family and property of the persons concerned, but not a mere name from the family roll and a single garden or sowing-field from the property-roll, and that too, not without a specific order of the Honourable Dessāva or the Landraad.[39]

Article 18.—And, in order to make assurance doubly sure in every detail, the Tombo-keeper and the Commissioners concerned with the making of the revision, and also all the native chiefs who were present at the same, must specially swear an oath that they have honestly and truly made the necessary amendments in

39. The scale of fees chargeable by the Tombo-keeper for the registration and issue of certificates in respect of lands for extracts from the Tombo is indicated in the memoir of Dessava D. T. Fretz of 1792 on the Colombo dessavony. See pp. 16–18 of the Dutch text in *Ceylon Government Archives*, No. 1/2709.

every detail, with no wilful or wanton prejudice whatsoever either to the Honourable Company or to the inhabitant, or corruption, directly or indirectly, through gifts or bribes, and much less mulcted anyone through enmity or enriched another through favour.

Colombo, the 5th September, 1766.

(Signed) Im. Will. Falck.

GLOSSARY TO THE ABOVE

Accommodessan	..	Portuguese "accommodacao"—accommodation ; land granted in consideration of offices held or services rendered.
Anda	..	A tax, generally of half the produce, levied on lands given out for cultivation.
Atukōrāla	..	An assistant to a Korala or chief head of a district.
Commandeur	..	The Administrator of a Dutch "Commandement" or Province.
Dessāva	..	Sinhalese title for a Governor.
Dessāvony	..	The jurisdiction of a "Dessava" or Chief Revenue Officer of a Province: there were thus the Dessavonies of Colombo, Jaffna and Matara.
Divel	..	Same as "accommodessans" : lands held for service or for maintenance of the grantees.
Kōrāla	..	Sinhalese title for the Civil head of a Korale or district.
Kōrale	..	Sinh. a territorial division consisting of two or more pattus.
Landraad	..	A Civil Court of the Dutch exercising jurisdiction over natives in matters relating to land and contract and debt where the amount exceeded 120 rix-dollars.
Lascarin	..	"native militia", originally from Persian "lashkar", an army.
Mudaliyar	..	A native military chief of a district.
Ola	..	Indo-Port : "Palm-leaf" from Tamil "olai". Olas are documents written on palm leaf.
Paraveny	..	Sinh. "land which is the private property of an individual proprietor, land long possessed by his family.
Pattu	..	Sinh. a territorial division ; sub-division of a Korale.
Placcaat	..	Dutch : a notice, advertisement or proclamation.
Vidāna	..	Sinh. title for a minor headman of a village or division, through whom the orders of the Government were conveyed to the people.
Vidāny	..	Sinh. a territorial division or district.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Tropical World—By Pierre Gourou—translated into English by E. Laborde. (*Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd.*—18*s.*).

The tropical world excites the interest of the West today as strongly as it did in an earlier age, but for a different reason. The economic advantages to the European with its corollary of political domination, has given place to independence to many tropical countries under the stress of a growing nationalism, while the other tropical regions that are still dependent are in the transition stage to freedom. Independence in the tropics however is not solely a political problem, as we in South-East Asia have only too well seen. It is more an economic and social problem—how an underdeveloped country is to improve its living standards so that political independence will have its fullest meaning to all the people. Pierre Gourou's *Tropical World* written to state and answer some of these economic problems, is now presented in an English translation by E. D. Laborde. The book is both interesting and valuable for the Ceylon reader as Ceylon too comes within the scope of the work, and the problems and solutions in the book, derived as they are from a study of the entire tropical world, are applicable to a great extent in this country. The perfervid nationalist and the communist will find much in the book that explains the economic ills of the country from causes other than European domination.

