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MODERN SRI LANKA STUDIES

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BOOK REVIEWS

THE GODDESS PATTINI AND THE PARALBE ON JUSTICE[1]

GANANATH OBEYESEKERE

We are gathered here today to pay tribute to the memory of two ladies of distinction- Mrs Punitham Tiruchelvam who is no longer with us today, and the Goddess Pattini whose cult has virtually disappeared in most parts of Sri Lnnka, both in the Buddhist – Sinhala and Hindu – Tamil areas of this nation. I did not know Mrs. Tiruchelvam personally but with the Goddess Pattini I had a long love affair for the last twenty years. I have studied the cult of this goddess in its historical depth and cultural spread in both India and Sri Lanka, among contemporary Hindus and Buddhists and, as we know from the evidence of the past, among other religious communities like the Jainas and Ajivakas. For one of the impressive features of religions in South Asia is that in spite of doctrinal differences and racial and language divisions there is a level of sub-doctrinal religiosity which unite disparate communities in our region in common bonds of belief and faith. The Pattini cult expresses one such level of cultural unity, though it is by no means the only one. In Sri Lanka the Pattini cult was dominant specially in the Western, Southern, and Sabaragamuwa provinces and among the Hindus of the east coast, especially of the Batticaloa district. It is almost certain that this cult was also widely prevalent in the Jaffna peninsula prior to the reforms of Navalar. In both Sinhala and Tamil areas Pattini is propitiated in annual post – harvest rituals known as **gammaduva** in Sinhala and **Vaikaci Catanku** in Tamil. Here at these annual festivities, the texts of the cult are recited, and the goddess is propitiated in communal rituals. In the Sinhala areas the Pattini texts are embodied in a compendium known as **pantis kōlmura** - thirty five song books – many of them adapted into Sinhala Buddhism in the 15th century from older Tamil texts. In the Sinhala communities the same texts are sung while others are enacted in both comic and serious ritual dramas in the annual festivities of the **gammaduva**. One of the most powerful ritual dramas enacted here is known as **marā ipäddīma** or the killing and resurrection, which deals with the murder of the goddess' consort - Kovalan or Palanga - and his subsequent resurrection by Pattini This type of awe – inspiring dramas I label **dromenon,** borrowing that term from Greek mystery religion. Another drama that was also performed at the **gammaduva** is known as **pataha,** literally "pit" but in fact a pond or tank built by the evil - three - eyed king of Pandi. The latter is pitched on the level of comedy, but like all good comedy has a serious underlying purpose. In this lecture I want to focus on one theme that unites these two dramas - the serious drama and the comic drama - and this is the theme of justice and righteousness. I focus on this

1. This paper was delivered as the Punitham Tiruchelvam Memorial Lecture in Colombo on 21st July 1983 at the invitation of the Tamil Womens' Union Kalalaya.

theme, for though the ladies we honour today are dead, what they stand for has relevance especially for the hard times in which we are now living, both in this country and eleswhere in the contemporary world. The two ritual dramas are not only united thematically, but they are also part of a continuous narrative. The narrative of the **killing and resurrection** are familiar to most of you from its literary expression **Cilappatikaram**, but the **pataha** or tank is not, though it is also rooted in the ancient traditions of South India and Sri Lanka. Owing to limitations of time I can only briefly discuss the dramatic aspects of these rituals. I shall instead focus on the major theme-the theme of justice. In the first part of this lecture I shall deal with the **pataha** ritual drama which deals with two kings - the evil – three eyed King of Pandi (Pandya) and the good king of Soli (Cola) who is identilied with the great Tamil king, Karikala.

PART I

The stage setting for the **pataha** ritual is rather elaborate. Two people dressed in coloured robes are seated on chairs set in diagonal corners of the ritual arena. The **kapurāla** enters the arena wearing his dancing kit, his face daubed with white paint. Another dancer (his assistant) accompanying him carries in his hand two "crowns" made of coconut leaves, plantain bark and cane. The **kapurāla** struts about the arena for a while, then starts singing to the beat of the drums. After singing a few stanzas he utters a prose commentary, explaining to his audience the (rather difficult) verse, filling in parts of the narrative which the text is not too clear about, and sometimes, for convenience and to save time, paraphrasing large chunks of verse. For instance, after singing half a dozen verses he introduces himself and the other actors. His prose commentary is interspersed with the conventional "yes" of the drummer.

Kapurāla: Now we've sung a few songs in this assembly here but it doesn't make too much sense. (Yes) Shall I tell you who I am? (Yes) - I am the Chief Minister of the Pandi king, ruler of the eighteen realms. (Ah) I am the one who manages all the work of the king. The king gave me this job after great thought. (Yes) - Because it is neeessary for a good minister to know exactly what the king thinks and wants. Such "calculating" ministers are wanted in the king's service.

Then he goes up to the Pandi king (represented by one of the persons dressed in colourful robe) and places a crown on his head, while an attendant draws an "eye" on the middle of his forehead with red and white paint. He also goes to the other king (later revealed as the king of Soli) and places a crown on his head too. The **kapurāla** changes his role as the occassion demands. He sings all the verse, utters the explicatory dialogue, and speaks the lines of the king, the citizens, the minister, and whatever other role is required. Very often, his is a plain, impersonal running commentary that explains the action being performed in the ritual arena. The reader will be able to visualize the arena situation if he remembers the dramatic technique employed – through verse, explicatory prose, and background action.

