Price: Rs. 3/-

THE CEYLON HISTORICAL JOURNAL

VOL. III JANUARY & APRIL 1954 Nos. 3 & 4

CONTENTS

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN CEYLON

By

Dr. BURTON STEIN

THE CEYLON HISTORICAL JOURNAL

Annual Subscriptions

We are glad to inform our readers that it will be possible for us to accept annual subscriptions again for the Ceylon Historical Journal. Readers who wish to have the journal delivered regularly on publication could send us Rs. 6 as annual subscription or Rs. 12 as two years subscription stating the issue from which they wish their subscriptions to commence. All remittances should be crossed and made payable to "The Ceylon Historical Journal" at 129, Dutugemunu Street, Dehiwala.

Foreign Sales

We wish to inform our many readers abroad that we have appointed **Messrs Arthur Probsthain, Bookseller, 41, Great Russell Street, London. W. C. I., England,** as our agent for all sales in Europe and America. They will be willing to accept subscriptions or supply individual copies and readers are requested to contact them for the Journal instead of going to the inconvenience of writing to us direct. Readers from India and from other parts of Asia should contact **Messrs Lake House Bookshop, Lake House, Colombo 1,** for their copies of the Journal.

Local Sales

Sales of the journal locally are done by Messrs Lake House Bookshop, Messrs MacCallum Book Depot, Messrs H. W. Cave & Co., Messrs Basic English Bookstall, and Messrs M. D. Gunasena & Co. The journal is also available at Railway Bookstalls throughout the Island and at all other bookshops in Ceylon getting their supplies from any of the above-mentioned booksellers.

The Ceylon Historical Journal

VOLUME III NUMBERS 3 & 4

WITH A SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT ON

PROBLEMS OF
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN CEYLON

by

BURTON STEIN

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.

JANUARY & APRIL 1954

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

SIR IVOR JENNINGS, Q.C., M.A., LL.B., LITT.D. (CANTAB.), LL.D. (LOND.), HON. LL.D. (BRISTOL.), presently Vice - Chancellor, University of Ceylon and Master-elect of Trinity Hall, Cambridge; author of *Cabinet Government* and other works on the British Constitution.

SIR FREDERICK REES, M.A. (OXON.), M. COM., HON. LL.D. (BIRMINGHAM), B.A., HON. LL.D., Formerly Vice-Chancellor of the University of Wales, Member of the Ceylon Commission on Constitutional Reform 1944, Author of *Short Fiscal and Financial History of England 1815—1918* and other works on English Economic History.

LUCIANO PETECH, D. LITT. (ROME), Lecturer in the History and Geography of Eastern Asia, University of Rome. Author of *a Study of the Chronicles of Ladakh, Northern India According to the Shui-Ching-Chu* and *I Missionari Italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal Vol. I-IV.*

H. G. REISSNER, PH.D. (BERLIN), has published research work on the history and economics of the Ancien Regime and French Revolution; contibutor to *Muslim World, Jewish Social Studies* and other periodicals.

C. R. BOXER, HON. D. LITT. et PHIL., (UTRECHT) Professor of the History of the Far East, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, Formerly Camoens Professor of Portuguese, King's College, University of London. Author of *Salvador de Sá and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola*, 1602-86.

RT. REVD. EDMUND PIERIS, O.M.I., B.A., D.D. (ROME), Bishop of Chilaw; Editor of the *Maga Salakuna* and Vice-President of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

E. F. C. LUDOWYK, B.A., (LOND.), M.A., PH.D. (CANTAB.), Professor of English, University of Ceylon; Author of *Robert Knox in the Kandyan Kingdom* and *Marginal Comments*.

RALPH PIERIS, B.A. (CEY.) PH.D. (LOND.), Assistant Lecturer in Sociology, University of Ceylon.

BURTON STEIN, PH.D., Member of the Department of History, University of Chicago. He is currently preparing a thesis on Problems of Economic Development in South Asia, of which the paper printed here is the section on Ceylon.

CONTENTS

NATIONALISM AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN CEYLON (3)

THE BACKGROUND OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

By SIR IVOR JENNINGS

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

(Concluded from the last issue)

10 Methods of Tutelage

From 1795 to 1798 the Maritime Provinces were under military government and from 1798 to 1833 they were under the Governor's autocratic control, subject to consultation with an official Council of Government. Legislative and Executive Councils were established for the whole Island in 1833. Changes were made from time to time, but ordinary crown colony government, with an official majority, was retained until 1920. In 1833 there were nine official and six unofficial members, of whom three were Ceylonese. After 1910 there were eleven official members and ten unofficial members, of whom eight were Ceylonese. In 1920 an unofficial majority was provided for the first time, there being 14 official and 23 unofficial members, but only 12 were elected and the remainder nominated. In 1924 an elected majority was provided, there being 12 official and 37 unofficial members, of whom at least 29 (and in fact 31) were elected. Also, two unofficial members were added to the Executive Council in 1920 and the number was increased to four in 1924. These unofficial members of the Executive Council were not, however, responsible to the Legislative Council, and if they were appointed from the latter they had to resign their seats.

It cannot be said that there was any deliberate attempt to "educate" the Ceylonese for self-government. There had been some demand for it from the unofficial Europeans and Burghers in the 'fifties, but there had never been any promise of it. On the contrary the Governor (Sir Henry Ward) wrote in 1859 that "in a colony the population of which consists of seven or eight thousand European settlers, a small though intelligent class of Burghers, and two million of Cinghalese, Tamils and Moormen, you cannot introduce the principle of Representative and Responsible Government as it is applied in Canada . . . . The Crown for many years must hold the balance between European and native interests,

if it wishes to see order maintained and legislation impartially conducted". Nevertheless the growing number and power of the unofficial members led inevitably to responsible government, and the nationalist Ceylonese began to demand it with increasing vigour after 1900.

The Constitution of 1920 was an attempt to introduce "balanced representation", a system in which no section of the Ceylonese could dominate the Legislative Council unless it had the support of the officials. That it was decided in little more than three years to change it shows how little successful the experiment was.

The Constitution of 1924 bore the characteristics which Lord Durham had condemned in 1840 and several others besides. There was a representative legislature with an irresponsible executive. The legislature contained some members elected from territorial constituencies, some elected from communal constituencies, some nominated by the Governor to represent communities, and some who were officials responsible to the Governor and more or less dragooned by their superior officer, the Colonial Secretary. This strange medley had complete legislative authority, subject to the Governor's right (and in some cases, his duty) to refuse assent or reserve for the King's assent, the Crown's power to disallow, and the Governor's power to secure legislation by official votes alone in any case of "paramount importance". It also had financial autonomy, which in practice it exercised in a Finance Committee consisting of all the unofficial members and three officials—the Colonial Secretary, the Controller of Revenue, and the Colonial Treasurer. This body summoned Heads of Departments (who were usually Europeans appointed under an older system) and cross-examined them about major or minor details of administration as if they were hostile witnesses. The irresponsible executive was for all practical purposes the Governor himself, who was not merely a Prime Minister without a party (as the Donoughmore Commission suggested) but a President of the United States who had lost control of Congress.

It is not surprising that within four years the Donoughmore Commission had to be appointed and that it roundly condemned the Constitution of 1924. If it was true, as the Commission suggested, that the time was not ripe for self-government, the obvious solution was some form of dyarchy which would vest responsibility for some fields of administration in Ministers responsible to the legislature. This comparatively simple solution the Commission rejected, apparently because there were no parties and the divisions among the elected members were communal. It may be suggested, however, that this was a misinterpretation of the situation. The fundamental division was between the officials

and the Ceylonese, and the united aim of the Ceylonese was to secure increased representation ; but since representation had always been until 1910, and was in large measure afterwards, a communal matter, and since each community had acquired a vested interest in representation, the subject of debate was not merely the demand for more representation (on which they were unanimous) but also the division of representation (on which they were not). There were few communal divisions on other aspects of policy, but they were subordinate so long as a greater element of self-government was the major issue.

The Commission's solution was to vest executive functions in the legislature itself, to be exercised on report from executive committees. There would be seven such committees, corresponding to seven ministerial portfolios ; but three portfolios—Defence and Public Service, Finance and Law (without Police)—were vested in officials called the Officers of State. The chairman of each executive committee would be appointed Minister, and the seven Ministers with the three Officers of State would form the Board of Ministers, which would be responsible to the legislature for finance and the arrangement of business but not otherwise. The legislature was to be unicameral, called the State Council, and was to consist of 65 members elected from territorial constituencies on a wide franchise (adult males and women over 30) together with 12 nominated members and the three Officers of State. The Governor was to retain a legislative power in matters of paramount importance and the number of cases in which he was compelled to reserve Bills for the royal assent was increased.

This ingenious scheme was accepted by the unofficial members of the Legislative Council by a majority of only two. Some changes were made before it was put into operation. The number of territorial constituencies was reduced to 50 and the number of nominated members to 8, a change which necessarily lowered the proportionate representation of minorities. The Ceylon National Congress, having reversed its policy and accepted adult male franchise, with the zeal of the convert asked for adult female franchise also, and this was agreed. Though the elections were boycotted by the Ceylon Tamils in Jaffna, the Donoughmore Constitution came into operation in 1931.

The State Council was intended to be a legislature like a Parliament and also an executive body like a county council. In either case its decision required the Governor's sanction. There were always some relics of its executive character, but it did not in fact sit in executive session. If a member moved a motion that a post office be provided in A —— in his constituency, the motion stood referred to the Executive Committee of Communications and

Works with hundreds of similar motions and sooner or later (probably later) was reported back to clutter up the agenda paper of the State Council which, being an executive body, was never prorogued. The intention was to delegate minor matters to the Executive Committees by Regulations, but such Regulations were never issued because agreement could not be reached about their terms. Matters of major importance were to be reported by the Committees to the Council, passed by that body, and submitted to the Governor for his approval. This in fact rarely happened, for it was easier for the Minister to put down a motion and secure the approval of the Council without submitting the resolution to the Governor. In urgent cases a Committee was authorised to act in advance of Council sanction but to report to the Council every such decision. One Committee in fact reported every decision, though the others did not bother. In practice, decisions were taken by Executive Committees and carried out by heads of Departments, though they were not legally bound to do so. If major principles of policy were concerned, a motion was moved in Council by the Minister and, if carried, it was enforced by Heads of Departments, though again they were not legally bound to do so unless legislation was passed.

The scheme was disliked from the beginning, but when the criticisms began it was correctly pointed out that the Donoughmore scheme had never been operated. Even so, it does not appear that the modifications affected the general intentions of the scheme. Certain defects were inherent in it no matter how it was operated.

First, there was a division of responsibility. Though the Minister was generally blamed, and in some cases correctly, the actual responsibility rested on seven or eight members in Executive Committee, subject to approval by the State Council if such approval was sought, subject to finance being recommended by the Board of Ministers and approved by the Council, and subject to approval by the Governor and (possibly) the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Nor can State activities be divided neatly into ten compartments. Often two or more Executive Committees or Officers of State were involved, e.g., in relation to the school medical service. Decisions of the Executive Committee of Communications and Works and the Executive Committee of Agriculture and Lands might affect trade and commerce in plantation crops, from which the Island's revenue were obtained, though trade and commerce concerned the Executive Committee of Labour, Commerce and Industry while revenue concerned the Financial Secretary.

Second, it was impossible for a party system to develop. The Donoughmore Constitution was established for a political system which had no parties, and therefore it discouraged parties. The members were split into groups of seven or eight where emphasis was upon personalities and not on policies. The Board of Ministers could give no lead because it was not politically homogeneous, consisted only of chairmen of committees and had responsibility only for finance and the arrangement of business. Thus there was no "Government" and no "Opposition" but 58 independents whose votes were based on no consistent principles at all.

Third, it strengthened the tendency towards excessive interference in administration. The Donoughmore Commission drew attention to this defect of the Constitution of 1924. The unofficial members of the Legislative Council, sitting in Finance Committee, were able to cross-examine Heads of Departments about any details of administration, including appointments, the issue of licences, the acquisition of land, and other matters affecting individuals. Instead of correcting this tendency, the Donoughmore Constitution encouraged it. Seven or eight politicians sat in committee with the Heads of the relevant Departments in attendance, and there was no aspect of administration in which a politician could not interfere.

Fifth, it stimulated corruption. In several passages the Donoughmore Commission showed an appreciation of the danger of corruption. Nevertheless, the Donoughmore Constitution encouraged it. Every appointment or promotion in the Departments under an Executive Committee had to be referred to the Committee. Canvassing was the rule rather than the exception and cases of bribery were not unknown. In the case of an appointment the Head of the Department had a remedy, for the appointment was actually made on the advice of the Public Service Commission, and the recommendation of the Executive Committee was not invariably accepted. Where the members of the Committee interfered in transfers, the issue of licences (especially in wartime), the erection of schools, hospitals, post offices and other government buildings, the acquisition of land, the making of grants, etc., the Head of the Department has no remedy even if he suspected corruption.

These defects did not prevent the politicians, and especially the Ministers, from acquiring a considerable knowledge and experience of the conduct of government. The Soulbury Commission was able to point to considerable progress, particularly in the sphere of social improvement. There were certainly serious mistakes, particularly in the educational scheme rushed through, for electoral reasons, in 1945. The first State Council had to face the great

depression at the outset of its existence, and this was followed by drought and a great malaria epidemic ; but the second State Council, which lasted from 1936 to 1947, was able to develop many spheres of activity on a rising revenue. What is more, while India was in turmoil Ceylon continued a peaceful agitation for self-government. Full collaboration was given to the war effort between Pearl Harbour and the defeat of the Japanese. The re-capture of Burma, Malaya and Indonesia was planned in the kingdom of Kandy, the Irrigation Department made aerodromes, and the engineering staff made roads for the University that would be useful for Supreme Headquarters. When independence was agreed upon in 1947, the transfer of power took place so efficiently that the ordinary citizen did not even realise that it had happened. It was typical that the last colonial Governor became the first Governor-General.

The Declaration of 1943 assumed that the next step, after the Donoughmore Constitution, would be complete internal self-government while leaving to Britain the responsibility for defence and external affairs. Attempts had been made in Australia in the eighteen-fifties to draft Constitutions which drew this distinction, but the Colonial Office had decided against them.Nevertheless the Colonial Office asked the Ceylonese Ministers in 1943 to renew the attempt. They produced a scheme in 1944, but they did not think it was workable. Nor indeed had they any incentive to make it workable. They inserted the restrictions imposed by the Declaration, but they believed that they would break down in time of emergency, when they were (according to Britain) needed. It would not be impossible to draft a scheme which left defence and external relations to Britain, but it would not be on the lines laid down in 1943, which assumed that the Governor would have an independent power of enacting legislation. Mr. Senanayake's alternative, put in 1945 in case his proposal for Dominion status was not accepted, was far better : he wanted the Governor's power withdrawn and suggested that, if Britain wanted reserve powers in defence and external relations, they should be operated through Order in Council. This proposal was accepted and was embodied in the Constitution of 1946. It was theoretically in operation for three months, but it was in truth not in operation at all, for already it had been decided that Ceylon should have independence within the Commonwealth, and the three months' delay was due only to the process of drafting and bringing into operation the necessary legislation.

The Constitution of 1946–47, which came into operation on the 4th February, 1948, provides for ordinary Cabinet Government with a Parliament consisting of the King, a Senate and a House of Representatives. The House of Representatives consists of 95

members elected on adult franchise for territorial constituencies and six nominated members who are in fact Burghers and Europeans. The communal problem has virtually disappeared through a scheme of representation worked out by the Ministers in 1943–44 and giving weightage to sparsely-populated Provinces, an arrangement which *ipso facto* secures higher representation for the minorities. The Senate consists of 15 members elected by the House of Representatives and 15 nominated by the Governor-General. This arrangement was invented by the Soulbury Commission and was accepted without much complaint because the powers of the Senate are narrowly limited.

The new Constitution, unlike the Donoughmore Constitution, encouraged the formation of parties. The Donoughmore Ministers formed the United National Party to fight the election of 1947. It had wide support among the Sinhalese, the Muslims, the Europeans and the Burghers and some of the Ceylon Tamils. Though at the election most of the Tamil constituencies returned communal candidates supporting the Tamil Congress, that body has since made common cause with the United National Party, leaving the Ceylon Indian Congress, the only strong communal organisation remaining, to secure such support as it can from the three Communist parties, who form the Opposition. The result is to make Ceylon the most peaceful country in Asia, with a strong and stable government which has actually increased its strength since 1947. The Prime Minister is not the doyen of Commonwealth Prime Ministers, for he succeeded to his present office only in 1947, but at the Commonwealth Conference in Colombo in January, 1950, he was able to point out that he had been continuously in office for 18 years.

Conclusion

The steps in constitutional development since the British occupation may be summarised as follows :—

1796–1798	Military Government under India.
1801–1833	Governor acting with advice of Council of Government.
1833–1920	Legislative Council with official majority.
1920–1924	Legislative Council with unofficial majority.
1924–1931	Representative government : i.e., Legislative Council with elected majority.
1931–1947	Dyarchy.
1947–1948	Responsible government in internal matters.
1948 onwards	Independence within the Commonwealth.

It will be seen that once the nationalist movement became strong, development was and indeed had to be rapid. In India during the same period, and especially from 1917 to 1947, relations between the United Kingdom and Indians of almost all classes were rapidly deteriorating. In Ceylon the deterioration was not so rapid, but from 1932 to 1945 there was the same sense of frustration, the same accusations of bad faith, and even something of the same antagonism The fact that Ceylon was far more peaceful than India and that at no stage was there violence or non-violent non-co-operation must be explained mainly by the character of the people, the smallness of the country, and the skill of those who represented the Crown. Fundamentally the problem was the same ; and the question which this experience poses is whether the attempt to apply the brake was worth while and whether it would not have been better to have made more rapid progress towards self-government between 1920 and, say, 1925. The fact that Ceylon is now one of the most stable, friendly and co-operative members of the Commonwealth may perhaps suggest that British policy was right ; but this seems to ignore the part played by the Ceylonese leaders. A prophet like Mahatma Gandhi or a leader like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru might have led Ceylon along the same road as India. Instead, D. S. Senanayake, advised by Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, took control in 1942 and brought Ceylon in 1948, a little later than they had anticipated, to the point which they had desired to attain. Nor must it be forgotten that the Ceylonese press was keeping step through the direction of Mr. D. R. Wijewardena, who shared Mr. Senanayake's views. Indeed, the conclusion forced upon the observer is that the same conditions, with different personalities involved, might have produced a completely different situation.

The difficulties which had to be overcome may be summarised as follows :

(1) The creation of a substantial educated class from which public servants as well as politicians could be drawn. Fundamentally the solution was " English education ", or education through English. It seems probable that the necessary provision could not have been made, at least so quickly, if emphasis had been laid upon education through Sinhalese and Tamil, which would also have had communal consequences. It seems equally certain, though, that education on a sufficient scale could not have been provided (in the absence of subsidies from Britain) if the Island had not had a valuable export trade in coffee (until 1880), tea, rubber and coconuts. Even so, the peace of " Ceylonisation " had to be forced by the Ceylonese politicians.

(2) Communalism. It can hardly be doubted that the Donoughmore Commission was right to advise the abolition of communal representation, which was nevertheless continued in India. The solution to the problem of representation was found by the Ceylonese as soon as they were given the opportunity. In Ceylon as in India the existence of what Mahatma Gandhi called " the third party "—in the case of Ceylon the Colonial Office—prevented an earlier solution, for a minority could always hope (like the Muslim League in India) to get more from the third party if it refused to accept a compromise offered by the majority. It is, however, easy for the majority to underestimate the strength of feeling of the minority, as the Indian National Congress clearly did. The Ceylonese thought that the device of a three-quarters majority was a brilliant idea invented to prevent a minority from holding the majority to ransom while at the same time compelling the majority to compromise. Apparently they were wrong ; but perhaps the Colonial Office found the solution by accident.

(3) An Agreed Constitution. The Colonial Office apparently thought that the Declaration of 1943 would compel a Round Table Conference. The Ceylonese knew perfectly well that they could not get a Constitution in that way, for the minorities could hold the majority to ransom. The Constitution was agreed almost unanimously because the Ministers produced a reasonable compromise and then offered the minorities the choice between the Donoughmore Constitution and internal self-government with a compromise Constitution. They believed, rightly, that they would get almost unanimous support for the latter. It was useless for the Colonial Office to keep talking about " lack of unanimity " when the fact that Britain held the strings gave every incentive towards it.

Finally, emphasis must be laid on the lack of contact between the Colonial Office and the Ceylonese leaders. Partly, this was due to war-time conditions which made visits impossible for several years. It is however clear that Ceylon politics were not properly understood in London and the attitude of the Colonial Office was not understood in Ceylon. The change in the atmosphere after Mr. Senanayake visited London in 1945 can hardly be overemphasised. It should also be assumed that a colonial civil servant is usually the wrong sort of person to become Governor or

senior official of a colony in the last stages of development towards self-government. Exceptional cases apart, his training has been wrong to give him the sympathy, tact and diplomacy requird, and in any case his past is against him. Sir Henry Monck-Mason Moore lived it down, but when his appointment was announced one heard on all sides " he comes from *Kenya* ". It was as if a master from a " soccer school " had been appointed headmaster of Rugby.

(*concluded*)

A HUNDRED YEARS

(1851-1951)

By SIR FREDERICK REES

TIME, AS Dr. Isaac Watts has reminded us, is "an ever-rolling stream". It is a continuous process and no particular phase of it can really be isolated and examined. Still, since we divide it for our convenience into hours, days, months and years and a hundred years appear to be a rounded-off period, we are inclined almost to personify a century. We speak of its opening and close, or of the " turn of the century ", as though these had a particular significance. In fact, these descriptions, opening and close, are apt to suggest that a century may be represented by a curve which reaches its peak and then possibly falls away. All this is merely playing with words, allowing analogies to effect our judgment. It has recently been pointed out, for instance, that the middle of a century marks a climax—1848 was the " year of revolutions", 1748 was the year of the Peace of Aix-La-Chapelle and the beginning of the Diplomatic Revolution, 1648 was the year of the Treaty of Westphalia, which concluded the Thirty Years War. Interesting coincidences—but nothing more. Events do not fit neatly into any formula and centuries are not cycles with common characteristics. Historians indeed often become paradoxical and assert that in England the fifteenth century ended on Bosworth Field in 1485 or, alternatively, at the accession of Henry VIII. in 1509. This would be of course a local ending, peculiar to England. Other dates would have to be selected elsewhere, e.g., in France, 1494, the year when Charles VIII. invaded Italy.

There is, in fact, no year when the account books may be closed and a thorough audit conducted. But there are times which seem appropriate for making an assessment of events, provided we are not too strictly limited to a year or so ; and of these the decade 1848–1858 provides a very good example. And it is to the middle of the 19th century that I am inviting your attention.

In his " Victorian England ", Mr. G. M. Young speaks of " the great peace of the, fifties"— "The grim discipline of the years of peril", he writes, "was relaxed : life was richer, easier and friendlier" . . . It was about this time that the word " Victorian " was coined to register a new self-consciousness. The first example of its use Mr. Young found in a book published in 1851. Nothing

could be neater—*The year of the Great Exhibition.* " The Great exhibition was a pageant of domestic peace ", writes Mr. Young : " Not for sixty years had the throne appeared so solidly based on the national good-will as in that summer of hope and pride and reconciliation. After all the alarms and agitations of thirty years the State had swung back to its natural centre ". For this—and for the Exhibition itself—much of the credit was due to Prince Albert. It was the second phase of Victoria's reign. In the first, when Melbourne's influence was dominant, she was not popular ; now the young Queen with her family growing up around her appealed to popular sentiment. Albert himself was a better exponent of Victorianism than the Queen herself. His high moral rectitude and sense of duty, his earnestness, his genuine interest in the amelioration of the lot of the common people and in developments in industry and transport—all these summed up and expressed a dominant point of view. It did not seem incongruous—indeed it seemed a happy inspiration—that he selected as the motto for the Great Exhibition " The Earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof". The conviction that England was a peculiarly favoured country was firmly held ; and that this was not fortuitous but of divine ordering was a necessary corollary to the accepted theology of the day. In 1848 Continental States had experienced revolutions, followed by anarchy and culminating in reaction and despotism. England had weathered the storm, her institutions unimpaired and her prosperity assured. She had had her trials in the 'forties—the Chartist agitation and the Corn Laws controversy—but these had been surmounted. The Corn Laws had been repealed in 1846 and the Protectionist system had been dealt a fatal blow. It is true that events on the Continent in 1848 had caused Chartism to flare up again ; but only to be finally discredited when the great meeting on Kennington Common, which was to present a monster Petition to Parliament, proved a complete fiasco.

It is relevant to notice that the sense of security and even complacency in respect to the condition of affairs in England had as its background the distresses on the Continent. 1848 is known as " the year of revolutions " ; but it should be remembered that it was of revolutions that failed. The overthrow of the monarchy of Louis Philippe, which was liberal and bourgeois, was the signal for the outbreak of popular risings in Italy, Germany and Austria. There was a general demand for popular constitutions and for the moment the rulers had to grant them. It was a reassertion of the principles of the French Revolution with the stress on individual liberty and a universal franchise. But it came up against ideologies which were to dominate the second part of the century—national self-assertion, with international rivalries, and socialism, no larger Utopian, but stressing the class conflict and the solidarity of the proletariat. In France the new Republic was greeted as a solution

of all her problems ; but it was the Republic that suppressed the workers in Paris. It was the Republic, based on universal suffrage, that elected Louis Napoleon as its first President ; and Louis Napoleon three years later became Emperor. The authoritarian State based on mass emotions had defeated the rational idea of democracy derived from the eighteenth century theorists. In a sense, as a recent American writer has said : " The year 1848 was a focal point in Modern European history ; it marked the true beginning of the nineteenth century ". In Eastern Europe the revolutions soon degenerated into a conflict between rival nationalities ; the rights of groups whether they were nations or classes, seemed to justify the suppression of the rights of individuals. In Germany itself the desire to put an end to the authoritarianism of the ruling princes gave way to a pan-German movement with claims against Denmark, Poland and Bohemia. National power and national unity were more highly valued than individual liberty. John Stuart Mill, writing in 1849, denounced feelings of exclusive nationalism and appeals to historical rights as " barbaric ". He had no conception of the havoc which this barbarism would play in the modern world. Nor could he foresee the effects of the *Communist Manifesto* which Marx and Engels issued in 1848 ; that was a time-bomb with a delayed fuse. Rousseau's " all men are born free " was to give place to " workers of the world unite " as the challenge to constitute authority.

But this is a digression introduced to underline the fact that the position of England in the, 'fifties was exceptional ; a result of her relative prosperity and the stability of her institutions. It was an interval rather than a consummation ; an interval when the achievements of the Industrial Revolution were regarded with pride and satisfaction ; an interval when the claims for constitutional reform were suspended ; an interval before accepted religious beliefs were challenged by scientific theories. Darwin's *Origin of Species* was published in 1859. It was also an interval between the party strife of the 'forties and that of the' sixties. The traditional opposition between Whigs and Tories had lost its meaning. The Tory party had been split by Sir Robert Peel's action in repealing the Corn Laws. The Whigs had long reaped all the advantages they had gained from the Reform Bill of 1832. The secession of the Peelites from the Tories had placed Lord John Russell in power, but with a Cabinet which was not prepared to contemplate any further extensions of the franchise. His administration survived until 1852 less because of its inherent strength than because of the bitter feeling between Tories and Peelites on the question of protection. In the country opinion was fairly evenly divided, that is, of course, opinion as expressed in elections on a limited franchise. There was difficulty in maintaining a stable majority in the House of Commons. In 1852 Russell was

defeated by 11 votes and later in the year his Tory successor, Lord Derby by 19 votes. Party discipline was also loose. In the General Election some candidates described themselves as " conservative-liberal " and others as " liberal-conservative ". Derby invited Lord Palmerston, who was Foreign Secretary in Russell's Cabinet, to take a place in his administration. The Peelites though few in numbers contained several able men, including, of course, W. E. Gladstone. The question was where they would find their place. This was temporarily answered by the Aberdeen Ministry of 1852 which contained in the Cabinet six Whigs, six Peelites and one Radical ; Gladstone being Chancellor of the Exchequer. The difficulty of the Tory party was that its leader Lord Derby clung to protection and in general found more pleasure in horse-racing and billiards than in active prosecution of the interests of the Party. He was not prepared to recognise the finality of the repeal of the Corn Laws. Benjamin Disraeli was more of a realist. Although he has taken the leading part in opposing Peel, he was now willing to agree that Peel had been right ; Protection, he admitted, was not only dead but damned. But this *volte-face* hardly seemed decent. Disraeli had forced himslf to the front by his attacks on Peel and it is not to be wondered at that the stricter Tories regarded him with suspicion and indeed positive dislike. But his time was to come. The party threw up no rival to him.

The Great Exhibition fell in the last years of the Russell administration. It was regarded by protectionists as a piece of free trade propaganda calculated to encourage the admission of foreign goods into the country. Disraeli saw that this was a serious blunder which could only damage the Tory party. He saw in the Exhibition a chance to repudiate protection and also an opportunity to ingratiate himself at Court. With his usual exumberance of language he described the glass structure in Hyde Park as " that enchanted pile which the sagacious taste and the prescient philanthropy of an accomplished and enlightened Prince was raised for the glory of England and the delight of two hemispheres ". The Exhibition was designed to celebrate the industrial progress of Great Britain in the first half of the nineteenth century. In a sense it marked the close of the first phase of the Industrial Revolution—a phase in which the country was the pioneer and still retained the leadership. Britain was the workshop of the world and the Great Exhibition was its shop window. But it would be a mistake to think of it in strictly material and business terms. There was a popular idealism behind it ; a genuine pride in achievement. The profits, which amounted to £86,000 were employed to purchase land in South Kensington where the Prince Consort wished an institution to be built " for the dissemination of a knowledge of science and art among all classes ". This generous project was not realised. But visitors to London will find that Exhibition Road leads to the

Imperial Institute which was for long the Science and Art Department of the Board of Education and later the administrative head quarters of the University of London. Mention should also be made to the 1851 Exhibitions which are still awarded to graduates in science for the pursuance of research. The great hall of exhibition—the glass structure which attracted so much attention—was removed to Sydenham Hill where it was known to succeeding generations as the Crystal Palace.

It is difficult for us to appreciate what the Great Exhibition meant to contemporaries. In the last hundred years advances have been made in applied science which have effected changes hardly conceived of as possible in 1851. Then we were still in the iron age. The known process of making steel was so expensive that it was only used for special purposes. Henry Bessemer did not patent his converter until 1856 and it was some years before the supremacy of iron was seriously challenged. Electricity was still to reveal its possibilities and the internal combustion engine had not been invented. Wooden sailing ships were still holding their own against iron steam-ships. It was not until 1865 that the amount of steam tonnage added to Lloyd's Register exceeded that of sail for the first time. And so we could continue. We must, however, grant that in 1851 the achievements of applied science in the preceding hundred years were impressive if set against what had been affected in the earlier centuries. And what will our successors say in 2051 about the Festival of Britain of 1951 : if, indeed, successors we are likely to have ? For in 1851 no one doubted that the victories of science were beneficial to man and indeed promised to inaugurate a period of world-wide peace and prosperity. To-day that vision has faded. We are asking ourselves whether mankind has not at its disposal forces which it may be tempted to use to destroy the whole fabric of civilisation.

But let us return to the 'fifties with their optimism and their belief in the future. The Great Exhibition displayed wonders to contemporaries—the country had been covered by a net-work of railways since the construction of the Stockton and Darlington in 1825 ; the cotton industry of Lancashire was the greatest textile industry in the world ; in Birmingham and the Black Country innumerable small metal industries had grown up ; the iron-works of the North-East Coast, South Wales and Scotland were examples of what could be achieved by the use of coal in smelting and of steam-power in rolling and other processes. Models in the Exhibition illustrated achievements in bridge-building, ship-building and deep mining. Foreign visitors would be impressed—and it was intended that they should be impressed—by the contrast between the industrial progress of Britain and their own relative backwardness. In France, which was then thought of as the only

possible European rival of Britain, industrialisation had made slow progress. She was seriously handicapped by her limited coal supply and what she had was not well placed or suitable for coking. To the middle of the century she was smelting more than half of her iron ore in small charcoal furnaces and these could not be concentrated because they had to be in easy access to the forests. The output of pig iron was not more than 600,000 tons ; in Britain it was more than 2,500,000 tons. The textile industries retained the old " domestic " structure, that is, the outwork type which had been largely superseded fifty year earlier in Britain. True factory conditions were in fact exceptional in France in 1850. Germany, i.e., the German States, were still more backward. The coal-fields of the Ruhr and the Saar raised less than those of France. The textile industries—linen and wool—were still in the domestic stage. In 1846 less than four per cent. of the cotton looms in Prussia were driven by power. The country was still predominantly rural, e.g. in 1852, 71.5 per cent. of the population was classed as rural.

I have spoken earlier of the 'fifties as an interval. To contemporaries it seemed a consummation. To us it seems remarkable that the distresses of the 'forties had been so soon forgotten and the impression created that the country's difficulties had been surmounted. How is this to be explained ? Primarily because these were years of sustained boom. There was practically uninterrupted industrial progress from 1850 to the financial crisis of 1857. The initial stimulus to this was the gold discoveries of 1849 in California and Australia. Perhaps you will not want me to expatiate on how the increased supplies of gold passed into circulation as currency, how the Bank of England had abundant funds to lend borrowers, how loanable capital became cheap, and therefore how trade was encouraged. This is not a necessary sequence of events. In the circumstances of the time the inflationary effect was almost entirely beneficial, for the simple reason that it served greatly to increase the productive power of industry and the advantages were quickly diffused to all classes. Conditions were therefore present which were favourable to a rapid response to the stimulus ; in particular technical invention, as demonstrated in the Great Exhibition, and the removal of the heavy burden of indirect taxation on manufactured and semi-manufactured goods and raw materials initiated by Sir Robert Peel's reform of the tariff in the budgets of 1842 and 1845, and continued by Gladstone in 1853. Despite the removal of so many items of taxation there was a good budget surplus each year from 1850 to 1854. It will be recalled that Peel had revived the income tax (which had been abolished in 1816) in order to cover the period of fiscal reform. This device had proved so successful that in 1853 Gladstone outlined in a great budget speech, which lasted nearly five hours, a scheme by which the income tax would be eliminated in seven years. He

proposed that it should be retained at 7*d.* in the pound for two years, at 6*d.* for another two years and at 5*d*, for a final three years. It was to expire on 5th April, 1860. Perhaps no fact to which I have made reference, or shall mention later, will more graphically bring home the contrast between *Then and Now* ! Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive ; but the promise was soon overclouded by the drift into the Crimean War and it was not until 1874 that Gladstone fought an election in which he promised to abolish the income tax. He was defeated. Peel's temporary expedient of 1842 has become the permanent corner-stone of our tax system ; the standard rate of 9/- in the £ would have seemed to Gladstone—well, it is impossible to say that it would have seemed anything, because he could not have conceived of the idea.

That is the most difficult problem presented by an effort to give a just account of any period. How are we to appreciate the preconceptions of a past generation ? We are apt to describe the 'fifties as " complacent ", " self-satisfied " and obtuse to many of the evils of the time. There was, as we see it, a singular lack of a social conscience and a very narrow conception of the functions of the State. Gladstone defined the duty of a Chancellor of the Exchequer as that of allowing money to fructify in the pockets of the people ; he would not have approved of measures by which it was extricated from their pockets in order to provide them with extended social services, such as insurance against sickness, old age and unemployment. The 'fifties had no vision of the Welfare State. The dominant economic doctrine was that of *laisser faire.* It is true that there was a continuous literary protest against the implications of this doctrine, e.g., Disraeli's *Sybil* (1845), Gaskell's *Mary Barton* (1848), Kingsley's *Alton Locke* (1850, and Dickens' *Hard Times* (1854), and in the end modifications of doctrinaire individualism were effected ; but this came slowly and against much opposition. Reference need only be made to the labour of Lord Shaftesbury for factory legislation and to Edwin Chadwick's efforts to promote measures for public health. The social inertia was tremendous. In 1851 there were no legal restrictions upon the hours of employment of adult men ; in fact, there was no legislation affecting the hours of labour of children, young persons and women, except in the textile and coal mining industries. Successive visitations of cholera could hardly induce local authorities to adopt elementary sanitary precautions which would involve any rate expenditure. The population of England and Wales in 1851 was 17,928,000 ; the birth-rate was 34.1 and the death rate 21.8. The present birth-rate is less than half of this ; it is 15.1 and the death rate is 11.6. The figures in themselves indicate a major social change. In 1851 the rate of natural increase was 12.3 ; now it is 3.5.

It is impossible to draw a picture, even in broadest outline of a past period of history without suggesting the contrast between Then and Now. The changes which have taken place in the last hundred years make it difficult for us to appreciate the outlook of the 'fifties of the last century. A mere chronicle of events gives little indication of the revolution in thought. We regard the present and the future in very different light from what our great-grand-parents did. A recent writer, admittedly somewhat pessimistic, declares that " what has happened to England is that the religion of progress has lived on into our age of visible decline. To see clearly is to lose faith ; to retain the belief in progress is to defy reason ". Such pessimism is no new thing. The break-up of the Roman Empire, when in Gibbon's words, " night descended on the Western World ", the schism of Christendom at the Reformation, the destructive forces released by the French Revolution, each convinced many thoughtful minds that society would be completely destroyed. It is difficult to realise that the particular phase of history into which we were born is but a phase and that there is no knowable end to the process of history. As for the future, the historian must be content to say that human progress, though it has suffered many serious set backs, can be demonstrated to be a real thing. There is, therefore, a strong presumption that it has not yet reached its limit.

If we are to ask what ideas have dominated European thought in the last hundred years we should have to group them round three ideologies, as the modern term is,—Nationality, Imperialism, Socialism. The national consciousness which created a united Italy and consolidated Germany seemed altogether natural and to be welcomed. But self-determination is apt to lead to external aggression. The emergence of Germany as a Great Power is in international affairs the most important factor, disturbing factor, if you will, in the last hundred years. In the 'fifties Great Britain regarded France as a possible rival and had deep suspicion of the aims of Russia ; but Germany did not seem to be a possible danger to the peace of Europe. Then, and for a couple of decades after, historians stressed the fact that Germany was the original homeland of the English people. Looking backward we see the significance of the defeat of France by Prussia and the proclamation of the German Empire in January, 1871. In particular, we can appreciate the consequences of the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. It not only perpetuated the quarrel between France and Germany, but it also incidentally provided Germany with the means of waging a future war. The deposits of iron ore in Lorraine were made available by the discovery of means of removing the phosphorus which had hitherto rendered them of little value. " The discovery " as R. C. K. Ensor, truly says, "created a gigantic German steel industry which would not have been possible without it ; and this,

which by 1895 had a larger output than the British, played a very important part in predisposing Germany to aggressive war and enabling her after 1914 to sustain and prolong it ". The industrial development of Germany in the closing decades of the nineteenth century was phenomenal. Her railway system solved the problem of cheap transport. She had the service of highly trained industrial technologists. Her Government was prepared to foster and protect her growing industries. The British output of steel in 1880 was two and a half times that of Germany ; by 1900 the output of the United Kingdom was 5,981,000 metric tons and that of Germany 7,372,000 metric tons. So Germany entered upon the twentieth century as the greatest producer of pig-iron and steel in Europe. In 1913, the year before the outbreak of World War I. her output of pig-iron was nearly twice, and her output of steel was rather more than twice, that of the United Kingdom.

If the rise of Germany was the most important factor in Western European History, that of the United States had a growing importance in World History. In the 'fifties it was already in the throes of the controversy which led to the Civil War, namely, whether the institution of negro slavery, on which the economy of the Southern States was based, should be extended as colonisation moved westward across the prairies to the Pacific coast. The controversy threatened to dismember the Union and it was actually on this issue that the Civil War broke out in the Spring of 1861 and continued until 1865. Incidentally, it should be mentioned that the American Civil War and the Franco-German War temporarily postponed the industrial development of both the United States and Germany, only to give it a great impetus when peace was restored. The remarkable achievements of Germany were eclipsed by those of the United States. In the decade which followed the conclusion of the Civil War she seized the opportunity then offered her to exploit her abundant natural resources. The deposits of iron ore near the shores of Lake Superior seemed almost inexhaustible. It was free from phosphorus and therefore suited to the Bessemer and open hearth processes. The construction of railways both created a demand for steel products and made it possible to convey the ore to the coalfields of Pennsylvania. By 1890 the United States had overtaken Great Britain in the output of pig-iron and by 1902 her production exceeded that of Great Britain and Germany combined. In 1913 on the outbreak of Wordl War I. the United States was contributing over one-third of the total world production of steel.

The last hundred years have also witnessed vital changes in the conception of Empire. In the 'fifties Great Britain was disinclined to assume new Colonial obligations. Circumstances forced her to organise a Government in Natal to provide for the stream of

immigrants who were settling there. The Indian Mutiny led to the supersession of the East India Company and the acceptance of responsibility for the sub-continent. Growing rivalry with other powers, particularly the scramble for Africa, resulted in the extension of the Empire between 1880–1900 by some 3,710,000 square miles and an additional population of 57,000,000 persons (Nigeria, British East Africa, British Central Africa, Uganda, etc.). The South African War represented the high-water mark of Imperialism. Two World Wars have shaken the hold of European powers over subject peoples in Asia and Africa. The colonial status is no longer easily accepted. The British Empire has become the British Commonwealth of Nations and British Commonwealth is felt indeed to be a misnomer, for it is no longer predominantly British. To the Dominions—Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa—have now been added India, Pakistan and Ceylon, i.e., the self-governing elements are no longer white. The demand for " dominion status " is growing in Nigeria (now the largest colony), in the West Indies and elsewhere. Dominion status, under the Statute of Westminister of 1931, involves the right to secede. But the world is too small for a great number of states to exist independently of one another. They will have ultimately to group themselves. But how ? In a great world federation or in two or more rival organisations? The tendency on ideological and other grounds seems to be towards two groups under the leadership of the United States and Russia respectively. Russia with a population of 174 millions has a great continental area, much of it underdeveloped. The United States with a population of 134 millions is more compact and more highly developed. These two great Powers regard one another with a certain degree of suspicion. What may be the consequences of this unhappy condition of World affairs the future will reveal ; and about the future the historian merely shares the apprehension of other men. He has no key to it. This brief review of an eventful and indeed tragic hundred years has shown that man has achieved great things ; but has he not, alas ! neglected the injunction to get wisdom, " Wisdom is the principal thing. Therefore get wisdom : And with all thy getting get understanding."