The method of study was what I found most interesting in the book. Dr. Gourou shows that certain fundamental physical conditions that are common to the whole tropical world are at the base of the problems. Most of these arise from the hot, wet tropical climate. Thus " the problem of the tropics is one of health ", says Dr. Gourou at the very beginning of the book ; as the climate is conducive to disease the tropic dweller suffers from all the diseases that men in temperate zones are subject to, plus certain others that are peculiar to the tropics. These diseases such as malaria, intestinal diseases (dysentery, ankylostomiasis), yellow fever and sleeping sickness knock out the people and makes unfit for work those whom it spares. Apart from improved medical and sanitary services, the solution to this problem is one of better diet, but here again another fundamental defect goes against good agriculture in the tropics. Tropical soils are poor, as the constant rains carry the bases and nitrates deeper and deeper into the soil, while any humus deposited is similarly wasted or destroyed by micro-organisms or insects like termites, with which the tropics abound. The constant rains besides wash away the top soil off any cleared area in a short time, and the peasant lacks both the know-how and the means to counter this erosion.

How then does the peasant overcome the poverty of the soil ? He solves it in the worst possible way, he does not improve the land but changes it for another when exhausted. This shifting cultivation (chenas in Ceylon) is bad as it both impoverishes the soil and lays it open to erosion. In this respect the author mentions the collapse of the Mayan civilization which was due to this shifting cultivation exhausting the soil to the point where it could no longer support the population.

But if agriculture cannot be of great value to the peasant why does he not turn to stock rearing or industry which can ensure better returns. Here again the physical defects are insurmountable. Cattle are subject to diseases in the tropics that temperate zone cattle are immune from, and the only varieties resistant to them are small and valueless. The tropical climate is besides not conducive to the preserving of pastoral produce (meat, milk products, etc.), while big tropical

pastures are rare and the grasses in them are of poor food value to cattle, lacking phosphorous and other essential ingredients. Similarly, no industrialization is possible in the tropics, for apart from the absence of capital and technical knowledge, minerals are scarce and more important, the whole tropical world lacks a single coal field of extent which could provide the power for industry.

How then do these defects react on the people ? The peasant as noted earlier requires better diet to resist the tropical diseases but this is prohibited by the poverty of the soil which makes for a ruinous form of agriculture, while the absence of livestock means, the diet is vegetarian and deficient in proteins, fats, calcium and other vitamins. Custom, habit and taste are further to blame for the poor diet, like Hinduism's prohibition of cattle slaughter.

These are the problems which Dr. Gourou states, for the tropical world. One could not isolate any one factor as the culprit, but everything moves in a vicious circle to keep the land unproductive and the people undernourished and poor. But what of the solution ? Is there no means by which conditions could improve ? Firstly disease should be curbed so that people could work and next education should teach scientific methods of agriculture which aim at conserving the soil. Mixed farming, of agriculture and live-stock, will give some relief while the potentialities for hydro-electricity in the tropics will solve one of the major obstacles to industrialization.

Though the problem of the tropics is excellently stated by Dr. Gourou, one could question however his statement that the tropics are incapable of maintaining a high civilization. This has been true of the American and African tropics but is only partly true of Asia. Dr. Gourou admits this however, but his explanation of the phenomenon is not convincing, particularly his statement that " much of the civilization (Indian) comes from without, perhaps the better parts ". This would be an incorrect view of Indian civilization, as there are certain civilizations within the tropics, like that of the Dravidians in South India, that seem to have reached a high level of advancement completely free of outside influence. It would I think be wrong to assume, as Dr. Gourou by implication does, that the tropics are capable of producing only inferior forms of civilization. The factors are too variable for a generalisation to be made and exceptions do exist.

S. D.

The English Local Government Franchise : A Short History—*By* B. Keith Lucas. (*Blackwell & MacMillan & Co.*—27*s.* 6*d.*).

Democracy in English local government, where all the adults of an area elect the local authority is only a comparatively recent growth. The local government franchise has a history as old and as varied and fought for as the Parliamentary franchise. The subject however has not received the proper attention of scholars apart from the Webbs who published four works on English local government, between 1906 and 1929. Since none of them deal specifically with the franchise, Dr. Keith Lucas' work is of great value to the student. In the book he gives a lucid account of the development of democracy in English local government, while one could also get a fairly comprehensive understanding of the whole set up of the local government machinery itself.