The powerful King of Pandi, with a third eye in his forehead, had a most wonderful city built by the divine architect Visvakarma himself. It resembled a city of the gods, so large and beautiful was it. Powerful though he was, the king was also a cruel tyrant.

No kind thought ever ripened in his mind
His power, however, ripened from day to day
His mind, like a fearful demon's, "ripened"
Like warrior - faced Ravana ripened his strength

He'd acquired merit by giving alms in a previons birth
He wore a crown studded with gold and gems
The cakravartin Pandi king with three eyes
Was pleased with the blessed sight of his city.

The City of Pandi was modelled on that of the cosmic city of Sakra or Indra. The king himself is like a god - he possesses a middle eye like Siva But he is not satisfied because there is something lacking in the city. To quote from the **pataha** text :

He thought like the great ocean
This king, lord of the earth, born of a pure dynasty
Thought he: "I am a chief of gods and a chief of kings"
He summoned his ministers to the top storey of his palace.

The ministers reading the king's thoughts say:

O mighty one, lord of the seven world systems
O warrior powerful as Sakra himself
Like Sakra himself possessing three eyes
Is it your pleasure that we build a pond?

The reason for the pond is very clear from the text. The king's city is a replica of the divine city of Indra - Sakra located in Meru, but it lacks one thing. He needs a pond to rival Sakra's. So he orders his ministers to construct a pond, a replica of the cosmic lake **anōtatta** but he ignores popular wisdom and initiate work in the unfortunate month of December (**unduvap masa**), on an unfortunate day of Mars (Tuseday) which also coincided with another unfortunate day, the fourth day of the lunar fortnight. Then he summons people to work on his project. At this point in the drama several small boys representing workmen, enter the stage carrying toy mammoties The suffering they undergo are described in graphic detail. Let me quote one stanza where the people complain.

O foolish king, in spite of his broad forehead
To please him we carry large baskets on our heads
We suffer a thousand sorrows and misfortunes
Our heads are bald from carrying these baskets.

At this point the singing is interspersed with more action. A chair is brought into "mid arena" where the **pataha** is being dug by the boys (workmen). The king of Pandi comes up from his seat in the corner of the arena and sits on the chair. The **kapurāla** now takes on the voice of the king, that is, he speaks the lines the king would have spoken. "These are idle workmen, they should be impaled on an **ula** (a pointed iron stake thrust into in the anus as a punishment in Kandyan times) No inquiry necessary". The **kapurāla** quickly changes roles and is now simply the narrator: taking a small stick (representing the stake), he places it under the king's chair: the audience thoroughly enjoys the fun.

In spite of the efforts of workmen there is still no real progress in the construction of the pond. So the great **cakravartin** king now decides to summon the kings of the eighteen realms to work. Seventeen kings arrive and the **kapurāla** (priest) introduces each of them to the audience. For example the king of Urumusi or Ormuz is impersonated by the **kapurāla**. Since **uru** is the Sinhala word for pig, the **kapurāla** comes on all fours, grins showing his teeth like a pig, and then approaches Pandi. Several attendants cover the head of Pandi with a white shawl so that he does not see unclean sight. Other kings are introduced in a thoroughly outrageous manner. For example, the **kapurāla** says that no one is allowed to enter within the palace wall of the king's city – then he places his foot on Pandi's buttocks implying that this protuberance is the palace wall. There is a lot of similar horseplay as deliberate desecration of the king's person takes place. The divine king is the object of vulgar parody.

The text – soon takes on a serious tone The kings of the eighteen realms are also put to work and suffer as badly:

> Even the kings who lived in the shade of goodness
> Didn't have a thing to eat the live long day
> They draw loads of earth and heap them on both sides
> They suffer terribly like rounded – up cattle.

The arena is a bustle of activity, with a dozen of boys representing the kings and their followers digging the pond. While this is going on, **kapurāla** continues with his songs, prose commentary, and action. Explaining the songs to the audience he says that there is one part of the pond that is not cut. This is the work allocated to the king of Soli (**Cola**) but he has refused to come. King Pandi is wrathful over this insult. He writes a letter promptly, ordering ths king of Soli to arrive lest he, Pandi, like a glowing torch in his anger, wreak fearful reprisal.

> If you do not come to work tomorrow
> You will be soundly beaten, so be prompt.

He sends a dispatch through a messenger gifted with words. The emissary is a "small boy" who is given the **sannasa** ("letter"), that is a piece of tender coconut leaf (**gok**). The **kapurāla** carries the boy in his arms and walks to the other end of the arena where the king of Soli dressed in yellow, is seated. He places the boy on his shoulders and sings the songs

of the text. Then the **kapurāla** places both boy and **sannasa** on Soli's lap. The **kapurāla** continues his singing while Soli reads the letter. These songs state how the king of Soli, undaunted by the threats of Pandi, lops off the nose and ears of the emissary and orders that he be fed excrement and urine and sent back to the king Pandi. The **kapurāla** carries the child ("emissary") in his arms across to the other side of the arena, where the king of Pandi sits in his stiff majesty.

The king of Pandi, squirming under this insult, marches into the country of Soli with a huge force. Meanwhile messengers inform Soli that the king of Pandi is at his gates but Soli, quite undeterred, is determined to vanquish the proud king. He blows a tremendous blast from his conch, and his friend Sakra, hearing this, creates a devastating downpour that lasts seven days. Back in his own city the king of Pandi, deeply chagrined, decides to pay back in kind. He curses the country of Soli to be without water for seven years and seven months. His wish is fulfilled. So great is his power that the country of Soli, is devastated by drought, famine, and pestilence. There is a whole text known as **solīpura sāgataya** (famine in the kingdom of Cola) that deals with the waste land created by the curse of an unrighteous monarch.