SOME CHINESE TEXTS CONCERNING CEYLON

By LUCIANO PETECH

THE SCANTY mentions of Ceylon in Chinese texts have always been considered a most welcome check upon the rather floating chronology of the Island during the first seven or eight centuries A.D. ; besides, they throw interesting sidelights upon religious, cultural and economic conditions. The great pilgrims Fa-hsien and Hsüan-tsang of course occupy a place apart. The bulk of the other texts has been collected and translated into French by S. Lévi.[1] The passages in Lévi's article concerning Ceylon have been translated into English by John M. Senaveratna.[2] After half a century it is perhaps worthwhile taking up again the subject, although nothing really substantial can be added to Lévi's collection.

The new material available is very early and belongs to the 3rd–5th century. To this I have added an abstract of the Chinese accounts of the 10th–14th centuries and a short summary of the latest results of European investigations on the chronology of Chêng Ho's voyages in the early 15th century.

A

The first name appearing in Chinese texts and possibly connected with Ceylon is Ssu-tiao ; the ancient (6th–7th century) pronunciation of this name according to Karlgren[3] was *sie-d'ieu*.

Text No. 1. " Among the islands and bays of Ssu-tiao natural salt is to be found ; it is heaped like small pebbles and the inhabitants of the country take it (thence). They give a cartful to their king as tribute and the rest they store away". *Fu-nan-t'u-su* of K'ang T'ai, quoted in *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan*, ch. 787. K'ang T'ai was a subject of the Wu dynasty of Southern China (222–280 A.D.). He travelled in Fu-nan, modern Cambodia, and left an account of his journey, of which only quotations in later works are extant.[4] The title

1. S. Lévi, *Les missions de Wang Hiuen-ts'e dans l'Inde*, in *J.As.* 1900, I., pp. 297–341, 401–468 (especially pp. 316–318, 401–440).
2. J. M. Senaveratna, *Chino-Sinhalese Relations in the Early and Middle Ages*, in JCBRAS XXIV (1915/6), pp. 74–105 ; the same author added *Some Notes on the Chinese References to Ceylon*, Ibid., pp. 106–118 ; and L. Giles contributed a translation of the account of Ceylon in the *Ming-shih*, Ibid., pp. 119–123.
3. B. Karlgren, *Analytical Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese*, Paris, 1923.
4. P. Pelliot, *Le Fou-nan*, in *BEFEO* III. (1903), pp. 275–276.

Fu-nan t'u-su refer to the official report submitted on his return ; the title *Wu-shih Wai-kuo-chuan* (see the next text) is that of the literary work compiled on the basis of that first draft.

Text No. 2. "The king of Ssu-tiao causes a curtain interwoven with white pearls and a golden bedstead to be manufactured, and sends them to the temples of the gods in India. The king of India, considering the beauty of the roundness of the pearls, wishes to keep them for himself ; but his officials and subjects remonstrate and he desists ". *Wu-shih Wai-kuo-chuan* of K'ang T'ai, quoted in *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan*, ch. 699.

Text No. 3. " In the kingdom of Ssu-tiao there is a fire island in the middle of the sea. In spring and summer it pours out fire ; in autumn and winter it dies out. There is a tree which lives inside the fire. In autumn and winter it withers and dies. (The local people) employ its bark for cloth." *Nan-fang I-wu-chih* of Wan Chen, quoted in *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan*, ch. 787. Wan Chen too was a subject of the Wu dynasty and lived therefore in the 3rd century.[5] This and the following texts contain the legend of the origin of asbestos, on which an interesting essay has been written by Laufer.[6]

Text No. 4. (practically identical with No. 3). " In the kingdom of Ssu-tiao there is an island of blazing fire. It is in the Southern sea. Upon it there is a fire which lights up spontaneously in spring and summer and dies away during autumn and winter. There are trees which live in it and are not consumed. Their branches and bark renew their fresh appearance. During autumn and winter the fire dies out ; then all of them wither and droop. It is customary to gather the bark in the winter for the purpose of making cloth. It is of a slightly bluish-black colour. When it is soiled, they throw it into fire again and it comes out fresh and bright ". *I-wu-chih* of Wan Chen quoted in a note of Fei Sung-chih to *San-kuo-chih, Wei-chih*, ch. 4, l.Ib., and also in *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan*, ch. 820.[7]

Text No. 5. "There is a tree called *mo-ch'u*, which grows in the kingdom of Ssu-tiao. Its juice is fat and moist. It is glossy like grease. Its odour is fragrant and fine. It may be used for frying and boiling food, the smell of which becomes good, in the same manner as oil is used in China ". *Nan-chou I-wu-chih* of Wan Chen, quoted in the *Ch'i-min-yao-shu* of Ku Ssu-hsieh, ch. 10 f.47a, in the *Cheng-lei-pen-ts'ao*, ch. 23, and in *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan*, ch. 960, where the last sentence is as follows : " It may be used for frying and

5. P. Pelliot, *Le Fou-nan*, p. 281n.
6. B. Laufer, *Asbestos and Salamander*, in *T'oung Pao* XVI. (1915), pp. 299, 373.
7. This text was first translated by Laufer, *Asbestos and Salamander*, pp. 351–352.

boiling food ; the people of that island swallow it as a fine delicacy". Concerning the *mo-ch'u* fruit, see below.[8]

Text No. 6. " Ssu-tiao is the name of an island in the midst of the sea. It may be about 3,000 *li* to the south-east of Ko-ying. Upon it are three kingdoms. There are cities and villages, roads and paths. Its soil is rich and fertile ". *Nan-chou I-wu-chih* of Wan Chen, quoted in *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan*, ch. 787. Ko-ying (elsewhere Chia-ying) has not yet been identified.[9]

Text No. 7. " The kingdom of Ssu-tiao produces asbestos and employs in such a quality the bark of a tree. This tree, when exposed to fire, does not burn ". *Lo-yang Chia-lan-chi*, ch. 4 (Taishō edition of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*, vol. 51, p. 101 f.c).[10] This work is a description of the Chinese capital Lo-yang and its Buddhist foundations, written about 527 by Yang Hsien-chih.

To a slightly later period belongs the mention of a kingdom of Ssu-ho-t'iao (ancient pronunciation according to Karlgren : *Si-ha-d'ieu*) in the following texts.

Text No. 8. " The king of Ssu-ho-t'iao causes a curtain to be made, woven with white pearls, and sends it as a gift to the Buddhas and gods of India ". *Ying-chih*, i.e., the *Fu-nan I-wu-chih* of Chou Ying, quoted in the *Pei-t'ang-shu-ch'ao* of Yü Shih-nan, ch. 132. Chou Ying was the companion of K'ang T'ai in his journey to Fu-nan and belongs therefore to the 3rd century.[11]

Text No. 9. "The kingdom of Ssu-t'iao is in the middle of the Ocean. Its surface measures 20,000 *li*. The kingdom contains a large mountain. The mountain has a well in the rock. Inside the well grow white water-lilies with one thousand petals. Upon some lapislazuli stones at the sides of the well there are the footmarks of the four Buddhas ; there are eight footmarks in all. During the six monthly days of fasting, when the Bodhisattva Maitreya with all the gods have finished worshipping the footmarks of the Buddha and have flown away, (there remain) stupas, teaching halls and all the seven kinds of jewels. The king and the elders

8. This text was first translated by Laufer, quoted by G. Ferrand, *Ye-tiao, Sseu-tiao et Java*, in *J.As.* 1916, 2, p. 531.
9. On Ko-ying see Chavannes in *J.As.* 1903, 2, p. 530, and Pelliot, *Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde*, in *BEFEO* IV. (1904), pp. 277–278n. Fujita would identify it with Kulam (Quilon), but his arguments are rather weak.
10. This text was first translated by Laufer, *Ssu-tiao*, in *T'oung Pao* XVII. (1916), p. 390.
11. On Chou Ying see Pelliot, *Le Fou-nan*, pp. 276–277. To Pelliot (in *T'oung Pao* XXIX. p. 183) is also due the identification of the *Ying-chih* with the work of Chou Ying.

continuously cause gold trees with silver leaves to be made, and contribute towards maintaining (the cult of) the Buddha ". *Wai-kuo-shih* of Chih Seng-tsai, quoted in the *I-wen-lei-chü* of Ou-yang Hsün, ch. 76 and (with some slight differences) in *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan*, ch. 797. The Yüeh-chih monk Seng-tsai wrote his account of Foreign Countries (*Wai-kuo-shih*) under the Chin dynasty (265–420). The passage about the eight footmarks is not quite clear in the text; I have followed the interpretation of Pelliot.[12] The text alludes to the well-known footmark on Adam's Peak, and not to that at Dondra at the southernmost tip of the Island. The temple is the same as the Mahāvihāra, seven *li* to the south of the capital, described by Fa-hsien, ch. 39, and by Hsüan-tsang, ch. II.

Text No. 10. " Upon the mountain Ch'üan-tao-liao in the kingdom of Ssu-ho-t'iao there is the temple Pi-ho-lo (Vihāra). In the temple there is an iguana of stone, which contains a god. Everything the monks are about to partake as food and drink, is offered at once by the temple servants to the stone iguana ; then everything is eaten up ". *Wai-kuo-shih* of Chih Seng-tsai quoted in *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan*, ch. 932. The mountain Ch'üan-tao-liao may be either a translitteration or a translation (perfect-path-faraway); both the mountain and the iguana temple still remain to be identified.

Text No. 11. " The king of Ssu-ho-t'iao contributes toward the food for the monks with three silver ounces daily ". *Wai-kuo-shih* of Chih Seng-tsai, quoted in *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan*, ch. 812.

Text No. 12. " In the kingdom of Ssu-ho-t'iao there was a very rich elder called T'iao-san-mi. For the Buddha he caused a canopy of gold and silver curtains to be made over him. For every Buddha he caused two canopies to be made ". *Wai-kuo-shih* of Chih Seng-tsai, quoted in the *Pei-t'ang-shu-ch'ao*. ch. 132, and also in *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan*, ch. 701. T'iao-san-mi (ancient pronunciation according to Karlgren : *d'ieu-sam-mjie*) has been reconstructed by Fujita as Devasamādhi and by Pelliot as Devasāmi (Devasvamin).[13] This latter explanation is by far the more plausible of the two. The man seems to have lived in the 3rd or 4th century, but no such name is mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* or the *Dīpavamsa*. His donations may be connected with Kapilavastu (see the following text) or with the Mahābodhi Sanghārāma in Bodh-Gaya, about which see Hsüan-tsang, ch. 8.[14] It should be

12. P. Pelliot, Review of Fujita's Article (see below) in *T'oung Pao* XXIX. (1932), p. 183.

13. Fujita, in *Tōsei kōshōshi no kenkyu*, I., p. 675 ; Pelliot in *T'oung Pao* XXIX., p. 183.

14. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II., p. 134.

noted that the quotation of the text in the *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan* has Ssu-tiao instead of Ssu-ho-t'iao ; and this offers valuable evidence for the identity of the two names.

Text No. 13. " The kingdom of Chia-wei-lo-yüeh (Kapilavastu) now has no longer a king. The city wall and the moats are deserted and dirty, and there is only an empty space . . . . . In those days, when the stupa was decayed and worn, T'iao-san-mi took care of the repairs and mending of one stupa, and the king of Ssu-ho-t'iao sent gifts as an aid to finish it. Now there are twelve monks who dwell in the stupa ". *Wai-kuo-shih* of Chih Seng-tsai, quoted in the *Shui-ching-chu* of Li Tao-yüan, ch. I, f.9b. T'iao-wang-mi of the text of the *Shui-chingi-chu* is doubtlessly to be corrected into T'iao-san-mi ; the confusion between the two characters *wang* (" king ") and *san* (" three ") is not uncommon.[15]

Text No. 15. " From the kingdom of An-hsi (Parthia) to the kingdom of Ssu-ho-t'iao there are 20,000 *li* ; the land of this kingdom borders with the sea. They are therefore the T'ien-chu (India) and An-hsi kingdoms of the History of the Former Han ". *Fu-nan-chi* of Chu Chih, quoted in *Shui-ching-chu*, ch. 2, f.3b. Chu Chih was a monk of Indian origin and wrote in the second half of the 5th century.[16] As I wrote some time ago, " it seems that we have here an echo of that sea route from the mouth of the Euphrates to Hormuz and along the coast of Western India to Ceylon, which was so active and so frequented during the palmy days of the Roman trade to the east in the first two or three centuries A.D. The utterly wrong conclusion that Ssu-ho-t'iao was the T'ien-chu of the *Han-shu* seems to be due to the author of the *Shui-ching-chu*."[17]

That Ssu-ho-t'iao was a form as early as, and even earlier than, Ssu-tiao, is proved by two variants of the same name, found in the Chinese translations of the *Samyuktāvadāna*.

Text No. 16. " In the middle of the sea there is a country called Ssu-ho-tieh. From inside it precious things in great number come forth ; rock-honey alone is missing ". *Tsa-p'i-yü-ching* translated by Chi Lou-chia-ch'an (Nanjio No. 1372). This translator wrote about 180 A.D.

Text No. 17. " In ancient times in Southern India there was a kingdom called Ssu-ho-hsieh. It lies upon an island in the sea.

15. This text has first been translated by the present writer in *Northern India according to the Shui-ching-chu*, Rome, 1950, p. 33 ; the translation has been revised according to the suggestions of L. S. Yang in *HJAS* XIV. (1951), p. 664.

16. Pelliot, *Le Fou-nan*, p. 277.

17. Petech, *Northern India according to the Shui-ching-chu*, p. 62.

Its capital measures more than 80,000 *li* in length and breadth ". *Tsa-p'i-yü-ching* translated by an unknown, ch. I (Nanjio No. 1368). This translation too belongs to the later Han dynasty (22–220 A.D.)

It is absolutely certain that Ssu-ho-t'iao (*si-ha-d'ieu*) correspond from the phonetical and geographical point of view to Sihadi(v)u, a Sinhalese form for the Pali Sīhadīpa.[18] The texts allow no room for doubt.

On the contrary, the identity of Ssu-tiao was a subject of keen controversy. Pelliot, who first mentioned the name in 1904, recognized it as a transcription of Sīhadīpa, but felt some doubt about its geographical location.[19] The same opinion was still held by him in 1912.[20] Then in 1915 Laufer maintained that Ssu-tiao was doubtlessly a misprint for Yeh-tiao, which occurs in the History of the Later Han (*Hou Han-shu*) under the date of 132 A.D. and phonetically corresponds almost certainly to Ptolemy's Iabadiou, Yavadvīpa, i.e., Java.[21] In 1916 Ferrand strongly supported this contention, relying chiefly upon the identification of the *mo-ch'u* fruit quoted in Text No. 5 with the *maja* (*Aegle marmelos*) of Indonesia.[22] Pelliot was drawn by these arguments to accept the conclusions of Laufer and Ferrand.[23] But in 1929 Fujita subjected the matter to a close scrutiny in an article, which did not attract in the West the attention it deserved because of the Japanese language in which it was written.[24] According to him not only Ssu-tiao and Ssu-ho-tiao transcribe Sīhadīpa, but even Yeh-tiao is merely a clerical error for Ssu-tiao ; as for the *mo-chu* fruit, it corresponds to *madhu*, the Mahwa-tree (*Bassia latifolia*) of India and Ceylon. In 1932 Pelliot accepted Fujita's conclusion as far as Ssu-tiao is concerned, but refused to follow him in the case of Yeh-tiao, which cannot be anything but Java.[25] And there the controversy rested.

18. P. Demiéville in *T'oung Pao* XL. (1951), p. 346.
19. Pelliot, *Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde*, pp. 268n, 357.
20. Pelliot, Review of *Chau Ju-kua*, in *T'oung Pao* XIII. (1912), p. 463.
21. Laufer, *Asbestos and Salamander*, p. 351.
22. G. Ferrand, *Ye-tiao, Sseu-tiao et Java*, in *J.As.* 1916, 2, pp. 521–532.
23. Pelliot, *Quelques textes chinois concernant l'Indochine hindouisée*, in *Études Asiatiques de l'E.F.E.O.*, Paris 1926, II., pp. 250–251.
24. T. Fujita, *Yōchō-Shichō-Shikajō no tsuite*, in *Memoirs of the Faculty of Literature and Politics of the Taihoku Imperial University*, I., (1929) ; reprinted in his posthumous collected essays : *Tōsei kōshōshi no kenkyu*, vol. I (*Nankaihen*), pp. 653–694.
25. Pelliot, Review of Fujita's Article in *T'oung Pao* XXIX. (1932), pp. 181–184. I may mention in passing that R. Stein, *Le Lin-yi* (*Han-hiue*, II.), Peking, 1947, pp. 138–141, while accepting the phonetical equivalence of Yeh-tiao with Yavadvīpa, maintained that geographically it might correspond to Western Yünnan and Northern Burma ; but I do not think that his theory has withstood the criticism levelled against it by Demiéville in *T'oung Pao* XL. (1951), p. 346.

In my opinion we should be more cautious than Fujita and even Pelliot. I quite agree that the Ssu-tiao of K'ang T'ai (Texts Nos. 1 and 2) is Ceylon, as shown by the variant in Text No. 12 and above all by the perfect parallelism between Texts No. 2 and No. 8 ; the author of the latter was a travelling companion of K'ang T'ai. But the Ssu-tiao of Wan Chen, with its mention of volcanoes (of which there is none in Ceylon) seems to refer rather to Java. The *mo-ch'u* fruit does not allow us to decide either way. Phonetically (ancient pronunciation according to Karlgren : *mua-d'iu*) it may correspond to *maja* (theory of Ferrand) as well as to *madhu* (theory of Fujita). I think therefore that the name Ssu-tiao designated two quite different islands, the native names of which sounded somehow very similar to Chinese ears ; for Wan Chen it transcribed some unknown Indonesian name (probably not Java) ; for K'ang T'ai it was a quite good transliteration of Sihadiu.

The above texts do not give us much help about conditions in Ceylon during the 3rd and 4th centuries ; nor are they of any value from the chronological point of view. The most important item is the piece of information concerning T'iao-san-mi and the relations between Ceylon and the monasteries of Kapilavastu. They show a parallel with the well-attested close relations between Ceylon and the Mahābodhi Vihāra of Bodh-Gaya.

B

During the period of the T'ang dynasty, Ceylon was on the main sea trade route from India to China. To the texts collected by S. Lévi we may add the itinerary compiled by Chia Tan between 785 and 805. It carries the mariners from Ch'ien-lan (Nicobar Islands) " northward and after four days' travel to Shih-tzu (Ceylon) ; its northern coast is 100 *li* from the southern coast of Southern India ". The itinerary continues to Malabar and the Persian Gulf.[26]

In the *Wen-hsien-t'ung-kao* of Ma Tuan-lin (published 1322), ch. 145, p. 1276*b*, there is a passing reference to the effect that under the T'ang dynasty lions were sent as tribute by the south-western barbarians, from India, from Ceylon and other countries.

For three centuries after the fall of the T'ang dynasty in 907, Ceylon is but seldom mentioned in Chinese texts. In the official history of the Liao dynasty, who ruled Manchuria and the northernmost fringe of China from 907 to 1125 and greatly protected and

26. F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, St. Petersburg, 1911, p. 12.

fostered Buddhism, there is a concise entry under the date of March 12th, 989 : " The kingdoms of Hui-hu (Uigurs), Yü-tien (Khotan) and Shih-tzu offered tribute " ; *Liao-shih*, ch. 12, f.5. Relations between Ceylon and that faraway country are unlikely, and Shih-tzu (Lion Country ; the usual translation of Simhala) is listed among Central Asian Countries. It is therefore very likely that Ceylon is not meant at all and that the name may refer to some Lion-King of Central Asia, as suggested by Wittfogel.[27]

The geographical work *Ling-wai-tai-ta* of Chou Ch'ü-fei (written in 1178) is of slight use for our purpose. It contains however the first mention in Chinese texts of the name Ceylon, brought to China by the Arab and Persian traders. " To the west there is a big sea called the sea of Hsi-lan. In this sea there is a big island called the country of Hsi-lan. In this sea is a big island called the country of Hsi-lan."[28]

The *Chu-fan-chih* of Chao Ju-kua, written in 1225, lists Ceylon among the tributaries of San-fo-ch'i, i.e., the Buddhist kingdom of Śrīvijaya in south-east Sumatra.[29] In another part of the same text there is a short account of Ceylon. " With a north wind one comes within twenty odd days to the kingdom of Hsi-lan, which is under the rule of Nan-p'i (Malabar).[30] Sailing from Lan-wu-li (Lambri in Sumatra), one knows that one is nearing Hsi-lan from the continual flashing of lightning. The king (of Hsi-lan) is black, his hair unkempt and his head uncovered. He wears no clothes but has a cotton cloth of different colours wrapped around him ; on his feet he wears sandals of red leather, tied with golden strings. When he goes forth, he rides an elephant or is carried in a litter. All day he chews a paste of betel nut and pearl ashes ". Then follows an account of the royal palace, of the court usages and of the customs of the people in Ceylon. " There is a mountain called Hsi-lun-tieh (Serendib, a name used by the Arabs for Adam's Peak, although originally it referred to the whole Island), on the top of which there is a huge imprint of a man's foot, over seven feet long, and a like imprint is visible in the water (of the sea) within a distance of over 300 *li* from the mountain. The forest trees on the mountain, little and big, all bend towards it (as if reverencing it). The products (of Hsi-lan) include cat's-eyes, red transparent glass, camphor, blue and red precious stones. The products of the soil are cardamoms, *mu-lan* bark and both coarse

27. K. Wittfogel and others, *History of Chinese Society : Liao* (907–1125), Philadelphia, 1949, p. 108.
28. Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 26.
29. Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 62.
30. The name Nan-p'i derives probably from that of the Nambūri Brahmans, who played a great political role in Southern India. Pelliot in *T'oung Pao* XXXII. (1936), p. 221.

and fine perfumes. Foreign traders exchange for them sandal-wood, cloves, camphor, gold, silver, porcelain-ware, horses, elephants and silk stuffs. This country sends a yearly tribute to San-fo-ch'i ".[31] The double tributary relation with Malabar and Śrīvijaya is puzzling. It may refer to the period of Coḷa rule in the 11th and 12th century. In the period 1068–1077 the Chinese had believed that the Coḷas were tributary of Śrīvijaya, reversing thus the actual relation.[32] The same confusion have taken place in our case ; the condition here depicted seem to go back to the 11th century, when Malabar, Ceylon and Sumatra recognized the paramountcy of the Coḷas.

Relations between Ceylon and the Mongol (Yüan) dynasty of China were fairly close during the reign of Qubilai (1260–1294). The acts are well known, but it may be useful to summarize them once again. The mission of the Mongol Ha-sa-erh-hai-ya (Qasar Qaya?) and of the Chinese Yang Tung-pi to Quilon put out to sea from Ch'üan-chou about February, 1281, and three months later arrived to the Island of Seng-chia-yeh (Ceylon), whence they went on to the coast of Ma'bar (Coromandel) ; *Yüan-shih*, ch. 210, ff.16*b*–17*a*.[33]

In 1282 the Uigur officer I-hei-mi-shih,[34] was sent by Qubilai " beyond the sea to Seng-chia-la to examine the Buddha's alms-bowl and body relics ", and possibly fetch them to China. He made the journey, but apparently was not able to obtain the object for which he was sent ; *Yüan-shih*, ch. 131, f.20*a*.[35] So in 1287 he was sent out again to Ma'bar, to get the alms-bowl and the relics for Qubilai ; *Yüan-shih*, loc.cit.[36] Most probably on this occasion he went to Ceylon too. Ma'bar means politically the Pandya kingdom, which at that time was paramount in Ceylon.

Wang Ta-yüan travelled extensively in the Southern Seas and published his work *Tao-i-chih-lüeh* in 1347. He gives a description of the island of Seng-chia-la, " which is enriched by ranges of green hills, while the sea spreads out all along it ". He gives then a description of the temple at Dondera and of the footmark of the

31. Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, pp. 72–73.
32. G. Coedès, *Les états hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*, Paris, 1948, p. 251.
33. Translated by W. W. Rockhill, *Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the Coast of the Indian Ocean during the Fourteenth Century*, Part I., in *T'oung Pao* XV. (1914), pp. 431–432.
34. I-hei-mi-shih is the same officer who in 1293 led the Mongol expedition to Java. The name transcribes Yighimish ; see Damais as summarized in *Proceedings of the twenty-second Congress of Orientalists*, I, Istanbul 1953, p. 167
35. Translated by Rockhill, *Notes . . .*, Part I., p. 437.
36. Translated by Rockhill, *Notes . . .*, Part I., pp. 439–440.

Buddha there, followed by a description of the appearance of the natives and of their conversion to Buddhism.[37] Another passage of the same text mentions the Great Buddha Mountain (Ta-fo-shan), i.e., Dondera Head, " which lies between Ya-li (Galle) and Kao-lang-pu (Colombo), and tells the story of a curious submarine plant, a soft and slimy thing, which hardened like iron when taken out of the water ; it was found by the author in November-December, 1339, while sailing along the base of this mountain.[38] Further on, Wang Ta-yüan describes Kao-lang-pu (Colombo), which " is at the foot of the Great Buddha Mountain (?). The whole shore of the bay is nothing but jagged rocks standing up or lying flat. The ground is damp, the soil is poor and rice very dear. The climate is hot, the customs of the natives are boorish ", and their ruler fleeces the wrecked mariners of all their belongings ; the text gives then an account of the clothing of the natives, of the produce of the land (rubies) and of the goods used by the Chinese in trading with Colombo.[39] The account is completed by a description of the pearl fisheries of Ti-san-chiang, which evidently is Mannar. The technique of fishing the oysters and gaining the pearls from them is set forth in some detail.[40]

C

The tale of the Chinese maritime expeditions in the seas of Southern Asia, mainly under the command of the eunuch Cheng Ho, is already well known ; I am not going to repeat it here and shall limit myself to some bibliographical and chronological references. To the older studies and translation of Mayers, Groeneveldt, Phillips, Lévi and Rockhill[41] a good deal of new material has been added in the thirties of the present century thanks to the labours of Duyvendak, Pelliot and Yamamoto.[42]

37. Rockhill, *Notes . . .*, Part II., in *T'oung Pao* XVI. (1915), pp. 375–376.
38. Rockhill, *Notes . . .*, Part II., pp. 383–384.
39. Rockhill, *Notes . . .*, Part II., pp. 384–385.
40. Rockhill, *Notes . . .*, Part II., pp. 385–387.
41. Mayers, in *China Review*, III., (1874–5) and IV. (1875) ; Groeneveldt in *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca*, 1877, and in *Supplementary Jottings* in *T'oung Pao* VI. (1895), pp. 113–114 ; Phillips in *J. North China Br.R.A.S.* XX., pp. 209–226 and XXI., pp. 30–42 ; the same, in *JRAS* 1895, pp. 523–533, 898–900, and 1896, pp. 203–206, 341–351 ; Lévi in *J.As.* 1900, I., pp. 431–437 ; Rockhill in *T'oung Pao* XVI. (1915), pp. 61–159. 236–271, 374–392, 435–467, 604–626.
42. J. J. L. Duyvendak, *Ma Huan re-examined* (*Verhand. der Kon. Akad. van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde*, XXXII., No. 3), The Hague, 1933 ; Pelliot, *Les grands voyages maritimes chinois au debut du XVe siècle*, in *T'oung Pao* XXX. (1933), pp. 237–452 ; T. Yamamoto, *Teiwa no seisei*, in *Tōyō-gakuhō* XXI. (1934), pp. 374–404, 506–556 ; Pelliot, *Notes Additionnelles sur Tcheng Houo et sur ses voyages*, in *T'oung Pao* XXXI. (1935), pp. 274–314 ; Pelliot, *Encore a propos des voyages de Tcheng Houo*, in *T'oung Pao* XXXII. (1936), pp. 210–222 ; Duyvendak, *The True Dates of the Chinese Maritime Expeditions in the Early Fifteenth Century*, in *T'oung Pao* XXXIV. (1938), pp. 341–412.

The chronology of these voyages has been finally settled by the second article of Duyvendak. As far as Ceylon is concerned, it stands as follows :

Cheng Ho landed for the first time in Ceylon during his first expedition of 1405–1407, i.e., probably in 1406.[43] The second expedition (1407–1409) did not touch Ceylon.[44] During the third voyage (1409–1411) the famous incident with Alagakkonara took place, almost certainly early in 1411. The trilingual inscription (Tamil, Chinese and Persian) has been prepared beforehand in China with the date of February 2nd, 1409, and set up at Galle when the Chinese fleet landed there two years later.[45] Ceylon was again visited during the 6th voyage (1421–1422) and the 7th voyage (1432–1433).[46]

43. Duyvendak in *T'oung Pao* XXXIV. (1938), pp. 358, 372.
44. Op. cit., pp. 367–372.
45. Op. cit., pp. 368–369, 372–373.
46. Op. cit., pp. 385–386, 390–393 ; Pelliot in *T'oung Pao* XXX. (1933), p. 308

BENJAMIN OF TUDELA ON CEYLON

H. G. REISSNER

I.

PRESENTED BELOW in an English translation [1] is that portion of: " The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela " which deals with Ceylon. It has hitherto apparently called for no comment amongst students of history and religion of Ceylon, except that it has been quoted as one source relative to the presence of Jews on the island during the 12th century A.D.[2] However, in view of the dearth of general notices dealing with ceremonial and underlying philosophy of Eastern religion, in the chronicles of medieval travellers to Ceylon,[3] it would seem appropriate to draw the attention of the scholarly public to Benjamin of Tudela's report.

Benjamin's travels (1159–1173 A.D.) coincided with a period of ascendancy of Malabar influences in North-western Ceylon. It is, therefore, not entirely impossible that Benjamin's notes on Ceylon reflect suggestions of actual fire-worship, perhaps linked to, or preceding, the cult of Siva, of the practice of cremation of the dead, of religious suicide, and of priestly hold on the community at large. However, the conventional method of corroborating one author's testimony with that of other contemporaries, does not seem of avail in the present instance,—unless Ceylonese scholars can, and care to, enlighten this writer.

All the latter has to offer are comments on Benjamin of Tudela's reputation as an observer and reporter in general, Benjamin was a native of the kingdom of Navarre, Spain. His itinerary covered Southern France, Italy, Greece and Asia Minor as far as the Persian Gulf. He returned *via* the Red Sea and Egypt. He did not personally visit a number of countries to which reference is also made in his Itinerary. Relative to Asia this list would include India, Ceylon, Tibet and China. However, he did not at all pretend to have gone thither himself. His notes on Ceylon must, therefore, have been based on material, oral and/or literary, which he was able to collect from travellers and scholars in the Persian Gulf area and, possibly, also in Aden and Alexandria. The value

1. by A Asher, London, 1841, vol. I. pp 141-3.
2. B. J. Perera, The Foreign Trade and Commerce of Ancient Ceylon, *The Ceylon Historical Journal*, vol. 1, No. 4, April 1952, p 313, et al.
3. Nafis Ahmad, The Arabs' Knowledge of Ceylon, *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, vol. XIX, July 1945.

of such second-hand information would depend primarily on an appraisal of Benjamin's critical faculties and secondly on inferences to be drawn from the language of the original manuscripts. Modern research[4] has accepted Benjamin's own observations as keen, circumspect and reliable on the whole. This would be applicable both to the political, statistical, economic and religious aspects of Jewish communities he visited, and of the Gentile world he passed through. In contrast thereto are questionable distances between places as well as inflated population figures of regions he did not see for himself. In this category falls the number of Jews in Ceylon as related in the Itinerary, which according to various manuscripts, read either 3,000 or 23,000. Even the lower of the two must have been widely off the mark.[5] Into a medieval dream-world category, similar to the contemporary Prester John—myth, belong stories of independent Jewish warrior tribes in the mountains of Central Asia, Arabia and Ethiopia. In promoting circulation of such fancies, Benjamin mirrors the deep yearning of medieval Jews for deliverance from the yoke of oppression. On the other hand, it would be difficult to think of a wishful motive, except intellectual curiosity, having prompted Benjamin to listen to, and record, travellers' tales which had no direct bearing on Messianic expectations. Particulars he thought noteworthy relative to Malabar, such as the cultivation of pepper and other spices or the custom of embalming the dead, were either self-explanatory or confirmed by modern research.[6] Consequently, it would not seem justified to dismiss as phantastic off-hand Benjamin's notes on what he had heard in Near Eastern ports about the subject of Ceylon.

II.

Asher's translation runs as follows :

The island of Khandy is distant 22 days journey. The inhabitants are fire worshippers called Druzes, and 23,000 Jews live among them. These Druzes have priests everywhere in the houses consecrated to their idols, and those priests are expert necromancers, the like of whom are to be met nowhere. In front of the altar of their house of prayer you see a deep ditch, in which a large fire is continually kept burning ; this they call Elahuta, Deity. They pass their children through it, and into this ditch they also throw their dead.

4. C. Raymond Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography*, London, 1897—1906.
5. see the present writer's analysis in: Jews in Medieval Ceylon, *The Ceylon Historical Journal* Vol. III. No. 2.
6. L. Sternbach, *India as described by Mediaeval European Travellers*, Supplement to Bharatiya Vidya, vol. VII. Nos. 5–6, Bombay, May–June 1946.

Some of the great of this country take a vow to burn themselves alive ; and if any such devotee declares to his children and kindred his intention to do so, they all applaud him and say : " Happy shalt thou be, and it shall be well with thee ".* Whenever the appointed day arrives, they prepare a sumptous feast, mount the devotee upon his horse if he be rich, or lead him afoot if he is poor, to the brink of the ditch. He throws himself into the fire, and all his kindred manifest their joy by the playing of instruments until he is entirely consumed. Within three days of this ceremony two of their principal priests repair to his house and thus address his children : " Prepare the house, for today you will be visited by your father, who will manifest his wishes unto you ". Witnesses are selected among the inhabitants of the town, and lo ! the devil appears in the image of the dead. The wife and children inquire after his state in the other world, and he answers : " I have met my companions, but they have not admitted me into their company, before I have discharged my debts to my friends and neighbours ". He then makes a will, divides his goods among his children, and commands them to discharge all debts he owes and to receive what people owe him ; this will is written down by the witnesses . . ..* to go his way, and he is not seen any more. In consequence of these lies and deceit, which the priests pass off as magic, they retain a strong hold upon the people and made them believe that their equal is not to be met with upon earth.

From thence the passage to China is effected in forty days.

III.

The following comments are suffixed to promote the understanding of Benjamin's phraseology as well as his mind :

First sentence : " The island of Khandy is distant 22 days' journey ".—From the context which is in perfect consecutive geographical order it is clear that the " island " is beyond Malabar and that, as mentioned in the final sentence, it is also a point of embarkation for the onward trip to China.—" Khandy " is Asher's choice[7] of the name of the island, on the strength of its spelling in the first editions printed in Hebrew. They say actually " Candig ", but Asher changed it having regard to the name of the later capital of Ceylon. The earlier manuscripts[8] show various other spellings. It would not be profitable in this context to discuss the variations.

* Psalm CXXVIII, 2.

** A blank occurs here in both the first Editions.

7. l.c., vol. II. Notes and Essays, p 186.

8. cf. Marcus Nathan Adler, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, London, 1907.

It is, however, this writer's belief that the different readings reflect actually the name of the island in medieval Arabic, i.e., Serendib—" 22 days journey ". It is not positively indicated whence it took this time to reach Ceylon. Obviously 22 days would be much more than was necessary to cover the distance from the previously discussed region, i.e., Malabar. Similar difficulties of reconciliation are met with in other portions of the Itinerary too and have usually been resolved by the assumption that Benjamin bases his distances on one central point where he received his information. In the instance of Ceylon it might, as mentioned before, have been the Persian Gulf area.

Second sentence : " The inhabitants are fire-worshippers called Druzes, and 23,000 Jews live among them ".—Conjectures have been made as to why Benjamin chose for the inhabitants of Ceylon an appellation customarily applied to a certain sect in Syria.[9] in which sense, incidentally, Benjamin himself used the name too.[10] Disregarding the explanations given by others previously, this writer submits that the following would offer a more coherent interpretation : to the minds of the believers of the three monotheistic faiths only the Occident appeared to be civilized. The rest of the people of the earth were looked down upon (in the words of Benjamin's illustrious contemporary, Rabbi Moses Maimonides[11] " as irrational beings, and not as human beings ; they are below mankind, but above monkeys . . . .". A group name was conferred on those people by Maimonides, viz., Sabeans or Star-worshippers ". D. Chwolsohn[12] is correct in his comment that : " Maimonides . . . understood . . . by Sabeanism heathendom in general, but no particular brand of it ". " Star-worshippers " conveys the same general meaning in the terminology of the earlier Talmud. By the same token, in explaining the ways of the, " Druzes " who are found in Syria, Benjamin of Tudela added as a general comment:[13] " they are called ' paganos ', unbelievers, and they have no religion " (i.e., in the monotheistic sense of the world). Obviously, Benjamin had his own previous definition in mind when turning to the " fire-worshippers " of Ceylon. For him they were " Druzes ", just another kind of " unbelievers " who did

9. A. Asher, l.c., vol. II. pp187–8;
Joachim Lelewel, *Geographie du Moyen Age*. Bruxelles, 1852, T. IV, p.62;
C. Raymond Beazley, l.c., vol. II. p 258.

10. A. Asher, l.c., vol. I. p 61.

11. *The Guide for the Perplexed*, trsl. M. Friedlaender, London, New York, 2nd ed., 1904, p 315.

12. D. Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, St. Petersburg, 1856, vol. I. p 692.

13. A. Asher, l.c. Hebrew text, p 29. The translation given above is the present writer's, not Asher's.

not share the notions of occidental monotheism.—" . . . and 23,000 Jews live among them ". As stated above, this figure, based on hearsay, must have been grossly inflated. However, the reference to Jews, in itself, supports the identification of the " island " with Ceylon ; there was no other island between India and China where Jews lived in the days of Benjamin.

Fourth sentence : " In front of the altar of their house of prayer you see a deep ditch, in which a large fire is continually kept burning ; this they call Elahuta, Deity ".—Asher's translation could lead one to believe that the fire burned inside the temple. The Hebrew word translated " altar " by Asher is " bamah ". In the first place, " bamah " is open air elevation set aside for sacrificial purposes. It can mean " altar " in a secondary, derivated sense. (In modern Hebrew it has come to designate a " stage ". It is, therefore, suggested to read this passage as follows : " In front of the hill (or, terrace) of their house of prayer is a deep ditch, etc." Such wording would convey the notion that temples were erected on natural heights or built up terraces, and that the fires burned in open air ditches. This seems to be in better keeping with actualities.—" This (i.e., the fire) they call Elahuta, Deity ". The Hebrew word for " fire "—viz., " esh "—is feminine ; consequently a feminine form for " Deity ", viz., Elahuta[14] is employed, There are no two words in the Hebrew text ; " Deity " is inserted by Asher in explanation of the Aramaic noun " Elahuta " used by Benjamin. Elahuta must not, therefore, be understood as a name proper ; Benjamin wanted to express that fire was worshipped as Elahuta, i.e., divine.—The entire passage calls to mind a hypothesis put forward by the late Abbe J. A. Dubois,[15] " as far as one can see, in ancient times the elements had temples specially dedicated to their worship ; but I confess that I have not been able to discover any vestiges of such buildings still remaining ". Would Benjamin's written testimony be acceptable as evidence that there were in the 12th century A.D. such temples dedicated to the elements ?

The rest of Benjamin's narration can speak for itself. It is, and succeeds, to convey a fresh sense of marvel at something then unheard of, or forgotten, in the West. Nevertheless, his style remains true to its own time ; for as soon as the story has been committed to writing with hardly concealed intellectual delight, its content is promptly labelled and deprecated as " lies and deceit ". The medieval era was different from the previous classical one.

14. The word " Elahuta " appears in two different printed earlier Hebrew editions of the Itinerary in two slightly different forms of spelling, both of which, connected with the names of the Egyptian goddesses Sati and Isis respectively, occur also in " *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*", ed., A. Cowley, Oxford, 1923, p 42 and p 183.

15, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, 3rd ed., Oxford 1906, p 551.

Then Flavius Josephus, Jewish chronicler of the war against the Romans,[16] had hailed " those Indians who . . . make haste to let their souls loose from their bodies ; pay, when no misfortune presses them to it . . . these have such a desire of a life of immortality that they tell other men beforehand that they are about to depart ; and nobody hinders them, but every one thinks them happy men . . . ."

IV

In the light of the above comments it will now be up to the reader himself to take his stand between two possible extremes of judgment: on one hand, there was the suggestion of Lelewel, that was anxious to tickle the mental curiosity of his audience Benjamin with the sketch of a particular heathenish cult, i.e., fire worship, and that, in order to provide it with more of an appearance of reality, he attached to it the name of a certain geographic position to which he assigned distances which, in turn, increased the confusion of mis-spelled names. On the other extreme, there was Abbé Dubois' hypothesis that, once upon a time, there were Hindu temples dedicated to the elements.

Abbé Dubois had much in common with Benjamin of Tudela though they were separated by seven centuries, and the former was, obviously, not aware of the existence of the latter. They were congenial in the breadth of their keenly observing and recording minds ; they were both altered and limited by the self-assurance of their own respective religious convictions, Perhaps, the combination of such apparent contradictions warrants the intrinsic truth of the conclusions they submit.

16. *Wars of the Jews*, Bk. VII, Ch. VIII, 7.

AN INTRODUCTION TO JOAO RIBEIRO'S "HISTORICAL TRAGEDY OF THE ISLAND OF CEYLON" 1685.