The main feature of English local government history is that it underwent all its democratising influences in the course of the bare sixty years following the Reform Bill and has remained more or less unchanged since then. In 1834 there were very few elected local authorities while in 1894 every town and village had a council elected by the people. The change was only the corollary of the democratisation of the central government, but whereas the extension of the central franchise was done by the three Reform Bills of 1832, 1867 and 1884, local government saw, literally, more than a score of acts.

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In 1832, the Municipal Corporations, select vestries and other local government institutions were all part of the great structure of privilege and abuse which had grown out of the power of a single dominating class. The privileged landed gentry ran the Parliament, the church, the universities, the army and navy and in fact all institutions which could be used to their advantage. But the privileges as expressed in local government were the most galling, as being the most widely noticed. Hence, very soon after the Reform Bill, reforms were sought in local government institutions. This reform movement derived its inspiration from the "radicalism" of Bentham and Francis Place while the actual fighters were Hobhouse (select vestries), Brougham and Joseph Parkes (Municipal Corporations) and Joseph Hume (Counties).

The problems that arose once the democratizing process set in were the same that faces local government anywhere in a rapidly developing society. Firstly the question of centralization. In 1834 the Committee on the Poor Law recommended the policy of "inspectability" by which the Central Government appointed a Board of Poor Law Commissioners to control local bodies. This was of fundamental importance in the subsequent history of local government. The effect worked in opposition by strengthening local independence and provoking the grant of total local democracy in 1894 by Gladstone. The Liberals who were for less centralization, saw in local democracy the great virtue of education for national citizenship that Mill had outlined so well in his *considerations on Responsible Government*.

But the Liberal's local democracy was to undergo a further change that was to tend back to centralization. Thus in 1834 the view was that only those who paid taxes should run local government, whose primary functions were thought to be, not the provision of public services, but the honest and frugal administration of public funds. Suffrage was thus in 1834 limited to the rate-payers. But this typical *laissez faire* attitude was to undergo a change. With the growth of industrialism and particularly the towns the duties of local bodies were seen, in a larger sphere—the provision of public utilities such as gas, water, electricity, transport, etc. These new services affected everyone living within the local body, and so the franchise was extended to embrace them all. But while the public utilities provided by the local bodies increased, their revenues remained the same, resulting in more and more dependence on the national exchequer, with its corresponding increase in centralization.

The present work is divided into two parts, the earlier section dealing with the democratization of the vestry, municipal corporations and the county governments, while the second part deals with the more technical aspects of the franchise such as electoral procedure, qualifications and disqualifications for electing and being elected ; which cannot easily be included in the chronological accounts of the first part. A very desirable feature is the appendices which include the Select Vestries Bill, a summary of the relevant sections of the principal statutes relating to the local government franchise, a select bibliography and an index of the Acts of Parliament referred to throughout the work.

M. S.

Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung—Vol. I. (*Lawrence & Wishart, Ltd.*—6*s*.)

Students of Communism, specially Chinese Communism, have always been handicapped by the absence of an "authorised" edition of the writings of Mao Tse-Tung, the founder of Communism in Asia. Several editions of Mao's *Selected Works* have however appeared previously in various places, but none of them had been attended to by the author and the tests were frequently disfigured with errors while certain important writings were left out.

It is therefore with much pleasure that one welcomes this five volume English edition of the complete works of Mao Tse-Tung, which is a translation of the four volume complete works published in Chinese. This later edition was compiled by a commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and was published by the People's Publishing House in Peking in 1952. The edition besides, was gone through by Mao personally, who "went over all the articles, making certain verbal changes here and there, and in a few cases, revising or amplifying certain passages". This edition is thus the most reliable of the published texts of Mao's writings and deserves the greatest attention though its completeness is somewhat marred by the fact that certain important writings such as *Rural Surveys* and *On Economic and Financial Problems* have been left out, as they are very widely known.

The writings being arranged in chronological order, the present volume which is the first in the series, deals with the periods of the first and second Revolutionary Civil Wars which lasted from 1926 to 1936. The period covered is one of the most imortant phases of Chinese Communism, as it saw the birth and consolidation of the movement, and like those sections of Lenin's work which were published in the years before the Revolution, one sees in these writings a remarkable inter-mixture of political philosophy and an exhortation to political action. They are besides valuable for the light they throw on the history of the Communist movement itself, as well as the ways of thinking of its leader. They are of further value as explaining much of the confused military and political alignments that complicate the history of China in this period.