The ritual drama of **pataha** focusses largely on the evil king Pandi. But what about the good king of Soli or Cola? The Sinhala tradition has a series of texts dealing with Soli who is explicity identified with the great South Indian king Karikala. I have not seen enactments of the Soli texts but there is little doubt that they were also performed as a ritual drama. Thus two dramas were probably enacted: one dealing with good king of Soli and the other with the evil three eyed Pandi. Karikala does not build a pond to imitate Sakra but instead raises the bunds of the Kaveri river for peaceful and productive irrigation purposes The kings of the eighteen realms also participate in this, but they are treated with utmost courtesy and respect Soli–Karikala lacks a divine eye; he also heeds popular custom. The completion of the **Kaveri** project is celebrated with water sports, described in a text known as **diya kcli katāva.** The once desolate land of Soli is now full of prosperity and a series of beautiful stanzas describe the river swarming with fish and blooming with lotuses, symbolic of purity; and a joyous populace sporting in the waters. Let me quote a few of these stanzas;

Lotuses floating in the water
White water lilies and lotus blooms
Blue lilies and blue moss
Loitered in the waters.

The ripples darted to and fro
Drops of rain gently touched
The blue lilies swaying
And straying in the water.

Hurt by the harsh sun
Petals dived underneath
There touching each other
They circled and eddied.

The drummers proclaimed the message:
"In order to sport in the river
Come in all your chariots
And decorate your streets"

The noble folk that day
Proclaimed the message to the people
Who heard it all
And gaily decked the streets.

Smiling without shyness
With high spirits and gay company
Girls frolicked in the river
Carefully avoiding the waves.

Then Karikala noble lord
Stood before the hundred kings
He spoke gentle words to them
And gave them permission to sport.

This image of prosperity and the picture of a joyous populace sporting in a river replete with fish must be contrasted with the previous drought in Soli and the depletion of fertility in that kingdom Thus, underlying the themes sketched earlier is a more widespread, universalistic message of the myth: the just king serves the common weal and brings prosperity to the human community, while the actions of the evil king creates a wasteland and destroys fertility and prosperity. This is a theme almost everywhere associated with traditional kingship; it appears in Sophoclean drama, in Shakespeare's **Macbeth**, and in all traditional polity. It is expressed as a profound wish in a popular Pali "prayer" (trans. Hocart 1931. p. 27).

Devö vassatu kālēna
Sassa sampatti hetu ca
Pīto bhavatu lōkō ca
Rājā bhavatu dhammikō.

Let the god rain in due time
who promotes the welfare of crops;
and let the world rejoice and
let the king be just.

The question we now should pose is this: What is the historical and social significance of the **pataha** ritual, of the evil Pandi and the opposed texts of the good Soli and how are these texts related to the myths and ritual dramas of the goddess Pattini? Let me present an extremely condensed view of my argument which I have examined in great detail in my book **The Cult of the Goddess Pattini.**[2]

Briefly stated it is this: scholars who have worked in the Indianized kingdoms of Southeast Asia have shown that the capital of the king – be it in Cambodia or Sri Vijaya or any of the ancient Burmese and Siamese kingdoms – was a replica of the cosmos and the king himself a divinity, residing in the **axis mundi**, the sacred center of the universe, generally identified with Meru. However practically no evidence is available on the views of ordinary

2. G. Obeyesekere The Cult of the Goddess Pattini. Chicogo and London: University of Chicogo Press, 1984.

people who had to give their time and labour to the construction of works that brought little public good. The source of these ideas of kingly divinity were originally Hindu and were exported to Southeast Asia where they were articulated with indigenous Southeast Aslan notions. There was I believe a process of feed-back involved; Hindu ideas influencing Southeast Asian conceptions and these conceptions in turn influencing Hindu ideas as a result of continual cultural interchange. It is clear from our texts that these ideas were operative in the history of Sri Lanka also. Paranavitana has discussed the influence of these conceptions in the reigns of Vattagamani Abhaya (89-77 BC); and Kassapa I (473-491 AD). However it is in the reign of Parakramabahu I (1153 - 1156 AD) that these conceptions became specially dominant, no doubt influenced by both Hindu and Southeast Asian conceptions A reading of chapter 79 of the **Culavamsa**, entitled "The laying out of the gardens and the like," merits futher examination by historians and archaeologists. For example, Parakramabahu named one park Nandana, which is one of the parks in the **Tāvatimsa** heaven. Indra himself sports there and **cakravartins** spend time in it after their earthly demise. Another garden was named Māhāmēghavanuyyana, "the garden of the huge clouds"; yet another was called Rājanārāyana after Visnu, and so forth. The sea of Parakrama, or Parākkrama-samudda had in its midst an island "resplendent with a superb royal palace" (**Culavamsa** 1953: part 2, 116-18). "The king also had a canal constructed called Gambhīra (the deep) which started at the flood escape called Makara of the Parakrama samudra". (Culavamsa, 1953, part 2, p. 120). Makara of course, is the mythical dragon in Buddhist thought. One of the king's tanks or ponds was named **anōtatta**, the mythic lake whose waters can resurrect the dead. **Anōtatta** is also the pond which the evil Pandi tries to replicate in his city.