By C. R. BOXER

It is curious, though not important, that three of the principal seventeenth-century European works on Ceylon were written, or at least completed, within the same decade. Captain Robert Knox dedicated his "Historical Relation" to the Court of directors of the East-India Company at London on the 1st August, 1681; Captain Joao Ribeiro signed the dedication of his "Historical Tragedy" to King Pedro II., at Lisbon, on the 8th January, 1685; and the Jesuit Father Fernao de Queyroz dedicated his massive "Temporal and Spiritual Conquest" to the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa, on the 1st October, 1687. Of these three manuscript works, Knox's was published immediately afterwards; but Ribeiro and Queyroz never saw their works in print, since these were only published in their original form in 1836 and in 1916, respectively.[1]

The value of Knox and Queyroz for Ceylon history is well known, but it seems that Ribeiro's work has not been so fully appreciated. This is rather surprising, since the indefatigable Dr. P. E. Pieris has published an English translation of the *Fatalidade Historica da Ilha de Ceilao* which has gone through four editions, in one form or another, between 1908 and 1948. I had assumed that this in itself proved that the *Historical Tragedy* was highly regarded as a source-book for Ceylon history, but the Editor of the *Ceylon Historical Journal* writes me in this connection:

1. All quotations from Robert Knox, *An Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon* are taken from the MacLehose reprint published together with Knox's autobiography, and edited (most indifferently) by James Ryan, Glasgow, 1911. Quotations from Fernao de Queyroz, S.J., *Conquista Temporal e Espiritual de Ceylão*, are taken from the 3-volume English translation edited with scholarly care by the late S. G. Perera, S.J., *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon* (Colombo, 1930). Quotations from Joao Ribeiro, *Fatalidade Historica da Ilha de Ceilao*, are translated from an original manuscript fair copy, signed by Joao Ribeiro, which is in my own library. The wording of my translation sometimes differs slightly from that of Dr. P. E. Pieris in the fourth edition of his *Historic Tragedy of the Island of Ceilao* (Colombo, 1948).

> "Though four editions of Ribeiro's work have been brought out by Dr. Pieris, strangely enough insufficient attention has been paid to it by students. Queyroz dominates the Portuguese period so firmly that Ribeiro is not used for political history, while Knox's book has ousted those portions of Ribeiro where the country and the people are described. Ribeiro indeed is so far forgotten in Ceylon, that in our University the Ceylon History paper for the Bachelor's Degree in History, which is to be studied from documents, prescribes only Queyroz and does not give Ribeiro even as supplementary reading. This neglect is largely due to the fact that although the book itself has been published by Dr. Pieris, there is no good introduction to it, nor has any estimate of the work been made elsewhere. Ribeiro's life is virtually unknown and the history of the book itself is not available. Above all, the reliability of the work as a source is not established."

This contention is reinforced by the fact that the late Father S. G. Perera, S.J., in his scholarly three-volume translation of Queyroz does not mention Ribeiro in his lengthy introduction, and has only two insignificant allusions to him in the footnotes to the text. In a way, of course, this relative neglect of Ribeiro is understandable. Knox and Queyroz are both much more detailed; but I hope to show that Ribeiro deserves a higher place than he is apparently accorded, even if not so high as the other two. He has one great advantage over Queyroz in that he lived for eighteen years in Ceylon, whereas the Jesuit never set foot in the Island. Regarding a comparison with Knox, the latter spent nineteen years in Ceylon, but for nearly all of this time he was in the Kandyan kingdom, whereas Ribeiro's service was in the maritime provinces. Their accounts therefore supplement and complement each other in many ways, and between them they cover most of the long and eventful reign of Raja Sinha II., as Knox arrived in Ceylon the year after Ribeiro left the Island. In order to assess the importance of Ribeiro's work, I will begin by giving a sketch of his career and character, following this with a brief discussion of his *Historical Tragedy*.

Joao Ribeiro was born at Lisbon, where he was baptized on the 17 May, 1622. His father was Domingos Ribeiro, a local *barreteiro* (cap-or bonnet-maker) who had originally come from Viseu in the province of Beira, his mother being Grácia de Aragao, daughter of another Lisbon cap-maker.[2] The next recorded fact

2. Joao Ribeiro's baptismal certificate and other related documents were first printed by Frazao de Vasconcelos, *Subsidios ineditos sobre o capitao Joao Ribeiro, autor da "Fatalidade Historica da ilha de Ceilao"*, Lisbon, 1927, (reprinted from the magazine *Brasoes e Genealogias*), pp. 9–11.

about him is his embarkation for the East in March, 1640, when he went as a private soldier in the fleet commanded by a new Viceroy, Joao de Silva Tello e Menezes, Count of Aveiras, who reached Goa in the following September. Ribeiro's working-class origin was not necessarily a bar to promotion, although it helps to explain why he rose from the ranks so slowly despite his gallant conduct in many campaigns. In February, 1623, the municipality of Lisbon had petitioned the Crown to allow the sons of craftsmen and artificers to serve in Asia and become eligible for promotion on the same terms as those of peasants and agricultural workers.[3] The Portuguese social ladder in the seventeenth century resembled the Japanese (and Sinhalese) in that industrial workers ranked below those engaged in agriculture. I cannot find the answer to this petition, but the career of Joao Ribeiro does show that a man from the bottom of the working-class could rise quite high in the service of the Crown, although it took a long time.

A fortnight after the armada of the Count of Aveiras reached Goa, Joao Ribeiro was one of a draft of four hundred soldiers who were sent to Ceylon with the new Captain-General of that Island, Dom Felipe de Mascarenhas. These reinforcements reached Colombo at a critical time, since the Dutch had previously taken several of the Portuguese settlements in the Island with the aid of Raja Sinha. Their arrival turned the tide, and the eighteen-year old Ribeiro received his baptism of fire when the Portuguese recaptured Negombo after a short siege in November 1640. For the next eighteen years he served in Ceylon, taking part in all the principal battles and sieges which were fought and sustained against the Dutch and Sinhalese. A citation of his services dated the 7 January, 1665, makes particular mention of his having participated in the blockade of Galle and victory of Akuressa (4 May, 1643), in the fighting round Negombo in 1644, in the conquest of the Four Kōralēs in January, 1645, in the blockade of Anguruwatota, and in Gaspar Figueira's great victory over Raja Sinha at Kotikapola (Cutilapale) in April, 1655.[4] He also took a distinguished part in the epic siege of Colombo, where he was badly burnt and wounded by enemy hand-grenades. After the surrender of Colombo in May, 1656, he was one of the survivors who were landed by the Dutch at Negapatam, whence they marched overland to Goa. So short were the Portuguese of men at this time, that these emaciated and wounded veterans were promptly sent from Goa to help defend Mannar and Jaffna, the last Portuguese strongholds in Ceylon.

3. Petition of the municipality of Lisbon, 8 February, 1623, printed in E. Freire de Oliveira, *Elementos para a historia do municipio de Lisboa*, III., 1621–1633 (Lisbon, 1887), p. 60.

4. Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Codice do Conselho Ultramarino, No. 84, fl. 128, " Joao Ribeiro pede satisfacao de seus servicos " ; fl. 137v, " Replica " to the same.

Ribeiro was thus one of those who saw the Portuguese flag lowered for the last time when Jaffna capitulated in June, 1658, and he was sent with his comrades as a prisoner of war to Batavia.

During his eighteen years of service in Ceylon, Ribeiro had been thrice promoted from the ranks to captain, owing to his gallantry in the field, but these promotions did not prove permanent. For most of the time he served as a soldier or as a sergeant, and it was presumably the fact that he was not a *fidalgo* (*filho d'algo*, or " son of somebody ") which blocked his permanent promotion. As one of the more acute Portuguese observers noted, the policy of placing birth before merit did not work out well in wartime. Contrasting the ineptitude of many high-born *fidalgo* commanders with the more experienced if less aristocratic Dutch leaders, he wrote :

> " With us, only the fidalgos are fit for high command, whether they are knowing or not, and whether they are fit for war or not. Now Ceylon is ruled by a seaman, and a son of a butcher ; others like these rule Malacca. These won those places and rule them ; and the others ruled those places and lost them." [5]

It is odd that Queyroz in his very detailed account of the war in Ceylon from 1640 to 1658, makes no mention whatever of Ribeiro. This omission is all the more surprising as the Jesuit writer was not blinded by class-prejudice, and does not hesitate to criticise the misbehaviour of the *fidalgos* on occasion.

I am not certain how long Ribeiro remained at Batavia as a prisoner of war. Some of his compatriots were sent to Holland in the *Naerden* and *Erasmus* which sailed on the 15 January, 1659 ; but several hundred were left at Batavia and their presence caused the Dutch a good deal of anxiety and embarassment.[6] Most of these were later sent to the Coromandel coast and Goa ; but Ribeiro, whether he left in January or later, was one of those who were sent to Holland, whence he was repatriated to Portugal in 1660. He arrived home when Portugal's war of independence against Spain (December, 1640–February, 1668), had reached a critical stage, since France had deserted her ally in the previous year by signing the peace-treaty of the Pyrenees. The ex-P.O.W.s from Ceylon were formed into a company attached to the *Terco da Armada Real*, or Regiment of the Royal Navy (corresponding to modern Marines) with which unit Ribeiro served until the end of

5. " Relacao do cerco que os olandeses e com o Rey de Candea poserao á cidade de Columbo ", printed by H. Fitzler, *O Cerco de Columbo* (Coimbra, 1928), p. 192. The allusion of the anonymous author of the " Relacao " to the humble origins of (presumably) Roothaes and Van der Meyden may not be strictly accurate, but the substance of his contention was perfectly justified.

6. *Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia Anno* 1659, (Batavia, 1889), pp. 11, 14, 32, 56–7, 69, 74–5, 86, 149–153.

the war against Spain in 1668. He took part in all the principal actions of those years, particularly distinguishing himself at the battle of Ameixial (8 June, 1663), where he captured a Spanish Ensign with his flag. This feat of arms at last obtained for him a captain's commission in the *Terco da Armada*. He was severely wounded in the head at the siege and capture of Valenca de Alcantara next year, but recovered in time to fight in the last great battle of the war, Villa Vicosa or Montes Claros (June, 1665). As a reward for his quarter of a century of active services Joao Ribeiro now claimed and was granted a knighthood in one of the Military Orders. At first it was intended to give him a commandery in the Order of Aviz, but eventually he received the more coveted distinction of the Order of Christ, the King " dispensing " (as the term was) with his working-class origin.[7]

On the conclusion of peace with Spain, Ribeiro was posted as garrison commander to Funchal, the capital of the Island of Madeira. Here he met a lady called Dona Felipa Catanho, sister of one of his old comrades in Ceylon, Matthias Catanho, who had been killed in a naval action against Algerine pirates shortly before.[8] Unlike Ribeiro, she was from a family of " blood and coat-armour ", but the Lisbon cap-maker's son had now risen in the world sufficiently for him to propose marriage to her and be accepted. From Ribeiro's references to his wife in his will, it would seem that the marriage was not a very happy one, and it was certainly childless. Contemporary Portuguese moralists, such as Martim Affonso de Miranda and Dom Francisco Manuel de Mello, were very eloquent on the dangers inherent in marrying out of one's own social class.[9] Whether the difficulties between Ribeiro and his wife were due to disparity in social background, or in age, or to some other cause I cannot say. But some of his comments on women remind one of that crusty old bachelor, Robert Knox ; and since Ribeiro married so late in life, it may well be that he remained a bachelor at heart, or else (who knows ?) had too tender recollections of some beauty in Ceylon.

Ribeiro spent about a dozen years in Madeira, and whatever were his relations with his wife, it is permissable to hope that he enjoyed the cultivated society of the Island, which, if we are to believe Sir Hans Sloane, was both polished and agreeable :

7. Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Codice do Conselho Ultramarino, No. 84, fls. 128 and 137 *verso* ; Arquivo da Tombo, Lisbon, " Livros dos Registos do Conselho de Gueera ", Livro 28, fls. 20–20 *verso*.
8. Frazao de Vasconcelos, *Subsidios ineditos sobre o capitao Joao Ribeiro* (192 7 p. 12.
9. Martim Affonso de Miranda, *Tempo de Agora* (2 vols., Lisbon, 1622–24), and Dom Francisco Manuel de Mello, *Carta de Guia de Casados* (Lisbon, 1651).

> " Considering that this island had not been very anciently inhabited, being but discovered in the fourteenth century, and that common fame relates all the inhabitants hereof to be criminals banished hither, I expected to have found a great deal of barbarity and rudeness here, and nothing almost else ; but on going ashore I was very much disappointed, for I have not seen anywhere more accomplished gentlemen than here, having all the civility one could desire ; but most of them, whether bred to letters or not, are sent for their breeding to Portugal."[10]

Ribeiro was recalled to Lisbon in 1680, when he was placed on the retired list, presumably on account of his age, after serving (as he wrote) " for over forty years without missing a single day." It was during these years of retirement at Lisbon that he composed his *Historical Tragedy of the Island of Ceylon*, the dedication of which to King Pedro II. is dated the 8 January, 1685, as previously mentioned.

Three years after completing this manuscript, Joao Ribeiro, still " by the mercy of God in perfect health and understanding ", as he himself expressed it, wrote his last will and testament.[11] He was by this time, if he had not been long since, a deeply religious man. After protesting his fervent belief in the Roman Catholic faith, and his hope of salvation as a true Christian, " although a very bad one, being a very great sinner ", he declared his wish to be buried in his parish church in the mantle of his military order. His coffin was to be accompanied only by the parish priest, and by the bearers from the brotherhood of the Misericordia to whom he left some alms. He begged for the love of God that nobody else should accompany the coffin, " as I do not want to give them such trouble ". He further requested that twelve *milreis*[12] should be distributed among twelve poor but honest parishoners on the day of the funeral. He made several other charitable bequests of a religious nature, including that of a large silver lamp to be hung in the parish church. His marriage having proved childless, he made his " wife and lady " (as he termed her) his sole heir and legatee ; apologising to her for making such relatively large bequests from the slender savings of an old soldier; and for not having been able to secure for her more than the promise of a modest pension from the Crown if he pre-deceased her. He directed that all his outstanding debts, of which he left a complete

10. H. Sloane, *A Voyage to the Islands of Madeira, Barbados, Neves, St. Christopher and Jamaica*, Vol. I. (London, 1707), p. 12.
11. The original has disappeared, but a contemporary copy is preserved in the Arquivo da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, " Livro do registo dos Testamentos ", Livro 68 (1693 and 1694), fls. 74–77 *verso*, whence the following extracts are translated.
12. The *milreis* was worth about 12 English shillings at this period.

list, should be punctually paid, bequeathing an additional sum of money to pay for masses for the repose of his soul and the souls of his parents.

He urged his wife to spend the rest of her days after his death in prayers and religious observances, shunning the pomps and vanities of this wicked world. Admitting that he was very poor in this world's goods, he assured Dona Felipa that he could not leave her more precious jewels than the salutary advice he now gave her.

" Do not ", he wrote, " trust in self-love, nor let flesh and blood claim your attention, for our own is our worst enemy ; and if our flesh is the greatest adversary that we have, since nobody living can love anyone more than himself, what can you expect of anyone who merely says that he loves us, and of he who most wishes us good fortune, not because he really hopes you will enjoy it, but because of what he hopes to get out of you ? We can all serve God in any state of life if we wish to do so, and we can love everyone with the sincerity of a dove, especially those who love God most. Never regret anything save only the hour which you do not spend in His service, and worry still less about words and remarks which are merely green leaves and obscure the light of reason that ought to be the North-star which guides you in life's journey. You are living where even if there is much evil, much virtue is also hidden ; and woe to us if we lack the prayers of the just whom God has herein. I leave you here with what we possess, which is sufficient for you to live honestly. If you follow my advice, you can be certain that you will never have reason to regret it. And if I took 550 *milreis* for my bequests, it is because they cannot be less, for duty comes before love, although I well know and realise what I owe to your merit. It does not matter whether we pass through life's journey rich or poor, but with an inward peace, and this I hope in the divine mercy will be given you. If you will keep these my words in your heart, you cannot have a richer treasure, because nobody born wishes you better than I who tell you this. Although you may not think so, he who loves us best is not he who makes us laugh continuously, but he who makes us weep incessantly. If you have found me rather cross-grained sometimes, it is because I treated you like a good artificer does a piece of steel which he wishes to forge into a strong spring, heating it in the fire and hammering it into shape as often as necessary ; until after repeated welding and filing, plunged and tempered in the water of mortification and endurance, it becomes a very strong and resilient spring which can last forever. Thus I hope in God (who is the true artificer) that you will perfect yourself, since He knows that there was not an hour or a day in which I failed to love you after my fashion."

Joao Ribeiro died in 1693, and when his will was opened and read " between six and seven o'clock " on the morning of the 23 November, his counsels of perfection to his widow went unheeded. Perhaps there was not enough money left for her to live " honestly ". after all his charitable bequests had been paid, or perhaps she had not been sufficiently " tempered in the water of mortification and endurance " ; but whatever the reason, she soon sought consolation in the arms of a second husband. He was evidently a much younger man than the rugged old Ceylon veteran, since she married her own nephew, Manuel Telles de Menezes.[13]

If Ribeiro makes a somewhat forbidding and puritanical impression from his will (as does Knox from his autobiography), his book reveals a more attractive side to his character. He writes with disarming modesty, only alluding indirectly to his own exploits in Ceylon, and limiting those veiled references to two episodes in the siege of Colombo.[14] His narrative is written in a straightforward and soldierly style, which is much more readable than the involved and rambling sentences affected by the Jesuit Father Queyroz. The chapters in the " *Historical Fatality* " are likewise better arranged and more logically distributed than they are in the *Spiritual and Temporal Conquest*, and contain fewer wordy digressions. Ribeiro's prose is also singularly free from the artificial conceits and pomposities which disfigured so much of contemporary Portuguese writing. Whether he was self-taught, or by whom he was educated, is nowhere stated ; but he can hardly have learnt his letters in the intervals of jungle-and siege-warfare in Ceylon. It is more likely that he had received a fairly adequate education before he left Lisbon ; and the previously-quoted petition of the Lisbon Municipality to the Crown in February, 1623, alludes to the education of the sons of local artisans.[15]

As mentioned previously, Ribeiro dedicated his manuscript work to King Pedro II. in January, 1685, but it remained unpublished in his own language until the Lisbon Academy of Scienies printed it from a signed copy in the library of that institution in 1836—and this edition still remains the only one in Ribeiro's mother-tongue.

13. Frazao de Vasconcelos, *Subsidios inéditos sobre o capitao Joao Ribeiro* (1927), p. 12.

14. For details see my forthcoming article in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1955.

15. *Elementos para a Historia do Municipio de Lisboa*, III., p. 60. It may be added that many people in Portugal objected to the children of peasants and artisans being educated, on the grounds that those who had this advantage, " rarely wished to follow and learn the occupations of their parents ". See the controversy betwen the Evora municipal council and the local Jesuit University over this allegation, in F. Rodrigues, S.J., *Historia da Companhia de Jesus na Assistencia de Portugal*, Vol. III. (Porto, 1944), pp. 116–119.

The work had, however, a fairly wide circulation in manuscript. Two other signed copies are known, of which I possess one, the other being in the National Library at Lisbon.[16] A number of unsigned, bowdlerized and imperfect manuscript copies are also recorded ; and from one of these, unfortunately one of the worst, the Abbé Le Grand made the very faulty and unreliable French translation which was published in 1701. The late Donald Ferguson was the first to rectify Le Grand's errors in the light of the printed edition of 1836, which he did in a series of erudite articles.[17] In our own day Ribeiro has found an adequate translator in Dr. Paul Pieris ; but as his introduction is of the briefest description, I may venture to point out some of the more interesting features of the work here.

The Historical Tragedy of the Island of Ceylon is divided into three parts (*lit.* " livros " or " books "), and the plan of his work is very similar to that of Queyroz. In the first part, Ribeiro gives a general account of the island and its inhabitants, and describes how the Crown of Portugal laid claim to the overlordship of Ceylon as Dharmapāla's legal heir. In the second part, he describes the vicissitudes of the wars with the Sinhalese (from 1627) and with the Dutch (from 1638), until the expulsion of the Portuguese from the island in 1658. In the third part, he discusses the reasons for the collapse of Portugal's Oriental Empire, and explains why his countrymen should have concentrated on the occupation and defence of Ceylon, and abandoned their outlying settlements.

The whole work is exceedingly interesting, but the most valuable parts are the first and the third. Although Ribeiro served for eighteen years in Ceylon, he wrote his book over a quarter of a century later. His accounts of the battles and sieges consequently contain many errors of detail, while his dates are seldom reliable. He does not seem to have been certain of his own age, as he states that he reached Ceylon when he was fourteen years old, when in point of fact he was eighteen. On the other hand, his preliminary account of the country and the people is full of delightful and accurate observations, although not, of course, free from mistakes and misunderstandings. His experience was virtually limited to

16. Bibliographical details concerning the various manuscript copies and printed editions of Ribeiro's work will be found in my forthcoming article in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1955.

17. D. Ferguson, " Captain Joao Ribeiro : his work on Ceylon and the French translation thereof by the Abbé Le Grand, " in *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. X. (Colombo, 1890), pp. 263–309. *Ibidem*, " Ribeiro's account of the siege of Colombo in 1655-56, " in *Jebras*, Vol. XII. (1892), pp. 74-108. *Ibidem*, " Ribeiro's account of the siege and capitulation of Jaffna in 1658 ", in *The Ceylon Literary Register*, Vol. V. (1890–91), pp. 202–04.

Plate 1. Title page of the manuscript of Ribeiro's *Fatalidade Historica* from the original copy in the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon (Fundo Geral No. 518.)

Plate 2. Title-page of Book 2 of Ribeiro's *Fatalidade Historica* from the original copy in the library of C.R. Boxer.

the maritime provinces, as was that of Knox to the Kandyan highlands ; but Ribeiro, although he led a hard and dangerous life compared with Knox's career as a peaceful and privileged money-lender, was evidently far fonder of the " Supremely Beautiful Island " than was Knox. The latter gives no hint, either in his *Historical Relation* or in his self-revealing auto-biography, that he ever wished to return to Ceylon, even as a free man. Ribeiro, on the contrary, could never forget the island and its charms. As Dr. Pieris has written : " To him Ceylon was always ' the loveliest piece of land which the Creator has placed upon this earth ' ; and as he painfully toiled at his indictment of the folly which had robbed his country of this beautiful island, the glamour of her loveliness grew more and more on him ". In other words, Ribeiro himself admits, the *saudade* of Ceylon never left him, and this wistful longing for the island of cinnamon and frangipani permeates and suffuses his whole book.

In order to indicate how the works of Knox and Ribeiro supplement each other, I will give some relevant examples. Knox knew the language and Ribeiro did not, but the elegance of the Sinhalese tongue appealed to both of them, if in slightly different ways.[18] Ribeiro writes : " In their own fashion they are good poets, and their singing is very sweet and gives pleasure ; although we did not understand them, yet we used to stop whatever we were doing and listen to them, for their verses were sonorous and their metres well measured ". Knox writes : " Their ordinary ploughmen and husbandmen do speak elegantly and are full of compliment. And there is no difference between the ability and speech of a countryman and of a courtier . . . . In their speech the people are bold without shamefacedness, and yet no more confidence than is becoming."

They both considered that the Sinhalese in their physical appearance closely resembled Europeans. Ribeiro writes : " Their features are well formed and in no way different from those of us Portuguese ". Knox writes : " In carriage and behaviour they are very grave and stately, like unto the Portugals ". And again : " I know no nation in the world do so exactly resemble the Sinhalese as the people of Europe."[19]

Both Ribeiro and Knox were evidently something of misogynists, and Knox remained an unrepentant bachelor all his life. Readers of his fascinating work will, I think, agree that he would undoubtedly have endorsed Ribeiro's view that all women should be well and truly " tempered in the water of mortification and endurance ".

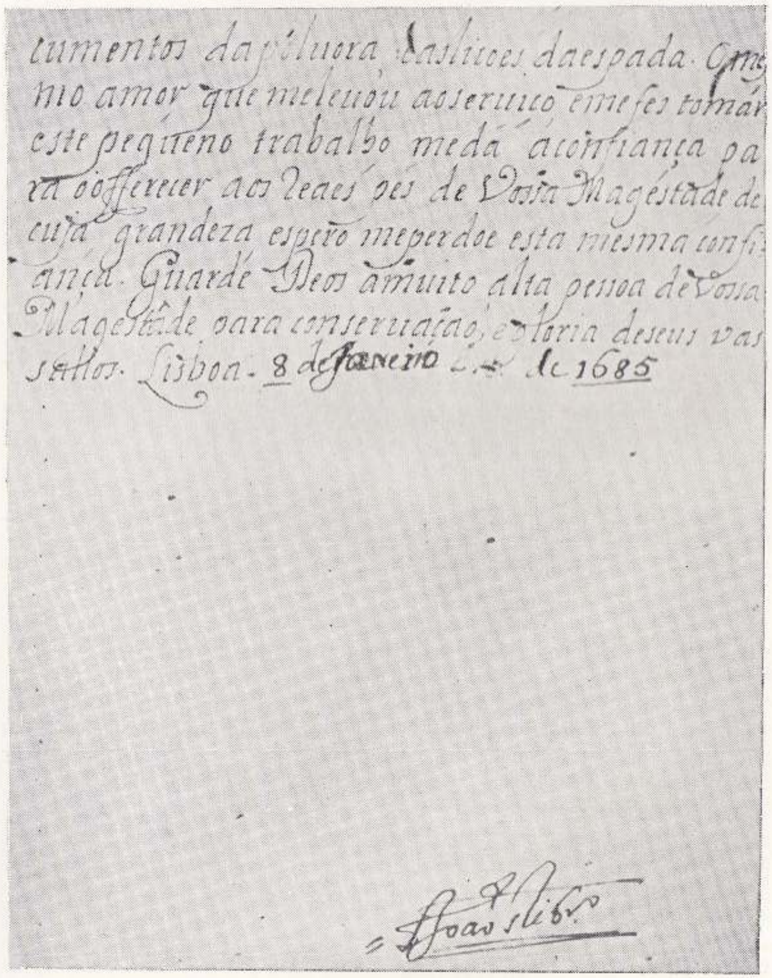
18. Ribeiro, Book I, ch. 16 ; Knox, Pt. III, ch. 9.
19. Ribeiro, Book I, ch. 16 ; Knox, Pt. III, ch. 1.

Nevertheless, both of them found much to admire in the Sinhalese women. Ribeiro writes : " An ugly woman is very rare among them, for they all have beautiful eyes. They are very clean and tidy, their cooking is very tasty, and they pay great attention to their hair. The dress of their ladies is superior to that of our women in India ; they likewise wear a jacket and a cloth which reaches down to the point of the foot in a very dignified and stately fashion ". Knox writes : " Their women are in their gait and behaviour very high, stately in their carriage after the Portugal manner, of whom I think they have learned ; yet they hold it no scorn to admit the meanest to come to speech of them. They are very thrifty, and it is a disgrace to them to be prodigal, and their pride and glory to be accounted near and saving."[20]

On the other hand, they both stigmatised the islanders as being generally treacherous, lazy, covetous and lascivious, although they give many instances in their own works which frequently prove the contrary. They both allude to the practice of polyandry, then prevalent in some parts of Ceylon, although Knox seems to have confused this with promiscuity. They both admired the skill of the Sinhalese herbalists in curing wounds and skin diseases ; but it was Ribeiro who followed the Sinhalese practice of bathing twice a day in the river as a preventive against disease, " with the result ", he writes, " that for sixteen years I never had a pain in hand or foot ".[21] They both comment on the surprising longevity of the Sinhalese, who were often hale and hearty at eighty. Ribeiro again goes one better than Knox here, as he claims to have known a man of one hundred and twenty, whereas Knox's oldest inhabitant (a sister of Raja Sinha) was only "near an hundred".[22] Curiously enough, although the English sailor was kindly treated by his captors and lived (relatively speaking) the life of Riley in Lotus-land, whereas the Portuguese soldier was engaged in savage jungle-warfare for most of his time in Ceylon, yet the latter is far more enthusiastic in his account of the island than is the former.

Ribeiro gives a short but clear account of the Sinhalese caste-system which it is interesting to compare with that of Knox. They were both very impressed by the Sinhalese custom of swearing an oath in boiling oil, although Ribeiro's version of this ordeal is evidently rather exaggerated, as noted by Dr. Pieris. Ribeiro's account of the annual assizes held primarily for the collection of death-duties (*marālas*) is particularly valuable, as this is wanting in Knox.[23] It is to be hoped that some Sinhalese scholar will make a careful comparison of the judicial and social usages described by

20. Ribeiro, Book I, ch. 16 ; Knox, Pt. III, ch. 1.
21. Ribeiro, Book I, ch. 19.
22. Ribeiro, Book I, ch. 16 ; Knox, Pt. III, ch. 11.
23. Ribeiro, Book I, ch. 18.


cumentos da pluma, basilices da espada. Com
mo amor que me levou ao serviço e me fes tomar
este pequeno trabalho me da a confiança pa
ra o offerecer aos Reaes pés de Vossa Magestade de
cuja grandeza espero me perdoe esta mesma confi
ança. Guarde Deos a muito alta pessoa de Vossa
Magestade para conservação e gloria de seus vas
sallos. Lisboa 8 de Janeiro de 1685

Joao Ribeiro

Plate 3. Facsimile of the Signature of Joao Ribeiro (From the dedication to King Pedro II, Signed by Joao Ribeiro in the original copy in the library of C.R. Boxer.)

Ribeiro, Queyroz and Knox. None of these three writers have been fully utilised in Dr. W. H. Gilbert's excellent article on " the Sinhalese caste-system " reprinted in the *Ceylon Historical Journal*, (Vol. II., pp. 295–366), probably because he was more concerned with recent social conditions than with those prevailing in the seventeenth-century.

It must be admitted that for details of village organization and provincial administration, both Knox and Queyroz are generally fuller than Ribeiro. Knox, in particular, is much more informative about many aspects of Sinhalese daily life. His account of the cultivation of rice, for example, and of the different varieties of this grain, is remarkably detailed. On the other hand, Ribeiro is, as might be expected, more informative about certain conditions which were wholly or mainly confined to the maritime provinces. His detailed account of the annual pearl-fishery of Aripo,[24] for instance, is particularly valuable as this practice is not described by Knox or Queyroz. Ribeiro's references to elephant-taming,[25] the distillation of cinnamon-oil,[26] and the production of precious stones[27] are also worth comparison with those given by his two contemporaries. Needless to say, none of these writers are particularly helpful on the subject of Sinhalese Buddhism. Their deeply-ingrained Christian prejudices prevented them from making more than the most superficial and cursory enquiries in the realm of " idolatry."[28]

Ribeiro being a professional soldier, recollection of " battles long ago " naturally occupy a prominent place in his work. The military organization of the Portuguese in Ceylon was so peculiar that it deserves a description here, particularly since it embodied some of the old Sinhalese practices, and Ribeiro gives the clearest account of it.[29] All the able-bodied Portuguese males in Asia were divided into two categories, *soldados* or soldiers, and *casados* or married men. The former were bachelors who were theoretically liable for service anywhere at any time until they married, while the latter were normally only called upon to serve in local defence and special emergencies. The usual garrison of Ceylon comprised some 700 Portuguese soldiers supported by a standing force of about 15,000 Sinhalese auxiliaries or *Lascarins* as they were called. The number of Lascarins could be considerably increased on mobilisation ; but it was always very difficult to reinforce or to replace the Portuguese soldiers on the island, owing to the perennial shortage of European man-power in the East.

24. Ribeiro, Book I, ch. 22 ; Dr. Pieris notes : " The description of the Fishery as given by our author would apply almost equally well to-day."
25. Ribeiro, Book I, ch. 17.
26. Ribeiro, Book I, ch. 21.
27. Ribeiro, Book I, ch. 21.
28. Ribeiro, Book I, chs. 14 and 15.
29. Ribeiro, Book I, ch. 13.

These 700 Portuguese and 15,000 Sinhalese were distributed in four camps which were strategically located in the Seven and Four Kōralēs, Sabaragamuwa and Mātara, respectively, to oppose the forces of the King of Kandy. A fifth camp was established near Galle after the Dutch had landed in the island. The general-headquarters was at the Menikkadavara camp commanded by a captain-major of the field, the others being under *dissavas* who had full authority in their respective districts. They could cut open with an axe or impale the Sinhalese, and could hang a Portuguese on any tree without process of law or legal formality. "They rendered no account to anyone but God", as Ribeiro wrote, and it is not surprising to learn from Queyroz that they often abused their powers.[30]

The Portuguese soldiers were divided into companies (*estancias*) of thirty-six or thirty-eight men each. They were paid twice yearly, at Christmas and Midsummer, when they could freely change into another company if they were dissatisfied with their own captain, since they were not compelled to remain for more than six months in the same company. The captains had to supply their men with cooked food three times a day, for which they received an allowance partly in cash and partly in kind. The provisions and the cooks were supplied by local villages, two of which were allotted to each company for its maintenance ; the provisions were paid for at fixed rates, but the coolies were not paid for their services, being relieved every fifteen days. Those captains who pocketed part of their mens' ration-allowance and economised on the soldiers' food, naturally found it harder to retain their men than did those captains who fed their soldiers well. The captain-general at Colombo periodically redistributed the men so as to ensure that all companies were kept up to strength ; but Ribeiro noted that the result of the system was that "the captains who had the better reputation obtained the better following, and the others received the worse."

As regards camp life, Ribeiro writes as follows : "In our camps discipline and obedience, as well as punctiliousness and high spirit, were maintained among the soldiers. Anyone infringing an order which had been proclaimed with the death penalty was invariably executed, even though the offence was a very slight one, such as travelling by a particular road, or going to this point or that . . . .

30. Cf. the complaints of their misbehaviour printed in Queyroz, *Temporal and Spiritual Conquest*, pp. 1033–35. Ribeiro's military statistics relate to the period 1640–1654, in the main, and are on the high side, as can be seen from comparison with those given by Queyroz, *Temporal and Spiritual Conquest*, p. 33, and in Antonio Bocarro's manuscript : "Livro do Estado da India Oriental," compiled in 1634, (British Museum, Sloane MS. 197, fl. 346 *verso*). All estimates are exclusive of the garrison in Jaffna which was regarded as a separate kingdom in many ways.

soldiers should not speculate on the actions of their superiors but only obey orders ; and whoever was guilty of disobedience was immediately placed against the trunk of a tree and executed."

Quarrelling in camp was forbidden under the same penalties ; but a league away from each camp by the highway, some trees were set apart for this purpose, and called *Das palavras* (of the words "). Challenges and duels were allowed under these trees, and no action was taken against a man who killed another in a duel at such a place, provided that the victor absented himself from camp for eight days, when he received a safe-conduct from his captain authorising him to return, and nothing more was said. An elaborate code of honour also existed for effecting reconciliations after a duel when neither of the duelists was killed or fatally wounded. On these occasions, "no reference would ever be made to the matter again by jibe or jest", writes Ribeiro, adding that "with such a training they were all very obedient and very proud, treating each other with remarkable respect". It was perhaps just as well that they were (sometimes, if not often) "very obedient" ; for, as Ribeiro writes elsewhere, "just as they had no punishment, so there was no setting at liberty, for there were no legal proceedings or certified documents."

Once landed for service on the island, no European soldier was allowed to leave without written permission from the Captain-general, which was rarely given. Anyone found trying to leave without it, was invariably executed. Although Ribeiro would have us believe that the Portuguese soldiery in Ceylon were always a set of singularly high-spirited and well disciplined men, this was not, of course, invariably the case. Their morale and behaviour varied widely in accordance with how well or ill they were paid and disciplined. When their pay was in arrears, or their commanders were weak, they were apt to degenerate into brigands who plundered the countryside.[31] Service in Ceylon was often used as a form of banishment or penal servitude, and criminals of the worst type were frequently sent to serve their sentences in the garrison there. Moreover, many of the Portuguese soldiers were in any event prisoners from the great Lisbon prison-house, the *Limoeiro*, whose sentences were commuted to military service in the East. Ribeiro remarks caustically of their behaviour that "he who is bad in Portugal cannot be good in India."[32]

One aspect of feudal Sinhalese military practice which the Portuguese embodied in their garrison on Ceylon is particularly stressed

31. Queyroz, *Temporal and Spiritual Conquest*, pp. 1023–1025.
32. Ribeiro, Book III, ch. 4. By "India," here as elsewhere, the Portuguese usually meant Asia, or at least their possessions in that continent, known as the "Estado da India" or "State of India."

by Ribeiro. Soldiers who had been ill were sent to a rest-camp at Malwāna for convalescence, and returned to their own camp taking nothing but their weapons. Whenever they wanted a meal or a lodging for the night, they obtained this free of charge from the headman of any one of the villages along their road. "And while they were thus lodged, there would be no treachery or evil feeling ; for if a soldier happened to be killed while enjoying their hospitality, even if it were by the enemy, that village would be destroyed with fire and sword ; and when the headmen knew that any danger was near, they would look after the soldier with great care than if he were their own child. Nor could they refuse to give such hospitality, as this had been their duty from ancient times ; and the soldiers would proceed along the road in this manner, from one village to another, until they reached their camp."[33]

When engaged in jungle-warfare, the men in the Portuguese flying-columns usually breakfasted at 3 a.m., so as to be ready to march at first light. They normally went in single file, and (like the Sinhalese) invariably marched bare-footed and bare-legged, despite the prevalence of blood-sucking leeches and poisonous snakes. Their Lascarins or Sinhalese auxiliaries usually marched in the van, while arms-coolies carried the food, spare weapons and munitions. The Portuguese soldiers were therefore burdened with nothing but their weapons. Despite his periodic denunciations of Sinhalese treachery and unreliability, Ribeiro admits that the arms-coolies, drawn exclusively from the wood-cutter caste, were very loyal and reliable, "and in case of a defeat they would rather lose their lives than abandon their loads".[34] He also admits that under similar circumstances the Lascarins would save the lives of the Portuguese *Dissavas* "even at the cost of their own".[35] Incidentally, another example of the influence of Sinhalese military practice on the invaders, was that the Portuguese *Dissavas* continued the local customs of bearing a white shield as their badge of office in the field.

Although Ribeiro remarks petulantly on one occasion that the Sinhalese were "all blacks and our enemies",[36] it is obvious that 700 Portuguese soldiers could never have conquered and held as much of Ceylon as they did (and Ceylon was the only extensive territorial possession of the Portuguese in Asia), without the help of the Lascarins. There were, of course, several occasions on which

33. Ribeiro, Book I, ch. 13. In spite of what Ribeiro says about this practice being a relic of the old Sinhalese system, it was resented by the villagers, as can be seen from their complaints in Queyroz, *Temporal and Spiritual Conquest*, p. 1023.
34. Ribeiro, Book I, ch. 10.
35. Ribeiro, Book I, ch. 16.
36. Ribeiro, Book II, ch. 1.

the latter deserted *en masse* to the King of Kandy ; but Queyroz (who in this respect is fairer than Ribeiro) points out that when they did so, it was because they had been given some intolerable provocation by the Portuguese.[37] A similar admission is made by the chronicler, Antonio Bocarro, who frankly admits that much of the "treachery" which the Portuguese were never tired of denouncing in the Sinhalese, was due to the culpable oppression and intolerance of the Europeans.[38] In any event, the fact remains that many of the low-country Sinhalese remained loyal to the Portugeese to the last. The Lascarins were usually placed in the van during a battle as well as on the march ; and it is quite clear that the Portuguese relied as heavily on them, as did (for instance) the Spaniards on the Pampango soldiers in the Philippines, or the British on the Rajputs in India.

As mentioned previously, the second part of Ribeiro's work, in which he describes the war between the Portuguese on the one side and the Dutch and Raja Sinha II. on the other, has not the same value and interest as the other two parts. It is true that Ribeiro was a participant in all the principal battles, campaigns and sieges from 1640 to 1658, but his account is much less detailed than that of Queyroz and his figures of battle-casualties are equally unreliable. He habitually overestimates the losses of the Dutch and Sinhalese, while usually under-rating or minimising those of his own side.[39] This practice, however, is inherent in all accounts of all wars from the dawn of time, and was most recently exemplified in the communiques from the Korean and Indo-Chinese battle fronts. There is no need, therefore, to blame Ribeiro too severely for this universal failure, but merely to use his work in this respect with due caution. A useful check on his narrative is that of the German mercenary soldier of fortune, Johann Jacob Saar, who served the Dutch East India Company in Ceylon from 1647 to 1659.[40] Both are unreliable in their dates and figures, but both give us a graphic description of the nature of the fighting from the view-point of the man in the ranks.

37. Queyroz, *Temporal and Spiritual Conquest*, pp. 1005–1009, 1030–1033.
38. ". . . . not denying, however, that a great part of this hatred of the Sinhalese for the Portuguese is due to the tyranny of those that govern them, from the General to the meanest person who has any control over them ; and not least from the overlords of the villages, who oppress them so much in their endeavours to squeeze out of them not only the milk but their very blood, and do other things to their wives and daughters which are as unworthy of Christians as they are of being recorded" ("Livro do Estado da India Oriental," Sloane MS. 197, fl. 346). Queyroz is even more emphatic in his *Temporal and Spiritual Conquest*, pp. 1009–1059, *passim*.
39. A particularly glaring example is given in my forthcoming article in *J.R.A.S.*, 1955.
40. *Ost Indianische Fünfzehenjährige Kriegs-Dienst von* 1640 *bisz anno* 1660, Nuremberg, 1662, reprinted 1672, and edited at the Hague by S. P. L'Honore Naber, 1930. An English summary will be found in *J.C.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XI (1889), pp. 1–84.

One point made by Ribeiro was the lack of secrecy on the Portuguese side. " Everything that our senior officers decided was a matter of common knowledge ", he wrote apropos of the unsuccessful siege of Negombo in 1644;[41] and this inability to keep their plans secret was a perennial failing with the Portuguese. The chronicler, Diogo do Couto, had repeatedly denounced this tendency to " blab " in his day and generation (1542–1616);[42] and in Ribeiro's time the Dutch in Brazil were usually kept well informed of the Portuguese plans by the compromising letters and dispatches which they so frequently intercepted.[43] Another point which may be mentioned in connection with the triangular fighting in 1638–1658, is that European writers unduly minimise the part played by the Sinhalese therein, although it can be gathered by inference that it was more important than is generally realised.[44] Apart from anything else, the Portuguese could never concentrate their whole strength against the Dutch before 1655, since they had always to detach strong forces to keep the Kandyan warriors of Raja Sinha in check, or at least under observation.