Since the aim of the volume is to present all Mao's writings within the ten years following 1926, one finds serious passages such as "An Analysis of the Change in Chinese Societs" juxtaposed between chapters on strategic and military problems that are only of a lesser importance. It is proposed here to take into consideration these more important passages, which are in a way a reversal of traditional Marxism in that the peasant is substituted for the industrial worker as the instrument of the Communist Revolution. This fresh development in Marxism caused by the conditions of an agrarian society was in a way, faced in Russia by Lenin also, and Mao's writings throughout show the profound influence exerted on him both by the writings of the Russian leader and by the working of the proletarian dictatorship in Russia under Stalin. Apart from developing this aspect of Marxism, Lenin made practicable the objectives of the *Manifesto* by laying down the policy of the strong well disciplined party educating the masses to revolution. To this Mao has hardly anything new to add and virtually quotes Lenin *verbatim*.

Chinese society at the outset of Communism was different from the antagonism between middle class and proletariat which Marx thought of as the prelude to Revolution. The "proletariat" meaning workers under a capitalist system of industrial production numbered a mere two million, the "middle class" as the exploiting class in a capitalist system of production relations was minute. The real class antagonism was between the landlord and the landless peasantry, while in between was a very considerable "petty bourgeoisie" of small land owning peasants, who would divide at the time of revolution into the two opposing camps as Marx had stated in his classic thesis. In such a society how then was the revolution to be created ?

For this Mao hit on Lenin's brilliant plan that had been largely responsible for the rapid success of the Communist movement in Russia. Since land was about the only existent capital, "all land should be confiscated and redistributed" (p. 87), thereby securing the support of the great majority of the peasantry. But though this was sound practical politics, it was poor Marxism, for several reasons. Firstly, Marx said that the proletariat should collectively own the means of production, not a larger number of separate individuals. Secondly, Marx thought of the Communist revolution as arising out of the conflict of the opposite

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forces of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in an industrial society. To him it was inconceivable that there could be a proletariat revolution when the proletariat was an infinitesimal minority, and the real class antagonism was between two other groups—such as say, the feudal landlords and the landless peasantry, as was the case in both Russia and China.

Lenin faced both these contradictions squarely. First regards the redistribution of land to the peasantry, this was largely a tactic to establish power with a view to later collectivisation (such as has happened in Russia and is gradually happening in China). The second question of jumping a stage in the development of society and establishing a proletarian dictatorship with a microscopic proletariat was not so easily disposed of. But Lenin, in the name of " Living Marxism " began the 1917 Revolution, saying that such a situation could indeed arise if only there was a strong and well disciplined party which could lead the peasants and so instil the proper proletarian (industrial worker) outlook into them. Thus the Communist Party acquired for Lenin a fundamental importance. In this respect, in the present volume Mao similarly stresses the role of the party. (pp. 105–116, 258–29). It is highly organised, well disciplined and united and has as its aim the indoctrination of the peasantry to communism.

Thus Mao has not made any significant contribution to the development of Marxist philosophy as most of the problems he faced were similar to those which confronted Lenin and were solved by him. Nevertheless, the volume is useful reading and will help to fill in those details where Lenin is incomplete.

S. K.

Elizabethan Venture—By Cecil Tragen. (*H. F. & G. Withelby Ltd.*—10*s.* 6*d.*)

The first Elizabethan age in England sparkles with a spirit of adventure that has hardly been surpassed. There were the great Sea Captains—Drake, Frobisher, Raleigh, Hawkins and a score of others. But emphasis has always been focussed on these glamorous and exciting figures to the disadvantage of those men who by their travels opened up far more important chapters in the history of English overseas expansion than, say, the piracies of men like Drake, the slave-trading of Hawkins or the glorious failures of Raleigh and Frobisher. Two of these obscure and neglected figures are John Newbery and Ralph Fitch. Though commercial travellers rather than dashing Sea Captains, yet Newbery introduced England to Persia and the Middle East and led an expedition to India while Fitch's journeys in India and South-East Asia was responsible for that momentous event, the founding of the English East India Company in 1600, a concern that was later to outgrow its trading functions and become the originator of a great imperial power. Ceylon readers too have good reason to rembmer Ralph Fitch for he is generally credited with having been the first Englishman to arrive in Ceylon.