Parakramabahu's great achivement was that he could combine the cosmic symbolism of the divine king with the more practical agricultural and hydraulic constructions of his predecessors. But this fusion was **not** possible after Sinhala civilization moved to the South and West where there was abundant rainfall. Consequently irrigation works on the dry zone model were redundant. Divine kings living in their cosmic cities could no longer cover up their grandiose conceptions in the guise of irrigation enterprises. This comes out very clearly in our texts. Pandi with his third eye is a god living in the cosmic city. People are forced to construct a pond for this king but they obviously resent it The king's pond - identified with the cosmic lake **anōtatta** is contemptuosly referred to **as a pataha** or pit. The evil king lives in splendid isolation in his divine palace unmindful of the sufferings of the ordinary people - The public resentment comes out clearly in the outrageous lampooning of the divine king The king's person was sacred; yet in the drama the priest desecrates it. We know that the conceptions of the sacredness of the king was literally applicable to Kandyan kings. Also parodied in these texts is the abject ceremonials people had to perform when they sought audience with the king. In the text known as **The Killing and Resurfection** (which is enacted later on in the same festival) Kovalan - Palanga - confronts the king of Pandi but he refuses to pay him the customary prostrations. He tells the king instead;

Only to the Buddha and the Sangha
To my teachers and parents dear
Even though you call me thief
I' ll not worship anyone else.

The implication is clear; the measure of ceremonial worship is that given the Buddha. But Buddha worship does not require abject prostrations; and any worship (such as those accorded to Kandyan kings) should not and ought not surpass that accorded to the Buddha

It is also evident that ordinary people had another model of kingship which they held in high esteem; this is embodied in the good king of Soli (Karikala) who is explicitly identified in Sinhala texts as embodying the Asokan ideals of kingship, and the Buddhist ideal of **dasa rāja dharma**. If the King of Pandi has built a city for his personal glory not so with the king of Soli who raises the bunds of the Kaveri for the public good. If the justice of Pandi is unrighteous; the justice of Soli is exemplary. The texts gave many examples of the self – sacrifices and righteousness of Soli who moves among the people and is solicitous of their welfare.

Ordinary people then had two models of kingship and conceptions of righteousness by which they measured actual kings. Knox for example records the public gossip of the time regarding Rajasingha II of Kandy who also got people to construct a tank (1681, p. 72). Baldeus mentions the public complaint against Rajasingha I who summoned corvee labour to build the fortification of Kotte. Here also people complained about being forced to earry loads on their heads (Baldeus 1673, p. 7). A similar complaint was made against Jayavarman VII (1181 – 1200) of Cambodia. The last king of Kandy Sri Vikrama also built a pond – the present Kandy lake. This once again had cosmic significance and was called the **Kiri muhuda** (the milk ocean) while the wall outside was the **ahas paura** (rampart of the sky) The eight sided **pattirippuva** or octagon in Kandy had a similar cosmic significance; the king lay at the centre of the eight directions of the traditional Sinhala compass from where he watched the procession of the Palace of the Tooth Relic.

While people were resentful of the cosmic aspirations of kings and had another model of righteous kingship (the Soli-Asokan ideal), nowhere is rebellion advocated. Righteous order must not be restored by force, but through divine intervention. This is where the goddess Pattini comes in. It is she who must destory the evil king's might and end the drought in Madurai to pave the way for Soli–Karikala to raise the bunds of the Kāveri river. Thus according to another Sinhala text, the **Amba Vidamana** or "shooting of the mango" (also enacted as a ritual drama) the god Sakra asks the goddess Pattini to be reborn in the human world in the form of a mango in the orchard of king Pandi. The king sees this wonderful mango and wants to pick it but none can bring it down. Sakra comes down to earth as an old beggar and shoots the mango; the juice falls on the middle eye of Pandi and obliterates it Thus Pandi's source of power – the middle eye – wherein resides his Śākti is blinded. The frightened king places the golden mango in a casket and floats it down the Kāvēri where it is recovered by a merchant prince and his wife. Soon, instead of the mango, there emerges an infant girl who is adopted by the merchant and his wife. This was the goddess in her final human incarnation.

The tradition of the goddess' conception in a mango, the blinding of Pandi's middle eye, the adoption of Pattini by the merchant are shared by both Sinhala Buddhists and Hindus of the east coast. However among the Hindus, it is a hermit, not the god Sakra who shoots the mango. It is virtually certain that this form of the myth is borrowed by the east coast

Tamils from the Buddhists. The rest of the story of the goddess' life in both Hindu and Buddhist versions is remarkably close to the great Tamil - Jaina epic the **Cilappatikaram**. In Buddhist Sri Lanka, as I said earlier, the key section of this story is enacted in a ritual drama known as "the killing and resurrection". This is not enacted in the east coast; there the key event enacted is the marriage of the goddess and her consort Kovalan. In the east coast the life of the goddess is recited during the May festival from a text known as **Kannaki Valakkurai** (Kannaki's prosecution of justice). Once again you will notice that the Pattini myth transends doctrinal differences and is rooted in common traditions shared by Hindus, Buddhists and Jainas.