The most valuable portions of Ribeiro's second part are his accounts of the great sieges of Colombo (October 1655–May, 1656) and Jaffnapatam (March–June, 1658). He himself played a gallant and distinguished part in both of them, but modestly suppressed any direct reference to his own services in his narrative.[45] One curious point is that Ribeiro explicitly states that the Dutch treated the vanquished garrison and citizens of Colombo with the utmost courtesy and consideration after the surrender, whereas all other Portuguese writers, and many of the Dutch themselves, allege that there was much unauthorised pillage and looting.[46] On the other hand, Ribeiro is very bitter about the misconduct of the Dutch after their capture of Jaffnapatam (and his account in this respect is largely confirmed by that of Saar), whereas the Dutch

41. Ribeiro, Book II, ch. 15.

42. For instance in his *Dialogo do Soldado Pratico* of 1612 (ed. Rodrigues Lapa, Lisbon, 1937), pp. 7–11.

43. C. R. Boxer, *Salvador de Sā and the struggle for Brazil and Angola*, 1602–1680 (London, 1952), pp. 117, 209, 301.

44. For instance, Ribeiro (Book II, ch. 22) states that the Dutch force which decisively defeated the Portuguese at the Praia do Maroto on the 17 October, 1655, included a " good number of Lascarins from the lands of Galle, men who are not a whit inferior to the best in the Island. " The accounts of the same battle by Saar (ed. 1930, p. 135) and Baldaeus (*Beschryvinge van Ceylon*, Amsterdam, 1672, p. 65), make no mention of Sinhalese soldiers being involved.

45. Cf. my forthcoming article in *J.R.A.S.*, 1955.

46. Ribeiro, Book II, ch. 26 ; J. Aalbers, *Rijckloff van Goens* (Groningen, 1916,) p. 56, quoting General Letter from Batavia dated 4 December, 1656.

commander, Rijkloff van Goens, denied that his conscience had anything to reproach him with in this connection.[47]

The third part of Ribeiro's work is an outspoken indictment of Portugal's colonial policy in the East, and this probably explains why the *Historical Fatality* remained unpublished until 1836. His chief criticism was that the Portuguese had bitten off far more than they could chew. " From the Cape of Good Hope onwards ", he writes, " we were unwilling to leave anything outside of our control ; we were anxious to lay hands on everything in that huge stretch of over 5,000 leagues from Sofala to Japan ; and what was worse was that we set about this without calculating our strength, or thinking that even with the natives themselves this conquest could not last forever ". He thought that the Portuguese should have contented themselves with holding Goa, Ormuz and Malacca to secure their domination of the Indian Ocean, and then concentrated on the conquest and colonisation of Ceylon, " the finest piece of land which the Creator has placed upon this earth."[48]

In advocating that the Portuguese should have concentrated their main effort on Ceylon, his was not a voice crying in the wilderness, although he seems to have thought so. His view point was in many ways that of the Jesuit Father Queyroz,[49] and similar ideas are to be found in other Portuguese writers. For example, in a letter from King Philip (I. of Portugal, II. of Spain) to the Viceroy of India, dated 1 March, 1596, that monarch lays great stress on the urgent necessity to conquer the whole of Ceylon, " for many pressing reasons, but that general and old one will suffice, which was always realised and advocated by all those with experience of India, who went so far as to say that if at any time India should be lost, it could be recovered from Ceylon, owing to the latter's situation and the abundance and fertility of its natural resources and riches."[50]

Similarly, the chronicler Antonio Bocarro, writing in 1634, lamented that the manifold commitments of the Portuguese in Asia prevented them from—" once and for all completing the conquest of Ceylon, which is the most important matter nowadays that there is, for that island is the only place in which we can and must get a firm footing ". In his view, Ceylon could easily support

47. Ribeiro, Book II, ch. 27 ; Rijkloff van Goens' dispatch of the 4 Feb. 1659, quoted in P. E. Pieris, *Some documents relating to the rise of the Dutch power in Ceylon*, 1602–1670 (Colombo, 1929), p. 272.

48. Ribeiro, Book III, ch. 1.

49. *Temporal and Spiritual Conquest*, pp. 1131, 1144–1167.

50. *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, III, (Nova Goa, 1861), pp. 595–597.

all the Portuguese living in India, if they were transferred thither, an opinion which was shared by Ribeiro.[51]

In this connection, there is one respect in which Ribeiro's criticism of contemporary Portuguese colonial policy in Asia was unjustified. Commenting on the belated conclusion of a truce with the Dutch in 1644, he observes that this gave the Portuguese a breathing space of eight years, in which they could have consolidated their position in Ceylon to such an extent that the Dutch would have been unable to drive them from the island subsequently. Instead of so doing, he writes : " it seemed to us that not only could the eight years have no ending, but that there were no longer any Hollanders on the earth. The result was that we not only failed to profit from those eight years by concentrating all our forces in that island, but we even left it with the same garrison as before, carelessly wasting time until war was declared."[52]

He adds that King John IV. must have been ill served by his advisers, since the Portuguese government evidently attached little importance to the possession of Ceylon and made no adequate efforts to reinforce the island. This criticism is wide off the mark. Contemporary records in the archives at Lisbon and Goa show clearly that the fate of Ceylon was a major and constant pre-occupation of the highest authorities in both those places. A few examples will suffice. Writing to the King on 1st May, 1643, to explain why he had rejected the Dutch terms for a truce in Ceylon, the Viceroy of India stated that : " Your Majesty has nothing in India[53] which is equal to the island of Ceylon, and the whole of the

51. " Livro do Estado da India Oriental " (Sloane MS. 197, fl. 345). This view of Ceylon was not shared by everybody. The author of an anonymous report on Portuguese Asia, submitted to the King about 1612, wrote in part : " I would not have dared to speak about this business of the conquest of the Island of Ceylon if the proof of what is said was not so clear to all eyes, for although there are many persons who think it is necessary and important, and who say that if India is lost it can be recovered from there, and that it has woods of cinnamon and pepper, rivers of precious stones, and a sea of pearls, and mines of gold and other metals, all of this is most false, except for the cinnamon . . . . whereby it is clear that this is an error made by men who do not understand that a land is of no use to the Portuguese which has no maritime trade nor exports anything of its own, nor imports anything from outside, unless it be rice from Coromandel for the inhabitants of the island ; and even the rice which our soldiers and the citizens of our fortress eat there always has to be imported . . . . as regards Christianity, I do not deal with it, although much could be made here, but it would have to be at the cost of our lord the king's exchequer and by the strong right arm of the Portuguese soldiers . . . ." (Cf. Frazao de Vasconcelos, *Subsidios ineditos sobre o capitao Joao Ribeiro*, p. 7 (note).

52. Ribeiro, Book III, ch. 9.

53. Asia, as explained in note (32) above.

rest of the State must be risked to prevent the Hollanders from having any part of it."[54]

Three months later the Viceroy and his councillors earnestly deliberated how best to succour the Portuguese possessions there, " since on reinforcing the island and conquest of Ceylon depends the preservation of everything else which his majesty has in India ". The reluctance of the soldiers at Goa to volunteer for service in Ceylon likewise caused the Viceroy and his advisers grave concern, and they did their best to scrape up sufficient reinforcements for the island by a judicious mixture of threats and promises.[55] When the failure of Dom Francisco Mascarenhas to retake Negombo in 1644, finally forced the Viceroy at Goa to " take eggs for his money ", and accept the Dutch terms for a truce, the fate of the island did not cease to be a constant worry and pre-occupation to the authorities at Goa during the uneasy years of the truce.

Nor was the concern for the island any the less at Lisbon. When the news of the capture of Batticaloa by the Dutch reached the Iberian peninsula, the Duchess of Mantua wrote in the Crown's name to the Viceroy at Goa,[56] that this news—" caused me particular and very great displeasure since that island is the largest and most important in that State . . . . for which reason I have ordered that the reinforcements which you will receive should be sent you, in order that you can at once try to recover what has been lost in Ceylon, and throw the enemy out of it altogether before they can do irreparable harm as they have done elsewhere."

When Dom John IV. came to the throne he was even more reluctant than his Viceroy at Goa to recognise the Dutch position in the island. It was only after receiving the news of the reverses of 1644, that the Crown, like the Viceroy, reluctantly and belatedly modified its original standpoint that upon no consideration whatsoever could the Dutch be allowed to retain a footing in Ceylon. Serious efforts were made to send substantial reinforcements to the island during the truce years ; and if most of these miscarried the fault was not that of the government at Lisbon, which was fully

54. " Livros das Moncoes," Livro 48, fl. 151. Cf. also letter of 30 December, 1643 in *ibidem* fl. 287.

55. P. Pissurlencar [ed.], *Assentos do Conselho do Estado*, Vol. II, (Goa, 1954), pp. 440, 444, 448.

56. Margarida, Duchess of Mantua and Princess of Parma, was Governor of Portugal and personal representative of her cousin the Catholic King, at Lisbon from December, 1634 to December, 1640. Her letter of 7 March, 1640, is printed in P. Pissurlencar, *Assentos do Conselho do Estudo*, Vol. II, pp. 564–65.

aware of the vital importance of Ceylon.[57] If more aid was not sent from Europe to the East, it was because more could not be sent, with the even more pressing calls upon Portugal's limited manpower from the Spanish frontier, from West Africa, and from Brazil.

One other point made by Ribeiro in his third part deserves a brief discussion here. Ridiculing reports that Raja Sinha II. was so dissatisfied with the behaviour of the Dutch since 1656 that he would welcome the Portuguese back to the island, Ribeiro observed that this was most unlikely.[58] The Portuguese had several times burnt and sacked Kandy in the course of their wars with the Sinhalese, whereas the Dutch had never attempted to penetrate beyond the fringes of the highlands. " Wherefore it is clear that he would always live ill at ease with us there, whereas he does not have to suffer these punishments from the Hollanders. For they are not men who can march in single file and barefooted through the bush, crossing rivers, swamps and bogs at each step, covered with blood-sucking leeches ". He goes on to point out that the kingdom of Kandy was completely self-sufficing economically, and that Raja Sinha cared nothing for the cinnamon trade of the low-land provinces which he was content to leave to the Dutch.

This assertion of Ribeiro's is apparently contradicted by the well-known Sinhalese proverb, *Miris dilah, inguru gottah*, " I gave pepper and got ginger ", which, as Knox says, was applied to the Dutch succeeding the Portuguese in the island.[59] Admittedly, Raja Sinha certainly found the Dutch less dangerous enemies than he had the Portuguese, and the former never tried to attack Kandy in his reign. On the other hand, they maintained an even more effective closure of the ports after 1668, than did their predecessors, thus isolating Kandy completely from the outer world. Possibly, however, the proverb was applied primarily to the inhabitants of the lowland districts who passed from Portuguese to Dutch rule. Although certain individual Portuguese were more arbitrarily tyrannical in their behaviour than were their Dutch successors, yet the Company's rule was in some respects more systematically harsh.

Johann Jacob Saar makes a significant remark in this connection : " The Hollanders can hardly rule twenty slaves where a Portuguese can rule a thousand, for the natives would rather stay with them than with the Hollanders, from whom they do not like to receive

57. Cf. the extracts from contemporary Portuguese official records printed in my article, " Reflexos da guerra Pernambucano na India Oriental, 1645–1655 ", Recife, 1954.
58. Ribeiro, Book III, ch. 10.
59. Knox, *Historical Relation*, Pt. III, ch. 9.

orders ".[60] We also know from the official reports of Johan Maetsuyker and Rijkloff van Goens that the real or alleged pro-Portuguese proclivities of many of the lowland Sinhalese continued to annoy the Dutch governors for many years.[61]

Space does not permit discussion of further aspects of Ribeiro's valuable work, but the interested reader can easily pick out these points for himself from Dr. Pieris' latest version in English. As stated at the beginning of this paper, it would be erroneous to place the *Historical Tragedy* on the same level as the *Historical Relation* or the *Temporal and Spiritual Conquest*, if only because Ribeiro's work is much the shortest of the three. But if it cannot rival or supplant the other two, the *Historical Tragedy* is certainly a most valuable supplement to them. The student interested in Europe's contacts with the " supremely beautiful island " could hardly do better than begin by reading Ribeiro's little book, written as it is *con amore*, and then turn to the other two fuller and more accurate but less enthusiastic accounts of Sri Lanka.

60 " Johann Jacob Saar's account of Ceylon, 1647–1657 ", in *J.C.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XI. (1889), p. 78.
61. *Memoir of Joan Maetsuyker*, 1650, (ed. E. Reimers, Colombo, 1927), pp. 21, 41 ; *Memoirs of Ryckloff van Goens*, 1663–1675, (ed. E. Reimers, Colombo, 1932), p. 32.

JOINVILLE'S TRANSLATION OF THE KOKILA SANDESAYA

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

Annexure No. 26, sent up by Governor North with his despatches dated 24th November 1802, is a document described as an English translation of a mythological poem written in Sinhalese in the 13th century. As a copy of this annexure was not found in our Government Archives, a search was made in the Colonial Office, London. It turned out to be document marked C.O. 54/8. Through the good services of Mr. J. H. O. Paulusz, the Government Archivist, I obtained a photostat copy of it in 1951. It is now published for the first time, with his kind permission.

The entire document consists of 26 pages, foolscap size, written in a bold, clear hand. The first 12 pages contain a translation of extracts from the *Kōkila Sandēsaya*, the well known " Message " poem, generally ascribed to Irugalkula Mahā Thēro of Tilakārāmaya, in Devinuvara of the 15th century ; to these are added 12 more pages of notes by the translator. Page 25 contains a coloured map of the route described in the poem and the last page has this inscription : " Translation of a Cingalese poem written in the thirteenth century by Mr. Jonville. No. 26. In Mr. North's General Letter of 24th Nov. 1802 ". North calls it " the first translation from that language (Sinhalese) into our own."

Joseph Joinville, was a Frenchman, who came out to Ceylon with North " with the permission of Court, as Naturalist ". His name is often written down as Jonville, although the form known to French history is Joinville ; for instance, Jean, Sire de Joinville (1224–1317), was a counsellor of King Louis IX. of France, and, Francois Ferdinand, Prince of Joinville (1818–1900), was the third son of King Louis-Philip II. of France. North himself calls him Joinville, in his covering letter to his protege's paper : " On the Religion and Manners of the People of Ceylon ", which was published in the *Asiatic Researches*, VII., pp. 307–444, in that name. Joinville was " possessed of considerable talents and very great knowledge of several branches of natural history " (Valentia's *Voyages & Travels*, p. 316). In 1798, he was " first clerk for Natural History and Agriculture on £250 a year, and, on the 1st of February, 1799, North appointed him " to superintend the garden at Ortafula for botanical purposes, with an allowance of fifty Pagodas per mensem, payable out of the sum which the Hon. Company

allows for the investigation of natural products ". About the same time, he acted as Superintendent of the Cinnamon Plantations ; his Report on the subject is extant. " The permanent security of the cinnamon investment ", wrote North, " and the resuscitation of the gardens from ruin and degradation, to a state of the most vigorous ample product are what we owe to his exertions ". (*Annals of the Ceylon Civil Service* by Toussaint, pp. 30–31)

In 1800, he accompanied the Embassy to Kandy as interpreter and set down his impressions of the journey in a Narrative (*JCBRAS*, No. 105, pp. 1–18). From August 1800 to July 1805, he was Surveyor-General. The experience he gained in the Kandyan country drew from him the observation that " with a better Government the country of Kandy itself would furnish such an abundance of rice that, instead of the Island requiring supplies, as at present, from the continent, considerable quantities of it might be exported." He served on a Committee to prepare a Sinhalese-English Dictionary and himself prepared a Sinhalese alphabet for casting type. He wrote a Report on Cinnamon, 18th Nov., 1799, a Report on the Natural History of Ceylon, 29th Jany., 1800, and produced the translation under review. (*Hist. of the P.W.D.* by Bingham, II., p. 109–10 ; *Natural History of Ceylon* by Tenent, p. 20 ; *Maritime Provinces* by Turner, p. 166).

Joinville entitles his translation : " Extract of the Kaoule Sandessa ", for *Kovul Sandesa*. It is neither an exact translation nor a full paraphrase of the work, but a free rendering of passages of it. After each paragraph, I have indicated the verses (according to the edition of the work by the late Gate-Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardene), which Joinville attempts to translate. His translation and notes are given below, as they are in the manuscript. My comments and observations are in the last portion of this article.

p. 1. Extract of the *Kaoule*[1] *Sandessa*[2], a work written by *Tileke Pirivena Himi*, in Cingalese verses, about the year 1800 after the *Boudhou Varousee* and 1257 after Christ.

" O Kaoule, whose voice excels that of all singers, and, by its melodious notes, drives away the enemies of *Mindade*,[3]

1. *Kaoule* is a fictitious bird, who is supposed to be exactly like a crow, but who has a fine voice.
2. *Sandessa* means message or mission.
3. *Mindade* (love)—Cupid. He is the same divinity as the Cama of the Hindus and Eros of the Greeks. Cama means desire. Mindada is a Cingalese word composed of " Min ", Fish and " Dada ", flag or standard, this god's ensign being a fish. " Min " is also the name of the month of March in Cingalese and Sanscrit. The Cingalese also have the name, " Ananga " for Cupid, derived from " anghe ", body and " an ", without. Cupid as well as many other subaltern deities of the Hindus are only allegorical among the Cingalese and are not mentioned in the Buddhist theology.

whose beak was the brush with which *Sakreia* drew a hare in the moon[4], whose fine black colour rivals that occasioned by paint[5], whose food consists of the beneficient pepper[6], who unites in yourself more precious things than the sea hides. May your life be long and happy ! [vss. 1, 2, 3].

p. 2. Our friendship is such that your soul and mine seem to be but one. Come then to my aid ! You are the only bird worthy to be entrusted with an important charge. The parrot and the *maina* indeed speak but the one has not a sufficiently sweet voice and the other wants sense. [vss. 4, 5, 6].

Go then to *Jaffanapatoone* (Jaffnapatnam) and there reigned *Ariesakweti*, whom *Sapou Mal*[7] conquered and took his place as sovereign of Jaffana. Go to that place ; present my respects to *Sapou Mal* and by virtue of your conversation, procure for me his good will. [vss. 9, 10].

In your way thither you will see several curious things, the description of which will please *Sapou Mal*, respecting which hear me. [vs. 10].

4. *Boudhou*, in one of his transmigrations, was a hare and lived alone in the woods. Sakreia, a powerful god, living on the top of Mahameru Parvata, saw him and was struck with his conduct and thought that something extraordinary was to be the fate of this animal. Wherefore, he transformed himself into a beggar and presented himself before the hare, requesting alms. The latter had nothing to give him. After which Sakreia feigned to be hungry and said : " I must eat you ". The hare then said a short prayer and answered : " Light a fire and I will throw myself into it, whereby you will eat me without committing a crime by killing me " ; which was done. But the moment the hare threw itself into the fire, Sakreia learnt by inspiration that the victim would become Boudhou and to eternise the memory of the transmigration, he drew a hare on the Moon. When I have been looking at the Moon with a telescope, the Cingalese have often asked me to let them see the hare and were much astonished at not finding it.

5. The women of Ceylon, particularly in the interior part of the Island, are much addicted to painting their eyes with black antimony, as the Turkish and Persian women do. This custom is hardly ever to be seen in the British settlement, except in the case of Opthalmia, in which case they generally prefer using cow-dung.

6. Pepper is a necessary seasoning to all meals in Ceylon and in all India and is as salt is among us, except that we do not consider it necessary to health, while a Cingalese would think himself exposed to all manner of diseases if his curry has not pepper in it. It is used as an universal specific for all diseases though it is evident, being in constant use, it cannot operate in case of disorders. I have seen it administered to dogs, cats, monkies and fowls. They cured with a plaster of pepper a severe wound given by a jackal to a turkey. All kinds of pepper are accounted useful ; but the Piper Longum is best.

7. *Sapoumal*, is a son of Prakrembe Bahu, who reigned at Cotta about A.D.1257.

You will first go to *Devio Nouvera*[8] where you will see an arcade covered with precious stones, which rival the light of the sun. [vs. 11].

p. 3. The voice of the elephants[9] of that place is as thunder. Their trappings shine like lightning, and their urine serves as abundant rain. The ground of *Devio Nouvere* is covered with flowers the smell of which, wafted on the zephyr, inspires love. There dwells *Vishnou* and watches over the prosperity of *Lakè*[10]. Evil spirits tremble at his sight. *Assoure*[11] has retired into the gulph *Tikoule* solely from fear of *Vishnou*, who devours his enemies as the elephant does the plantain tree. *Wase Varte* once daringly opposed *Boudhou* when all the gods flew away, but *Vishnou*, who never quitted *Boudhou*. Who will dare to oppose him ? [vss. 17, 18, 22, 23, 27, 30].

After having observed this, kiss the feet of *Vishnou* and go on. A little way further you find a temple of *Boudhou* where you will worship. There is also a *Bogaha* which you will worship. The priests there are as flowers born in the bosom of *Boudhou*. You will, therefore, pay them respect [vss. 32, 33, 35, 36].

p. 4. When the bees shall have retired to their hives and the moon shall have dissipated the darkness of the night, choose a tree among the mango trees and sleep. When the Nympheas shall have disclosed themselves and the sun begins to dart his beams, think on *Boudhou* and set out. You will find in your way four good omens : a delicate perfume, a drum[12], a chank and women of pleasure, whose faces are more beautiful than the flowers of the lakes. [vss. 37, 38, 39.]

8. *Devio Neuvere* is now called Devundara by the Singalese and Donder Head by Europeans.

9. There are always near very famous Pagodas some elephants, who carry about the Image or some attribute of the deity in processions once or twice a year.

10. *Lakè* is the Island of Ceylon, otherwise called Lanka and Lankave according to Indian geographers, the meridian of origin passed through Lanka, but there is now a great space between it and Ceylon.

11. *Assoure* is an evil spirit living at the foot of the Mahameru Parvate, who is watched by 4 gods lest he should molest Sakreia.

12. I cannot tell why a drum is a good omen ; as to the chank, it is because it is an attribute of the Boudhou—a chank with its mouth to the right side is a most precious thing in India ; it is one of the jewels of the Crown of Candy and is used at the king's marriage to throw water over the joined thumbs of the king and his bride. I have described this ceremony in another place : see notions on Ceylon transmitted to the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

You will from thence go to *Welemadoo* and from that to *Naghe Covile*, where you will see the special image of a serpent, who shaded *Boudhou* from the rain. From that you goo to *Oughal Covile* which promotes perspiration among women. You will see their locks untwine and their dress grow lloose about them. [vss. 42, 44, 45].

Thence you go to *Mapa Patine*, where is a beautiful garden, and from that to *Gon-Galle*, a rock which is as a bull tied to a stake and the rope is the river of *Matura*. [vss. 46, 47].

p. 5. Having passed the river, you will see at *Matura* a stable full of elephants[13] of which be not afraid but go on. You will then see the fields of *Pangooran Velelie* with a number of female reapers singing the abundance of harvest ; a little farther at *Mounamale Roupe*, some women in a market, under large trees, who will speak lascivious words to you ; but do not listen to them but pass the river *Pollwate*, where you will see some peacocks spread their tails on the rocks. [vss. 448, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53.]

From thence you go to *Veligama*[14] where is a market forming a street; there are *Viscoule* (chittis) selling precious stones, and some chattering women of the sect of *Iunes* (Mooors, Lebbes and Mussulmans), teaching parrots to talk. You will visit a temple of *Boudhou* and thence you will goo to the tank of *Mahanevia*, covered with nympheas, which furnish honey to millions of insects. [vss. 55, 56, 57, 599, 61, 66.]

p. 6. From that proceed to *Polwale*, where you will observe the sea-shore covered with *Ketekis* (called also Voctakria, Bromamelia of Tumolas), the foliage of which bends towards the sea like the water spouts which take up jewels from the bottom of the sea. [vs. 67.]

13. A day's journey from Mature is a place where the elephants are hunted and as Mature abounds in cocoanut trees, the elephants are brought there when caught, to be bound ; and it seems this was the custom in the time of the author.

14. *Veligam*, called now Belligam, is a village, which like all other Cingalese villages, is composed of several fields divided among many proprietors, where houses are scattered about at considerable distances from each other. This is the only village where I have seen a regular market as is the custom in towns, though I never saw precious stones sold there. The *Viscoulis* are generally known in Ceylon by the name of Chittis. They are descended from inhabitants of the Continent, particularly the coast of Coromandel, and are of the Hindoo religion.

At *Lanoomodera* is a pagoda of *Nate Devio*[15], whence go to *Miripane*, *Ounevatene* and *Galle* ; at the latter place are the most beautiful women in the country. Pass the river of *Ghin* (now called Ghindere), and from there go on to *Ratgame* (now called Rageme and by Europeans Raigam), after that to *Oudougalpitti*, *Sikkadoue* (now Hikkadoue), where is a ferry. You will then come to *Tottegamue*[16], remarkable for the pearl oyster which the sea throws up, with the shells of which you will see numbers of children playing. There is also, at that place, the temple of *Boudhou* called *Sarapilimaghe*, which is served by a priest who speaks six languages, one of which is that of the devils. [vss. 68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 79, 82.]

p. 7. From this place go to *Mahadampe Moudere*, where is a stone with an ancient inscription. You will then pass the bridge of *Velittotte* and farther on are the extensive fields of *Kosgodde*. [vss. 85, 86, 87.]

You will then see *Paretasakire*, *Nelipale*, *Vanamuvore Vehere*, a temple of *Boudhou*, *Bentotte*, where they carry on trade in cloth, *Kalavie*, *Berouvele*, where is a market for precious stones, *Matgone*, *Paiagale*, *Kalamoule*, *Ganghe Tilleke Vehera*, and lastly you will come to the river of *Calou* (black), which derives its name from the fine black eyes of the women[17], who bathe in it. After passing this river, you will see *Covile* of the god *Gane*. Pay your adoration to him, for he inspires wisdom. [vss. 88–97, 99, 101.]

p. 8. You will then proceed to *Poutoupittie*, where are numerous kinds of oxen, thence *Panture* and thereafter to *Laksapittie*, where are numerous coconut trees. From thence you go to Attidie, *Popiliani* and *Iatiene*, where are the forests of mango trees covered by squirrels, frisking and feeding upon them. [vss. 103, 104, 105, 107, 108, 114.]

15. *Nate Devio* is a spirit, who is in esteem among the Boudhists, because he is destined to become Boudhou ; he is now in the same heaven with Maitri, the next future Boudhou. *Nate* has some temples dedicated to him in Ceylon. They call one of the great heavens *Lokenate* and there is also the word *Ganenate Devio* ; but in the first instance it is to be considered as a word composed of *Na*, nose and *ate*, hand, so that *Ganenate* signifies *Gane* with a nose like a hand, because that god is represented as having a head like an elephant's. The Bermans call all their gods *Nat* (see Major Symes' Embassy to Ava and Buchanan's Essay in the *As. Res.* vol. 6).

16. The author mentions several places in the West coast of Ceylon, where pearl oysters were in his time but where none are to be found now.

17. *Calou Gangha* is one of the four rivers having their source from the mountain called *Samanale* Sri Pada and by Europeans Adam's Peak.

At *Galpokune* is a barge and reservoir of water, where the women of the place come together to bathe. You will then see their forms displayed in various attitudes, sometimes standing, sometimes sitting, their breasts always, however, keep above the water like the blossoms of nymphea, the flowers of which, when open, their faces resemble. [vs. 117]

p. 9. Go thence to the *Covil* of *Patene*[18], which was built by *Parakrembe Vahou*, to whose capital of *Vardene Poure* (now Cotta) you will go. In it you will find several curious things. *Parakkrembe* has a number of white horses ; on the top of his palace is a red stone sparkling like the sun. These things denote he is a king of the race of *Sourie Vanse*. This capital is peopled with fine women of delicate form and large breasts. Other kings in comparison with him are as the glow-worm to the sun. His courtiers are as numerous as the birds of the golden Iamboe (a tree supposed to be at Himale Vane). You will see him surrounded by wise men of every profession. Physicians are ranged on one side of him and priests on the other. The latter are divided into two sects, the Bamoune (Brahmins) and *Boudhist-Howlan* (?) One cannot sufficiently praise *Prakembe Bahou*. *Mahabrahma* and his wife *Saraswetti* are the only poets who ought to attempt it. You will present yourself to him and say that you are sent by me to his son *Sapu Mal*. [vss. 118, 121, 122, 124, 136, 127, 145, 150, 154, 147, 159, 169.]

On leaving Cotte, you will go to *Contegantotte* and thence to *Kelani Ganghe*, where you will see a Maskellie (a place where fish are shut in). Pass this river and you will see the Couvile *Vibissane Devio*[19], after which you will arrive at the famous temple of *Boudhou*, called *Kelani Vihare*. (vss. 161, 164, 166, 167.]

18. *Patene Devio* is rather a saint than a goddess. The opinion of the Cingalese is that she is a Mussulman, which makes me believe that Patene is a companion of Fatme, who did many miracles and died a virgin, though she lived many years with her husband, whom she loved very much notwithstanding. The Mussulmans, established in Ceylon, have boosted much of her miracles and the Cingalese are so used to hear them that they visit her Pagodas, which are pretty numerous and they place their offerings of flowers not before the Image of her person but of the " joys " she wore.

19. *Vibissana* is one of the four great gods, followers of Boudhou, to whom alone the Cingalese erect temples ; they pray and make offerings to these beings for the good things of this life, but for those of another, and, particularly for obtaining the Nirvana and the complete annihilation of the soul, they address the memory of the Boudhou.

p.10. From thence go to *Mahabove* and thence to *Outhoubounvele* [20] where is the large tank in which *Kelenitisse Raja* was swallowed up. [vss. 171, 172.]

A little farther on is the vihare of *Kilmoule* and there after *Veligampittie* where runs a river the banks of which are shaded by the *hal* (a tall tree of resinous quality). You will pass *Kinoi Oye* (oye - rivulet), afterwards *Nabouvalane* and you will arrive at *Nigomouve*, the women of which place have an enchanting voice. The oxen who graze beside them let fall the grass they are eating as soon as they hear the enchanting sound of their voices. [vss. 173, 174, 175, 176, 177.]

p.11. Further on is the *Pareme Oya*, the water of which is so pure that the stags on seeing their images in the stream plunge in to fight with them. You will afterwards come to

20. There is a long account in History about *Atooboonvale*, differing a little in each. Kelanitisse, King of Calani, had a holy personage, an ascetic, boiled in oil, on which the sea, as a punishment, swallowed part of his kingdom. He immediately sacrificed his daughter to the sea to appease it and mounted an elephant to see what destruction has been occasioned ; at a small distance from his capital the earth gave under him and swallowed him and in that spot was formed the tank, Atooboonvale. In the *Rajavalee*, which though very incorrect, is the work which contains the fullest details either of history or faith, it is said that the sea covered 970 villages of fishermen, 470 of pearl divers and many others. It also adds that before this accident the sea was 7 *gawas* distant from the temple of Calani, about thirty miles English, and now it is but 4 miles distant. Another author, of whom I do not know the name, says that the daughter of Kelanetissa Raja, named Vehera Maha Devi, was transported by the goddess of the sea, Moodi Manimekelave, to the Mahagampattoe where she was married to the King Kavantisse, and by him had a son, named Dootoogamoone, who dethroned Elale, King of Anooradapoure and set himself on the throne.

On following up the chronology of the *Rajaratnakere* and accounting 80 years as the term of duration of four reigns, of which no account is given, it will appear that the irruption of the sea happened about 457 years after Boudhou or 56 years before Christ. We have no history in Europe, stating that the sea, about that time, suffered a motion, which would occasion its making an irruption covering 23 miles of land, so that it is probable that this exists, as to the date, only in the fables of the Cingalese ; but I thought it necessary to mention it as it shows that there is a tradition in the Island of great innundations having taken place which also may be proved by geological enquiries. Mr. de Buffon in his proof of the theory of the earth, says : " It is certain that the Island of Ceylon has been gained on in course of time by the sea to an extent of 30 or 40 leagues, in the N.-W. side of it ". The expression " it is certain " would require some proof to support it. If Mr. de Buffon rests his assertion on what is said in the Indian books that the meridian of origin (?) passed by Lanka, it may be answered that there is a larger space than what he says now between Ceylon and that meridian.

Mr. de Buffon further says " that the inhabitants of Ceylon say their Island was separated from the Peninsula of India by a sudden irruption of the sea and this is a likely thing to have happened ".This cannot be in consistency with the Cingalese cosmogony by which Ceylon is supposed to be one of the numerous islands surrounding the earth, which is a large triangular island. Nevertheless, it is very probable that the Island was joined to the coast.

Marawille, which is full of wild buffaloes. Thence you go to *Nilapitti* and afterwards to *Slawatte* (called Chilaw). The sea side there is strewed with pearls, produced by the sighs of *Moodemanimekalawe*. From *Selawatte* you will go to *Vellewelle* and thence to *Tammene*[21] where *Vigeraya* first came and lived with *Kouveni*. You will from thence go to *Putelam*[22], where you will see women drunk with toddy, dancing and clapping their hands. You will thence go to *Pomparipo*, where is a golden rock called *Ranparapove*, inhabited by *Vishnu*. [vss. 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 189, 190, 191, 192.]

p. 12. From thence go to *Moderegam* and *Moosali Moodere*, where are pearl oysters and chanks ; thence to *Moorevelle*, where you will see fish resembling chests ; further on *Mannarame*, where are three sorts of beautiful trees : Tal, Pol and hal or sal ; afterwards to *Attalamookeme* and *Mahawate Patoune*, where precious stones are sold. Further on is *Aiun Covile*, where great quantities of rice are cultivated, and, further on is a tank and Covile of *Nate Devio* . You afterwards see the castle of *Giavette* where *Sapoumal* keeps a strong guard. You then pass *Lounouoya* a river of salt water and you arrive at *Galmoune*, a fishing village where is a bridge of stone. Thence you go to *Koresedital pirivene*, a great garden of *tal* (palmyras) ; there the devils rallied when *Boudou* ordered them to quit Ceylon. After all this, you will arrive at *Jaffana Patoene* where you will see numerous arcades of precious stones. You will there present yourself to *Sapoumal* and lay at his feet my homage and pray of him his favour towards the Mootiar (Secretary), my friend. Adieu. [vss. 195, 196, 199, 201, 203, 206, 239, 240, 224, 243, 244, 247, 259, 289, 291.]

---

21. *Tammene* is a place famous in the Cingalese history because it is there that Vigeraja disembarked. with his generals to conquer the Island from the Devils. Nevertheless there is no account of its situation except in the Kaoole Sandessa that I have been able to discover. The author is so positive and correct in the situation of other places he makes the bird to travel through that it is not to be doubted but that this is so. Wherefore, Tammene lies between Puttalam and Chilaw, by which it appears that Bouddhism was imported to Ceylon from the Malabar coast, and most likely by emigrants from Saleette (?) where are many vestiges of temples to Bouddhou.

22. In Ceylon, as well as in all parts of India, dancing is only practised by professors of the art. There are now no Cingalese dancing girls, except some women of the Rodia caste, who do not so much dance as throw themselves into contorsions. There are male dancers who dress like women and with the astrologers and conjurors form a caste. Every village has a set of these dancers, who are obliged to dance before all great persons, coming to the village.

Comments and Observations :

Joinville's version of the Kovul Sandesa cannot be classed among such works as Macready's translation of Sālalihini Sandesaya or Steele's Kusa Jātakaya. In the first place, it is neither a translation nor a paraphrase of the whole poem ; and, even the passages, the sense of which he attempts to put across to his English readers, are often misunderstood. Secondly, it does not convey any clear idea of the style and poetical devices of the original. But it is a pioneer work, the first of its kind in English, done by a British officer, whose acquaintance with the people of Ceylon and their language, was not, at the time, more than three years old, and, who had to labour under conditions most unpropitious for study. One must, therefore, admire his enthusiasm and industry and evaluate his work accordingly.

It is not proposed here to correct the work, but to add such comments as would assist the reader to appreciate it. The references are to the pages of the manuscript, to the notes and to the numbers of the verses in Gunawardhana's edition.

p. 1. *Kaoule Sandessa* is for Kovul Sandesa. The Kovul or Kōkila is not a fictitious bird (rf. note [1]), but the Indian cuckoo, who is the nightingale of Indian poetry.

Pepper : there is nothing in the original to suggest this. *Pul amārasa* (vs. 1) means nectar of flowers.

p. 2. *Ariesakweti* is Āriya Sakviti or Āriya Cakravarti (vs. 9), King of Jaffna who was defeated by Sapumal Kumāraya, son of Parākrama Bāhu VI., about the year 1446. (*Rājāvaliya*, pp. 47, 48).

p. 3. *Tikula* (vs. 27) : the three submerged mountains on which the *Mahā Mera* is supposed to rest. The region within these rocks is said to be the abode of the Asuras.

Wase Varte for Vasavatu (vs. 30) : Vasavarti is one of the Māras.

p. 4. *Welemadoo* for Vällēmadama. (vs. 42).

Oughal Covile for Ukgal Bāvula (vs. 45). There is nothing in this verse to suggest " perspiration."

Māpā Patine for Māpā Patana (vs. 46) : Māpā Pattanaya is a rock surrounded by the sea and the Nilvalā Ganga. On it, Vira Bahu II., when he was the Māpā, Prime Minister, built a fortress in 1391, on which, at a later date, the Dutch Fort of Matara was erected. (rf. Gunawardhana's note on the verse).

p. 5. *Poliwatte* for Polvatta (vs. 53).

Viscoule for Veskula (vs. 57), the caste of merchants.

Iunes for *Yon* (vs. 59) ; *Yon liya*, Moorish women.

Polwale for Pollava (vs. 67)

p 6 In note (15) to Nate Devio, the book referred to is Michae Symes, " An Accoumt of an Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava ", 1795, first printed in London in 1800.

Misipane for Mīripännē (vs 69).

Sarapilimaghe (vs 79) : here *pilima gē* means image room, and *sarā* is an adjective, " bright".

The reference in vs 82 to " a priest who spoke six languages " is evidently to Toṭagamuvē Srī Rāhula.

p. 7. *Paretasakire* for Paratarakaya (vs 88) ; *Nelipale* for Nillapola (vs 89) ; *Vanamuvore Vehera* for Vanavāsa Vehera (vs 90) ; *Kalalive* for Kalāviya (vs 92) ; *Kalamoule* for Kalamulla (vs 96) ; river of *Calou* for Kalu Ganga (vs 99).
Poutoupittie for Potupitiya (vs 103) ; *Papiliani* for Pāpiliyāna (vs 108).

p 8. *Patene* for Pattini (vs 118) ; *Pärakrembe Vahou* for Parākrama Bāhu (vs 118).

p. 9. *Maskellie :* Maskeliya is not a place name (vs. 164), but a word made up of " mas "—fish and " keliya "—sport.

p. 10. *Outhoubounvele* for Ätubunvala (vs. 172). The story about Kälanitissa is given in Rājāvaliya, pp. 18–20. *Vide infra* for Moode Mekalawa.

Kilmoule for Rilavulla (vs. 173) ; *Kinoi Oya* for Kindi Goda Hoya (vs. 175) ; *Nabouvalane* for Bōlavalāna (vs. 176).

Pareme Oya : no such name occurs in the poem ; but Mānava Hoya is found in vs. 181.

p. 11. *Nilapitti* for Nikapiṭiya (vs. 183), probably an error for Tinipiṭiya.

Moodemanumekalawe : the word which corresponds to this is " Sindu Liya " (vs. 185). " Sindu ' may mean " sea " as well as " river " ; and " liya " means " woman or lady ". Taking the first meaning, Joinville has interpreted " sindu liya " as " sea goddess " and, since Manimekhalā is a goddess of the sea, he has specified it by adding " moode ". (CLR, 3rd Series I., i., pp. 37 ff). But, actually, *sindu liya* means " lady river ", in the present case, the Deduru Oya

Tammene, for Tammänna or Tammänna Aḍaviya and Tammänna Nuvara, an abandoned village, about 3 miles from the 9th milestone on the Puttalam-Anuradhapura road to the north. It is King Vijaya's supposed landing place and, probably, the site of Kuveni's city. But the author of the Kōkila Sandēsaya is wrong in placing it between Vellevele and Puttalam, for it is to the north of Puttalam. He would have been correct in placing it between Puttalam and Pomparippu. (vs. 189–192).
Moderagam for Muvadoragama (vs. 195) ; *Mooravelle* for Mōravala (vs. 199).

Mahawate Patoune for Māvatu Paṭuna (vs. 205) or Mātoṭa (rf. *Ancient Jaffna* by Rasanayagam, p. 372), or Māvaḍu Pattanam, according to Gunawardhana.

p. 12. *Giavatte* for Jāvaka Kōṭṭaya (vs. 249), now Chavakachcheri.
Koresedital for " Kora sāḍi tal " (vs. 244)—rough palmyrah trees, and not a place name.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY BACKGROUND OF SOME EARLY ENGLISH WRITERS ON CEYLON

By E. F. C. LUDOWYK

THE RECURRENCE of a particular metaphor in English writers on Ceylon in the first four decades of the 19th century provides evidence of their attitudes to processes of change in Ceylon. Of course much stronger evidence on this subject is extant than this incidence of metaphor. At best, examination of the frequency of the metaphor will help to modify slightly the effect of official pronouncements making them less stern and better understandable by showing the filiations of the educated Englishman, who wrote of his stay in Ceylon, with a humane eighteenth century ethos. What would read now as temerarious arrogance would fall into place, if the style of the writing is examined, as an extension to Ceylon of the same moral concern which surveyed the human scene at home. That this morality was dashed with self-interest ought not to surprise anyone who knows the development of the belief in enlightened self-interest in the eighteenth century. It ought not to be, in its references to Ceylon, misread as sanctimonious hypocrisy or offensive superiority.[1]

The richer stylistic medium of the early English writer on Ceylon when compared with Robert Knox whose work was 125 years earlier, is likely to have produced language of greater metaphorical saturation. Knox, in keeping with his title *An Historical Relation* and his friendship with Robert Hooke, who was Secretary to the Royal Society, writes a "scientific" style. His book would properly belong to that category of treatise on matters of scientific curiosity—in this case a kingdom little known to Europeans—of which the late seventeenth century is full. Like Sir Hans Sloane, Knox had accumulated a collection of valuable curiosities of which

1. Reference has been made to the following;
   Percival, Captain Robert; *An Account of the Island of Ceylon*, London 1803.
   Cordiner, The Rev. James, *Description of Ceylon*, 2 vols, London 1807.
   Valentia, George Viscount; *Travels to India, Ceylon etc.* 3 vols, London 1809.
   Philalethes, *The History of Ceylon*, London 1817.
   Davy, John; *An Account of the Interior of Ceylon*, London, 1821.
   Forbes, Major; *Eleven Years in Ceylon*, 2 vols, London, 1840.
   Campbell, Lt. Col. James; *Excursions, Field Sports and Adventures in Ceylon.* 2 vols, London, 1843.

he was anxious to leave a record to posterity. Certainly Hooke, in his Preface to *An Historical Relation*, is prepared to regard Knox as one of a number of "Curious and Inquisitive Men" who have not only made but published their discoveries. And Knox himself, in his later discovered "Autobiography" notes: "I could add many more such like trifling things concerning Appariell Died & lodging, but I think this I have wrote on these 3 heads are scarce worth the paper I have scribbled them on. I perceive by . . . . I have intermixed one thing with another which maketh them not the less true (in which I am Chiefly Carefull) but sheweth my disabillity to write histories not following the method". Whatever the lacuna in the MSS. might have been, it is clear that Knox has definite notions about "historical" writing, and that desultory and immethodical observations did not satisfy them. His book was history, these were casual scribblings.