The present work by Cecil Tragen is an attempt to give an account of the background and significance of the travels of these two intrepid adventurers together with the complete accounts of their travels. The reconstruction is possible since the Reverend Richard Hakluyt, Professor at Oxford, and a good friend of Ralph Fitch, made the latter write down the whole story of his experiences, and published it in his *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* in 1600. The Dutchman John Linschoten, who had known Newbery and Fitch in India also published his experiences in the *Voyage to the Indies* in 1598 and his work serves as a good supplementary source for Fitch's narrative. As noted earlier, the travels of Newbery and Fitch have not received its due share of recognition and apart from the narrative itself which was republished in a Hakluyt Society edition in 1884, only Sir William Foster's *Early Travellers in India* and the

works of J. H. Ryley (1899), Wood (1935), and Hall (1945) deal with this fascinating subject. Only one work, J. H. Ryley's *Ralph Fitch, England's Pioneer in India* deals exclusively with the travels. Thus Mr. Tragen's present work is very welcome, and though it is not what one might call a strict historical work, yet it excellently provides the flesh to the dry bones of the history of the earliest Englishmen in Asia.

In the 16th century all the factors were heavily weighted against an Englishman seeking the Eastern trade. The Portuguese fortified with the Papal Award had built a ring of strategic fortresses round the shores of Asia and established a monopoly of trade. This monopoly could be broken, it was thought at first, by discovering a North-Western or North-Eastern passage—a back door to Asia, and hence the attempts of Frobisher and others. Theoretically this idea was sound but impossible in practice, and towards the end of the 16th century it was becoming apparent that entry could not be made by the back door, and was only possible through the front door round the Cape, or by the side door of the Eastern Mediterranean. It was the side door that was first tried when the Turkey Company, a long established English concern, set up an expedition to the Middle East under John Newbery.

Newbery's travels are without parallel for courage. He set out from Palestine by caravan to Ormuz through the Tigris and the Euphrates and from Ormuz returned to England through Persia, Asia Minor, Turkey, Poland and Danzig. Thus in one expedition Newbery opened up Persia, and showed the feasibility to Englishmen of the land routes to the East. Such a striking achievement could not go unrewarded and on his return to England, the owners of the company set out an Eastern expedition of four under Newbery's command. The four travellers —Newbery, Fitch, Leeds and Storey—took the overland route from Palestine to Ormuz where they were captured and sent as prisoners of the Portuguese to Goa. At Goa however they escaped, though leaving behind one of their number and set out on foot to Agra, the Court of the Mogul Emperor. At Agra, the travellers met Akbar and presented him with a letter from Queen Elizabeth, but no strong contact could be made with the Great Mogul, and very soon Newbery and Fitch left Agra, leaving behind another of the company who took up service as a jeweller at the court. Shortly after, Newbery, decided to return home by the overland route through the Khyber and Persia, so as to come out East again with a ship, but was never heard of again. Now alone, Fitch set out alone down the Ganges, went up to Tibet in search of an entry to China, and on failing at it, travelled to Burma by sea and from there down the coast right up to Malacca, where again he made unsuccessful attempts to go to China. The return journey from Malacca was made through Malaya, Burma, Ceylon, Cochin, Goa, Chaul and Ormuz and overland to Aleppo.

Fitch's travels took up a period of eight years from 1583, but the England he returned to was a new land. The Invincible Armada had been blasted off the seas, and now English traders no longer needed to use the difficult and expensive overland route. As one of the strongest sea powers, Englishmen could safely enter Aisa at the Cape, and shortly after in 1600, the English East India Company was founded. Fitch's advice was always most sought after by the new company's promoters, and after his narrative was published in 1598, he continued to inspire Englishmen in the East long after he was dead.

From this brief review of the contents, one could judge the value of the book. Written in an easy style it reads like an excellent adventure story but that every detail in it is perfectly true, is in a way, a monument to the courage and ingenuity of the founders of the British dominion in Asia.