Let me now come back to the theme of the lecture. In her last human incarnation the goddess Pattini, marries Kovalan, but since she is a goddess, she does not have sexual relations with him. Kovalan however deserts Pattini and enjoys unabashed sexuality with the courtesan Madevi (or Matavi), from whom he has a child Manimekalai. He squanders his wealth on the courtesan, and then, repentant and broke, he comes back to Pattini. Pattini and Kovalan accompanted by Pattini's servant, Kali, go to Madurai to sell the anklet. Pattini stays in a cowherd's settlement while Kovalan (Palanga) goes into the city of Madurai; where he is betrayed by a goldsmith who accuses him of stealing the queen's anklet. Kovalan (Palanga) is summoned before the king and protests his innocence. The queen of Pandi also states that Kovalan is innocent, but the king does not pay heed to her. Ultimately he is executed as a thief by the king of Pandi Pattini comes in search of her husband and resurrects him by the power of her chastity. She then goes up to the king, and accuses him of violating the ten principles of kingly justice. As she tears out her breast and strikes it on the ground, fires engulf the city destroying the evil king and the city itself. The fire also envelops the street of goldsmiths and destroys evil people, but spares the good - including the queen of Pandi. Then a god named Sātā in Buddhist texts, and Cittalai Cattan in Hindu texts, asks her to cool down and calm the fires of Madurai. She does this and rains fall and douses the fire. Justice is restored and along with it comes the resumption of rain, and fertility and the common weal.

The question I now ask is; What is the nature of justice enshrined in these texts that we have thus far discussed?

The epic and the popular ritual and mythic sources are all interrelated in terms of a powerful theme that permeates all versions of the Pattini myth; the notion of the king's justice. This comes out in the Sinhala-Buddhist versions of the myth. The rationale for Pattini's birth in the golden mango of the Pandi king's orchard is to destroy that king's assumption of divinity by blinding his middle eye. The king of Pandi is evil; opposed to his model of kingship is that of Soli (Karikala), the good king, ruling according to the dictates of royal justice **(dasa rāja dharma)** and emulating the paradigmatic case of Asoka In the myths and ritual dramas of Pandi and Soli evil triumphs, if only temporarily. This triumph of evil is a realistic appraisal of what must have occurred time and again in the history of South Asian kingdoms - the rule of despotic kings out of touch with popular opinion and people's conceptions of royal justice. This theme of justice is an ancient one, and versions of it are found in older South Indian literature. From about 8 century A. D. till the

17 century A, D. there developed a vast body of popular literature in Tamil, Telegu, Kannada and Malayalam generally dealing with this theme. Almost always the good king is Karikala but the evil three-eyed king is variously named as Trinetra Pallava, Trinetra Navalocana, or Mukhari. In these popular South Indian texts also the middle eye of the evil king is obliterated.

For the purposes of convenience I shall label this notion of righteousness as "rational justice". Soli's justice is rational in so far as it is directed to the public good; Pandi's is irrational because it is directed towards personal self-glorification. When rational justice fails, divine intervention must occur; but the justice of the goddess Pattini is also rational, since it destroys evil but spares the good. The end product of the goddess' wrath is to create the resumption of a just social order and concomitantly, the resumption of rain and fertility. These notions are fully rooted in the Pattini cult - in the Sinhala and Tamil versions and in the **Cilappatikaram** itself. However, historically, in South India and in parts of Sri Lanka, the Pattini cult has been transformed into the Kali cult. For example in my research in Kerala, I discovered several texts which describe the life of Pattini; but Pattini is identified with Kali. When this happens there is a concomitant change in the conception of justice; a change from what one might call a rational or righteous justice into a vengeful or "irrational" conception of justice. Let me illustrate this with two examples from the Kerala texts and one from Mulaitivu.

1. In one myth the goddess Kali or Devi goes to Pandi's kingdom and resurrects her husband from the dead. Then she attacks the Pandian kingdom and destroys it entirely, and even kills the innocent queen.

2. Aother text describes in thirteen lines how she cuts up the goldsmith into smaller and smaller pieces.

She gave the pieces of the flesh to demons and then went to the city of Pandi. The king summoned his army of twelve thousand soldiers to fight her. But Kali kil ed all twelve thousand and drove back the king. She entered the palace, seized the king, cut his throat, and wrapped his head in silk and gave it to the demon Kanta Karanan. Then she went up to Queen Perundevi and tore out one of the queen's breasts and threw it on one of the crossroads where the streets of goldsmiths and merchants' (cetti) met; there arose the temple of Mutturaman. Then she tore out the queen's tongue and threw it there; the deity of the Mutturaman temple sprang forth. The goddess appeared before the temple and gave half a boon. Then she went to the Kailasa (Siva's abode) and hung the head of the Pandyan on the left of the head of the demon Taraka. Finally she went in Kotunkolur (Cranganur), and consecrated her husband (his image) there. She established herself there also. In both there texts Kali destroys the city and people with her army or by herself-never with her breast.

3. Similar accounts are found in Sri Lankan Hindu Tamil texts outside the Batticaloa district. Consider this text from Mulaitivu recorded by Hugh Nevill in 1888:

She (Kali) now called the 6000 Pandians outside the Palace, and they obeyed her. She then announced that they were condemned to death and ordered them to strip off their royal ornaments. Then she forced them to stand upon all fours like cattle, and in degrading posture, and addressed them saying that they had committed three crimes, for each of which they merited death She now assumed her own divine and terrific aspect, and as Kali herself, stood before them. She had huge teeth like a lion, protruding eyes like eggs, a trident in one of either hands, right and left; and in the others a garotte, a spear and two knives.

Then she made the Pandians stand in one row, and pierced their bodies with her tridents, and plucking out their bowels, she hung them as garlands on her neck. (Nevill 1888, pp. 21 - 22).