That his was a spare style, in which an absence of metaphor is chiefly to be noted, ought to surprise no one acquainted with the demands made of a writer by the newly founded Royal Society. There are traces of Biblical phrase in Knox, there are some proverbs too; but the general effect of his style, when compared with Bunyan's, is that Knox's leaves the impression of the language of a man who did not converse much with his fellows. The folk character of Bunyan's idiom—the trait which marks it even more strongly than its Biblical reminiscences—is missing in Knox. Whether this would be due either to the peculiar circumstances of Knox's long "exile" in Ceylon, or to his attempts, with Hooke's aid, to write a "scientific" style, one cannot say. What is, however, common in Knox is the frequency of the simile, most often the vehicle of the known illustrating the unknown. What his reader could not be expected to know or to understand, Knox made clear through his simile from his reader's range of experience. So the jak is "like a hedgehog"; the talipot folds close "like a lady's fan"; the "coddia" bites desperately "as bad as if a man were burnt with a coal of fire"; the contrivance of the King's palace is "like Woodstock bower" etc. Knox's interest seemed to have been spent on convenience of recognition, if this is secured then he is satisfied. His is the dry scientific mind, anxious to present his material as carefully as he could.

His metaphors are mostly dead ones. May this be because he is little carried away by the objects he describes? He is always master of himself, and only occasionally does the language show that he was possessed by the object he was describing. The contrast of his style with Bunyan's or Defoe's is illuminating, for inspite of the desire to achieve verisimilitude the latter's style is a thicker medium, and bespeaks the artificer.

In the writing of Percival, Cordiner, Valentia, Philalethes, Davy, Forbes, and Campbell will be found, as is to be expected, great differences from that of Knox. It is obvious that apart from understandable change in the language in the one hundred and twenty years which intervene between Knox and Percival, there is the change in the material relationship of the writer to his subject. Knox wrote of the Kandyan Kingdom of Ceylon, (the maritime provinces of which were at that time under Dutch suzerainty), a region of which there were no records available to the English reader. His was a contribution to knowledge, to that improvement of " Natural Knowledge " in which the Royal Society of London was interested. The early British writers on Ceylon to whom reference will be made were officials (with the exception of Valentia) in the administration of the newly acquired British territory. They have their several axes to grind, to recommend the policies of North, of Brownrigg and Barnes, to advocate one course of conduct or the other to the British public in relation to the new dependency, and to relate their own experiences here as soldiers, administrators of missionaries. Some of them had Knox's interest in improving Natural Knowledge—Davy for instance was interested in tropical diseases, and Forbes, as Sir Paul Pieris notes, " had much experience of the Sinhalese method of capturing elephants of which he was in charge in Matale . . . . what he has to say on the subject of the elephant merits study."[2]

Anxious as they are to perpetuate British rule in the country, and some of them even to recommend the highlands of Ceylon as likely to absorb a large immigrant population from England, they were sincere in their recommendation that education should aim at planting British institutions and values in Ceylon in the interests of the moral and intellectual improvement of man. Most of them in this context make use of a metaphor, which since the middle of the nineteenth century has become almost a dead metaphor. As these writers, however, use it, it throws light on their traditional eighteenth century virtues, for the word had strong connections with eighteenth-century meliorism. The metaphor as it is used by them in addition to the other marks of eighteenth century English culture in their writing and the engravings provided with the text, would show that their intention, though misguided, was fundamentally honest. Intentions like theirs, aided by different means, still preside over educational transactions, and it might be asked whether it is possible to become articulate about the end of education without having recourse to metaphors in the end as treacherous as theirs.[3]

2. Pieris, Sir Paul ; *Sinhale and the Patriots*, Colombo, 1950, p. 483.
3. It should be added that the metaphorical nature of a great deal of language, whether it is concerned with education or with any other topic, would provide examples of treacherously ambiguous discourse.

The metaphor to which attention is to be drawn is that contained in the verb " to diffuse ". It is frequently met with in the writing of the early British in Ceylon, most often in association with such abstractions as knowledge, education, etc. The best known use is in Philalethes : " But at the same time, I trust that, in the wise councils and magnanimous policy of Great Britain, moral considerations will not be overlooked in the midst of great political views, and that she will make her sovereignty of Ceylon contribute to the increase of civilization, to the encouragement of knowledge, the diffusion of Christian benevolence, and the consequent augmentation of the general happiness ".[4] Another example from the same source is : " I must here remark that, although I commend the attempt of the Dutch to naturalize their language in their foreign settlements, I do not think that they had recourse to the best possible expedient which wisdom or humanity might have suggested for that purpose. Let England adopt the principle, but improve the mode of effecting the end. Let her seduously labour to diffuse her vernacular idiom through all her foreign settlements ; and let her regard this as the best means of facilitating the greatest of all human works—the intellectual improvement of man ".[5] Davy writes : " By attending to the education of the rising generation, much may be done for the diffusion of useful knowledge, and of Christian principles, amongst the people " ;[6] Forbes has the following : " Another subject of very great interest, is the general introduction and rapid diffusion of the English language " ;[7] and Tennent remarks that " education has been extensively diffused ".[8]

The earliest senses of the verb *diffuse* in English, in which is to be noted its metaphorical character from its Latin root, are the now obsolete ones of " shed "—these are to be found both in Shakespeare (Iris in *The Tempest* is addressed as the messenger

> Who, with thy saffron wings, upon my flowers
> Diffusest honey-drops)

and earlier. The O.E.D. lists as sense 2 that of " to disseminate, to spread widely ", and notes that the verb could be used both of material and immaterial or abstract things. In the eighteenth century—chiefly through Milton from whom a great deal of the idiom of poetry is derived—the word acquired a special significance.

4. Philalethes, *op. cit.*, p. iv.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 228.
6. Davy, *op. cit.* p. 333.
7. Forbes, *op. cit.*, Vel. I p. 4.
8. Tennent, Sir James Emerson ; *Ceylon*, 2 vols, London, 5th Ed. 1860.

It may be that Miltonic usage was partly responsible, for in Milton will be found such as the following :

> Thus while God spake, ambrosial fragrance fill'd
> All Heav'n, and in the blessed Spirits elect
> Sense of new joy ineffable diffus'd.
>
> P.L. III., 135 ff.
>
> . . . yet such as in his face
> Youth smil'd Celestial, and to every Limb
> Suitable grace diffus'd . . . .
>
> P.L. III., 637 ff.
>
> God made
> The Firmament, expanse of liquid, pure,
> Transparent, Elemental Air, diffus'd
> In circuit to the uttermost convex
> Of this great Round . . . .
>
> P.L. VII., 263 ff.
>
> And at a stately side-board by the wine
> That fragrant smell diffus'd . . . .
>
> P.R. II., 350 ff.

In all these cases besides the sense of *spread*, are the suggestions of gradualness, of the force of what is being spread, and its necessary goodness. (Of course there are the well-known senses of the word in Milton, e.g. :

> See how he lies at random, carelessly diffused.
>
> S.A. 118.
>
> Satan bowing low
> His gray dissimulation, disappear'd
> Into thin Air diffus'd.
>
> P.R. I., 497 ff.

where the word is used of extending or spreading the body).

Milton must have given the word its poetic sanction and something of the special sense already noted.

In James Thomson, who hit the taste of his age 'twixt wind and water with his combination of Miltonic sublimity with early fashionable eighteenth century " Romantic " feeling, the words " diffuse " and " diffusive " (meaning " tending to diffuse itself ") occur so frequently that one could regard them as part of the poetic diction. Thomson was an important figure not only in his own time, he was continually read in the early nineteenth century ; his fondness for prospects, and for uplifting and affecting sentiments provided the background for such writing as that of Cordiner's on Ceylon. " Diffuse " in his vocabulary has all the adjuncts of the irresistible progress of a stream as it spreads " diffusive "—to use his own word—over the countryside. Therefore in the story of Palemon and Lavinia, the lover longs to transplant his beloved—

> Where vernal suns and showers
> Diffuse their warmest, largest influence.

It is not accidental that what is being " diffused " is the influence of elemental forces like sun and rain. Of course, there are examples of " diffuse " used as Milton used it in the sense of " extending the body "—in *Summer l.* 902 the serpent " diffused " by the fountain throws his folds, and earlier in the same poem the crocodile " far diffused his train "—and so on. But on the whole, it could be said that " diffuse " the verb, and " diffusive " are used of the gradual effect of spreading something elemental ; in most cases what is being diffused is, like light or harmony or a perfume, beneficial to its recipient.[9]

This evidence has been selected from Thomson because it is difficult to keep him out of any account of eighteenth-century taste in England, and because the Rev. James Cordiner appears to have been a man very strongly imbued with attitudes which are commonplaces in *The Seasons*. Not only Cordiner, but Valentia in the short space he gives to his visit to Ceylon, and Philalethes, recommend the social pleasures, the taste for the romantic prospect and its soothing effect on the human breast, and the firm assurance that mankind in Ceylon, whatever differences there might be in the scale of civilisation from mankind in England, forms one link with mankind everywhere in the great chain of being. They are late survivors of the eighteenth century in an age which was developing differently from that whose accents they knew. When Cordiner writes : " There is something so extravagantly romantic in those sequestered spots, that they inspire the mind with unusual pleasure. A traveller, who delights to contemplate the face of sportive nature, may there behold her unblemished features and undisguised charms ; and a person who is fond of meditation, and recollection of past events, may here enjoy all the luxury of solitude " ; when Philalethes writes of Sinhalese proverbs " among these proverbial sayings, there are many which penetrate the recesses of the human heart, and address themselves to those common sentiments, which constitute an indissoluble link of affinity amongst the scattered members of the human race. They prove that we are all parts of one moral scheme, which extends from pole to pole, and from earth to heaven " ; when Valentia writes of the possibility of social converse in Galle and of Colombo : " It gives me real satisfaction to observe that the good humour of the Governor has extended to all around him ; no animosity is discoverable ; on the contrary everybody tries to contribute to the general satisfaction " ; what

9. The connections of 18th century " nature " poetry with the classics, Milton, contemporary painting and the theory of Generalized diction might be studied in C. V. Deane's *Aspects of 18th century Nature Poetry*, Oxford, 1935. It should be noted that Jealousy diffuses its venom in *Spring* l. 1076.

are they doing but echoing the tones of James Thomson.[10] They were aware, as he was, of—

> The mighty chain of beings, lessening down
> From infinite perfection to the brink
> Of dreary nothing, desolate abyss.

The cult of Thomson persisted well into the nineteenth century, and even Campbell who was a fribble, and interested in little but his *battues* and his personal comfort, quotes him with satisfaction in his chapter headings.[11]

There is behind the educational theory—if we could dignify their confident hopes with such a description—of the early British writers on Ceylon the moral background of eighteenth century England. That it should be so is, surely, not surprising ; and that in the foreground should stand the practical benefits of such a course of " diffusion " of education accords with all we know of the eighteenth century belief in enlightened self-interest. Surely the day was to come when self-interest was to conflict with enlightenment, but in the first few decades of the nineteenth century, it was possible to believe both in the moral and intellectual improvement of man and the advantage of the ruling power. What was perhaps most wrong with the educational theory was its assumption that the differences between men were not as important as their similarities in being persons through whom a superior agency manifested itself. But it has, at least, to be said for most of those early nineteenth century writers on Ceylon, that they saw that the ends of education were moral ends. Like ourselves, they used language magically, believing that the word would guarantee the success of the desired operation.

10. References are to Cordiner *op. cit.*, vol I, p. 204 ; Philalethes p. ix. ; Valentia, *op, cit.*, vol. I, p. 317.

11. Campbell was a tiresome exaggerator of his prowess. He is guilty besides, in s animadversions on soulless tourists (vol. I, p. 245 ff) of lifting a story from Coleridge without acknowledgement.

DOCUMENTS ON CEYLON HISTORY (3)

SOME DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE BRITISH ADMINISTRATION OF THE MARITIME PROVINCES OF CEYLON—THE HOBART MINUTES

Edited by RALPH PIERIS

Introduction

" It is an arduous task ", remarked Henry Marshall writing of the Sinhalese," to legislate for a people against their will ".[1] The Madras Administration of the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon provides an admirable instance of dogged attempts to impose an economic system completely at variance with ancient usages and customs, with disastrous consequences ; two districts were in open rebellion, and others showed signs of discontent. Clearly, the revenue system introduced by the Madras Administration was deeply resented by the people, and Lord Hobart in two lucid Minutes (Documents 1 and 2) examined the objectionable features of the economic innovations.

The Portuguese and the Dutch maintained the framework of the traditional Sinhalese economic system, and Codrington contended that land tenure and revenue under the Portuguese and the Dutch was more representative of the ancient economic system than that which functioned contemporaneously in the Kandyan Provinces. The Madras Administration substituted the " farming " or " renting " system in its most objectionable form—the delegation of executive (revenue collection) and judicial powers to the Madrassi renters. Furthermore, the tax of one fanam on each cocoanut tree was extremely unpopular, and Hobart decided that the tax was uneven in its incidence, and one of the causes of the rebellion. He suggested that objects of taxation which were least likely to prove vexatious to the people should be selected. A tax which proved to be an impost on one of the necessities of life was likely to excite discontent and disaffection. Hobart suggested instead certain other taxable commodities which had previously been exploited by the Dutch.

Hobart appointed a Committee of Investigation to inquire into the economic affairs of the Island and in his Minutes, based on the researches of Brigadier-General De Meuron,[2] he reviewed the

1. Henry Marshall : *Ceylon* (London 1848)

2. Part of De Meuron's "Report of His Researches into the Dutch Books, &c, relating to Revenues of the Island" from C. G. A. B 2029, was reprinted in Bulletin I of the Historical Mss. Commission (1937.)

economic system of the Island under the Dutch, and suggested a return to that system. The Madrassi renters were to be dismissed and the Sinhalese Moodliars re-instated in judicial positions.

These Documents are reproduced from Volume B 2029 at the Ceylon Government Archives, Nuwara Eliya. Duplicates of some of the MSS. are available in the British Museum Wellesley MSS. The chief secondary source is L. J. B. Turner : *Collected Papers on the History of the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon, 1795–1805*, (Colombo, 1923).

DOCUMENT I.

MINUTE OF THE PRESIDENT IN COUNCIL, LORD HOBART.

In Council, June 9th, 1797.

Having recently turned a considerable share of my attention, to the affairs of Ceylon, I am induced to offer some observations to the Board, which may possibly be found not altogether undeserving of notice ; and, although they convey an opinion that improvements may be made in the Revenue system on that Island, they will not, I trust, be construed to cast the most distant imputation upon the conduct of the superintendent.

The precariousness of our possession, the short period the whole of the Dutch settlements have been in our hands, the difficulty of obtaining information, the distrust of the natives, and the indisposition of the Dutch, furnish so many and such serious obstacles to a successful management, that it ought not to be a matter of surprise, that the means of amelioration should only gradually be discovered.

The reference made by General Doyle, on the subject of the tax on coconut trees, has occupied my fullest, and most particular consideration, and notwithstanding the arguments adduced in the superintendent's letter to General Doyle of the 4th April last, had great weight with me in the decision which all circumstances considered, I judged it necessary to adopt ; with respect to the tax, I must acknowledge that a more enlarged and distinct view of the subject, has led me to form an opinion in favour of its entire abolition.

In considering the tax of one fanam for every coconut tree, when the actual number belonging to the proprietor shall exceed 50, it would appear that the sum was moderate, and that the collection would, to a certain degree, be easy because there could be no difficulty in ascertaining the existence of the trees, and, consequently, the amount of the tax to be demanded.

It is however to be observed that the tax must necessarily be extremely unequal, from the difference of value of the coconut trees in the different parts of the Island. A garden of 50 trees might be deemed a fortune to a poor man in the neighbourhood of Colombo, Point de Galle, and Jaffnapatnam, whilst in a more distant part of the country, it would scarcely maintain his family.

In selecting objects for taxation, it is certainly desirable that such should be chosen as may be the least likely to prove vexatious in their operation, and with that view perhaps during the uncertainty of our tenure, the most political plan would have been to have continued those specific taxes to which the people were accustomed, except in cases obviously calculated to produce revenue, without warranting reasonable objection, and where it might have been possible to investigate any of the severities complained of in the time of the Dutch Government.

With respect to the duty on coconut trees, the objections which most forcibly strike my mind arise from it being a tax on the raw material of the manufactures of the Island, and on an article, which in several parts of it may be considered a necessary of life. The manufactures of which it is the source are arrack, coconut oil, and coir, and with many of the inhabitants, it constitutes their principal food.

It is an article too, which, to yield a revenue of any consequence must be the cause of exciting much discontent and disaffection. Effects so common in most instances of productive taxation, that however they may be lamented, if a less obnoxious substitution cannot be devised, it is not possible to give them much attention ; but, as I am strongly of opinion that any discouragement to the plantation of coconut trees, would ultimately be the means of a greater deficiency of revenue, than could be expected to be drawn from the tax in question, and as I am satisfied that the duties I would propose to substitute for it will be more satisfactory to the inhabitants, and equally productive to the State, I can have no hesitation in suggesting its entire abolition, and, in lieu of it, I would impose a duty on the exportation of arrack, coconut oil, and coir.

The amount of the duties to be levied upon those articles must depend on information which can only be procured in Ceylon, and it will be necessary to ascertain, whether it may not also be advisable to raise a tax on the consumption of the two first articles upon the Island, and what the extent of it should be—as well as the amount of the export duty, and, with regard to coir, how far it may be expedient to exempt it from all duty when exported on account of the Company. My observations upon the subject of the coconut tree, must be equally applicable to the palmyra.

Having obtained some knowledge of the income which the Dutch Government derived from the betel nut, I have been a good deal surprised, that, in the estimates of revenue of the year, it should have been wholly unnoticed, except at Trincomalee, where I observe it has been farmed for 586 Pagodas and I am persuaded that such a circumstance should not have happened without some deception having been practised upon the superintendent.

In the time of the Dutch Government this article was of very great importance, and managed as I am informed, in nearly the following manner :—

The Governor of Colombo, the Commander of Galle, and the Chief of Calpetty, gave permission to the Moors to procure the betel nut in different parts of the country, on condition that it should be deposited in the Magazines of the Company, from whence the Moors had the liberty of taking it out, on paying a duty of seven and a half Rix Dollars, the amonam twenty-five thousand nuts.

Exclusive of the betel nuts, deposited in the way above-mentioned a quantity was also brought into store, on account of the Company, being revenue received in kind.

The receipts upon this article are said to have amounted to eighty-one or one-hundred thousand Rix Dollars annually, until an alteration was made in the management of it, by Mr. Van Angelbeck, who commissioned the Moors to collect and bring the betel nut to the Public Stores, paying them for it, at the the rate of 7½ Rix Dollars the amonam, and selling it afterwards on account of Government from 18 to 22, by which he is supposed to have produced a profit to the Company of near 200,000 Rix Dollars in the course of the year—some arrangement is obviously requisite upon this article, but, as it must so much depend on local circumstances, I shall merely suggest that it be particularly recommended to the consideration of persons who may be possessed of the necessary information.

A considerable quantity of salt being annually imported into the Island of

Ceylon, the subject is unquestionably deserving of the most particular attention, with a need to deliberate upon the expediency of laying a moderate duty upon that article, or of making a monopoly of the trade of it, as in Bengal.

It may not however be improper to remark, that by the treaty negotiated with the King of Candia, but which has not yet been ratified by him or the Court of Directors, the following provision is made, viz. : " So soon as the British East India Company become possessors of the Dutch settlements on the Island of Ceylon, they shall restore to the King of Candia a situation upon the Coast for the sole and express purpose of procuring an adequate supply of salt and fish for the consumption of the people of his country."

As a large supply, both of betel nut and pepper may be obtained from the Candians, might not an inter-change of salt for those articles become an essential object of commerce ?—and I think it necessary, in this place, to observe that Putelony, being, from its situation better calculated for the manufacture of salt, than any part of the Island, as well as from its possessing many local advantages with respect to trade, ought on no account to be farmed ; and more especially as it has been intimated to me that the betel nut alone, ought nearly to produce as much of the rent of the whole farm, according to the estimate for the current year. Directions ought therefore to be given that Puttalam and Calpenteen should be kept under Aumani, as well as those places upon the Coast where the manufacture of salt can be carried on.

The preservation of the cinnamon gardens, is so obviously a consideration of the first magnitude, that it is scarcely necessary to say more upon the subject than that every possible attention should be paid to them, and, whatever were the means theretofore pursued by the Dutch will probably be found best adapted to the purpose. Having understood that, during the government of Mr. Van Angelbeck they have been a good deal neglected ; it may be judged advisable to look further back for the requisite information.

Without offering any decided opinion on the subject, I am disposed to look upon the Capitation Tax, levied by the Dutch upon the Moors (who are the merchants of the country) as a source of revenue, which ought not to be relinquished.

During the period of the Dutch Government they were never considered as resident inhabitants, but were obliged annually to obtain permission to remain upon the Island and accordingly, were forced to take out certificates, as a testimony of their having received that permission. Of these Moors some of them paid a Capitation Tax of 12 Rix Dollars, others were compelled to work for the Dutch Company during four months of the year, and service so performed was termed Oulliame. It is supposed that if an investigation took place with a view to ascertain the number of Moors, subject to the Oulliame, it would be found that they did not consist of less than 50,000. If a Capitation Tax, in lieu of Oulliame, could be raised, it would unquestionably be a relief to the people, and more advantageous to government.

The number of slaves, the property of individuals, upon the Island of Ceylon, ought not to escape the notice of the British Government, although exclusively of those objections which must necessarily occur to their sudden emancipation, as a measure of the State, it is absolutely precluded by the Capitulation of Colombo which expressly stipulated for the preservation of private property ; but, as of all species of property, that of slaves would seem to present itself as the fittest object for taxation, and as it can only fall upon those who are well able to pay it. I would suggest that a tax should be laid on slaves, to such an amount, and under such regulations, as may appear eligible from local information.

The Dutch imposed a duty of from 10 to 15 per cent. upon cloth, but allowed

the free importation of it to the different officers, civil and military, belonging to their government, having for their object to confine the operation of it to the people of the Island, principally the Candians, who consume great quantities.

The duty appears to me rather high, if we connect the encouragement of our own manufacturers with the consideration of the tax, but it would not seem unadvisable to lay a small duty— There are many other sources of revenue which I am persuaded, on proper investigation, will be discovered ; and particularly in Jaffnapatam, where the duty on tobacco alone used to produce to the Dutch Company 35,000 Rix Dollars per annum, and which does not seem to have been included in the estimate for the present year.

A most minute examination into the revenue of the Province of Jaffnapatam would be desirable, it being a fact perfectly well known, that Jaffna was the part of the Island where the servants of the Dutch Company made the largest, and the most rapid fortunes. I am informed that the Commander of Jaffnapatam received out of the revenues, on his own account, from twenty to twenty four thousand Rix Dollars per annum, the Dissave from ten to twelve thousand, and another officer called Tombo Houder from ten to twelve. It would appear that although the Books of the Dutch Company may afford considerable insight into the amount of the revenues, they will fall very short of the payments collected in the country.

The Dutch system, with regard to their servants, was not dissimilar to that which formerly prevailed in the British Settlements. Small salaries and extensive acknowledged, though not authorized emoluments.

The Pearl Fishery must be looked upon as a casual and not a permanent revenue; but where the banks will admit of their being fished, I scarcely know of any mode more likely to be productive, than that which was adopted in the present year.

I have hitherto taken no notice of that source of revenue which we are best acquainted, viz., the government share of the crop, which I am told varies considerably, it being in some places one half, in others one tenth, but whatever it may be, the manner of collecting the revenue arising therefrom, is unquestionably of great moment, since it most materially affects the largest proportion of the people.

The renting or farming system is certainly the most convenient, and circumstanced as we are on Ceylon, perhaps the only one that can be successfully resorted to ; but the evils to which that system must ever be liable, may be alleviated or aggravated, according to the manner in which it is conducted. Mr. Adam Smith justly observes that " The farmers of the Revenue have no bowels for the contributors who are not their subjects and whose universal bankruptcy, if it should happen the next day after their farm is expired, would not much affect their interest.

After a further discussion of the ill effects of the system, the same author adds : " even a bad sovereign feels more compassion for his people than can ever be expected from the farmer of his revenue; he knows that the permanent grandeur of his family depends upon the prosperity of his people, and he will never, knowingly, ruin that prosperity, for the sake of any momentary interest of his own."

" It is otherwise with the farmer of his Revenue, whose grandeur may frequently be the effect of the ruin, and not the prosperity of his people."

I have already said that, under existing circumstances, I was apprehensive that the farming system could not be entirely dispensed with, but if it be true that the farms now rented, are most of them held by Malabars, who, since our possession of the Dutch Settlements have gone from the Coast for that purpose, I am certain that no mode for destroying a country could have been devised, that

was more likely to accomplish its end, with dispatch, and aggravation, and which was more completely calculated by the vexations with which it must inevitably be attended, to create amongst the natives, and Resident Inhabitants, the most rooted abhorrence of and disgust to the British Government.

It is no wonder, if that be the case that General Doyne, should remark that the revenue can only be collected at the point of the bayonet, and I trust that the Board will concur with me in opinion, that the most positive injunction should be given to the Superintendent, after the expiration of the present year, on no consideration whatsoever, to suffer one of those Malabars to hold any farm under the Government.

There is no reason to believe that means may be found by which as large, and probably, when we have information, a much larger revenue may be realised, but were it even otherwise, the system is so radically bad that it can never be sufficiently reprobated.

It must be in vain for the Government to assume the character of moderation and lenity when it transfers so much of its power into the hands of a set of wretches, whose speculations are plunder, whose interests are permanently foreign to those of the country, and whose rapacious dispositions, are perpetually urged forward by the precariousness of their tenure ; at all events if the revenues are to be farmed, the farms should be separated, as much as possible, and for distinct objects. The farm for the whole revenue of every description in any particular district, should on no account be allowed. Amongst the variety of subjects which press upon our attention, some provision for the administration of justice would seem the most urgent ; and I must strongly recommend that an other effort should be made to prevail upon the Dutch servants, who have been employed in that line, to undertake it, or that some means, at least should be found of propecting property, and punishing its violation.

We have a right to expect that the Dutch, who are permitted to reside upon the Island, should contribute their share towards an object of ours, may be placed at the Peace, can have no other view but the General Interests of the Community, equally important to the society in which they live, whether under their own, or the British Government, and more peculiarily connected with their Duty, because, for the present, Justice ought to be administered according to their own laws.

Should they persevere in their irrational and unwarrantable determination to withhold their assistance, they will in my mind render themselves unfit to be members of a civilized state, and if the provisions of the Treaty should not admit of their being removed entirely from Ceylon, they should at least be made to feel the consequences of their obstinate and illiberal disaffection, and whatever mode of protecting property the exigency of our situation may suggest, theirs ought to be wholly exempted from that protection.

The supply of the different Garrisons with provisions, is, in other terms, the regulations of the Bazaars, is an other matter of serious moment and a subject which requires considerable attention.

Columbo, in the hands of the Dutch, was abuntantly supplied with everything ; it is, at present, almost starved.

Impressed with the deepest sense of the value of the Dutch Settlements on Ceylon to the Political and Mercantile Interests of Great Britain in India, I look with no small anxiety to the result of those Negotiations, which must decide a question of so much National Importance, but as it may not be unreasonable to conjecture that Trincomalee and its dependencies may continue in our hands, tho' the remainder of the Settlements should be restored to the Dutch, it would

appear to me advisable to be prepared in such an event to take early steps for the purpose of promoting a commercial inter-course with the Candians on that side of the Island.

It will, I believe, be found that Salt, Cloth, and perhaps Rice, might be exchanged for Cinnamon, Pepper and betel nuts, and by that means, a trade could be opened, which might be productive of essential benefits.

With that view some friendly Communications should be made to the King of Candia, whose mind the Dutch have already, with some success, endeavoured to poison against the English, and upon whom they have tried to make an impression of the certainty of their power being restored ; but, I have no idea of the impression being such as might not easily be removed.

It may perhaps, be thought that I have gone more at length into this subject than is requisite, when the proposition I have to make has only for its object to obtain information and that I have no measure to suggest, except the appointment of a Committee for the purpose of Investigation, but I have been desirous of conveying to the Board the reasons that have induced me to consider such an investigation absolutely necessary, and in some degree to point out the purposes to which it should be directed.

I should wish the Committee to be composed of the Superintendent of the Revenue, Major Agnew and the Brigadier General De Meuron.

I have named the latter on account of his knowledge of the subject.

To him I am indebted for nearly the whole of the Information I have been able to collect.

Of his zeal and attachment to the British Interests and his ability to promote them most essentially on the Island of Ceylon I have no doubt, his Conduct upon every occasion having manifested the strongest disposition to prove himself an active and useful subject of the English Government.

I would propose that the Committee should be at liberty to proceed in whatever manner they think most conducive to the object in view, and report their progress to this Government, at such periods as they may judge expedient ; adverting however to the Circumstance of the Expiration of the present farms at the end of August.

DOCUMENT 2.

Lord Hobart's Minute of February, 1798.

The next object of my inquiry was the disaffection which had lately manifested itself amongst the Natives under our Government. And this evidently in a great degree proceeded from a premature, and in some instances, an impolitic alteration of the ancient system of Revenue.

The Portuguese upon their arrival on Ceylon discovered a System of Revenue and Policy materially differing from that of the neighbouring Nations—the Sovereign, as in other Eastern countries was absolute Proprietor of the Soil—from him proceeded landed property of every denomination, and to him, under certain circumstances, it reverted. The land was divided into different portions, each of which was appropriated to the realisation of one particular Object of Government, whether of religion, finance, justice or defence. Personal Service variously modified according to this appropriation thus constituted the tenure upon which land was occupied, and upon a failure of that Service, the king reassumed possession. No individual was therefore taxed but in the object of

his profession, the Soldier and Civilian in their respective Services, the Cultivator of the land in its produce the Workman in his Merchandize, and the daily Labourer in certain portions of his labour. Such is the General Outline of the ancient Government on Ceylon.

The Portuguese retained much of this final system of taxation and upon their expulsion by the Dutch, the tenures of personal labour and Official Service were continued, in conformity with the prejudices and Customs of the Inhabitants.

Upon our conquest of the Island we abolished those tenures and endeavoured to introduce the Coast System of Revenue. This Measure excited general discontent amongst those whom it affected, nor could they be induced to esteem it other than an arbitrary deprivation of that property, which they had enjoyed under the Candian, Portuguese, and Dutch Governments. I shall hereafter speak to the Expediency of the Measure.

The Inhabitants of Ceylon are like those of India, divided into different Casts, whose occupations are distinct from each other. The same principle of subordination and respect to the Superior Cast operates, and possibly with greater force on the Island than on the Continent. From the first of these Castes, viz., the Vellales certain Individuals were selected, upon whom generally after a course of service, the honour, or a title of Moodliars was conferred, and from the Moodliars the principal Military Officers were selected.

The Island was divided into Dissavonies, the Dissavonies into Corles and the Corles into Patoes. Each Corle had a Civilian with assistance to collect certain of its taxes, between whom and the Moodliars Disputes soon arose. In consequence of them the Dutch removed the Civilians, and transferred their power to the Moodliars, who upon the increase of authority were put under the immediate Control of the Governor, subject however to receive orders from the Dissave or Head Servant of the Dissavonie respecting the Collection of the Revenue, and the Service due from the lands.

To compensate the Moodliars for the services thus imposed, lands were granted them upon some Conditions, differing in some respect from the other tenures upon the Island, and those were called Accomodesans.

The authority thus vested in the Moodliars, had created an influence, which the Superintendent of Revenue was apprehensive might in its operation not only prevent his obtaining a thorough acquaintance with the resources of the country, but be the means of entirely undermining his own authority.

It therefore became an object with him to diminish that Influence—without discussing the Policy of the attempt. I have no difficulty in condemning the Principal Measure resorted to for its execution, vizt., the Employment of Malabar Servants from the Coast, just because they were ignorant of the Customs, language, and prejudices of the people, and consequently liable, even with the most contrary disposition, to offend them ; and secondly, because the Transfer of authority from the Moodliars, whose Cast and Persons had always been held in veneration, to the natives of a foreign Country was itself a pregnant source of discontent to an unenlightened and prejudiced people.

It was not o be supposed that the Moodliars, alarmed by these measures for the Influence over the people, would be active in Suppressing the dissatisfaction, which the assumption of the Service lands, and the introduction of the Coast System of Revenue had generated. The intrigues of the Dutch, and expected French force, and our injudicious tax on the cocoanut trees, increased the ferment, whose consequences we have seen in those insurrections which the gallant conduct of our troops, and the temperate and vigorous exertions of Major Kenny have completely suppressed.

In considering this subject two questions have engaged my attention. First —the restoration of the Service Lands, and Secondly—the employment of the Moodliars, both of which appear expedient for the following reasons :—

The great source of Revenue upon the Coast differs essentially from that upon Ceylon ; upon the Coast, grain constitutes the primary source of Revenue, in Ceylon it is secondary to almost every other article of taxation. So insignificant indeed is the Government share of that Produce, that, if it were necessary for the attainment of the public Tranquility, and the easy Collection of the other taxes, I should have little hesitation in advising its relinquishment altogether. Under the Assumption of the Service lands, this produce would certainly increase, but not in proportion to the expenditure, which must be incurred for official Servants and daily Labourers.

Upon this ground, therefore, I recommend the restoration of these Lands, as immediately productive of Revenue, as an object of Political expediency—I also deem it essential to the Company's interests, because, from the habitual indolence of the Natives and the cheapness of the necessaries of life upon Ceylon, there is no other effectual way of calling forth their labours, because they themselves universally complain of the change of System as a grievance, because it would otherwise be impracticable to carry into execution the public works that are absolute requisite, and because it holds out the most practicable means of forming an excise, and thereby preventing landestine trade, and collecting the Duties, which it will be found advisible to impose.

By vesting the Moodliars with all the authority that may be deemed advisable to intrust to the Superior Native Servants, you confide power to men who are remarkable for the value they set upon their Situations ; who have a thorough knowledge of the Dispositions, prejudices and customs of the People, to whose authority the inhabitants have been in the habit of submitting, and whom ancient usage has taught them uniformly to respect.

After what I have already said it is scarcely necessary for me to add that, in my opinion, the most positive, and specific orders should be issued to prevent the employment of Natives not resident inhabitants of Ceylon, in any public situation upon the Island.

These arrangements having taken place, vizt., the restoration of the lands to the Chingalese on the customary condition of personal Service, the abolition of the Cocoanut Tax, the Banishment of the Coast Native Servants from Public Situations, the re-establishment of the authority of the Moodliars, with the mild and upright administration of a British Government, it may rationally be expected, that consequences will be produced so encouraging to the inhabitants, that cultivation will increase, and the face of the Country be gradually so much improved, that in the course of a few years, the land Revenue may become an object of real value.

The Cinnamon Trade is a Matter of too much Importance to pass entirely unnoticed—but I shall briefly observe that I am fully persuaded it ought to remain in the hands of Government, with that view the Gardens must be constantly attended to, and the requisite repairs made, or the annual Supply will soon depend upon the King of Candia. The advantages which have arisen from the establishment of those Gardens in the districts belonging to the Dutch, have been too clearly manifested to admit of a doubt of the necessity of avoiding such an alternative.

The monopoly of Salt upon principles as similar as circumstance will permits to those established in Bengal, is another Subject of great Moment.

It is certainly practicable in Ceylon, and in my mind ought to be introduced,

but it must be touched cautiously, on account of the Candians. The Treaty indeed provides for the cessation of a Situation to the King of Candia, for the purpose of supplying his country with that article, but he has not yet ratified the Treaty, and the whole Coast still remains in our Possession.

Under the pressure of some anxiety of mind, and a multiplicity of business which requires the immediate attention of Government, I have not been able to enter into any detail either of the actual Revenues, or progressive Resources fo Ceylon. The suggestions which I have in this Minute submitted to the Board are therefore intended merely to direct their inquiry to those objects which appear to me of the most importance to the interest of our Settlements upon that Island. It may be proper to remark, that they are offered with reference to the reported expected from thence, and to my former Minutes in that Report, and in those Minutes the sources of Revenue are particularized, and the means of their realization point out.

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN CEYLON

BY

BURTON STEIN, PH.D.

Member of the Department of History, University of Chicago

This article constitutes the second part of a larger study entitled *Aspects of Economic Development in South Asia* by Robert I. Crane and Burton Stein, issued by the Institute of Pacific Relations, New York. It is here being published in co-operation with the Institute.

THE CEYLON
HISTORICAL JOURNAL
Vol. III. Nos. 3 & 4

PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN CEYLON

By BURTON STEIN

I.—Introduction

The choice of any single Asian state in its pursuit of economic development cannot possibly exemplify all of the aims and problems mentioned in the previous section of this study. Each state follows a pattern of development which is dictated by the particular objectives of its people and by the unique constellation of its resources and needs. However, even beyond this differentiation, Ceylon stands out as a very unique case study for Asian economic development.

Ceylon is in the very peculiar position of having the immediate wherewithal for the pursuit of a realistic developmental program. Unlike Burma, it has the requisite internal stability for the projection of long-range programs on a nationally intergrative level. Unlike India, it has a margin of flexibility in the use of its resources which allows for appreciable manipulation in their allocation without incurring prohibitive social costs. Ceylon, further, has been a high dollar-earner by virtue of its export of tea, rubber, and coconut products, though it has been adversely affected by the recent fall in the prices of these commodities. Moreover, Ceylon has a stable and experienced government along with a fairly efficient and responsible bureaucracy. This is a most important attribute since economic development cannot be directed by a government which is itself underdeveloped.

In one other important respect, Ceylon differs from the other Asian states with which this study is concerned. Ceylon enjoys a significantly higher real per capital income than its neighbors. Colin Clark prepared the following weighted magnitudes of real income for Ceylon, India, Burma and Pakistan : Ceylon, 306 ; India, 191 ; Burma and Pakistan between 100 and 150.[1] This higher income has obvious implications on the level and standard of living of the Ceylonese people. It is precisely this level of living which is at stake for the Ceylonese, for, at the present rate of popu-

1. These figures were used by Mr. Clark in a series of lectures delivered at the University of Chicago in the autumn of 1952. The magnitudes are in " Oriental Units " which are weighted to account for cultural bias and comparability. While Mr. Clark, himself, is not completely satisfied with their applicability, these units do serve as a rough comparative tool and are used here as no more than that.

lation increase (about 3 per cent. per annum), the ability to sustain this level is manifestly impossible without an appreciable increase in national productivity. At the present time and for some years to come, the income earned from the export of tea, rubber, and coconut products will be sufficient to continue the importation of essential foodstuffs and, at the same time, leave a substantial margin for development purposes. But this condition cannot last. By 1962, Ceylon's population will exceed 10 million and will not not permit the continued pattern of the present employment of resources.

Ceylon's 8,103,648 people inhabit an island in the Indian Ocean of 25,000 square miles. The average overall population density is 300 per square mile though certain regions, such as the Western Province with 1319 and the Jaffna Peninsula with 907 persons per square mile, have definite demographic problems. However, since the amount of land suitable for cultivation and not yet cultivated is estimated as about equal to that which is under cultivation,[2] there is room for considerable internal migration. Too much comfort, however, cannot be derived from the possibility of such expansion and migration because of the explosive population increase. It is for this reason that the Government of Ceylon stresses its present program for agricultural development.

Agricultural development is concentrated in the, so-called, " Dry Zone " of the island. The Dry Zone comprises two-thirds of the total land area and covers the northern, eastern, and south-eastern regions of the island. The northern and eastern regions of the Dry Zone were the seat of the prosperous Sinhalese kingdoms of the first millennium. Invasions by the Tamil peoples in India, from the 13th to the 16th centuries, and the later incursion of the Europeans forced the Sinhalese into the now highly populated Western, Central and Southern Provinces of the island. The northern and eastern parts of the island with their remarkable and extensive irrigation systems were left to face endemic malaria and soil erosion. The area into which the Sinhalese migrated has become known as the " Wet Zone ". It is here that 80 per cent. of the present cultivation

2. The total cultivated land at present is 3.5 million acres. There are two estimates on the area potentially cultivable : the mission of the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development to Ceylon in 1951 which gave the figure of 3.25 million acres ; the Minister of Finance of Ceylon concurs in this ; and an administration report of 1950 which gives a figure of something over a million acres. In the present study, the larger figure will be used. Sources : IBRD *The Economic Development of Ceylon*. (Baltimore : Johns Hopkins University Press, 1953), p. 23 ; Hon. J. R. Jayewardene—*Economic and Social Development in Ceylon*, 1926–1950. (Colombo : Ceylon Government Press, 1951), p. 4 ; *Agricultural Wages and Earnings of Primary Producers in Ceylon*, Sessional Paper II.—1950, p. 41.

takes place.[3] The Dry Zone is arid only in comparison with the Wet Zone, for rainfall in the former reaches 50 to 75 inches a year. However, this rainfall is concentrated in one short season, and the rest of the year is marked with heavy evaporation and excessively dry soils.