R.

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Lord Macaulay—By Giles St. Aubyn. (*Falcon Educational Books*—7*s*. 6*d*.).

A hundred years is an excellent time after which to look back on historical events and persons and Thomas Macaulay, poet, historian, essayist and Whig, died nearly a century ago. In his lifetime he was a celebrated figure both as writer and as statesman, and a prosperous and complacent Victorian England, buried him in no less a place than Westminster Abbey. Yet today, his poems are not read beyond the secondary school stage, the method of history he mastered so well is hardly considered the best, while both the Whig principles he so fervently worked for and his ideas, such as the natural progress of man, are as dead as is his Victorian England. But much could be salvaged ; if one goes through the life of Thomas Macaulay today and ask what part of his work is the most alive today, the answer is not his literary works nor his services to the Whig party in England, but the enormous influence he exerted on the development of India through his Minute on Education and through the Criminal Code he drafted. Nevertheless English biographers persist in emphasising. Macaulay as essayist and historian, and not surprisingly as the years go by, it becomes more and more difficulty to build him up to anything more than an interesting but very dated figure.

Macaulay has attracted many biographers, for though most of his achievements are dated today, in Victorian England he was a hero. The most outstanding of these is the monumental *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay* written by his nephew G. O. Trevelyan, while other excellent biographies have been published by Cotter Morrison and more recently by Arthur Bryant. The present biography by George St. Aubyn is a short one of a hundred pages, and is meant in the authors words to " discover what sort of a man Macaulay was and why his books are still read wherever English is spoken ". Naturally the emphasis is on Macaulay the writer, and more important aspects such as the fruitful years spent on the Council of India are only given casual mention.

Born in 1800, the son of Zachary Macaulay, one of the leaders of the Anti-Slave Trade movement, young Thomas had a brilliant career at Cambridge followed by the Bar, and entered Parliament in 1830 as a Whig member, for a pocket borough, presented to him by his patron, Lord Lansdowne. A momentous time for England, with the Reform Bill in the offing, Macauay put his heart and soul into the Whig effort and made a brilliant series of speeches in Parliament. Never after did he forget the principles of the Reform Bill and remained a solid Whig to the end. But yet, Macaulay was poorly off financially and finding that a honest political career required independent means, he accepted a post on the Council of the East India Company at £10,000 a year.

It was in India that he proposed those two reforms that were to have a profound influence on the future development of that country and give him a permanent place in her history if not in that of England. As President of the Committee on Indian Education, Macaulay made his famous minute and laid down the policy that Indians should be taught English and thereby introduced to the learning of the West. Besides this, after the Charter of 1833, Macaulay was largely responsible for framing the Indian Criminal Code which was later to prevail throughout the Indian Empire. One could perhaps say with some justification that both reforms were inevitable, but yet it is almost certain that if not for him they would never have come so soon. The policy of English education for natives was got through the Committee largely on Macaulay's insistence, and was later to be adopted throughout the whole Colonial Empire. The influence of English and of a common law in regenerating India is too obvious to need more emphasis.

Back home in 1839, Macaulay served two terms as Member for Edinburgh in the House of Commons, was Secretary for War in 1844, and was raised to the peerage in 1857, two years before his death.

Regards his literary works, most of which were written after his return from India, of course the greatest is his unfinished *History of England*. His *Lays of Ancient Rome* and other poems were not considered great poetry in hs own times and are given even less attention today. The *History of England* was a grand project and was written with a masterly command of the language that makes this work read even today, as a superb example of good English though as a history it is of doubtful value. Macaulay's history was based very little on accessible evidence and in the attempt to make history " alive ", facts were often disregarded or distorted, as in the oft qoted case of Marlborough; though in fairness to him it should be stated that the concepts of history accepted today was not even thought of in Macaulay's time. Similarly, his statements like "history is full of the signs of the natural progress of society" or "the past is in my mind constructed into a romance" can be understood, if we remember him solely as a man fully of his time.