Elsewhere it is said that "she pierced the belly of Muttumalai will her trident thought she was five months with child, and garlanded her neck with her bowels", and so forth (Nevill 1888, p. 22).

Note the contrast with the Pattini texts. In the Pattini texts, the goddess is an angry deity but this anger is directed against evil people alone; it spares the good. In all these texts people implore her to calm down and she listens and pays heed to their pleas She even revives the cow that was slaughtered to make a drum for her. By contrast when the Pattini cult is assimilated with the Kali cult in South India and in Mulaitivu, the deity becomes irrationally punitive and vengeance take the place of rational justice. Furthermore the seat of Pattini's justice is her breast; in a psychological sense, it is the source of both wrath and compassion and also love. When Pattini is transformed into Kali, the breast symbolism also disappears; which means that compassion disappears and wrath reigns supreme.

There is good reason then for us to lament the death of Pattini – if not the goddess, at least that of her cult – in Sri Lanka. But though the cult is dead the myths of the goddess are with us, and these myths like all great religious myths transcend their rootedness in a specific social structure and historical time and place. When people of South Asia enacted the great dramas of the Pattini cult they were talking in terms of parables. They were seeing the actual world of real kings in terms of parable – like models of mythic kings and divine kings and they fitted historical reality into this model. I call these models for measuring reality "myth models". Take the case of the death of the innocent Kovalan (Palanga) by the evil Pandi. This event is a part of a larger myth model of the goddess' justice enacted in ritual drama. When an actual case of unjust death occurs on the orders of an actual king, people will see that specific death in terms of the myth model of the death of Kovalan. The particular case of injustice is then given general significance and meaning. This is what powerful myth models do for people living in traditional societies. They facilitate "conscience – izition", by treating the specific in terms of the general, and helping people see the injustice and suffering inflicted on others as something inflicted on themselves. When myth models break down, as they have happened in our society, and especially in middle class society, "conscience - ization" also falls. We then shrug our shoulders, ignore the injustice done to others, and think (erroneously) that it will not happen to us. We shut our nice middle class doors on the rest of the world and also shut out our conscience.

PART II

When I initiated my research on the Pattini cult in the middle fifties it was still posible to witness the ritual dramas of the cult, but the cult was clearly on the decline. Ten years later these dramas were no longer enacted, and only drastically amended versions of the Pattini festivals were (sporadically) performed. One reason for the demise of these ritual is simple, the cooperative labour resources required to undertake the organization of the festival necessitated a small relatively homogenous village with a stable authority structure. In the fifties these conditions no longer obtained in Sri Lankan villages owing to radical demographic expansion and patterns of internal migration. You may heve read in the newspapers about a recent U. N D P. report that highlights a feature of modern Sri Lankan society, namely this: unlike in many parts of Asia people do not move into the capital city but seem to prefer migrating into villages. Many social scientists praise this social pattern since it has kept the city of Colombo relatively uncrowded, but for my part I wish people would move into this misbegotten city and leave the villages relatively uncluttered. In my view the effect of this pattern of inter-village migration was to destroy the kinbased homogenous nature of traditional village society and produce different groups of villagers competing for scarce resources. The changes in village society as a result of these migrations can be somewhat crudely summarized as follows :

1. Inital migration from one village to another was through marriage ties, or through kinship connections. In fact, even migration to Colombo was also initially based on a similar pattern.

2. In the sixties and after things had changed: the population explosion produced a generation of children of migrants, and there was increasing competition for village resources Moreover outsiders, who had no kin ties with the village also began to move in, for a variety of social and economic reasons. The effect of these social conditions was to radically alter the pattern of traditional village society, and produce division, social conflict and economic crime in village society.

3. Finally in recent years village society in almost every part of Sri Lanka, has spawned a troublesome social problem; unemployed youths, often literate but with little awareness of traditional culture. Everywhere in village Sri Lanka these youths are organised into bands of hooligans and thugs, in the service of local **kassippu** dealers, and also of politicians of every political party in the nation. If Knox writing in the mid-seventeenth century could say that Sinhala people never stole this is not true of the late twentieth century. Theft is endemic in village society, and within recent years there has been a drastic increase in physical violence, including self inflicted violence. The major problem of crime in Sri Lanka is **not** primarily an urban problem; it is primarily a village problem.

Though the social reality of contemporary villages is as I have sketched, this is not the way the village is percived by contemporary elites and city dwellers. Colombo elites, even educated persons, still naively believe in the myth of the harmonious village. The middle class myth model of the harmonious village is the very opposite of the social reality of contemporary villages. It is a fantasy of the urban middle and upper classes who have a

personal need to uphold a myth of a harmonious world that is radically at variance with the rather drab and impersonal existence of the city. Historically these views stem from Western Romanticism, which unhappily seem to thrive in the erstwhile colonies long after it has been discarded, in the west.

Where does the problem of popular justice come into the changed social reality of Sri Lankan villages? If the old myths are no longer operative, what has happened to popular ideals of righteousness? To focus on this problem let me give you the results of two research projects – one conducted in the late 60's and the other being conducted right now.