Ethnically, 97 per cent. of the population can be identified with one of three dominant cultures : Sinhalese, Tamil, and Ceylon Moor. Each has its own religion—Buddhist, Hindu, and Muslim respectively—and each has its distinctive geographic region. The Sinhalese group is the most numerous, comprising 70 per cent. of the total population. It is divided into two sub-groups : Low-country Sinhalese and Kandyan Sinhalese. The low-country people are identified with the western region of the Dry Zone. Their proximity to the sea and their early contact with the Europeans prepared this sub-group Sinhalese for the dominance they now enjoy in the island's commercial and political life. The Kandyan Sinhalese are identified with the central mountain region which rises like the crown of a hat away from the brim-like lowlands around it. It was not until the early 19th century that the Kandyan kingdom finally succumbed to British rule and the evidence of 500 years of close, self-ssfficient existence is plain. Unlike their Europeanized, Low-country brothers, the Kandyan Sinhalese have retained much of the feudal, peasant, caste aspects of the earlier kingdoms.

The Tamils of Ceylon comprise about 20 per cent of the total population and are, like the Sinhalese, divided into two sub-groups : Ceylon Tamils and Indian Tamils. The former are descended from the Indian invaders of the 13th century. They have remained, in largest number, on the Jaffna Peninsula which is at the northern tip of the island and separated from India by the narrow Palk Straits. They have retained their Hindu religion, their Dravidian language, and their Indian caste system. The harsh climate and soils of Jaffna have produced a thrifty and enterprising people, qualities largely absent in the Sinhalese. The Indian Tamils, whose number is about the same as the Ceylon Tamils, were brought to Ceylon in the 1840's to provide labor for the rapidly expanding coffee plantations of the south-central hill country. They now provide the basic labor force for the tea plantations in that region. Though the forms of social organization resembles that of the Ceylon Tamils, their economic position as day-laborers, their self-consciousness as a minority, and their unique community life on the estates prevents any real Tamil unity in Ceylon.

3. B. H. Farmer, " Agriculture in Ceylon " : *Geographical Review*, Vol. XI., No. 1 (Jan. 1950), p. 49.

The Ceylon Moors are descended from the Arab traders whom the Dutch dispersed and drove inland during the 16th century. These people, about 5 per cent of the population, settled down on the eastern coast of the island and turned to agriculture. Though they speak Tamil, these Muslims have their own identifiable forms of social and legal organization. In addition to the eastern agricultural settlements, the Ceylon Moors have settled in other parts of the island as small discriminate groups.[4]

II.—The Impetus for Development

The aim of economic development in Ceylon, most succinctly stated by the Government of Ceylon, is to be found in the first report on the Colombo Plan. Here it is stated :

> " The main objectives of the Government's programme is to bring about increased economic stability by reducing Ceylon's precarious dependence upon factors outside of its control. To achieve this aim, it is proposed to diversify the economy by some increase in food production and by the creation of other forms of employment."[5]

In the first portion of this section, substance will be added to the above citation by indicating the elements of instability and the lack of diversity in the Ceylonese economy. Following this will be a discussion of the steps which have been proposed and taken by the Government to achieve its aims of stability and diversity. Finally, the program will be evaluated as to its effectiveness in meeting these objectives.

Ceylon's economy has frequently and validly been characterized as a " dual economy ", one sector of which is dependent almost exclusively on the export of its production,[6] the other sector of which is of a subsistence nature with no surplus. Each of these sectors will be considered in terms of its contribution to the instability of the economy as a whole.

Since 1896, the earnings from the export of tea, rubber, and coconut products have underpinned the entire Ceylonese economy. The production, processing, and distribution of the three export

4. The above section on ethnic groups of Ceylon is based on Bryce Ryan's " Socio-Cultural Regions of Ceylon " : *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (March, 1950).
5. Commonwealth Consultative Committee : *Report on the Colombo Plan for Co-operative Economic Development in South and South-East Asia*. Cmd-8080. (London : MHSO. 1950), p. 28.
6. The domestic consumption of tea and rubber has been negligible, being about 5 per cent. and 10 per cent. of the total value of the products. *Report*, pp. 232, 241.

crops contributed 42.1 per cent to the gross national product in 1951.[7] It is estimated that about two-thirds of the population depend upon the cultivation or allied processing and distributive activities connected with these plantation crops. This includes not only those persons directly involved in the production and export of the crops, but persons who find occasional work on the plantations and persons who work in ancillary service occupations.[8] The export of tea, rubber, and coconut products contribute over 90 per cent of the income necessary to purchase essential imports over half of which are foods.[9] Since an All-Island Family Survey, conducted in 1949–50, showed that 43 per cent of the workers' family budget was expended on imported goods, the contribution of agricultural exports can be seen to have a vital effect upon the level of living in Ceylon.[10]

The fluctuations in the prices of agricultural commodities on the world market makes Ceylon's dependence on the export of the three commodities conduce to considerable instability. Fluctuations for the last thirty years for tea and rubber, which together comprise about 70 per cent of the total export value, may be summarized :[11]

		1920–29	1930–39	1940–49
Tea	pence/pound	20¾ to 15¾	18½ to 11¼	36¼ to 14¼
Rubber	,, ,,	35 to 9¼	9½ to 2¼	18 to 11¾

Fluctuations over a short period are even more volatile as may be seen from the following table :—

Shift in Export Prices—1950–1952 [12]

COLOMBO PRICE MOVEMENTS

	Rubber Rupees per pound	Copra Rupees per pound	Tea Rupees per pound
1950 January	0.75	191.98	2.51
1950 December	2.23	239.28	2.15
1951 March	2.98	311.45	2.47
1951 June	1.76	213.88	1.74
1951 September	1.87	217.50	1.59
1951 December	1.72	202.19	1.74

7. *I.B.R.D. Report*, p. 12.
8. Sir Ivor Jennings : *The Economy of Ceylon*. (Madras : National Press, 1948), pp. 52–4.
9. C. E. Thorogood : *Ceylon Economic and Commercial Conditions in Ceylon*. (London : HMSO for the Overseas Economic Survey Series of the Board of Trade, 1952), p. 14.
10. *Economic and Social Development* . . . . op. cit., pp. 10–11.
11. *Report of the Colombo Plan* . . . ., p. 46. Tea prices are for the years 1922-29.
12. Commonwealth Consultative Committee. *The Colombo Plan : The First Annual Report of the Consultative Committee on the Economic Development in South and South-East Asia*. Cmd. 8529, p. 11.

These fluctuations have the very serious effect of either curtailing the import of essential consumer goods or, as in fact occurs, forcing the Government to subsidize the importation of essential foods to the extent of 16.5 per cent of its revenue in 1951.[13] In any case, it is clear that the vulnerability of its agricultural export to severe price fluctuations makes Ceylon's dependence upon this major income source a hazardous one.

However, it is not price fluctuations alone which make the dependence upon the export crops a precarious one. The future of these crops in terms of their ability to maintain their previously favourable competitive position is highly doubtful. Therefore, their ability to contribute to the national product to the extent that they have in the past is also doubtful. While the prices of tea and rubber are protected by international agreements, rising labor costs and the prospects of heavy capital investment make tea and rubber cultivation much less attractive for both private and governmental operation.

The per acre cost of tea has more than trebled since pre-war days. This increased cost structure has been broken down as follows :—[14]

	Per acre cost (Rs.) 1938	1948
Clearing, planting, and bring into bearing	600	1,800
Factory and machinery	400	1,000
" Lines " (land and housing for laborers)	250	800
Sundry estate buildings	130	205
	1,380	3,805

Since there has been no commensurate rise in the price of tea, non-Ceylonese planters hesitate to expand their holdings and there is a substantial amount of disinvestment by British holders.[15] The relatively poor price position is not the only reason for the lack of expansion in tea cultivation. British planters fear heavy taxes and export restrictions will further encumber their swollen cost structures. In general, there is a tendency for British planters to view the possibilities of tea cultivation in British East Africa with increasing favor. Since it has been the experience of observers that efficiency declines rapidly and appreciably when the tea

13. *Budget Speech*, 1951–52, p. 49.
14. V. D. Wickizer : *Coffee, Tea and Cocoa—An Economic and Political Analysis*. (Stanford, California : Stanford University Press—Food Research Institute, 1951), p. 162. Part of the high planting costs in Ceylon are attributed to the need for more fertilizers than elsewhere.
15. British-owned companies comprised four-fifths of those operating in Ceylon. Shannon McCune : " Sequence of Plantation Agriculture in Ceylon ". *Economic Geography*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (July, 1949), p. 231.

plantations come into the hands of Ceylonese, the immediate future, given the present rate of disinvestment and the need for the Ceylonese to gain experience and increase efficiency, will probably find the income from tea exports playing a less important role than previously.

The prospects for rubber are even less favourable. The price of rubber is very ineffectively supported by international agreement as can be seen from its fluctuations. The rubber industry faces the same growing labor-cost problem as the tea industry. Moreover, the competition in rubber is much stiffer. While tea has an almost inelastic demand market in the United Kingdom, this is not so for rubber. Two problems are foremost in the rubber industry in Ceylon. First, there must be a heavy capital investment in new rubber trees to replenish those which were "slaughter-tapped" during World War II., when Ceylon provided 90 per cent of the rubber used by the Allies.[16] Secondly, there is the problem faced by all natural rubber producing countries—synthetics. For these reasons, rubber like tea will probably decline in its relative contribution to the national product.

Coconut products provide about the same value as rubber to the total export value of the country, i.e., 20 per cent. However, the coconut palm and its products have great importance as domestically utilized crops. The peasants use everything from the broad leaves for shelter to the roots for medicinal purposes. In terms of its contribution to the wealth of Ceylon as an export crop, the coconut and its products share with rubber and tea a somewhat pessimistic future. Neglect by the numerous small holders has caused many of the trees to underproduce and fully one-third of the trees are beyond the optimum bearing age of sixty years while an increasingly large number approach this age. Since there is very little rehabilitation of trees and even less replanting, the yields in the future are bound to decrease.[17]

Before leaving the subject of the elements of instability contributed by the export sector of the Ceylonese economy, it would perhaps be worthwhile to appraise briefly the disutilities of the plantation form of agriculture. Much of the land that has been planted in rubber and coconut for export has had only marginal employment depending on the current prices for these products.[18]

16. Farmer : *op. cit.*, p. 56.
17. *I.B.R.D. Report*, pp. 249–50.
18. A survey conducted by the Ceylon Rubber Industry Commission in 1947 found about one-third of the acreage in rubber to be uneconomic except during periods of boom prices. McCune, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

Almost all of the land would be suitable for the production of much needed foodstuffs. The Government has, in fact, recently alienated former rubber-producing lands for the production of food and intends to alienate still more.[19] Where plantations have not been properly cared for, considerable soil erosion has taken place. Again, this is true primarily on rubber and coconut lands, but it is also true on some of the less efficiently operated tea plantations. Moreover, the plantations in creating the need for non-Ceylonese labor (the Ceylonese having shown a marked reluctance to work upon plantations) have also created a socio-political problem in the presence of almost 800,000 Indian Tamil laborers. An indication of the gravity of this problem was observed in the national elections of 1952 when the disenfranchisement of these Indians caused considerable rancour in Ceylon, among the Ceylon Tamils, and in India. The problems mentioned here are not pretended to be more than suggestions about the future. Until 1953, the plantations clearly contributed a disproportionately large share to the total welfare of Ceylon.

Turning from the export sector to the subsistence sector of the Ceylonese economy, instability is measured by the deficiencies of the latter sector. Ceylon must import about three-quarters of its food requirements. Two-thirds of the rice consumed in Ceylon, where, as in other Asian countries, it is the basic food staple, must be imported, principally from Burma.[20] As a result of the interruption of the ordinary rice shipments from Burma and Thailand during the war, flour and milk products were introduced from Australia and New Zealand to augment the food supply of the island. These articles have remained as permanent consumption which must now be imported.[21]

Ceylon did not always depend upon the importation of food, even when the population was probably greater than it is now. The ruins of extensive irrigation systems in the now sparsely populated Dry Zone, along with legends and archeological evidence of a great civilization around the ancient capital of Anuradhapura, attest to the self-sufficiency of the Sinhalese in food.[22] This remarkable system of irrigation-agriculture was maintained through a system of traditional obligations and sanctions, from the Sinhalese kings to the peasant cultivators. The development of the plantation

19. Farmer : *op. cit.*, pp. 63–4.
20. *Report on the Colombo Plan* . . . . p. 28.
21. Per capita consumption of flour rose from Rs. 0.32 in 1938, to Rs. 2.63 in 1950 ; milk consumption rose from Rs. 0.24 in 1938 to Rs. 1.45 in 1950. (Larger figures are in 1938 prices). *Economic and Social Development* . . . . p. 12.
22. The invasions of, first, the Indians, who drove the Sinhalese south, and then the Europeans, fostering plantation policies in the south and west of the island, forestalled a return to the previous highly technical cultivation of rice.

economy prevented a return to this large-scale, interdependent form of rice cultivation. The alternative method of production has become the small, haphazardly irrigated, " postage-stamp " holdings which typify the present system. The techniques employed on these holdings have been backward and the yields very poor. However, as in the older system, methods became rigidly adhered to from habit and custom.[23] The technological backwardness in the cultivation of rice and other domestically produced foods, which necessitates the importation of foodstuffs, is among the important causes of instability of the Ceylonese economy.

The secondary importance of domestically produced foods can be seen from the share it has of the total cultivated land. Of the 3.5 million acres now cultivated, 2.3 million are in plantation, crops in the following proportions : tea 561,000, rubber 655,000, coconut 1,070,000. The remainder, somewhat over a million acres, are planted in food. Rice, the most important food, totalled 913,244 acres in 1946 ; by 1950 the area in rice rose to 941,500 acres through the various Governmental programs for the extension of paddy land.[24] The net gain in paddy acrage between 1946 and 1950 was about 30,000. According to the Department of Agriculture in Ceylon, in order to maintain the ratio of domestically produced rice to imported rice, i.e., 1 : 3, it would be necessary to add 30,000 of new paddy land each year.[25] The expansion in paddy land to 1950 was, therefore, painfully inadequate.

Rice is traditionally grown in a complex with one or two cash crops. The rice-coconut complex is the most prevalent and most important. Here, rice is grown as a subsistence crop and coconut for its domestic and cash values. Rice is also grown on estates as subsistence for the plantation work force. On the Jaffna Peninsula, vegetables and tobacco are cultivated along with paddy.[26] The limitation to these and a few other, so-called " highground crops "[27]

23. An interesting discussion of the effect of traditional, institutionalized factors upon typical low-yield agriculture in India further elucidates this point. See, McKim Marriott's " Technological Change in Overdeveloped Rural Areas ". *Journal on Economic Development and Social Change* No. 4 (December, 1952), University of Chicago Press.
24. *Economic and Social Development* . . . . pp. 4–9. Government schemes in that period actually developed about 40,000 acres ; however, there was a drop of about 10,000 acres in the overall paddy acreage during the period so that the net gain was about 30,000 acres.
25. *Agricultural Wages and Earnings of Primary Producers in Ceylon*—Sessional Paper II., 1950, p. 34.
26. W. Norman Brown : *India, Pakistan, Ceylon.* (Ithaca, N.Y. : Cornell University Press, 1950), p. 209.
27. " Highland crops " include : millets, gourds, maise, peppers, etc. Highground refers to non-irrigatable interfleuves on which crops other than paddy must be grown. Such areas occur mainly in northern Ceylon and in the hinterlands of Colombo and Batticaloa, on the eastern coast. Farmer, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

can be attributed to the preservation of " paddy-thinking ". Rice becomes more than an alternative food of a certain utility ; it becomes part of the cultivator's traditionalized response to his environment. The introduction of new crops which might give better yields or offer more nutrition per unit becomes a challenge to his way of life.[28]

The per acre yields of rice in Ceylon are among the lowest in Asia. Though estimates vary from 14 to 18 and 25 bushels per acre, it seems certain that when compared to Java, 32 bushels, or Burma, 30 bushels, or Japan, 70 bushels, Ceylon's showing is very poor.[29] The reasons for the low yields are, in many respects, typical for Asian agriculture. Tenancy is extremely high in paddy districts, Here, from 70 to 90 per cent of the fields are cultivated according to the *Ande* system which is a 50 per cent division of the product.[30] Other forms of tenancy exist in the lowlands, where 40 per cent of the product goes to the cultivator who receives seed at no cost, and in the highlands, where the cultivator receives 50 per cent of the product but must provide seed.[31] In addition to tenancy, there is a unique sort of tenure called the *Thattu Maru* system which provides for the joint ownership of a small plot by two families who alternate cultivation.[32] These methods of land holding conduce to low yields for the known reason of lack of incentives to improve land which is insecurely held. As in other Asian states, the size of the holding is usually uneconomic due to excessive and successive sub-divisions. In Ceylon, most of the holdings are about 2 or 3 acres in extent though they come as large as 25 acres in the sparsely populated Eastern Province and as small as 10 or 12 square feet in the Central Province.[33] Under these conditions, rural indebtedness, while not widespread in Ceylon, is large and operates to prevent the economic expansion of rice holdings as well as to destroy the incentives for

28. See Bryce Ryan's Article : " The Ceylonese Village and the New Value System ". *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (March, 1952), p. 20.
29. W. I. Ladejinsky, in his article : " Agriculture in Ceylon ". *Foreign Agriculture*, Vol. 8, No. 1, (January, 1944), gives the lowest estimate. The 18 bushel estimate was given by Rudolph Wikkramatileke in his " Ella Village—An Example of Rural Settlement and Agricultural Trend in Highland Ceylon ". *Economic Geography*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (October, 1952), p. 360. The highest estimate was given by the F.A.O. and is cited in the *I.B.R.D. Report*, p. 186n.
30. Ladejinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
31. Wikkramatileke, *op. cit.*, 360.
32. Wilmot A. Perera : *Problems of Rural Ceylon.* (London : Arthur Probstaain, N.D.), p. 15.
33. Ladejinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

higher yields.[34] Other reasons for the low yields in rice, again typical, are : technical backwardness demonstrated by the under-utilization of fertilizers, the use of inferior, short-aged seeds, and the sowing method of broadcast as against the transplanting technique.

Two uniquely Ceylonese factors further depress the yields on rice lands, but these are difficult to evaluate and correct. The first is the *Chena* method of cultivation which consists in a family burning out a clearing in a lowland jungle, planting and harvesting two or three rain-watered crops, then shifting to another location. This migratory method not only results in low yields, but lays waste land which, if properly cleared, would be productive. The other factor is the role of the village headman. The attempted removal of these men by the British in the early days of their rule led to the bloodiest rebellion of the British period in Ceylon. The headmen apparently retain their high status in the villages,[35] but at least one critic has attributed low yields and other rural problems to the tyranny and conservatism of the headmen.

> " The essence of the whole agrarian system [due to the persistence of the headman system] has been a barren struggle to divide, instead of a concerted effort to increase the production of the country."[36]

The concatenation of social and economic factors which have operated to keep the rice yields low has operated in the other areas of domestic production. This will readily be seen on examination of the two other aspects of Ceylonese subsistence agriculture—coconut and livestock production.

In discussing coconut products as export items, it was noted that the future of the crop was not altogether promising due to the under-productivity of the trees, resulting from insufficient fertilization and general neglect. It was also noted that one-third of the bearing trees are over the optimum age of 60 years. The value of the coconut palm as a domestic crop has already been mentioned. In addition to its manifold uses by the poor peasantry, coconut is the most important money crop of the greatest number of villages in Ceylon. This fact accounts for the popularity of the rice-coconut complex.

34. Indebtedness existed among 33.5% of the rural families in 1950 as compared to 75% in 1938. The net debt per rural family was low, less than a month's income, however, when it is seen that about one-third of the families bear the entire debt, it becomes a problem of some dimension. See, *The Preliminary Report on the Economic Survey of Rural Ceylon*, July, 1951, p. 13.
35. Ryan : " The Ceylonese Village . . . .", p. 19.
36. Perera, *op. cit.*, p. 7. This condition is undoubtedly changing under the Government's program of educating headmen.

Tenancy is as prevalent among the predominantly coconut producers as it is among the rice growers. During the trade depression of the 1930's, about half of the coconut lands were transferred to Ceylon Tamil money lenders. Moreover, about 60% of these lands which are still in Sinhalese hands are mortgaged for amounts which exceed the market value of the land and at interest rates from 8 to 30% per annum.[37]

Animal husbandry received adequate attention only after World War II. The latest estimates, 1950, showed 1,105,447 beef cattle, 522,417 water buffalo, 340,091 goats, 43,627 sheep, 74,198 pigs and 353 horses.[38] Livestock production has always been a weak link in the Ceylonese economy and the quality of the animals is considered to be poor. This is attributed to the poor quality of grazing land and to inadequate fodder.[39] Sentiment has also been blamed for the overall poor quality of Ceylonese live-stock. It has been observed that owners of old and diseased stock continue to feed them because of a sentimental attachment.[40] For these reasons the benefits which have been derived from bovine stock, for milk, draft power, and manure for fertilizer, have been extremely small. Since the War, the Government has, however, established seven main cattle farms and smaller livestock stations administered by personnel of the Division of Animal Husbandry.

The price paid by the Ceylonese for the above discussed factors of instability—the dependence upon plantation crops and the low productivity in domestic foods—can be measured by the various subsidies expended by the Government. In 1951–52, food subsidies and cost-of-living allowances accounted for 36% of the budget.[41] For the current fiscal year, the anticipated expenditure for food subsidies, the largest portion of the subsidization expenditure, was to be lower. Presumably this reduction was to be accomplished through the increased trade with China whereby Ceylonese rubber is exchanged for rice. If cheaper rice is not available from China, it is difficult indeed to see how food subsidies can be decreased for the Government has maintained its price support of rice at about one-third the import rice and still sells flour at 23*c*. per pound while

37. Ladejinsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 16.
38. Cited in the *I B R D Report*, p. 322. For the average rural family this works out to : 0.34 bulls, 0.75 cows, 0.55 buffalo, 0.15 goats, 0.01 pigs, 0.85 poultry ; cited in *The Preliminary Report on the Survey of Rural Ceylon*—Session Paper XI., 1951, pp. 13–14.
39. Ledejinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
40. Perera, *op. cit.*, p. 23. The writer suggested in the early 1930's that state supported " homes " for such animals, modelled after the Gaushulas of India, be established. Apparently this suggestion was never acted upon.
41. *Budget Speech* for 1951–52, p. 15.

buying it for 32*c*.[42] Moreover, the Government has recently been forced to purchase rice in the dollar area due to increasing shortages in South-east Asia.[43] Given the constantly increasing cost of rice and continued tendency toward adverse trade balances, subsidies will become an even greater menace to the viability of the Ceylonese economy. The menace consists in self-delusion as to the ability of the Ceylonese to maintain their present level of living in the face of a rising population, which necessitates greater food imports, while export prices fall.

The subsidies are presently derived from export duties. The export duties represent an unreal profit margin which is facilitated by subsidizing the wages of labor connected with the export trade thus lowering labor cost. This excess and unreal profit is skimmed off and used to purchase foreign grains. As export prices fall, and they have been falling steadily since March of 1951, Ceylonese products must become cheaper in order to remain competitive. The result is less export duty and less subsidy funds. If the standard of living is to be maintained, funds currently allocated to developmental expenditure must be used to purchase foods. In this way the costs of inefficiency are made obscure.[44]

To summarize briefly the elements of instability in the Ceylonese economy, as perceived by the Ceylonese government, the dependence of the economy upon its agricultural export and the condition of domestic food production are of prime importance. The susceptibility of the export crops to fluctuation and the questionable future of these crops in terms of their continued contribution to the welfare of the country conduce to the present fears of the Government. Domestically produced foodstuffs fall far short of meeting the requirements for maintaining the ratio of domestically produced foods to imported foods. Here again, the population increase adds a further margin of necessary production if the current living level is merely to be maintained.

In the citation from the Colombo Plan, diversification was posited as a developmental goal for Ceylon. Before considering the lack of diversity in the Ceylonese economy, it is worthwhile to consider one

42. *Budget Speech*, 1952–53, pp. 16 & 17. (The Ceylon-China trade is discussed below, p. 29).

43. The Central Bank of Ceylon noted that with the shortages in the ordinary rice-surplus areas of South-east Asia, Ceylon, has been compelled to seek rice from dollar areas. This dollar expenditure is extremely important in view of the increased expenditure of dollars for developmental goods. *Central Bank of Ceylon Bulletin*, August, 1952, p. 10.

44. In an article on Ceylon's economic problems, the *Economist* writer noted: "Many growers [of food crops which have a guaranteed price] prefer to limit their production in order not to lose their subsidized ration". "Ceylon—An Economic Survey", *Economist*, Vol. CIXVI., No. 5712 (Feb. 14, 1953), p. 455.

of the most important resources of the country—its people—as an example of considerable diversity. In the brief demographic discussion (pp. 3 & 4) it was noted that the people of Ceylon fall into several discriminate communities. The communal aspect of Ceylonese society has created and promises to create some important social problems. Unlike most of the Asian countries, which also gained independence after the Second World War, Ceylon does not have the social and cultural homogeniety that a well-developed nationalist movement helps to create. Its several communities have apparently never merged in an ideologically articulated and politically realistic campaign to end its colonial status. Thus, while it is true that Ceylon is not burdened with an elite which promised extravagantly in terms of welfare and wealth after independence was achieved, it has also not experienced the unifying activity of a self-conscious nationalist movement. If Ceylon is to avoid the problems of a nation of strong communal separateness, it will have to face the complex problems of homogenizing a diverse population without the benefit of a universally anethematized object such as Great Britain or France upon which to shunt dangerous emotional energies.

The Government of Ceylon, when it thinks of the lack of diversity in its economy, refers primarily to the dependence of the economy upon the plantation industries, their output, and the employment they give to the two-thirds of Ceylon's working population who derive income from them. About one-third of the Government's revenue is raised from export duties alone and over 60% of the total revenue was raised from all custom fees.[45] Considering that about 45% of the current budget will be expended on social services,[46] one can see again the very dependent connection between the export of tea, rubber, and coconut and the welfare of the people as a whole. If exports fail and alternatives have not been developed, the economy of Ceylon will be thrown out of all balance.

Low general capital formation, in terms of channeling a significant portion of the national product into developmental activities, and low non-agricultural investment have also been behavioral constants in Ceylon. These conditions reflect a lack of diversity in economic outlook. This has, however, been changing in recent years. For selected years between 1938 and 1950, gross capital formation can be shown to have been constantly increasing.[47]

45. *Annual Report of the Central Bank of Ceylon*, 1951, p. 56.

46. *Budget Speech* for 1952–53, p. 7.

47. *Economic and Social Development in Ceylon*, p. 26. All figures are in terms of 1938 Rupee value.

Gross Capital Formation as a Percentage of Gross National Income

	1938	1947	1948	1949	1950
Capital formation ..	5.9	5.4	6.3	9.3	9.0
Government ..	0.8	1.3	2.5	4.1	4.5
Private ..	5.2	4.1	3.8	5.2	4.5
Increased assets abroad	3.4	—7.5	0.9	—1.0	4.2
Total ..	2.6	—2.1	7.2	8.3	13.2

Several suggestive characteristics of the above analysis deserve mention. The leap in capital formation between 1948 and 1950 was brought about by the devaluation of the Rupee in September, 1949, which helped the balance of payments position, and the increased export prices as a consequence of the Korean War. Though the 13% figure of 1950 is impressive, the Minister of Finance cautioned that the increase in capital formation by the Government, was a temporary increase reflecting the favorable prices and, that even if the prices were permanently higher at that level, the amount of capital would still be insufficient to raise the standard of living for the growing population.[48] It might also be added that experience has shown that the capital requirements for productive increases are far greater for underdeveloped countries than they are for advanced countries. This fact should temper the optimism generated over Ceylon's present rate of capital formation since there has been a tendency to find favorable comparisons with more advanced countires.[49]

Another important characteristic which sould be noted is the relative decrease in the private sector investment. The needs of development have accounted for the heavy and rapid increase in the capital formation by the Government. Private capital formation has remained unchanged as a percent of the national income. Worse than the mere static quality of private investment trends, there has been a flight of British capital in the last few years which has simply been replaced, at lower rates of efficiency, by private Ceylonese capital. This is a serious net loss of resources to Ceylon. During 1950, Rs. 36.2 million of British capital left Ceylon while less than half of this amount entered as new foreign investment. In 1951, the rate of flight accelerated to the amount of Rs. 78.6 million. Add to this the fact that no dollar capital entered in 1951, despite efforts to attract it, and one begins to see the problem of private investment in Ceylon.[50]

48. *Ibid*, p. 27.
49. The I B R D mission made such a comparison and, in contradistinction to the Minister of Finance's caution, believed that the rate would continue to 1959. *I B R D Report*, pp. 103–4.
50. *I B R D Report*, p. 516.

Of greater importance, however, than the exodus of British capital is the lack of diversification in Ceylonese private investment. Like other newly independent, former colonial countries, Ceylon is trying to ride two horses of different gait by attempting to " Ceylonize " the employment of the country's resources, particularly the fruits of such employment, while, at the same time, to develop the country's resources in the most efficient manner. As in other countries, the indigenous investor is poorly equipped to satisfy the latter goal. The native Ceylonese capital holder, be it a bank or a private person, has concentrated attention either upon the lucrative investment in land, or on plantation crops, their production and export. This is a fairly typical response in a predominately agricultural country. Why, when the returns on capital invested in land are high, and rubber and tea shares pay 20% or more, should a Ceylonese capital holder invest elsewhere ?[51] When returns on exporting and importing and rice speculation are secure and net from 10 to 70%, the local investor cannot easily be persuaded to accept the moderate returns of investment in a competitive industry.[52]

The local entrepreneur, the indigenous capital holder, has been considered the key to significant, self-generating development in the Asian democracies. Yet, the man is a mystery. That he is an entrepreneur is beyond question when considered in terms of profit maximization. One needs only to consider the Indian entrepreneur, not merely in Asia, but in Africa as well, who has frequently accumulated vast fortunes from minor processive and distributive activities. Consider also the Chinese entrepreneur in South-east Asia where the same phenomenon has taken place.[53] In one significant respect however the Asian entrepreneur fails to fulfill the functions of his historic counterpart in the West. The Asian entrepreneur is not a " multiplier ". By his activities, which are often prodigious beyond belief, he does not create any important or expanding forms of employment for others. Social and familial obligations, a generally insecure economic environment, and the dominant position politically and economically of European colonial powers have militated against long-term, productive investment by Asian capitalists. The Ceylonese entrepreneur reflects most of the characterizations above : there is an important lack of diversity in his economic outlook.

The commercial banks of the island have been exceedingly reluctant to extend credit to other than trade activities for several reasons. First, there is apparently an inadequate supply of suitable

51. *Ibid.*, p. 515.
52. *Ibid.*
53. It is indeed strange that both of these examples should be drawn from countries which have a drastic need for such entrepreneurship which is largely unrequited.

bank security for loans. This has resulted in part from the fact that land, the most accessible form of security, is most frequently held with dubious title in Ceylon. The *Nindagan*, or family inheritance, type of tenure is most prevalent and is protected by statute law which buttresses customary law among the Sinhalese, the Tamils and the Moors. The laws provide that all children on the death of a parent and on intestacy receive a share of the estate. The risks of litigation therefore make the banks reluctant to loan funds on collateral. Another reason for the hesitancy of the banks to loan money, especially for industrial projects, has probably been the paucity of well-planned projects. This combination of factors has resulted in very high commercial bank reserves and has reenforced the tradition of high bank liquidity which has long prevailed. Excess reserves during 1950, for example, was never less than Rs. 53 million and rose as high as Rs. 92.8 million.[54]

With particular reference to the low, not to say negligible, private investment in new forms of employment, it is possible that caste operates as a barrier. The predominate caste in Ceylon is the Sinhalese *Goyigama* caste. This caste comprises over half of Sinhalese society and, in functional terms, is associated with the cultivation of the soil. Personal and caste security have been closely identified with land holding. The *Karava* caste, on the other hand, has, since the incursion of the Europeans, dominated the mercantile activities especially around the island's economic hub, Colombo. Members of this minority caste, functionally associated with fishing, were the earliest to contact with the Europeans and a great many were converted to Christianity. The *Karava* became the dominant Sinhalese caste in commercial activities as a result of the Christian favoritism shown by the successive European rulers, their proximity to the commercial activities of the Europeans, and their remoteness from the Kandyan stronghold of traditional agricultural and social customs. At present, an estimated 90% of the richest families in Colombo are of the *Karava* caste.[55] The wealth of these people was made in commercial activities and it is in these activities the most of the investment by this group has been made. Insofar as caste is operative in Ceylon, the modern functional associations of each of these castes help to reenforce the more accepted and secure forms of investment and, to this degree, adds to the lack of diversification of the Ceylonese economy.

The instability and lack of diversification of the Ceylonese economy are not new, nor recent problems. They have become crucially important however since about 1949. At that time it

54. *Annual Report of the Central Bank of Ceylon*, 1951, p. 14.
55. See : Bryce Ryan, *Caste in Modern Ceylon—Sinhalese System in Transition* (New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1953), p. 331.

became evident that a new and overwhelmingly significant reality had intruded upon the island and promised to destroy the adequacy of the economic structure. This new factor is statistically subsumed in the 3% per annum increase in population.

Ceylon had long enjoyed a relatively high level of living for Asia. The efficient agricultural export industry provided revenue which, in effect, supported the inefficient subsistence agriculture. A stable demographic balance was maintained by virtue of a plenitude of land and employment for a population which increased at a rate of about 1.5%. Malaria, endemic throughout a large portion of the Dry Zone served to keep a large percentage of the rural people in a weakened condition and susceptible to other, more fatal, diseases. In the cities, particularly Colombo, slums existed which made tuberculosis an effective mitigant to high urban population growth. Between 1926 and 1930, the rate of population increase was 1.6% ; between 1931 and 1947, it remained about the same due primarily to a severe malaria epidemic in 1934.

Following World War II., the changes came with dramatic speed. The island areas harboring malaria were rendered safe by war-time and post-war sprayings of DDT. The result : between 1946 and 1947, the death rate dropped from 20.3 per thousand to 14.3 ; by 1950, it had reached 12.9 per thousand. The birth-rate of 40 per thousand remained unchanged. The current rate of increase of 3% per annum exemplifies the demographic dilemma of Ceylon : an Oriental rate of reproduction and a Western rate of mortality.

In the following section of the paper, the steps taken by Ceylon to stabilize and diversify the economy will be examined.

III.—The Course of Development

Brevity demanded by space considerations will not permit of a balanced account of the developmental effort being made by Ceylon. The expenditure on capital development shown below will summarize the program of Ceylon. It should be noted that one of the two current Six Year Plans ends in 1953 ; the other, the Colombo Plan, began in 1951, and ends in 1957. Thus far there has been no furhter long term plan made public although the IBRD Mission Report and recommendations will probably be the basis for the next Six Year Plan of 1953–59. Two programs will therefore be summarized : The Colombo Plan program to 1953 and the IBRD recommended program for 1953–59.

In 1950, the Ceylonese Government provided the Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan with a developmental budge-

which contemplated the expenditure of Rs. 1,359 million for the next 6 years. Of the total amount to be spent, 62 per cent, or Rs. 810 million, was to be financed internally. Planned budgetary surpluses were to provide Rs. 360 million, and internal borrowing was to provide Rs. 450 million. The remaining Rs. 550 million of the total developmental budget was to be used in the importation of development goods to the extent of Rs. 520 million leaving Rs. 30 million to take up the slack of rising prices and other contingencies. Ceylon's Sterling account was to provide Rs. 250 million of the necessary external funds while the remainder was to be borrowed. In all, it was contemplated that 10 per cent of the national income would be expended on the plan from 1951 to 1957.[56]

In 1952, the Colombo Plan countries met in Karachi for a progress conference. At that time, Ceylon presented revised estimates on the Six Year Plan based on the experience of the first year. The new estimated expenditure for development was Rs. 3,200 for the years 1951–57. The table below itemizes the changes in magnitude and direction of expenditures corresponding to the revised program.

Revised Program under the Colombo Plan [57]

	Estimates for 1951–7 made in 1950 cost: Rs. million	% of Total	Revised 1952 Rs. million	% of cost: of Total
Agriculture & multi-purpose projects	503	37	900	28
Transport & communication	297	22	600	19
Fuel and power	190	8	150	5
Industry	75	6	200	6
Social capital	375	27	758	24
Rural Development	—	—	400	12
Miscellaneous	—	—	25	1
Research	—	—	167	5
Total	1,359		3,200	

This more than doubling the anticipated expenditure for the Six Year Plan was brought about largely through the favorable change in the export price structure as a result of the Korean War. The expected deficits in 1951 and 1952, which were to be met by external financing did not occur. Instead, Ceylon's Sterling account was appreciably increased.[58] The 1950 program and a

56. *Report on the Colombo Plan . . . .*, pp. 31–44.
57. Taken from the *Colombo Plan : The First Annual Report . . . .*, p. 13.
58. External assets rose from Rs. 385 million in June, 1950 to Rs. 1240 million in March, 1951. *Annual Report of the Central Bank*, 1951, p. 22.

significant portion of the 1951–52 program were financed through budgetary surpluses. At the same time, the increased costs of the program represented, in addition to generally higher costs, an expansion of the program. Additional small, but necessary projects were scheduled for completion by 1953. The net deficit for 1951–52 was only Rs. 150 million which was met by Sterling releases. The deficit anticipated for 1952–53 was Rs. 350 million which will be met by Sterling releases,[59] financial aid from Canada,[60] and by internal borrowing. In the table below, a detailed account of the expenditures to 1953 is given.

Government of Ceylon—Estimates on Development Expenditures to 1953 [61]

Rs. million

	Actual 1950–51	Estimated 1951–52	Estimated 1952–53
Agriculture	—	—	—
Fisheries	—	—	—
Other Crops	—	50	75	—	85
Irrigation	—	—	—	—	—
General	—	—	—	—	—
Multipurpose Projects	—	23	—	66.5	—	65
Transportation—						
Railroad	20	—	20	—	30	—
Roads	29	—	33	—	35	—
Port and Harbors	10	61	31	93.5	40	120
Air Transport	Nil	—	1	—	5	—
Others	2	—	4.5	—	6	—
Colombo Trolley Bus	Nil	—	4.	—	4	—
Fuel and Power (Hydro-Electric)	—	15	—	52.5	—	87.5
Industry	—	8	—	—	—	9.5*
Social Capital—						
Housing	9.5	18			30	
Health and Water	20	55.4	27	77.8	40	108
Education	25				35	
Others	.5	2.8			3	

* *Budget Speech for* 1952–53—Appendix " O " p. 43.

59. *The Colombo Plan : First Annual Report . . . .*, pp. 9–14. Ceylon has recently negotiated for the opening of the blocked Sterling account which will make about £9.4 million available to her for developmental purposes (about Rs. 113 million) Keesing's Contemporary Archives (Feb., 21–27, 1953), p. 12770.
60. Favorable disucssions were held between Ceylon and Canada in 1952–53. *Budget Speech*, 1952–53, p. 25. These negotiations covered a wide variety of developmental activities. These can be found discussed in the following source " The Colombo Plan—Canadian to Ceylon ". *Commonwealth Affairs*, Vol. V., No. 5 (Sept., 1952), pp. 117–18.
61. Taken from—*The Colombo Plan : First Annual Report . . . .*, pp. 13–14.

Research	—	2	—	3	—	4	
Rural Development**	—	1	—	2	—	50	
Miscellaneous	—	12	—	18	—	34	
Totals	—	233	—	403	—	583	

** Rural Development as described by the Government " aims at employing the unemployed and under-employed labour in rural Ceylon on construction of houses, roads, bridges, improvements in Methods of agriculture and general works in rural reconstruction."

In the autumn of 1952, the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development, at the request of the Ceylonese government, sent a mission to Ceylon to make a survey of the resources of the country and to prepare a long-range plan for the continued economic development of Ceylon. The IBRD recommended program appears below.

Recommended Development Program of IBRD For 1953–59 [62]

	Rs. million at market Prices	
Agriculture and Allied Activities—		
Irrigation	187	
Land Development, including settlement of colonist	200	
Flood control, drainage, reclamation, etc.	18	
Agricultural extension, research, surveys, etc.	30	
Development of Co-operatives	25	460
Power—		
Development of new resources, hydro-electric, and thermal plants	110	
Distribution net work	99	209
Industry—		
Government contribution to Ceylon Development Corporation *	50	
Institute of Applied Research	5	
Other Developments, including existing commitments	20	75

* The mission assumed that private investment would exceed government investment in the six year period. [The Development Corporation and the Institute of Applied Research are discussed below, p. 32.]

62. *I B RD Report*, pp. 112–3.

Transport—		
Ports and Harbors	118	
Inland waterways	2	
Railways	150	
Roads	105	
Civil Aviation	20	
Telecommunications	35	430
Health—		
Training	13	
Hospital extension	80	
Government assistance to housing	30	
Water supplies	60	
Miscellaneous	12	195
Education—		
School buildings, equipment, etc.	72	
Training of teachers	8	
Primary and secondary education	20	
University buildings and equipment	40	
Miscellaneous	5	145
Rural Development		60
Administration and Miscellaneous		26
Total		1,600

The IBRD estimates are based upon a closely reasoned and carefully allocated employment of the nation's financial resources. The Mission envisages a governmental expenditure of from Rs. 250 to 275 million for developmental purposes per year over the period. This expenditure is considerably less than the Government's own estimate for 1953 of Rs. 583 million, as the IBRD Report acknowledges; however, the IBRD "tried to 'cut the suit according to the cloth' ". The total public and private investment over the coming six years, the IBRD believes, will be around Rs. 550 million per year, or about 12% of the gross national product,[63] an impressive amount.

It has been necessary to select only certain aspects of the development program for discussion in this short study. Agricultural development will receive the larger share of attention since it is essentially in the maintenance of a viable demographic balance in the face of the present population increase, that Ceylon's effort will be measured. The other aspects of development to be dealt with here are : industrial development, expansion of social and utility services, foreign trade, and institutional changes.

63. *IBRD Report*, pp. 103–4.