The present biography is not any different from the traditional biographies that have been written on Macaulay and cannot be so, since the author's stated aim is to understand why Macaulay's books are still read today ? Nevertheless it does provide in a handy and condensed form all that has been said more lengthily by his previous biographers.

G.

A Short History of India—By W. H. Moreland and A. C. Chatterjee. (*Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd.*—Rs. 12.).

It is happy to note a new revised edition of the well known book by W. H. Moreland and A. C. Chatterjee on the history of India. Originally published in 1936, a second edition bringing the history up to 1943 was printed in 1944. The present third edition brings the account up to 1947, the eventful year of both independence and partition. Due to the death of Dr. Moreland in 1938 both the later editions are the work of Dr. Chatterjee alone.

In the Preface to the first edition the authors remarked that their aim was to leave out the details and concentrate on the main theme—" the evolution of Indian culture and its response to successive foreign contacts ". Perspective is thus admirably gained, though the higher student suffers much from the absence of the details, specially as no references are given in the book. For the younger student, specially those doing the G.C.E., H.S.C. and University Entrance examinations however, the book could be unhesitatingly recommended, as through it an excellent view is got of the background of the great drama of Indian history, so that details learnt later will fit in easily.

The several editions and reprints of the work is ample testimony to its value, and it is in fact so well known as not to require a complete review of its contents. Suffice it to say, that starting from the geographical unity of India, the stream of Indian History is traced from the Indus Valley and the coming of the Aryans through the Maurya, Saka, Kushana, Gupta and Muslim empires to the British conquest which ended in 1947. Additional chapters on Buddhism, Jainism and Hinduism and on cultural developments help to maintain a fine balance in the book between the political, economic, religious and cultural aspects of this vast subject.

In the latter part of the book specially in the period 1936 to 1947, which are the recent additions, one would have liked to see the causes of partition more clearly stated, specially the social and economic background to separation, as against the usually over-emphasized religious aspect. This is indeed the more surprising as the book throughout quite rightly stresses the economic and social background.

Though the authors note in the Preface that lack of space prevents a select bibliography from being given, we think that its inclusion in a later edition will prove of benefit to students, as helping to guide them in their more detailed studies. We are suggesting this as the *Cambridge History of India* to which the author refers the student for a full bibliography, is not usually available in secondary School libraries, where this book is bound to be the most popular.

G. S.

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History and Literature of Buddhism—By T. W. Rhys Davids. (*Susil Gupta (India) Ltd.*—Rs. 4).

In reviewing St. Hilaire's *Hiuen Thsang in India* in a previous issue of the Journal (Vol. II.—No. 3 & 4), we remarked on Susil Gupta's admirable series of cheap reprints of classics on Indian culture, which have been out of print for some time. *History and Literature of Buddhism* by Professor Rhys Davids reprinted after 1909 is another book worthy of mention, particularly to Ceylon readers who will find in this short work an excellent introduction to the study of Buddhism. Professor Rhys Davids' connection with Ceylon is also an long standing one for he first came into contact with Pali—the subject of his life's work, while a Civil Servant in this country.

This work is the substance of the six lectures delivered by the Professor in America in 1894, on the history and literature of Buddhism. The first lecture deals with the religious theories in India before Buddhism, specially the religion of the Vedas, the Lokayatas, Jains and Sankhyas and the sixty-two heresies. The next lecture outlines the authorities on which the knowledge of Buddhism is based—the Dhammapada, the Three Pitakas and the other miscellaneous works. Most interesting in this lecture are those sections dealing with the, discovery of Pali and the *Mahavamsa*, and the work of the Pali Test Society in promoting Pali studies in the West. Lecture three gives notes on the life of the Buddha, which is completely stated, though one would have liked to have a more complete set of references on which the life is based. Both the next two lectures deal with the philosophy of Buddhism and explains the meaning of the symbolism which Buddhist writings use. The concluding lecture is entitled " Some Notes on the History of Buddhism " and gives the councils that followed the Buddha's death, and the divisions that occurred in later Buddhism culminating in the advent of the Mahayana.

Though written over sixty years ago the book retains its freshness, while subsequent research has hardly found anything against what Professor Rhys Davids has written. As a handbook of Buddhism one can hardly think of another to parallel it.

R. M.

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