In the first research I placed research assistants in three major shrines where people come to practice cursing and sorcery. These shrines located in different parts of the country are extremely popular and large numbers of people come there to curse their ememies and bring about their death or destruction. One unanticipated finding of the research was as follows: we found that a vast majority of the people came here out of a felt sense of injustice. Someone had done them wrong – assaulted them, stole their property, violated the honor of their wives or daughters and so forth. Respondents identified the perpetrator of the wrong as a thug, **kassippu** dealer, or someone in cahoot with such persons. In interviews people expressed dissatisfaction with the normal institutions of justice: the courts were viewed as remote, expensive and ineffectual. The police they felt, often ignored the complaints of the poor: and they were terrified of them, since respondents felt they were in league with local thugs. Traditionally, when similar problems arose they would be settled by village leaders but this leadership no longer obtained. I do not know whether these people were correct in their assessment of our institutions of justice. What is impressive, however, is the public perception of the failure of these institutions. Given this situation, people now resorted to the one outlet left for them - divine justice. They came to the sorcery shrine not only to seek vengeance but also to see that justice be done.

The deities of the sorcery shrines will not help a client if his cause is not just. Even in our own troubled times, when human institutions fail, people seek the help of the gods as arbiters of justice. But who are these deities, of what shape and form are they constituted? For sure they are no longer the old deities like the goddess Pattini who resides in Tusita heaven, according to Buddhists, awaiting future Buddhahood. These are dark deities, of terrifying visage, and armed with weapons of violence, apt symbols of our own times. In my most recent research I am impressed by the rise of, once again, the dark deity of ancient South Asian religion – the goddess Kali.

One of the impressive features of social change in our society today, is the rise of shrines for Kali and a multitude of priests and priestesses of the Kali cult. The Kali cult has totally superceded the Pattini cult at least among Sinhala Buddhists. There are major shrines for this deity in the city of Colombo and even when these shrines are run by Hindu Brahmin priests, over 80% of the clientele are Sinhala Buddhists. For these paople she is no longer the servant of Pattini, but a major deity in her own right. She is also popular with modern urban elites. An advertisement two weeks ago in an English newspaper has her picture armed with weapons of violence and trampling her male consort. Beneath the picture the following caption appears:

"Let us help you through potent witchcraft to eject undesirable occupants of houses, to summon back your departed within 3 days. Consultation daily at Ratnaloka Clinic excluding Thursdays. Maha Badra Kali Bewitching Headquarters, Wewelwatte, Ratnapura."

Maha Badra Kali gives a further clue to some disturbing features of the contemporary Kali cult. People nowadays propitiate Kali in her two major manifestations: Badra Kali who will act on your behalf if your cause is just: and as Sohon Kali – Kali of the graveyard – who may abdicate her moral judgement if you have sufficient faith in her. This major shift in the public image of the deity among Buddhists at least, indicates that a concomitant and disturbing shift has occurred in the moral values of our society. Nevertheless for the vast majority of people who visit Kali shrines the old conviction still hold: unless your cause is just, the deities will not help you. What is therefore impressive is that though that deities like Pattini are dead, the old conceptions of justice, the idea that righteousness must prevail in the world, is alive and well in the minds of many ordinary people. This is something that rulers, then and now, in this nation and in other notions, have not understood; particularly those rulers who like the three eyed King of Pandi, bedazzled with their own glory live in splendid isolation out there – somewhere – in their cosmic cities.

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RELIGION AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN NORTHERN SRI LANKA, 1796 - 1875: PROTESTANT MISSIONARY ACTIVITY AND THE HINDU RESPONSE

S. PATHMANATHAN

General trends and characteristics

The Christian evangelical enterprises undertaken by Protestant missionary organizations from England and the New England region of the U.S.A amongst the Hindu Tamils concentrated in the Northern and Eastern provinces of the island initiated a process of social, cultural and psychological change which effected their transition from medievalism to modernity.[1] A social transformation of such magnitude was effected chiefly through the medium of modern education of which the Protestant missionaries were the pioneers in Sri Lanka. Protestant missionary enterprise was directed against indigenous religious tradition with the aim of converting the native inhabitants to Christianity but, ironically, one of its main consequences was the resuscitation of the local Hindu religious tradition which had revived soon after the establishment of British colonial rule. Closely connected to this process was the development of the Tamil language in its modernized form and the rediscovery of the Tamil literary and cultural heritage.

These developments were the result of a conjunction of circumstances and an interaction of forces the most outstanding of which are the British colonial presence, the intensity and resourcefulness of missionary enterprise, the creation of new frontiers in economic opportunity, social and spatial mobility, the receptivity, resilience and acculturation of the upper layers of Hindu society and the development of an indigenous intellectual tradition among the newly emergent intelligentsia.

In order to understand the Hindu revival in Sri Lanka and the impact of missionary enterprise on it in a historical perspective it may be useful to make a few observations on the religious and cultural revival among the Tamils in the island and the Bengalis in India. The religious and cultural renaissance among the Bengalis in British India and the Tamils in British Ceylon occurred under circumstances that were different in many ways. The renaissance in nineteenth-century Begal was directly influenced by the orientalist policies of the government and was promoted by official policy [2] Among the early Governors General Hastings (1773 - 1785), Wellesly (1798 - 1805) and the Marquess of Hastings (1813 - 1823) favoured the acculturation of British officials attached to the political, administrative and military establishments of British India.[3] By training and in outlook they belonged to the eighteenth-century world of enlightenment and were cosmopolitan in their view of other cultures and rational in their quest for the search of those constant and universal principles which illustrate the unity of all mankind

Fort William College, Calcutta - the first western-type institution of higher learning ever established in Asia - founded by Wellesley in 1800 was the pivotal social unit of acculturation involving in the the process both British and Indians [4] Oriental languages

and culture were accommodated alongside the western tradition in its departments of study and research. It helped to generate among British civil servants a feeling of respect for and sympathetic understanding of Indian cultural heritage. The Indians acquired through it the intellectual equipment and the academic training which enabled them to rediscover their past and readjust its legacy to modern conditions.