Industrial development has the dual purpose of creating new, i.e., non-agricultural, forms of employment and of producing substitutes for manufactured goods which currently must be imported. Industrial employment is not new to Ceylon, for the coconut and rubber industries have long processed their products for export. Eleven per cent of the gainfully employed in Ceylon were found in manufacturing, mechanical and mining occupations in 1946. These 287,000 "industrial" workers used an estimated 156,000,000 kwh. of power,[64] in the production or processing of predominantly exported goods. The developmental plans for industry in Ceylon are different in that they stress the diversification of the industrial sector by processing and producing for local consumption.

The non-export, industrial development, such as it has been, has been exclusively a governmental effort. In part this has undoubtedly been due to the reluctance of indigenous and foreign capitalists to invest in moderate income, long-run projects when better investment opportunities existed in plantation and land investment. The other reason for the preponderating government interest resulted from the war-time experience of the government in attempting to find support in the private sector. At that time, private enterprise did not respond to the Government's overtures for private entreprenuerial support and the Government proceeded with a plywood factory and a coir (coconut fibre) factory without private support. Later industrial policy (1946) cited this reluctance in 1941 as a reason for continued Governmental direction to industrial development.[65]

In 1950, Government operated industries gave employment to 3,500 persons.[66] These industries included : a cement factory in Jaffna which began operating in 1950, a paper factory, a vegetable oil factory, the plywood and coir factories, a glass factory, a tannery, and a salt refinery. Most of the projects were established during the recent war and held their own until the post-war competition began. With the introduction of cheaper and superior goods following the War, Ceylonese manufactured goods lost their market and the industries incurred heavy losses.[67] In an attempt to protect these industries and the employment which they offered, the Government passed the Industrial Products Act in 1949. This

64. *Ibid.*, p. 506.
65. *I B R D Report* suggested that perhaps plywood was not the most attractive industry to offer private entrepreneurs when the large tea companies, which might have been expected to support such an industry, already owned shares in foreign tea chest enterprises. The mission pointed out that this experience was, therefore, not sufficient for basing the country's industrial development on Government enterprise, pp. 508–9.
66. Amry Vandenbosch : " Ceylon—Progress in Asia ". *Current History*, Vol. 19, No. 11 (October, 1950), p. 209.
67. *I B R D Report*, p. 507.

legislation provided for favorable duties for domestically produced goods and compelled importers to purchase a proportionate amount of domestically manufactured goods which were similar to imported manufactured articles. This legislation remains in force today and applies to new industries, at various stages of completion, such as : a textile factory, a coconut oil factory, a sugar mill, a steel rolling mill, a caustic soda and DDT insecticide factory, a fertilizer plant, and a concentrated ilmenite factory.[68]

The secondary importance of industrial development can be measured by comparing the amount allocated to industrial development from the current budget to that allocated for other kinds of development. Land development received Rs. 44 million and agriculture received Rs. 17 million. Industrial development expenditure was Rs. 9.5 million, or less than 2% of the developmental budget.[69] The IBRD mission report noted several problem areas *vis a vis* the industrial development plans for Ceylon. Foremost of the problems found by the Mission was the lack of survey and other research prior to the establishment of industries utilizing domestic raw materials such as coconut and illuk grass (for paper). The lack of necessary long-term credit sources was cited as a further barrier to ancillary private enterprise in industrial production.[70] Essentially, Ceylon's important phase of industrial development for some years lies in the training of professional and skilled workers and the surveying of the industrial resources of the country. Given the necessary attention and expenditures which agricultural development deserves, industrial projects, as a source of wealth to Ceylon, lie in the future.

Social capital and the expansion of utility services amount to a little less than half of the current budget. This includes, in addition to health, education, and relief funds, such vital developmental areas as power, transportation and rural development. The power needs of Ceylon are, beyond a certain point, difficult to justify, considering the capital needs in other sectors of the economy. Naturally as Colombo, the hub of the island's existence, expands it creates a greater need for electrical power ; also, to the extent that cheap electric power can be produced, the need for imported fuel for the termal power units will decrease. However, both the Government and the IBRD seem to accept the production of electric power as a desirable end in itself. The Government has not explained in any detail how it expects to use the power generated from its anticipated projects. The IBRD mission seemed to believe that, among other things, the existence of power would stimulate its use in industrial production. Electrification is expensive :

68. *Ibid.*, pp. 149–51.
69. *Budget Speech*, 1952–3. Appendix " O ", p. 43.
70. See Chapter 15 of *I B R D Report*.

between 1952 and 1961 the Electrical Undertaking Department will spend an estimated Rs. 185 million on electrical scheme.[71] Electrification demands highly skilled personnel. Other sectors of the economy, notably agricultural development, need capital funds and trained personnel for higher priority needs. Until such time as Ceylon had made extensive surveys as to soil potentials in certain kinds of large scale crop cultivation and until such time as the institutional apparatus for working large tracts of land, i.e., when co-operatives or middle-class commercial farms have developed, the multi-purpose schemes which incorporate electric power production may not be the best means of spending developmental capital to improve food production. The development of lesser projects and the concomitant encouragement of both mechanized co-operative agriculture and privately owned commercial agriculture would seem to be a more efficient way of developing the land and the people who will work it.

In the field of transportation, an item exceeding 20% of the developmental budget, the major areas of consideration are the port of Colombo and the extension of transportation facilities into the sparsely populated area of future development, the Dry Zone. Ceylon's south-western region, the heart of commercial activity and population, has had a fairly well developed system of roads and railways for about 50 years. The port of Colombo however has become increasingly inadequate to the task which it must now serve. In 1949–50, Colombo handled 35% more vessel tonnage than Singapore and 40% more than Bombay.[72] It has become the most important port in Southern Asia. Since 1947, the facilities at the Colombo harbor have been undergoing improvement with the aim of easing the congestion of the port by providing larger harbor space and deeper dockside berths in order to end the inconvenient and expensive unloading to lighters. Port development will probably extend to other ports as well, especially Galle, further south than Colombo, and Trincomalee, on the Eastern coast, and Kankesanturai in the North.

Ceylon's rail-road system, owned and operated by the Government, has been an economic liability since 1930 before which time it was a net earner. The system consists in 907 running line miles of broad gauge track and 91 running miles of narrow gauge. The principle problems of Ceylon's rail system are typical : the competition of motor transport, some inefficiency in management and operation, and the need to replace rolling stock and track which have not been replaced for the last 20 years due to the depression and the war. A managerial and operational survey has been

71. *I B R D Report*, pp. 484–5.
72. Source : Colombo Port Commission, cited in *I B R D Report*, p. 610.

suggested by the IBRD mission along with a general increase in rates which, in Ceylon, are among the lowest in Asia. Future development of Ceylon's railways consist in maximizing efficiency, extension of the present system into the large Dry Zone region, and the replacement of units.

The development of road transport has been rapid since the end of the war. The number of motor vehicles increased from 39,783 in 1947 to 64,864 in 1951 ; in the same period the number of omnibuses licensed increased from 1,400 to 2,000 while the number of passengers carried doubled.[73] The increased traffic has placed additional wear upon roads which were neglected during the war. Road maintenance and extension, which is under the Public Works Department, has served as an important source of funds for the Rural Development Societies. These locally organized and directed groups, which numbered about 5,000 in 1950, and about which more will be said, work on road maintenance under contracts with the Public Works Department. The revenue earned by the Societies in this and other like employment is then used for local welfare, education and sanitary works. The methods are, as might be expected, crude and slow. However, the Government has given its full support to the institutions of rural development, and apparently it is willing to allocate funds to this labor intensive and developmentally important means of extending roads rather than use the funds of modern machinery which would perform the road services at a much greater speed.

The developmental significance of the remainder of the social and utility service budget, primarily health and education, is that they can be hoped to balance each other. Staff is the essential limitation in both of these fields and the Government has stepped up its output of doctors, practitioners in the native system of medicine (the Ayurvedic system), and teachers for all levels of education. There has been a decisive recognition of the inadequates of the system of education inherited from the British, stressing as it does, competency in memorization and verbal expression. Training in manual and technical skills has become an important part of the system of education which has been expanding rapidly. The measures in health will help to sustain the current population increase ; it is the taks of education to produce men and women with the requisite skills for caring for the needs of the growing population especially in providing them with different social and economic roles in the future. The success of the health program will be measured by the success of the education program for without new and different forms of employment and social values, improved health merely adds to distress.

73. *Budget Speech*, 1952–3, p. 7.

It is difficult to discuss the importance of foreign trade to Ceylon briefly. Ceylon's unique dependence upon imported necessities, the importance of foreign trade to the current and past economic structure of the country, the changing political context in which Ceylon must conduct her trade : these questions press upon the limitations of this paper. Developmentally speaking, certain aspects of Ceylon's foreign trade stand out with prominence. Among these are : the continued ability to buy substantial portions of its developmental needs, the measures taken to this end, and the program of " Ceylonisation " of foreign trade.

Between 1947 and June, 1952, Ceylon's wheel of trade made a complete circle. In 1947, post-war inventory purchases resulted in a payment deficit in visible balances of Rs. 73 million ; in 1950 the surplus balance in visible payments rose to an all-time high of Rs. 396 million ; in June, 1952, the deficit fell to Rs. 64 million.[74] The current payments deficit does not mean that expenditures on capital development will decrease. It does, however, mean that there will be a shift in the sources of these funds. From 1948 to 1952, revenue exceeded expenditures chargeable to revenue by substantial amounts which allowed the greater part of the capital development to be charged to budgetary surpluses. The remainder of the developmental capital was obtained primarily through domestic loans which were fully subscribed to quickly and by small savers to the extent of 74%.[75] In the future, given the probable permanency of current trade conditions, an increasingly higher proportion of the developmental capital will have to be raised from domestic and foreign capital loan sources. The adverse trend in trade comes at a time when most of low cost, high yield agricultural projects have been completed and new projects will be increasingly expensive per unit of cultivable land developed.

In order to maintain maximum returns on their foreign trade, the Ceylonese have recently abolished all import controls with the exception of luxury and other non-essential goods from dollar sources and from Japan. This has had the double effect of lowering

74. " Continuing Demand of Capital and Consumer Goods in Ceylon ", *Board of Trade Journal*, Vol. 163, No. 2908 (13 September, 1952), p. 518. A summary of the six years is as follows :

Year	Total Exports Including Re-exports (Rs. million)	Total Imports (Rs. million)	Visible Balance (Rs. million)
1947	889 ..	963 ..	–73
1948	1,011 ..	994 ..	17
1949	1,063 ..	1,029 ..	34
1950	1,563 ..	1,167 ..	396
1951	1,904 ..	1,559 ..	346
1952 (1–6)	827 ..	892 ..	–64

75. *Budget Speech*, 1952–53, pp. 30–1. This figure is for a loan floated in August, 1951, for Rs. 60 million.

the domestic cost of living somewhat and, important to development, making capital equipment such as machinery and bulldozers and tractors, available at lower prices.[76] Similarly, the cost-of-living allowances have been extended to include a greater number of employment categories which has the effect of making the wage system of the economy more flexible. The flexible wage system is clearly advantageous for future external trade. In 1951, the flat rate duties on rubber, tea, and coconut exports were replaced by sliding-scale duties in order to tax away the windfall profits of the year and add to the budget surplus.[77] The most controversial measure taken in the field of foreign economic relations, however, was the five year trade agreement with the Chinese Government at Peking. By this agreement Ceylon was to make 50,000 tons of sheet rubber available to China ; this amount is equal to the entire sheet rubber output of Ceylon.[78] The Central Bank has pointed out that the average price margin in this trade is 60*c.* per pound (Ceylonese cents or about $ U.S. 0.12) in excess of world rubber prices.[79] However, it seems clear that Ceylon has not taken this questionable political step in order to secure higher " profits " for its rubber, nor, as some American commentators have suggested, to use the suspension of the trade as a lever for securing economic aid from the anti-Communist West.[80] The rice shortage, which has grown more grave in South and South-eastern Asia, has compelled to Ceylon to seek rice in dollar areas. The quantities here, leaving aside the expenditure of dollars, have been inadequate. The alternative therefore has been to seek rice in exchange for some Ceylonese products. China offered such a market. The economic considerations in the trade which justify the premium price offered to Ceylon are : the ordinary and strategic risks of trade for Ceylon, the generally low rubber yields in 1951 due to adverse rains, and the exclusion of China from other ordinary Asian sources.[81]

One final aspect of Ceylon's foreign trade problems, before passing on to the subject of institutional changes, is the program of " Ceylonization ". As in other Asian states which have recently acquired political independence, the Ceylonese have decided to allocate a greater slice of Ceylon's economic pie to the citizens of the country. In other nations, such a program is tantamount to economic development. In Ceylon, it has been applied with more moderation and is not considered an important developmental goal. In

76. *U.N. Economic Bulletin of Asia and the Far East—Second Quarter*, 1951, pp. 8–9.
77. *Annual Report of Central Bank of Ceylon*, 1951, pp. 14–5.
78. " Ceylon—An Economic Survey ". *The Economist*, p. 456.
79. *Central Bank of Ceylon—Bulletin*, Aug. 1952, p. 10.
80. See, for example, David Lawrance's article : " Dulles' Task—To Sell Free World on Unity ", *Chicago Daily News* (Feb. 2, 1953), p. 64.
81. *Central Bank of Ceylon Bulletin, loc. cit.*

foreign trade, the ostensible incidence of Ceylonization is large : 75%.[82] This measure of Ceylonese control has occurred as a result of deliberate measures such as the control of import licences, prior abolition, and by restricting the trade of Japan and Germany to Ceylonese nationals.[83] More recently, the trade between China and Ceylon has been restricted to Ceylonese.[84] Ceylonese control of the import trade, is however, more apparent than real. Of the 2,000 import firms registered in 1951, 60% of the trade was handled by 100 firms most of which were British, some of which were Indian. The procedure seems to be for Ceylonese importers to sell their imports in bulk to old established trade firms.[85] The net result of the Ceylonization program is for a few privileged Ceylonese to earn profits on imported goods which profits are paid for by the Government or the average consumer.

Institutional changes in Ceylon since the achievement of independence is a subject of crucial importance to Ceylon's economic development. In order for self-generating economic development to take place, it is necessary that the political and social as well as economic institutions of a community advance at the same pace and, through such liaisons as political and social groups, firms and governmental economic institutions, work toward the same set of goals. Since 1948, some changes have taken place which conduce to this integrated community response to economic problems in Ceylon. However, lest the picture be overdrawn, it should be borne in mind that Ceylon remains, in extraordinarily large degree, a community where traditional technical and social responses predominate. While the South-western and the central hill region of the country have progressed apace in the adoption of modern commercial and technical knowledge, the largest part of the population has remained tied to the village, the ancient social groupings and customs, and the application of traditional technical knowledge to their work and lives. The social or, more broadly, cultural process of accepting new values and new goals is at the very core of Ceylon's economic problem :

82. *Budget Speech of* 1952–53, p. 6. The Minister included in this large percentage the activities of the Co-operative Wholesale Establishment, a State Co-operative, which imports all of the essential foodstuffs such as rice, flour and sugar.

83. Trade with Germany from Nov. 1950 to Nov. 1951 was governed by an agreement between the two countries providing for a trade the value of which was £US 36.3 million (less than 1%). Japan, in 1951, contributed 5% of the total imports to Ceylon. Sources respectively : *U.N. Economic Bulletin for Asia and the Far East—Second Quarter*, 1951, Vol. II., No. 2, p. 23 ; " Foreign Trade During the Year 1951 and in the First Quarter of 1952 ". *Ceylon Trade Journal*, Vol. XVII., No. 4 (April, 1952), p. 135.

84. " Ceylon—An Economic Survey ". *The Economist, op. cit.*, p. 459.

85. *Ibid.*

> " The success or failure of its program will largely depend upon whether the modern methods and techniques necessary to raise productivity can be assimilated by the people of Ceylon . . . . Willingness and ability of a whole people to change its ways is essentially a cultural problem."[86]

The adoption of a cabinet, parliamentary governmental structure in 1947 was a positive step toward the necessary political conditions for development. This system replaced the system set up by the Donoughmore Constitution of 1931. It lent unity and responsibility to the Government in power and it gave to the public administration of Ceylon the possibility of following a developmental program with the aid of an integrated bureaucratic system under responsible officers.[87] The IBRD mission recommended the adoption of several new governmental agencies to assist in the program for development. These were : an Economic Committee of the Cabinet consisting of the Ministers of Agriculture, Industry, Transport and Works, Rural Development and Finance and presided over by the Prime Minister ; An Economic Planning Secretariat with a part-time Development Advisory Board which was to examine and collate all projects and make data available to interested persons.[88]

The Central Bank of Ceylon was created by a Monetary Act of 1949 under the direction of an official of the Federal Reserve System of the United States. The functions of the Bank were those of the central bank of most Western countries, i.e., to make bank loans and accept bank credit ; to regulate the volume of currency ; to oversee public funds and to observe the balance of payments position. The Bank was also to pursue monetary policies designed " to raise the level of production and employment and to promote the development of . . . . resources".[89] The Bank was subjected to its first test in 1950–51 when it had to cope with an inflation which was becoming dangerous. By a process of fiscal and monetary measures, in conjunction with the Government, the inflation was checked.[90] The bank was appeared to be competently staffed and serves the nation in a multitude of ways including economic research. In the task of financing the development program, the most difficult problem which the Bank has had to face is mobilizing a large part of the assets wealth of Ceylon and

86. P. T. Ellsworth : " Factors in the Economic Development of Ceylon ". *American Economic Review*, Vol. XLIII., No. 2 (May, 1953), p. 116.

87. Sir Charles Collins : *Public Administration in Ceylon.* (London : Royal Institute of Foreign Affairs, 1951), pp. 139–41.

88. See *I B R D Report*, pp. 71–3.

89. Thorogood : *op. cit.*, p. 6.

90. The problems and measures connected with their crisis are described in the *Annual Reports of the Central Bank for* 1950–51.

channeling it into productive enterprise. The IBRD recommendation relevant to this problem was the proposed creation of a Ceylon Development Corporation which, in conjuction with the Central Bank, the Government, private banks and individuals, would promote and assist in the development of new commercial ventures in all phases of the economy. The capital for this corporation would be subscribed to by the Government to the extent of 50% and no individual was to own a controlling share. Management of the proposed corporation was to be fully independent and free in method.[91]

Three other institutions were suggested by the IBRD mission *vis-a-vis* the creation of an appropriate institutional context for maximum self-generating development. The first of these was the proposed Ceylon Institute for Applied Research to be sponsored initially by the Central Bank. The model for this suggested agency was the *Institute Mexicano de Investigaciones Techologicas* which was created by the *Banco de Mexico* in 1944. The purpose of the institute would be to do systematic research on raw materials and other aspects of Ceylon's potential industrial development. As the Ceylon Development Corporation, the Institute was projected as an autonomous body, supported by private funds eventually and free from direct Governmental control.[92] A Water Resources Planning Unit was also proposed by the mission. This agency was to operate under the proposed economic planning secretariat and its purpose was to be the study and programming of all aspects of water utilization and control. Finally, the Mission recommended that the Electrical Undertakings Department, currently supervising the electrification schemes, should be modelled more closely to the British Electricity Authority, i.e., regulated by statute and fairly independent of the Government.[93]

To a country like Ceylon, pursuing a program of economic betterment through modernization of the tools with which to extract greater wealth from its resources, the need for technical assistance is evident. Foreign technicians are no more strange to Ceylon than they are to other former colonial countries. The island's greatest source of wealth, its plantation economy, was developed by foreign technicians. However, these Englishmen were either the owners of, or the appointed overseers of, British capital which was invested in Ceylonese enterprises. Circumstances have now changed sufficiently so that the migration of foreign entreprenurial capital has diminished in volume and, even if this were unchanged, the Ceylonese are determined to keep the fruits of development in Ceylon and in the hands of Ceylonese.

91. See *I B R D Report*, pp. 84–7.
92. *I B R D Report*, pp. 121, 803.
93. *I B R D Report*, pp. 121, 39.

The institutional apparatus for the recruitment of foreign technical assistance developed with the needs of countries, like Ceylon, that wished to develop their resources and still maintain control of them. Ceylon has used U.N. organizations such as : FOA, WHO, UNESCO, and ILO ; it has engaged foreign technical personnel directly, and it has used the Technical Co-operation Scheme of the Colombo Plan. Ceylon has benefited to an appreciable extent from its association with the Colombo Plan, in terms of receiving developmental aid. In the first year of the plan, 1950–51, Australia contributed £300,000 worth of flour, the proceeds of which were to be used to establish tuberculosis clinics in the provincial capitals. New Zealand contributed £250,000 for the dry-farming scheme already established. The Bureau of the Technical Co-operation Scheme of the Plan provided Ceylon with 33 experts and training facilities abroad for 196 Ceylonese. India has provided 3 experts and, with Pakistan, has provided 28 scholarships for Ceylonese students. Ceylon, in return, will provide training facilities in rural development work and will contribute Rs. 1.7 million to the Co-operation Scheme.

The problems in the use of foreign technical experts by the Ceylonese have been typical of those emerging in other developing areas. Lack of sufficient study as to the exact needs and tasks which the expert must satisfy and bureaucratic interference have led to delays in procuring materials, and in approving plans. Added to these problems, can be mentioned the difficulty in procuring experts for long term employment. At terms the Ceylonese believe reasonable, experts of the sort necessary for many of the long-term projects and necessary if Ceylonese are to learn and profit from the knowledge of the hired experts are difficult to find. This last point is important, for experts serve not only to perform certain necessary tasks, they must also be engaged with the aim of helping to develop properly prepared Ceylonese to take over responsibilities and to train still others. Thus far, this training function has not been very successful and a large part of costs of employing foreign experts has therefore been lost.[94]

One final institutional innovation which deserves mention is the Rural Development Department. Described as " a State-village partnership for village development ",[95] the 5,000 Rural Development Societies can become the backbone of agricultural development in Ceylon. Since this institution is closely related to agricultural development, it will be discussed more fully below.

94. The I B R D mentions in this connection the case of the Australian National Airways which handles Ceylon's international air traffic and is expected to train Ceylonese and which has not yet undertaken the training of Ceylonese flight and ground crews. *Ibid.*, p. 682.
95. *Colombo Plan : First Annual Report . . . .*, p. 16.

Agriculture remains the center of economic interest and activity among the Ceylonese. In the agricultural sector, it seems valid to say that the direction of development has undergone a significant shift in the post-independence economic plans for Ceylon. This has been a shift away from the planter and toward the peasant cultivator. In the discussion above which described the principal agricultural problems of the country, the reasons for a well directed developmental plan for agriculture were pointed out. In 1948, with independence achieved, the Ceylonese had to decide the direction of their future agricultural development.

The decision to support the non-commercial sector of the economy was a decision against further agricultural specialization. This is not to say that plantations will cease to be important to the Ceylonese economy, for, obviously, plantations will be depended upon for the maintenance of the present level of living for the next ten or fifteen years. In addition, the export of cash crops, especially tea and rubber, is *sine qua non* to the financing of the bulk of development which the island will undergo. However, specialization, to the extent that it has existed, has been repudiated. In 1938, the Government posed the question of continued specialization :

> " For Ceylon the question for solution is whether she should attempt to develop her foreign trade at the expense of her internal development, or whether she should be prepared to sacrifice or acquiesce in the diminution of her export and concentrate on the production of her own food ; and as far as possible produce her own clothing."[96]

Realistically speaking, in 1950, when the Colombo Plan was projected, the Ceylonese could not afford to continue to specialize. The three export crops were in need of considerable capitalization and even then it was doubtful whether tea and rubber could be expanded in production and maintain their competitive position in the world.[97] The competitive positions of both tea and rubber, labor intensive industries, have been menaced by constantly increasing labor costs. The island's standard of living could not be allowed to fall for the Ceylonese have predicated their development on the " social service state " idea, thus wages and cost of living allowances, both of which represent additions to the costs of production of tea and rubber, could not easily be reduced. Moreover, the knowledge that by 1962 Ceylon would have to feed about 10 million people and find an increasing amount of new employment made the prospects of a viable economy based upon agricultural

96. Cited in Ladejinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
97. The Korean price boom of 1950–51 witnessed a tremendous expansion of output. However, the price structure collapsed in the middle of 1951 and with it the incentives for high marginal output.

specialization dim indeed. Finally, the particulra import need of Ceylon was undoubtedly a factor in the decision against specialization. In times of poor export prices, the Ceylonese could not fall back upon their agricultural export crops as a source of augmented food supply. Ceylon must, as it has in the past, simply take a portion of its export earnings earmarked for health or education or transport and purchase food. Fortunately, the UK market for tea has precluded the possibility of prolonged and sharp adversities in the balance of payments picture, though with an increasing number of people dependent upon this relatively stable export item, its continued ability to stabilize is doubtful.

Against these arguments, which are economic and do not consider the influence of nationalism on the decision against specialization, the advantages of specialization have been suggested. The viability of maximizing the comparative advantages of local skills and resources has been stressed by many writers. Applied to Ceylon, the argument is particularly strong on some points. Ceylon probably has the most efficient tea industry in the world speaking technologically. It produces its own tea processing machinery and even exports it. It has a large supply of skilled labor upon which to draw including managerial and scientific personnel. To a lesser extent, the same is true of rubber. In addition, it has been pointed out that, for a backward country, the swiftest means of multiplying real product is through specialization. Ceylon, in fact, is frequently cited as an example of this condition along with Bolivia and Cuba. It has also been pointed out that high expenditure on imports is not necessarily a condition to avoid ; in fact, Denmark and the Netherlands expend between 30 and 35% of their national incomes on imported goods and have a real productive growth of 1.25 and 2% per annum respectively. Norway and Belgium expend about 35% of their national incomes on imports and enjoy a rate of productive increase of around 2.5% per annum. Further, it has been argued that for a small country to pursue economic development with the idea of becoming a small edition of the United States, with its diversified production and less than 5% of its national income spent on imports, is patently unrealistic.

Excluding the considerations of nationalism, the decision against specialization made by the Ceylonese seems wise. The rapid increase in the population coupled with the condition of the plantation sector of the economy, demands greater self-sufficiency in food. These considerations were probably foremost in the minds of the Ceylonese when they abandoned specialization and shifted their attention to the food producing peasant.

Three methods have been employed by the Government in itrs effort to increase the acreage under food. These have been : the

colonizing of cultivable areas of the Dry Zone, the expansion of village food production, and the alienation of marginal plantation lands for food production. Between 1947 and 1953, approximately 135,000 [98] acres of land were effected by this progress.[99] Of the 135,000 acres thus far effected by the various methods of expansion, not more than 50,000 acres can have been added to the production of paddy.[100] Of the remaining 85,000 acres which have been effected, 27,000 acres were set aside for the cultivation of sugar and 1,300 acres were set aside for dry farming schemes. Making allowances for the Government cattle farm, the various experimental sites in food, and other Government uses, it can be estimated that a further 30,000 of the 135,000 acres are accounted for. This leaves about 55,000 acres which have been planted or will be planted in one or another " garden " or " highground crop ". The problem of finding the most suitable and acceptable cereal substitutes for rice which can be planted on these 55,000 acres is one which has only recently been approached.

The first method for expanding food production in quantity and general importance, has been by the colonization of cultivable areas of the Dry Zone. Here large multi-purpose (hydro-electric power and irrigation) schemes or lesser irrigation schems have been used to develop the land. From 1947 to 1953, 24 of such land development schemes were undertaken, facilitating the settlement of about 8,700 colonists from the more populous Wet Zone. The size of the schemes varied from 50 families to 2,539 families, in the Parakrama Samudra Scheme.[101]

The largest of the colonization schemes were in the North-Central Province. This was the area that held the vast irrigation works

98. Colonization Schemes : the Government, in July, 1952, estimated that 82,000 acres would be developed by 1953. Village expansion : to 1952, 38,000 acres were provided with irrigation. Former plantation lands, about almost 15,000 were acquired by 1952. *Budget Speech*, pp. 3, 34.

99. The Governmental publications use the words " alienation " and " development " interchangeably and frequently do not specify what sort of development. For example, in 1951, the Minister of Finance wrote that the village expansion prog.am had alienated about 220,000 acres. Obviously this is considerably more than the 38,000 acres which have been provided with irrigation, and makes for confusion.

100. This estimation is based on the rate of increase of paddy to total increase in food acreage through the various methods over the last 6 years. The colonization schemes have, thus far, maintained a ration of about 50 percent paddy to other food crops. Village expansion programs to 1950, increased paddy acreage by less than 2 percent. Neither the former rubber plantations nor the coconut plantations are suitable for paddy production. Therefore, by using the very highest colonization figures and by allowing for a rate of paddy expansion by the villages of 10 percent, not 2 percent, something less than 50,000 acres of paddy were added by 1953.

101. B. H. Farmer : " Peasant Colonization in Ceylon ". *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. XXV. No. 4 (December, 1952), pp. 392–3.

which were abandoned by the Sinhalese at the time of the Indian invasions. According to Farmer, most of the ruins that were capable of restoration have been restored;[102] thus, it is most probable that the North-Central Province schemes, which have contributed the largest portions of paddy land, have been based on the restoration of the ancient ruins and their integration into somewhat larger systems. In the future, therefore, the ratio of paddy land to total land developed is bound to decrease which means that, if the newly developed land is to be utilised most effectively, new crops will have to be found that use less irrigation than rice.

Of the multi-purpose schemes, the Gal-Oya Project was the first. The Gal-Oya Development Board was established in 1949 as an autonomous authority commissioned to develop 200,000 acres of Dry Zone land in the Eastern Province over a period of 10 years. In all, 60,000 acres will be suitable for a double crop of paddy cultivation. In addition, an hydro-electric plant of an installed capacity of 10, ,00 kw. was to be provided. In 1952, the first stage of the plant was completed with a capacity of 5,000 kw.[103] By the end of 1951, the Gal-Oya scheme had provided for 63 colonist families on 1,600 acres of developed land,[104] and 27,000 acres of irrigated land were provided with the necessary equipment for the production of sugar.[105]

Both the Gal-Oya and a second proposed multi-purpose scheme, the Walawe-Ganga project, place irrigation before power needs. The IBRD mission noted that while the power potential at the Walawe-Ganga site were excellent the production of power would conflict with irrigation demands. Further, the cost per settled colonist on these schemes has doubled since 1949. The mission advised the postponement of the Walawe-Ganga scheme for further study especially of the Gal-Oya scheme.[106]

Colonization has promised the most rapid expansion of food production on the island, however, the cost of the program has increased enormously. In 1947, Jennings reported that the average cost per colonist family was £770. By 1952, the costs had doubled

102. Farmer : " Peasant Colonization . . . .", p. 396.

103. R. L. Brohier : *The Gal-Oya Valley Project in Ceylon*. (Colombo : Department of Information, 1951), pp. 36–42. The author stated that a single paddy crop yer pear would be necessary until more adequate water resources were developed, p. 36.

104. *Budget Speech for* 1952–3. Appendix " A ", p. 33.

105. Brohier : *op. cit.*, p. 38.

106. *I B R D Report*, p. 480. The Finance Minister reported in his *Budget Speech of* 1952–3 (July, 1952), that a firm of U.K. consulting engineers would be engaged for the first stage of the Walawe Scheme which includes the power facilities. *Budget Speech*, 1952–3, p. 25.

and averaged about £1,500.[107] Part of these added costs can, of course, be attributed to general rising costs in Ceylon. However, the facilities which were believed necessary to attract colonists in 1947 no longer are necessary, and costs could be reduced considerably. The willingness to migrate to the Settlements attests to this along with the reports of general enthusiasm for colonization among cultivators.[108] Prior to the allotments given at the Gal-Oya side, which were smaller, the standard colonist allotment consisted of five acres of irrigated land and three acres of non-irrigable, or high ground land. On this land irrigation was provided ; the land cleared and contoured ; a house and latrine built ; and roads were provided. Travelling expenses to the site were provided ; a subsistence allotment was granted until the first harvest ; seed, tools and financial aid was given for the development of both the paddy and the high land.[109] In 1952, Farmer reported that all incomes from the colonized areas had risen substantially and in one area were as high as five times the average rural per capita income.[110] Furthermore, Farmer reported that the land allotments originally granted were large enough to encourage larger families in order to best utilize the land. Needless to say, this last condition, if it were become widespread and general, would defeat the entire goal of colonization ; thus, considering also the higher incomes, allotments were made smaller. The IBRD, in its report, suggested that the minimum allotment be made still smaller in order to create incentives for the best utilization of the land. The IBRD further urged that large blocs of lands be made available to middle-class farmers who might apply machinery to the land and who might produce sugar and other larger scale products.

In addition to colonization and possibly some middle-class ownerships[111] of newly developed lands, the Government has a program of village expansion to increase the acreage under food. From 1947 to 1952, 387 village irrigation works produced 10,559 acres of new land with irrigation and provided 27,847 acres of existing land with irrigation. An additional 5,500 acres were protected from flooding and salt water seepage.[112] New food products have been studied in connection with the village expansion program since a relatively small portion of the land developed by villages has been suitable for paddy, Among these new products, sorghum has been favored as a cereal substitute for rice. Between

107. Farmer : " Peasant Colonization . . . .", *op. cit.*, p. 398.
108. *Ibid.*, p. 394.
109. *Economic and Social Development* . . . ., p. 32.
110. Farmer : " Peasant Colonization . . . .", *op. cit.*, p. 394.
111. Farmer reports that efforts to rehabilitate the middle-class civil servant to the land as large holders has resulted in merely more absentee landlords. Farmer : *Agriculture in Ceylon, op. cit.*, p. 65.
112. *Budget Speech*, 1952–3.

1950 and 1952, the acreage in this crop rose from 2,100 to 7,655 acres. Demonstration of sorghum's ability to grow in relatively dry soils and its use as a food have helped in its gradual acceptance.[113] Gingelly and mustard, formerly imported, are now being produced domestically in sufficient quantities to satisfy local consumption.[114]

Two dry farming schemes were started in the North-Central Province of 650 acres each. The land was cleared and ridged and 14 acres allotments were given to people willing to colonize. New Zealand has given a grant to Ceylon to encourage this program and the Food and Agricultural Organization of the U.N. has provided Ceylon with an expert in dry farming technique.

The increase in food acreage envisaged in the Colombo Plan, in 1950, has not been achieved. It was planned to have settled colonists on 131,000 acres by 1953;[115] at the end of 1952, it was believed that 68,000 acres would be settled. In addition to the 131,000 acres, it was hoped, in 1950, that much more land would have been irrigated and otherwise prepared for the production of foods by the other methods of expansion. By the end of 1952, not more than a total of 135,000 acres have been affected by the Government's various programs, and it is impossible to know what part of this is actually in the production of foodstuffs.[116]

The reasons for the lag in the food production program are various. First, the costs have risen substantially which curtails the amount of expansion which can be achieved with limited financial resources. Secondly, while Farmer noted that incomes have generally increased in the colonized areas, which might indicate some increase in yields, there has not been an overall increase in yields that would facilitate less spending on imported foods. Lower expenditure on imported foods is an excellent measure of the success of the food expansion program. A third reason might be the inadequacies of the colonization method. Colonists are chosen in terms of need, not ability. Thus, it is not always the most efficient cultivator who is given the advantages of the plot. Efficiency has not been accorded proper incentives. The holdings are large enough to afford subsistence for the average family, and, as Farmer pointed out, may even be encouraging larger families. Colonization, moreover, is a method which is intimately associated with the present political elite being first encouraged by the late an venerable D. S. Senanayake, the country's first Prime Minister.

113. *Administration Report of the Director of Agriculture*, 1951, p. 6.
114. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
115. *Report on the Colombo Plan* . . . ., p. 29.
116. According to the Government, overall rice yields have decreased by 5.3% in the last ten years. This figure is cited in U.S. Dept. of Agriculture *Foreign Agricultural Circular* of May, 26, 1952, which was cited in M. A. Straus' " *Cultural Factors in the Functioning of Agricultural Extension in Ceylon* " (MSS) to be published in *Rural Sociology*, September, 1953.

This close association of the colonization program and the prestige of the dominant political group may give the program a measure of inflexibility in economic terms.

The Rural Development Program promises to provide the requisite guidance to rural Ceylon as it undergoes the changes which must inevitably precede significantly increased food production. This program may be Ceylon's unique contribution to the field of Asian rural development. The movement brings together men and women at the village level and integrates their activities through Rural Development Groups and Unions which are in constant touch with officers of the central department. In this way, centralized instruction and guidance are available while projects of local importance are pursued.

The Rural Development Program has come to mean more than the simple provision of village sanitary facilities, housing, and the development of irrigation and roads. The Societies have undertaken such vital health tasks as the distribution of milk, the collection of food for poorer members, and the care of expectant mothers. They have performed quasi-legal functions such as the setting up of 2,400 village conciliation boards in 1950 which settled some 10,000 cases some of which would have otherwise to be litigated. They have provided volunteer patrols to guard villages and property. In 1950, 1,522 village headmen were given special training in agricultural and health problems along with 9,012 village welfare workers from the villages. Some of the more active and promising village workers have been given allowances by the Rural Development Department and, after a period of training, have returned to the villages to direct village developmental activities. These village appointees, called *Gramesavahas*, have also been supported in the establishment of model villages wherein the amelioration of many problems can be demonstrated. Propaganda has been considered an important function of the program and to this end an increasing number of radio receivers have been made available to Societies and the Government has given increasing radio time to subjects of rural importance.[117]

The magnitudes involved in the activities described above are small, but they are increasing. The significance of this movement which directly involves village people in the solution of their problems through new techniques and in a well organized way should be immediately evident to students of Asian development. The Ceylonese Government apparently did not at first realize the importance of this movement, for the proposed budget for 1950

117. See: *Administration Report of the Acting Director of Rural Development for 1950.*

allocated no funds to it. However, the revised developmental budget of 1950 showed an expenditure of Rs. 25 million and the five years from 1952 to 1957 will see Rs. 400 million spent on Rural Development.[118]

IV.—Evaluations and Prospectives

This paper has dealt with essentially technical matters with but few references to the non-technical tasks which beset the people of Ceylon in their quest for a more stable and gratifying economic life. However, even in this brief survey, it should have been evident that the problems of economic development are but a portion of a much larger and infinitely more complex problem of cultural development. It is in this larger sphere of human activity that the most important obstacles to economic development must be overcome by the Ceylonese.

In evaluating the progress of Ceylon in its developmental program, two problems stand out as important (*a*) will the challenge of population pressure upon resources be met by the proportional increase in food, and (*b*) can Ceylon's development be of a self-generating nature.

The paddy land thus far developed by the Government in its colonization schemes and the villages in the expansion programs, i.e., 50,000 acres, is far short of the amount necessary to keep up with the population increase and the nation's food bill increases each year. In 1950–51 the food subsidy amounted to Rs. 131.6 million, in 1951–52 it was in the region of Rs. 255 million.[119] Moreover, the costs of colonization have risen sharply in the past four years, almost doubled. Since most of the early restorable irrigation ruins have been restored, the capital costs of new food producing lands will be high.

It also appears that Ceylon's financial honeymoon is over. In the future, the possibility of financing economic projects out of current budgetary surpluses has diminished. Since the middle of 1951, when the bottom dropped out of the Korean price boom and occasioned a "Sterling crisis" Ceylon's balance of payments position has become progressively worse. The next six years therefore will not allow for mistakes or waste ; nor will they allow for very much cake, in the form of imported foods, while eating it in the form of capital development. Some hint of the increasing pressure upon Ceylon's position can be seen from the risk-ridden trade it has undertaken with China.

118. See *The Colombo Plan : The First Annual Report of the Consultative Committee on Economic Development in South-East Asia* (Cmd. 8529), Karachi, Pakistan, 1952, pp. 13, 16–17.
119. *Budget Speech*, 1952–3, p. 16.

All of this does not mean that Ceylon will not meet its food needs and even surpass them. In the last year, gingelly and mustard were produced in sufficient quantities to eliminate the previous need for importing them. The raised acreage in sorghum indicates the promising future for judiciously selected food substitutes. Much experience and understanding on the part of agricultural officers[120] and cultivators is necessary before the full fruits of the colonization efforts will be seen. The IBRD mission and other observers have pointed out that those peasants chosen for colonization, while they are the most needy, being without land, are also the least capable cultivators. Time will be necessary before the new colonists will be able to significantly raise production. The program for involving middle-class investment in larger scale agriculture will take time to develop as well as the effects of instruction in yield-raising techniques. The suggestion that less grandiose but more reliable schemes of irrigation should be carried out, made by the IBRD, if followed will keep the costs of land development within more realistic dimensions.

It would be unwise quickly to condemn the multi-purpose schemes as excessively expensive ways of increasing food bearing land as it would be to urge the extension, beyond reasonable limits, of the self-help method of co-operatives and Rural Development. Ceylon is wise and fortunate in being able to apply both of these methods to her problem of expanding food production. As her people gain familiarity with the new techniques of cultivation and organization and as the staff of trained leaders increase on all levels, output of food will certainly increase. The most direct answer to the question of whether Ceylon will meet her food needs is that the organizational and physical machinery for producing more food is at work and the people seem enthusiastic about adopting many of the new ideas. Time will quantify this qualified answer.

The second question, the question of long-term, self-generating development ; is more difficult. As in any long-term economic problem, a great many more variables must be considered and all of the forces acting upon a situation must be accounted for as they resolve themselves in a manner consistent with some sort of equilibrium. The short-term considerations are more directly influenced by the existing institutional factors. New institutions and usages, in the short period, must be consistent with existing values and goals or they fail.

In considering Ceylon's long-run chances for successful economic development, it is obvious that certain values must change. For example, the commercial banker's preference for high liquidity and

120. P. T. Ellsworth, *op. cit.* mentions the " autocratic " relationship existing between the extension staff of the Department of Agriculture and the Peasant as a block to development. M. A. Straus, " Cultural Factors . . ." *op. cit.*, further stresses this factor.

the entrepreneur's preference for investments in land and foreign securities[121] are created out of something more than mere profit maximization. They reflect values formed in the past and by complex social obligations. Ceylonese banks have been associated exclusively with trade with no thought or responsibility for other sorts of investment. Similarly, Ceylonese entrepreneurs have followed lines of enterprise consistent with caste obligations, to a large extent. Before potential developmental capital can find its way into productive lines, the older values will have to change.

The technological revolution implicit in the economic development of a country like Ceylon is, over the long run and in the terms of self-generating development, not enough. Technical change is rapid and unless there are other concomitant, cultural changes, the changes in technology becomes distortions which never quite settle down in the lives of people. Self-generating economic development pre-supposes an integrated national movement in the direction of material betterment. The acceptance of material criteria and national self-consciousness are vitally necessary in order to achieve a stable and more rewarding economy. In Ceylon, this social change is slow in formation. P. T. Ellsworth, of the IBRD mission, and Bryce Ryan, who lived and taught in Ceylon for several recent years, both remark at the slowness of the cultural changes which must occur in order for the technological changes to be assimilated by the Ceylonese.[122]

In concluding, it must be admitted that the long run estimation of Ceylon's chances of success with economic development is as impossible to answer as the question of providing itself with adequate food. Too little time has elapsed to see any clear hint of the source and direction of the cultural revolution which must occur. This much is certain however, Ceylon is taking a technological short cut ; it is attempting to assimilate the technology of a culture which stood many centuries in developing and therefore developed in a wholistic manner. If the technology which Ceylon is now attempting to absorb is to be assimilated, it may be necessary to take some cultural short-cuts. Other countries have done this. It frequently means

121. In 1950, Ceylonese purchased Rs. 35 million in foreign securities. *I B R D Report*, p. 90n.

122. Ellsworth in : " Factors in the Economic Development of Ceylon ", and Ryan in *Caste in Modern Ceylon*, pp. 335–6.

using some compulsion ; [123] it may mean the creation by the Government of a large elite group which believes in the goals of economic development and which is dedicated to the mobilization of Ceylon's people to achieve such goals ; it may mean the constant agitation against old values, such as antipathies to manual skills, which inhibit development, and agitation for the adoption of values such as family planning and new agricultural techniques which conduce to development. The social engineering aspects of Ceylonese development will have to be purused with the same energy as the technological aspects, or the fruits of the latter will be lost to the greatest number of Ceylonese.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

GOVERNMENT OF CEYLON PUBLICATIONS

(Printed at the Ceylon Government Press)

Agricultural Wages and Earnings of Primary Producers in Ceylon : *Sessional Paper* II.–1950, January, 1950.

Budget Speech 1950–51 by the Hon. J. R. Jayewardene, Minister of Finance.

Budget Speech 1951–52 by the Hon. J. R. Jayewardene, Minister of Finance.

Budget Speech 1952–53 by the Hon. J. R. Jayewardene, Minister of Finance.

Central Bank of Ceylon : *Annual Report of the Monetary Board to the Minister of Finance for the Year* 1950.

Central Bank of Ceylon : *Annual Report for the Year* 1951.

Central Bank of Ceylon : *Bulletin* August, 1952.

Department of Census and Statistics : *Preliminary Report on The Economic Survey of Rural Ceylon, Sessional Paper* XI.–1951, July, 1951.

Ellepola, D. B. : *Administration Report of the Acting Director of Rural Development for* 1950, September, 1951.

Administration Report of the Director of Rural Development for 1950, July, 1952.

Jayewardene, Hon. J. R. : *Economic and Social Development in Ceylon*, 1926–1950 (A Survey) 1951.

123. This has been suggested in Ceylon by at least one Government writer as a resort to which the Government may be pressed if " progressive suggestions " are not followed by even the majority. *Wages and Earnings of Primary Producers . . . .*, pp. 34–5.

Jinadasa, H. : *Administration Report of the Director of Social Services for* 1951, May, 1952.

Joachim, A. W. R. : *Administration Report of the Director of Agriculture for* 1951, September, 1952.

Rajanayagam, M. : *Administration Report of the Commissioner of Labour for* 1951, May, 1952.

On the Colombo and Six Year Plans

The Colombo Plan : The First Annual Report of the Consultative Committee on Economic Development in South and South-East Asia, Karachi, 1952. Cmd. 8529 London : HMSO, 1952.

Report of the Commonwealth Consultative Committee : The Colombo Plan for Co-operative Economic Development in South and South-East Asia. Cmd. 8080, London : HMSO, 1950.

Economic Surveys, Comments and Interpretations

Brohier, R. L. : *The Gal-Oya Valley Project in Ceylon, Colombo :* Department of Information, 1951.

Brown, W. Norman : *India, Pakistan, Ceylon*, Ithaca, N.Y. : Cornell University Press, 1950.

" Ceylon—The Budget " : *Eastern Economist (Delhi)*, Vol. XIX. (July 25, 1952) pp. 131–2.

" Ceylonization of Employment " : (*Eastern Economist (Delhi)*, Vol. XVII. (September 7, 1951), p. 390.

" Ceylon's State-Operated Manufacturing Industries " : *Far Eastern Economic Review (Hong-Kong)*, Vol. XII. (June 12, 1952), p. 756.

Clark, Colin : *Notes for Lectures Delivered by Mr. Clark on Economic Development at the University of Chicago, October through November*, 1952. Unpublished.

Collins, Sir Charles : *Public Administration in Ceylon.* London : Royal Institute on International Affairs, 1951.

" Colombo Plan—Canadian Aid to Ceylon " : *Commonwealth Affairs*, No. 93 (March 28, 1952). Published by the Reference Division of the Colonial Office of Information.

" Continuing Demand for Capital and Consumer Goods in Ceylon " : *Board of Trade Journal*, Vol. 163, p. 518. Written by the U.K. Trade Commissioner in Ceylon.

Ellsworth, P. T. : " Factors in the Economic Development of Ceylon ". *American Economic Review.*

Farmer, B. H. : " Agriculture in Ceylon ". *Geographical Review*, Vol. XL. (January, 1950), p. 42.
" Peasant Colonization in Ceylon " : *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. XXV. (December, 1952), p. 389.

" Foreign Trade During the Year 1951 and the First Quarter of 1952 " : *Ceylon Trade Journal*, Vol. XVII. (April, 1952), p. 133.

Jennings, W. I. : *The Economy of Ceylon.* Madras National Press, 1948.

Ladejinsky, W. I. : " Agriculture in Ceylon ", *Foreign Agriculture*, Vol. 8 (January, 1944), p. 3.

International Bank of Reconstruction and Development : *Economic Development of Ceylon—Report of a Mission Sent at the Request of the Government of Ceylon.* Baltimore : Johns Hopkins, University Press, 1953.

McCune, Shannon : " Sequence of Plantation Agriculture in Ceylon ". *Economic Geography*, Vol. 25 (July, 1949), p. 226.

Perera, L. H. Horace and Ratnasabapathy, M. : *Ceylon and Indian History.* From Times to 1550 A.D., Colombo. W. M. A. Wahid & Bros., 1951.

Perera, Wilmot : *Problems of Rural Ceylon.* London : Arthur Probstaain, n.d.

Ryan, Bryce : *Caste in Modern Ceylon—The Sinhalese System in Transition.* New Brunswick, N.J. : Rutgers University Press, 1953.
" The Ceylonese Village and the New Value System " : *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 17 (March, 1952), p. 9.
" Institutional Factors in Ceylonese Fertility " : *The Milbank Memorial Fund.* Quarterly, Vol. XXX. No. 4 (October, 1952).

Straus, Murray A. : " Mental Ability and Cultural Needs : A Psycho-cultural Interpretation of the Intelligence Test Performance by Ceylonese University Entrants ". *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (June, 1951), p. 371.
" Cultural Factors in the Functioning of Agricultural Extension in Ceylon ", (Typewritten MSS.), 1953.

Thorogood, C. E. : *Ceylon Economic and Commercial Conditions in Ceylon.* London : Board of Trade (Overseas Economic Surveys), 1952.

United Nations : *Economic Bulletin for Asia and the Far East—Second Quarter*, 1952, Vol. II., No. 2, 1952.

Vandenbosch, Amry : " Ceylon—Progress in Asia ". *Current History*, Vol. 19 (October, 1950), p. 206.

Wickizer, V. D. : *Coffee, Tea and Cocoa—An Economic and Political Analysis.* Stanford, California : Stanford University Press (Food Research Institute), 1951.

Wilson, G. M. : " The Colombo Technical Co-operation ". *United Asia*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (1952), p. 92.

Wikkramatileke, Rudolph : " Ella Village—An Example of Rural Settlement and Agricultural Trends in Highland Ceylon ". *Economic Geography*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (October, 1952), p. 360.

BOOK REVIEWS

Ancient History—By Michael Grant. (*Methuen & Co. Ltd.*, London—7*s.* 6*d.*)

When writing on any large period of history, one faces so many events and personalities that some sort of selection has to be made in terms of general principles. The present book seeks to apply it to the ancient world. It argues that the indispensable principles are two. In the first place, it is essential to isolate dominant themes and tendencies ; the tale of actual events is much less important. Secondly the only themes and tendencies worth stressing (by the general historian whose aim is different from the specialists) are those which are of direct interest and value to his readers today. Professor Grant considers the dominant theme of the ancient world as War and Peace and he goes on to study the causes and possible preventives of ancient wars in the hope of clarifying the most urgent problem of our own day.

The most striking feature of ancient history is indeed war, as it is of all history. But war should not be studied as it is only too often done, as a narrative of martial events and obsolete military tactics, it should be studied and analysed on broader lines. How did war come into being, what general principles guided these processes and why could they not be prevented. Here again a differentiation should be made between defensive war and aggressive war, the former being defence of one's own vital interests.

Professor Grant for the purpose of the study divides the ancient political organisations not according to culture, or civilisation or race, but according to geographical situations. Thus five main groups appear—the Indian sub-continent, China, America, mainland of Western Asia and the Mediterranean. From a detailed study of these groups, Professor Grant arrives at his conclusions about war and the possible methods to promote peace.

Thus the main cause of war is not unjust treaties nor differences nor imperialism but the anarchy of sovereign states. The theory of sovereignty is not modern but has its roots in the past, thus Plato and Aristotle idealised the State, as was done in both India and China. The separate, self-sufficient, sovereign character of the state was always stressed and consequently war was frequent as there was no authority between the states. But did not the ancient world and especially the Greeks with their fertile minds think of a solution ? They did, but their attempts have not been given much thought today. Firstly the attempt was made by the advance of law, especially natural law ; secondly by new kinds of political alliance such as the various types of federation tried out ; and thirdly by the concept of dual citizenship. These Greek attempts were unsuccessful, but the Romans who followed them did succeed in abolishing the anarchy of sovereign states by the second best solution—a universal state founded and basing itself on force.

Thus the first cause of ancient war is institutional—the anomaly of separate sovereign states. But institutions arise from the minds of men, so the second great cause of war is to be sought in human nature. Man, says Professor Grant, is neither wholly bad nor wholly good, he has rather a dual nature, good and bad, rational and irrational. Experience shows that when man is not rationally guided, war is more likely. Thus we get the concept of nationalism which is based on the sovereign state, appealing to man's irrational element to provoke war. Here again the author shows that nationalism is also not a strictly modern concept but has its roots in the past, the origin being in the religious conflicts that began among primitive people, when each tribe or clan had it's separate God, later assuming racial and territorial characteristics.

What did the ancient world do to curb this spirit of nationalism which by appealing to man's irrational nature make him more conducive to war ? Firstly the Greeks countered nationalism by the Pan-Hellenist idea that tried unsuccessfully to harness nationalism to a wider concept than the city state. Secondly and most important is the influence of religion. Monotheism meant one God for all men, while religions like Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism emphasized the brotherhood of man. Similarly in Europe, Greek Stoicism inspired the universal empire and was later to lead to the universal church.

Another oft-quoted cause of war today is economic inequalities, and this was no less prevalent in the ancient world. The method whereby rulers were chosen was likewise an important factor, as in some ways such as birth, the leaders would be of irrational nature and so more inclined to war, while say, adoption as practised for some time in the Roman Empire brought up more rational leaders.

Taken all in all, the book does not say anything new as to the causes of war and it's solution, which of course is not surprising. Yet it does manage to bring out the salient features more clearly than any study of the modern world could show. And besides, though both the ancient and the modern worlds are agreed as to the causes of war being in the anarchy of Sovereign States, and more deeply in the minds of man, yet no fresh trials have been given to the many remedies tried with varying successes by our forbears. Thus no attempts at world federation have been made, and no advance in concepts like say the dual citizenship of the Greeks. Likewise, the need for a religious faith in the brotherhood of man has been forgotten and the solution for war is sought elsewhere, while the cause is largely in the minds of man.

R.

China's New Creative Age—By Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury. (*Lawrence & Wishart, Ltd.*, London—6*s*.)

It is said that when Marco Polo, returned to Venice after eighteen years in China, to describe the wonders and glory of that country, he was greeted by his fellow Venetians with the remark : " He is mad ". Another Marco Polo has just returned from China ; the Dean of Canterbury went by plane, not caravan, he spent days not years, and yet he has come back enthralled by the beauty of both the old China and even more of the new China that has arisen since the Communist Revolution. " Doubtless, too, many will say of us, no less than Marco Polo : ' They are mad '." " But ", says the Dean on a optimistic note, " whereas it took centuries to verify the truth of Polo's tales, it will not, I venture to suggest, take centuries to verify the truth of ours ". The truth indeed has been evident for some time, for within a space of five years, the most impoverished and war-devastated country in the world has successfully held the United Western Powers at bay in Korea, and is successfully challenging the right of the French to rule in Indo-China.

A book by Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury is always an event for the reading public, for, since *The Socialist Sixth of the World*, he has been one of the best known propagandists for the Soviet way of life. This new book on China is of interest besides for another reason, for it provides a glimpse of what is happening behind the " bamboo curtain " which many in Neutral Asia would like to know, as what they usually get to read is the other side of the story only. Dr. Johnson besides was in China in 1932 when the Japanese onslaughts as well as internal decay was at one of its lowest points, and he is able to see in the best perspective the tremendous steps that have been taken for the improvement of the country.

The book is divided into three parts—the peoples' victory, the progress of the Socialist State and the leaders and organisation of the new regime. The peoples' victory deals largely with social reform such as the abolition of landlordism which took the land from the non-working minority and vested it in the peasants. Similarly women have been released from the position of servitude they have held from the beginning of history, while floods the major natural enemy has been curbed.

The second part on the development of the Socialist State, provides about the most valuable information, The progress made in health and educational services is stated while science has come in overthrowing crippling superstitions and making the way for industrialisation, based on China's abundance of iron, oil and coal. Similarly agriculture has been improved and China continues to export rice abroad while being both the biggest producer and consumer of this article in the world. The increase of transport besides spreads the new prosperity to all parts of the country.

The final part on the leaders and the organisation of New China gives brief sketches of Chou-en-lai, Chu-Teh, Mao-Tse-Tung and Peng-teh-huai. The organisation of the army and the party is described together with a brief history of the two Revolutionary Wars and the War of liberation. An interesting chapter is given on : " Whether Marxism is applicable in China ?" but the answer to this is not convincing.

To belittle the achievement of China as Western propagandists are always inclined to do, will only distort one's view of reality. This book indeed is worth reading as providing an excellent statement of the progress made in a country that has rapidly become the leading state in Asia, and possibly of the world.

S. D.

Everyman's Dictionary of Dates—By C. Arnold Baker & Anthony Dent. Revised and brought up-to-date—(*MacMillan & Co. and J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd.*-15*s*.)

Everyman's Dictionary of Dates is a revised version based on the old and popular Everyman's library volume. It is now issued in the larger size of Everyman's Reference library and provides an incomparable handy dictionary of no less than 36,000 dates, covering all important world events from earliest times to the present day. The entries are arranged in alphabetical order and are broadly speaking of two kinds—the more numerous single-subject articles and the group entries which total about 300. The 8,600 single-subject entries are on topics like Canada, French Revolution, World War I. etc., while group entries are under headings like Battles, Artists, Authors, Soldiers, etc.

In a work of this magnitude the problem of selection is most difficult, and the editors have rightly been guided by the principle that considerable prominence be given to countries, institutions and dynasties of universal influence, while Britain and her past and present dependencies are accorded a slight pre-eminence. Shorter references are given of other countries and institutions of historical repute, and considerable space is given to the arts, sciences, religion and similar universal topics.

A defect to the Ceylon and Indian reader would appear to be that the editor's principle of stressing the dates in Britain's " Past and Present Dependencies " does not seem to have been too faithfully carried out. This is the more regrettable as there is a considerable English reading public in India and Ceylon, that would have had much use for such a dictionary of dates To take only a few examples, the date of the foundation of the Indian National Congress nor of the 1892 Constitutional Reforms is given, while the list of Indian Statesmen does not include such a figure as Mahatma Gandhi who died in 1948. Similarly Ceylon, a member Dominion of the British Commonwealth gets only 15 lines while a few dates are incorrectly given, the Donoughmore Constitution being pre-dated by a year and the foundation of the University by 12 years. Nothing is mentioned besides of the great changes made since 1947, while several important dates in earlier history which the non-specialist reader would like to know about Ceylon are left out.

Of course in a work of such comprehension, it is easy for the reviewer to find omissions; and nothing that has been said before should be taken as detracting from the great merits of the book, which is about the best of its kind available. It should find a place in every school and private library.

D. W.

The Antonian Centenary Number. (Magazine of St. Anthony's College, Kandy).

This issue has been brought out by St. Anthony's College, Kandy, one of the premier educational institutions of the Central Province, in commemoration of their centenary which falls this year. Though the magazine is primarily intended for well-wishers and students of the College who would find the entire work absorbing, it contains general articles of historical value that will be of interest to the outside reader. Specially noteworthy among these contributions are Dr. Andreas Nell's "Notes on Kandy in A.D. 1854," S. F. de Silva's "A Hundred Years of Education in Ceylon," and D. J. B. Kuruppu's "Beginning of Catholic Education in Ceylon." Mr. Silva's comprehensive article details the entire educational history of the Island, while Mr. Kuruppu gives a well-written analysis of the difficulties which Catholic educational institutions had to suffer before becoming to the foremost position they hold today. Professor T. L. Green's article on "Educational Problems in Ceylon" however is superficial and only a mere re-statement of much that has been said before.

The outstanding value of the journal however is that it provides a full history of the development of St. Anthony's College itself. The well-documented glimpses into Antonian history is of great value to the student of educational history in the Island as it covers the pioneer period in the last century for which records are not too readily available.

G. W.

Sinhala Verse (Kavi)—Collected by the late Hugh Nevill, F.Z.S., 1869–1886. Edited by P. E. P. Deraniyagala. (Ceylon National Museums Manuscript Series Vol. IV. Ethnology, Vol. I., pp. X—352. *Government Press, Ceylon.* Price Rs. 6/-).

Much has been achieved within recent years by the National Museums Department by way of publications. Its ancient Palm Leaf Manuscripts have received much attention, and exact copies of these manuscripts have been published recently, three such volumes having been issued so far with good results. The desirability of making the scientific knowledge of its collections accessible to students, is very commendable.

The latest National Museum Publication—*Sinhala Verse* (*Kavi*), collected by Hugh Nevill, of the Ceylon Civil Service, during the years 1869–1886, forms the fourth of the Manuscript Series. This should rank as one of the most outstanding contributions to the study of Sinhalese literature. It is the first of three volumes, and contains descriptions of 299 works on Sinhala Kavi, with criticisms and annotations by Nevill himself, along with representative verses and their English translations. When complete the three volumes will cover 803 works on Kavi.

It forms a useful reference work for research students, who will find it as a guide to select and read folk-ballads, etc., which are not found in this country, and so fill up the gaps in the indigenous literature of this Island.

During his stay in Ceylon, Nevill collected a large number of Manuscripts—mostly original and comprising nearly the whole Sinhalese and Pali literature of the Island—which have now been deposited in the British Museum, due to the efforts of the late Dr. D. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe. The Catalogue of this enormous collection of Manuscripts alone runs into two folio volumes covering nearly 400 pages.

In the Preface we are told that Nevill spent much time in the preparation of a *Catalogue Raisonne* of the Manuscripts. He took this away with him when he left Ceylon, with the idea of getting it published. But this was not to be. The Prose section of this Catalogue is now in the British Museum, "and the *Kavi* or Verse section disappeared, until in 1938 Sir Paul E. Pieris, pieced it together from the contents of a box-full of papers received from a member of Nevill's family."

Sir Paul presented the Catalogue to the National Museums to be printed for the benefit of students of Sinhalese literature. Happily this has been done, and all

students of this country owe a debt of gratitude to Sir Paul for this outstanding gift, and to the National Museums for publishing the work. It is to be hoped that the other two volumes will follow shortly.

The book is well printed, with a full Index, and is moderately priced. It should find a place in every Library in the Island.

It may be stated here that Nevill collected these Manuscripts in the early days, when spurious verses were not hurriedly coined for the benefit of collectors as has been done in recent years. Great credit is due to Nevill for having preserved to posterity, and more specially to the Sinhalese people, their vanished heritage, which today has been so altered—whether it be in song, dance or art—to pander to the taste of the West, and evoke the applause of a semi-westernized people.

A suggestion to the National Museums : If Nevill's entire List of Pali, Sinhalese and Sanskrit Manuscripts in the British Museum, can be printed as a Supplement to the three Volumes of *Kavi*, it will enhance the value of the work a great deal. We believe the Colombo Museum Library has a copy of this.

P. R.

The Tudor Age—By James A. Williamson. Vol. 4 in a 9-volume History of England. (*Longmans, Green & Co.*—25*sh.*).

The Tudor Age is the first volume to be published of the nine-volume History of England planned by the publishing firm of Messrs. Longmans Green & Co. of London, under the General Editorship of Professor W. N. Medlicott. The series itself deserves mention as aiming at a comprehensive History of England, and will, we are sure, when complete be a worthy addition to any library. Some of the volumes dealing with the pre-Tudor period, which are as yet unpublished, are : *Roman and Anglo-Saxon England*, the *Feudal Kingdom* and *Later Medieval England*. The volumes to follow the present book are : *Stuart England*, *The Eighteenth Century*, two volumes on the *Nineteenth Century*, and one on *Contemporary England*. Every volume is to be written by an authority on the period, as Dr. Williamson is on the *Tudor Age*, and is to be under the General Editorship of Professor Medlicott. The great value of the series is that each of the nine volumes will be able to stand by itself not only as an individual expression of the author's study and experience, but as a coherent picture of a period in the history of England. The aim of the series has been to give particular attention to the inter-action of the various aspects of national life and endeavour, so that each volume may present a convincing integration of those developments—political, constitutional, economic, social, foreign and cultural—which happen to be dominant at each period.

The Tudor Age is one of the most exciting centuries of English history and not unnaturally, has provoked considerable historical research and writing. Dr. Williamson's book hardly provides anything new on the subject, nor is it meant to, but it supplies an excellent narrative history of the Tudor period, "written with intent to balance the treatment of the various interests of the time and to evaluate their influence on the course of national development". The themes that arise in such a treatment are roughly three, first, the restoration of order and strengthening of administration ; next, a reformation in the Church, the State and English society, and lastly, the opening phase in the growth of the new England that emerged. A point which Dr. Williamson makes in the Preface, and with which the present reviewer is in full agreement, is that the Tudor Age was much more secular minded than is usually supposed, and the dull stories of the fortunes of churches and ecclesiastical transactions, with which Tudor histories are usually burdened, get a second place to the more important events in the economic, mercantile and maritime spheres.

Divided into twenty chapters, the work begins with a section on " England in 1485," where the social, economic, political and religious structure is given. The establishment of the Dynasty from its humble beginnings is next traced at length and is followed by the reign of Henry VII., whose contribution mainly lay in the achievement of stability. Henry VIII. gets five chapters which deals with the early reign in the shadow of Wolsey, the fall of Wolsey and the break with Rome, and the establishment of the Royal Supremacy, where one body politic was created of which the king was master. Edward VI. and Mary each get a chapter and the narrative of these difficult times is admirably stated. The remaining chapters are devoted to the Elizabethan era which was the high point of Tudor achievement and the basis of later British supremacy in the world. The political perils and economic recovery that characterised the young queen's reign are dealt in detail and the shaping of the " Elizabethan Age " is given, culminating in the " Fertile Seventies " where overseas exploration and the exploits of the sea-dogs were at their highest point. The conflict with Spain is dealt with together with the deeper colonial issues involved. The post-Armada years of triumph are noted, in which an ageing queen sees her explorers, colonists and traders on every continent in the world. The final chapter entitled " The Closing Years " shows excellently the England that the Tudors left behind, to be ravaged under the Stuarts in the next hundred years, but which was to emerge as a world power with the turn of the seventeenth century.

A comprehensive list of the latest publications on the period is given as an appendix, and when taken together with existing lists should guide the reader who is keen on following up the subject. A good index and several maps enhance the value of the book, the latter including two maps on English exploration and colonisation overseas. Taken as a text-book for the student or as a book of interest to the general reader, *The Tudor Age* is invaluable both for its excellent presentation and accuracy as well as for its handy appearance, providing in a single volume, almost all that one need know about Tudor England. This book as well as the eight other companion volumes should find a place in every school and private library in the Island. It is to be hoped that the companion volumes will follow soon.

S. D. S.

Zanzibar under the Foreign Office, 1890-1913—By L. A. Hollingsworth. (*MacMillan & Co., Ltd.*—12*sh.* 6*d.*).

This work is a modified version of a thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of London, while the author has worked in Zanzibar for twenty years. These two conditions alone make the book of considerable value to the student of British colonial history, particularly as the published work on Zanzibar (apart from official papers) is negligible. The chief value of the book in my opinion, is in that it provides in miniature a good example of British policy towards its acquisitions in Africa in the 19th and early 20th centuries, while it also shows the unscrupulousness with which the colonial powers " grabbed " Africa.

Zanzibar is an island of 640 square miles off the coast of East Africa, but having an importance quite disproportionate to its size, for its insular position and deep harbour have made it for centuries, the outlet for all the produce of East Africa. The great fertility of the island also makes it the producer of nearly 100% of the clove requirements of the world. As such Zanzibar was bound to have a history. The Arabs first colonized the island and made it the centre of their trade in ivory, gold and slaves, in the Middle Ages. The Portuguese made it one of the great chain of ports that guarded their Asian monopoly, but their ruthless trading policy however destroyed the island's commercial importance and from the time the Portuguese abandoned it in 1650 to the 19th century it remained a backwater. In 1806 however the fortunes of the island revived for the Omanese Prince, Seyyid Said, conquered Zanzibar and asserted overlordship over the whole of East Africa, together with a portion of the interior extending up to the Great Lakes. But close upon the middle of the 19th century a more aggressive phase in colonialism had set in, and the " Great Powers " were moving in into Africa, the last unstaked piece of land on earth.

British influence first arose from the humanitarian motive of curbing the slave-trade, which was done by a show of gun-boats in 1822 and 1845. In 1862, France gave Zanzibar to British influence, in return for a free-hand in Madagascar, and ten years later, the British dissatisfied with the measures already taken to stop the slave-trade, forced the Sultan to decree total abolition. The measure being unpopular required force to be implemented, and soon a British garrison was established in Zanzibar. Similarly in 1880, the Germans came in. Their colonialism had the same ends as the British but lacked the same finesse. Dr. Peters, the Kaiser's agent landed on the Sultan's mainland territories, made " treaties " with the petty chieftains (who had no authority to do so) and proclaimed a German protectorate. Here one might expect the British who were " protecting " the Sultan, to interfere ; in fact the Sultan expected such protection, but England already beaten in the Sudan was in no mood to do so, and a German dominion arose unchallenged in East Africa. In 1886 a commission of the two despoiling powers of Germany and England partitioned the Sultan's territory. In 1890, the British declared a protectorate and the Foreign Office took over the administration ruling through a Sultan whom it nominated. The Sultan had hardly anything more to lose, he had lost his extensive lands and he had lost his self-respect, and in 1918 the mockery of a Protectorate was done away with and Zanzibar placed directly under the Colonial Office.

Dr. Hollingsworth's book deals in considerable detail over the period of 28 years in which the Sultanate was under the Foreign Office. Since hardly anything of significance could happen in the spoliated little island of 640 square miles, a good many sections of the book are devoted to an account of the personal lives of the Sultans, their health, their education (at Harrow !) and their concubines. Interspersed with such details are the few benefits of the British Raj—the development of education and of health services. The more valuable section of the book however is the comprehensive introduction which makes it possible to see well the ways in which colonial policy worked in the " grab " for Africa. The student of colonial history is sure to find the book of use.

G. D.

Napoleon's Letters—Translated and Edited by J. M. Thompson. (*MacMillan and J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd.*—6 *sh.*).

It is doubtful if any single period of history has had so much attention paid to it by scholars than the twenty-five years that followed the French Revolution of 1789. Likewise, the dominating personality of that generation, Napoleon Bounaparte, has attracted more biographers and has had more written about him than perhaps any other historic figure. The magnitude of the changes he brought about in Europe, his genius as soldier and administrator, and the many-sidedness of his character have all helped to make him an everlastingly interesting figure. And not the least contributory to the many interpretations given to him is the fact that Napoleon himself wrote profusely, mainly letters, the sum of which has been variously estimated at between 60,000 to 70,000. Of these 41,000 have been published in different places at different times, the standard collection however being the 32 volume edition brought out on the orders of Napoleon III.

The present selection of 300 letters has been compiled by Dr. J. M. Thompson who is already well-known for his publications on the Napoleonic Period. It has in view the aim of picking out " letters illustrating every side of Napoleon's, character and career ; the most important, the most interesting, and the most readable ; those that a historian must have for use, and those that a general reader

will like to have for pleasure." The present collection has a further value in that it includes several letters that were either omitted or expurgated in the previously quoted collection made by Napoleon III. where only those letters adding to the glory of the "august predecessor" were allowed for publication. Short notes have also been added at the end of each letter explaining the references or context in which the letter was written.

The collection begins with a letter written in 1784 to his uncle when the future Emperor was only 14 years old, and ends with one written after Waterloo to the Prince Regent. None of the letters from St. Helena are included however, which is a pity. There is a continuous record of letters from Napoleon throughout this period, for even when at the front he always had his secretaries with him to take down his correspondence. It is estimated that he wrote an average of 15 letters a day during the fifteen years of his rule.

Letters are on the whole the most truthful as well as the most interesting of historical documents. The letter-writer has an audience of one not himself. And if he is to impose his views it must be by argument, not rhetoric. In a whole gallery of self portraits of the Emperor, the editor has caught a great variety of moods which dictated Napoleon's changes of style—that style which in all circumstances remained quick, vigorous, lucid, at once terse and rhetorical, and places him among the great letter writers ; but he also exhibits the kaleidoscope of that astonishing character—his wisdom, his clear-sightedness, eloquence, heroism, occasional naivete, more infrequent charm, his staggering hypocrisy, and his ruthless candour. Napoleon's letters remain, beyond anything written about him, or anything else he wrote or said about himself, by far his best portrait.

R. M.

Journal of World History, Vol. I., No. I.—Edited by the Commission Internationale pour Une Histoire du Developpement Scientifique et Culturel de L'Humanite. (*Librarie des Meridiens & Orient Longmans*—Rs. 9.75).

The Journal of World History is a truly original publication that historians throughout the world will rejoice in welcoming. The first journal of its kind, it is being brought out under the auspices of UNESCO, and is meant to prepare the way for the six volume Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind which is being sponsored by the same body. The *Commission Internationale pour Une Histoire du Developpement Scientifique et Culturel de l'Humanite* which is responsible for the publication of the Journal, is a wide and representative body including scholars from the world over who will also be the editors of the six volume history.

In the Foreword to the Journal, the Editor (M. LeFebre) emphatically says : "History is not war but peace." History is not the record of "aggressions . . . and of Heroes brought into this world to covet, kill, plunder and burn" but of the efforts by which man has "unceasingly sought to come nearer and nearer to an ideal of liberation and of human concord." For those who live in the mid-20th century in the shadow of the Hydrogen bomb, there could be no better definition of history, and the appearance of a journal devoted to promoting a universal history is not the least of the contributions that UNESCO has made in its first few years of existence.

The first Journal's papers show the aim to bring out the inter-dependence of the world's peoples rather than their national, racial or many other differences. Thus we get "An Interpretation of Islamic History," by H. A. R. Gibb, Professor of Oriental Studies at Oxford, and Professor Garrod's "Relations Between South-West Asia and Europe in the later Palaeolithic Age," and several other articles in French. Part II. of the Journal is devoted to documentation, and Part III. to a discussion of the difficult role of an editor of such a vast undertaking as a Journal of World History, while the concluding part gives the first and second annual reports of the President of the Commission and the plan of the proposed six-volume history of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind.

The plan of the latter is worthy of note for the division is made not according to race, or Occident and Orient, but simply according to historical periods. Thus the first volume will deal with the development of peoples and cultures to about 1200 B.C. and will be divided into two parts, the first dealing with the development of early peoples and cultures, and the second with the ancient Oriental peoples and cultures. Here, as in the volumes to follow, the emphasis will be on the factors making for inter-dependence between peoples rather than on a particular society itself. Volume II. is to deal with the history of man from 1200 B.C. to 400 A.D., Vol. III. from A.D. 400 to A.D. 1300, and Vol. IV. from A.D. 1300 to the late 18th century. The fifth Volume will bring the history from the late 18th century to the early twentieth century and the final Volume will bring up the history to the present day.

Each volume is to seek to provide a setting for its particular period in world history giving it's relation to preceding developments and the main lines of its own movement and future development together with the contribution to the general growth of cultures and the formation of an inter-dependent world life among men. The conclusion will survey the demographic development of mankind, sketch the basic factors affecting the survival of peoples, and interpret and evaluate the systems of governments, the modes of production, the prevailing social values, and the states of belief and scientific knowledge in terms of the concrete circumstances of life of the various peoples of the world.

The Journal of World History and the proposed six-volume History of Mankind is one of the greatest enterprises undertaken in recent historical studies and on it's success will depend in many ways the success of further attempts at "human liberation and concord."

J. F.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

The Wonder that was India—By A. L. Basham. (*Sidgwick & Jackson, London*—45 *sh.*). To be published in early September, 1954.

It is with pleasure that we inform our readers of an outstanding book to be published next September in *The Wonder that was India* by Dr. A. L. Basham of the University of London. A survey of the culture of the Indian sub-continent before the coming of the Muslims, the book is one of the series on ancient civilizations that included such well-known works as *The Glory that was Greece* and *The Splendour that was Egypt.*

The work treats of the history and culture of India from the early civilization of the Indus Valley down to the coming of the Muslims, and is perhaps more comprehensive than any other single volume work of its kind hitherto published in English, covering all aspects of ancient Indian life and thought both in the Aryan North and in the Dravidian South. Beginning with an excellent introduction, the pre-history is traced from primitive man through the Harappa City culture to the Aryans and the Rigvedic and later Vedic age.

The next two chapters deal with the political and institutional history of the period. The author shows the former as a succession of empires each with its distinctive features, thus the first ancient empire begins in the age of the Buddha and continues through Alexander and the Mauryas to the Guptas and Harshas and finally to the smaller medieval empires that were to go under to the Muslims. The chapter on institutional history gives such facts as the concepts of kingship, village administration, finance, law and legal literature, justice and punishment and Hindu military organisation and technique.

The two following chapters on Society and Everyday Life bring out aspects of Indian history that are all too readily given a back place in the usual text books. Thus society is described on the basis of class, family and individual, and Everyday Life includes the daily round in town and village, agriculture, stock-breeding, clothes, food and drink, economic organisation and foreign trade.

The masterfully written chapter on Religion distinguishes four groups in Indian doctrines and metaphysics. The religion of the Veda, Buddhism, Jainism and other unorthodox sects such as the Ajivikas, and finally Hinduism which deals with the later developments from the Vedas, especially, Vishnu, Siva and the lesser Gods.

The concluding sections on the Arts, and on Language and Literature completes the study, the former dealing with architecture, sculpture, painting, music and dance, and the latter with the languages which are Sanskrit, Prakrits and Pali, and Dravidian. The literary heritage deriving from the Vedic times is likewise traced with clarity, the epic, Sanskrit, Pali and Tamil literature and folk-poetry being all dealt with.

The greatest value of the book is that though it is primarily intended for the reader with no background knowledge of the subject, the already initiated, such as the Ceylon reader could hardly find another book which offers in such a concise and scholarly form almost everything there is to know about the great themes of Indian History. An excellent idea has been to give full lists of classified bibliographies, so that the student may pursue his reading further as this book is bound to provoke him to do. The comprehensive appendices dealing with specialised aspects like cosmology, calendar, mathematics, sciences, coinage, alphabet, etc., will likewise be of great help to the student reader. One need hardly say that this work should find a place in every library in the country, while there is no better book from which the student could gain perspective before going on to the detailed study of Indian History.

The author Dr. A. L. Basham who is Reader in the History of India in the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London is well-known among Indologists for his authoritative work on the sect of the Ajivikas, a vanished Indian religion. He has travelled and lectured widely in India, and was for some time Exchange Lecturer in Indian History at the University of Ceylon.

The book is uniform in size with the volumes mentioned earlier in this notice and goes into 580 pages, plus 100 pages of plates which carry over 200 well-chosen illustrations, many hitherto unpublished and in colour, together with line illustrations and maps. Priced at 45 *sh.* it will be published next September by Sedgwick and Jackson, Ltd., 44, Museum Street, London, W.C. 1. Ceylon readers and libraries who wish to secure copies on publication should contact Messrs. Lake House Bookshop, Lake House, Colombo, who will be pleased to attend to their orders.

S. D. S.

PERIODICALS RECEIVED IN EXCHANGE

The Editors acknowledge the receipt with thanks of :

Asia, Saigon. Vol. III., Vol. IV.

Al-Andalus, Madrid. Vols. XVI., XVII. and XVIII.

Ancient India, New Delhi. No. 7.

Andhra Historical Research Society Journal, Madras. Vol. XX.

Artibus Asiae, New York. Vol. XVI.

Asiatic Society of Bengal Journal, Calcutta. Vol. XVII., No. 1, 2, & 3.

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. Vols. XXXII. and XXXIII.

Bihar Research Society Journal, Patna. Vol. XXXVIII., XXXIX.

Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala, Poona. Vol. XXXIII., XXXIV.

Birmingham Historical Journal, Birmingham. Vols. II., III. and IV., No. 1.

Bihar Educationist, Patna. Vol. I., No. 122.

Bulletin of the Baroda Museum, Baroda. Vol. VIII.

East and West, Rome. Vol. I., II., III., IV. and V., No. 1.

Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the R.A.S., Colombo. Vol. II. & III.

Journal of Economic Development, Chicago. Vol. I., II., III., No. 1.

Journal of East Asiatic Studies, Manila. Vols. 1 & 2.

Epigraphica Indica, Ootacamund. Vol. XXVIII., Part VII. Vol. XXIX., Pt. I.

Foreign Affairs, New York. Vol. 30, 31 and 32, No. 1.

Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, Cambridge (U.S.). Vol. 16.

History Today, London. Vol. III. and Vol. IV., Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 & 5.

History, London. Vol. XXXVIII., Nos. 132 and 133.

Indian Historical Quarterly. Calcutta. Vol. XXVIII., No. 2 & 3, Vol. XXIX.

Indian Journal of Political Science, Lucknow. Vol. XIII., No. 1.

Indian Quarterly, New Delhi. Vols. VIII., IX., X., Nos. 1 and 2.

Indo-Asian Culture, New Delhi. Vols. I. and II.

International Social Science Bulletin, Paris. Vols. V., VI., No. 1 and 2.

Islamic Culture, Hyderabad. Vol. XXVIII., Nos. 1 and 2.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda. Vol. II., III., Nos. 1 and 2.

Journal of Politics, Gainesville. Vol. 13, 14, 15, 16, No. 1.

Journal of the History of Ideas, New York. Vol. XIV., No. 4. Vol. XV., No. 1 & 2.

Journal of Indian History, Trivandrum. Vol. XXX., XXXI. and XXXII., No. 1.

Journal of Aesthetics, Cleveland. Vol. XI., No. 2, 3 and 4 ; Vol. XII., No. 1, 2 & 3.

Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore. Vol. XLII., XLIII. and XLIV., Nos. 1 and 2.

Millbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, New York. Vols. XXX., XXXI. and XXXII., Nos. 1 and 2.

Muslim World, Hartford. Vols. XLI., XLII., XLIV., No. 1 & 2.

Musee Guimet Publications, Paris. 6 volumes.

Maha Bodhi, Calcutta. Vol. 61, Nos. 8–12 ; Vol. 62, Nos. 1–6.

Man in India, Ranchi. Vols. 32, 33 and Vol. 34, Nos. 1 and 2.

Mysore Economic Review, Bangalore. Vol. 40, No. 4.

New Lanka, Colombo. Vols. IV., V., Nos. 1, 2 and 3.

Pacific Affairs, New York. Vols. XXV., XXVI., XXVII., Nos. 1 and 2.

Political Science Quarterly, New York. Vols. LXVIII., LXIX., No. 1.

Round Table, London. Nos. 166–174.

Rural Sociology, Lexington. Vol. 18, No. 4 ; Vol. 19, Nos. 1 and 2.

Sarawak Museum Journal, Kuching. Vol. V., No. 3.

Social Science Bibliography, New Delhi. Vol. 1, No. 1.

Tamil Culture, Tuticorin. Vols. II., III., Nos. 1 and 2.

United Asia, Bombay. Vols. V. and VI., Nos. 1, 2 and 3.

University of Ceylon Review, Peradeniya. Vols. XI. and XII., No. 1.

Western Political Quarterly, Salt Lake City. Vol. VI.

Yale Review, New Haven. Vols. XLII., XLIII., Nos. 1, 2 and 3.

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

The following Books have also been received, and will be reviewed later :

Elizabeth and Her Parliaments, 1559–1581—By J. E. Neale. (*Jonathan Cape*—25 *sh.*).

The Origins of Christianity—By Archibald Robertson. (*Lawrence & Wishart*—21 *sh.*).

Ceylon, the Development of It's Laws and Constitutions—By Jennings and Tambiah. (*Stevens*—£2 10 *sh*).

Bahmanis of the Deccan—By H. K. Sherwani. (*Saood Manzil*—Rs. 15/-).

Caste in Ceylon—By Bryce Ryan. (*Rutgers University Press*—$6).

The American Road to World Peace—By Sir Alfred Zimmem. (*Dutton*—$4).

The Origins of the Labour Party—By Henry Pelling. (*MacMillan & Co., Ltd.*—21 *sh.*).