The policy orientation of the British government in the island colony in this respect was altogether different. Unlike in India the Orientalist-Anglicist alternatives never came up for consideration in decisions on matters of policy and this may perhaps explain to some extent the significant differences in the processes of acculturation among the westernized elites who emerged in the two countries. The governors of British Ceylon were pronounced Anglicists with strong leanings towards evangelism and so were most of the British officials serving in the island. They were not favourably disposed towards religious and cultural revivalist movements among both Buddhists and Hindus.

A vital source of inspiration for the Bengali renaissance was the rediscovery of India's classical past through the scholarly enterprises of William Jones, H. T. Colebrooke, H. H. Wilson, James Prinsep and other eminent pioneer orientalists. It had even determined in some measure the scope and character of British orientalism. There were no comparable developments to inspire the Hindus in Sri Lanka. They had no conceptions of a Hindu classical past or of a 'Hindu golden Age'. In fact it would appear that they had no view whatsoever of a distant historical past.

Unlike in Bengal, the Hindus of Sri Lanka, concentrated in the outlying provinces of the island, had no direct encounters with the British official and mercantile classes on any intellectual or social footing so as to be exposed to western influences. Calcutta, the principal setting for the interaction of oriental tradition and western influences, was the metropolis of British India of which Bengal was the nucleus. In that metropolis the Hindus and the British intermingled at various levels. The Hindus were agents and auxiliaries of British commercial entrepreneurs. A large and affluent Hindu mercantile community had developed as a social by-product of the East India Company's establishments. The affluence and extravagance of the Indian princes and the Zamindari classes attracted the attention of British officials and merchants. Hindus and the British worked together in the administrative, judicial and educational institutions and occasionally intermingled at festive gatherings and on ceremonial occasions. Such developments and experiences were almost totally lacking in the island particularly amongst the Hindus. When considered against this background the role of Protestant Christian missions as agents of social change and sources of westernization amongst the Hindu Tamils assumes great significance. Their enterprises initiated a process of social transformation and provided the stimulus for the process of acculturation which revitalized the Hindu religious tradition and led to a literary and cultural renaissance.[5]

In historical perspective it would appear that the revival of Tamil Hinduism preceded the missionary evangelical enterprise although the Christian evangelical movement and the Hindu revival were contemporaneous during a greater part of the nineteenth century. The two movements, Christian evangelism and Hindu revival, although ostensibly conflicting, had a complementarity as interacting social forces leading to acculturation and the eventual revitalization and modernization of a tradional society. It would appear that as a result of their encounter Hinduism revitalized itself and many benefits accrued to Hindu society.

The period selected for the present study may be said to consist of three distinct phases: (1) the first twenty-five years of British rule (1796–1820) which witnessed the gradual and steady revival of Hinduism and the virtual extinction of Dutch Protestant Christianity as a religious tradition and social force, (2) the following three decades (1820-1850) which witnessed the establishment of missionary institutions on a secure and solid foundation and (3) the period of thirty years after 1850 when the Christian missions intensified their efforts and extended their operations amidst mounting opposition from Hindus who sought to counter missionary effort under the leadership of Arumuga Navalar engaged in defending, reforming and revitalizing Saivism.

Hindu revival and the extinction of the Dutch Reformed Church

A most remarkable change that occurred in the Tamil regions of Sri Lanka within a few years after the British occupation and one which struck British officials and missonaries alike was the re-emergence of Hinduism which they described as heathenism and idolatry. Under Dutch rule most of the inhabitants of Jaffnapatnam were officially reckoned as Christians. In 1722 Valentyn recorded that there were 189,388 Christians.[6] It was found that there were 182,226 persons who could be considered as Christians in 1760.[7] This number was considerably reduced in 1802 when it was found that there were 136,000 nominal Christians.[8]

In a short span of four years (1802-1806) Protestant Christianity was found to have almost disappeared among the the native inhabitants. Claudius Buchanan who visited the island in 1806 'described the Protestant religion as extinct, the fine old Churches in ruins, the clergy who had once ministered in them forgotten, and but one Hindu Catechist in charge of the province.'[9] That Hinduism was once again ascendant in Jaffna is further testified to, by the observations of two American missionaries, Samuel Newell and Daniel Poor. Commenting on the state of Christianity Samuel Newell observes :

> 'There is but one congregation of Protestant native Christians in the district; and that is in the town of Jaffna. Except for a few thousands, who are principally Roman Catholics, *the present generation are all idolaters*. The Roman Catholic priests have taken possession of this vineyard, once cultivated by the Dutch clergy, and almost all who chose to retain the Christian name, have gone over to them; *but the great body of* people are the followers of Brahma .....Here is a little province, which the soldiers of Jesus once won from the god of this world and added to the dominions of their lord. The people of God possessed but for a little while. The prince of darkness has regained it, and reigns again in full power over these 120 thousand souls'.[10]

Daniel Poor says :

> 'After an external pressure weighing the people down for ages and drying up their spirits, was removed by their being brought under British rule, they believed not for joy that they were once more allowed to taste the sweets of idolatrous liberty. But on finding that it was even so, there was a mighty rush from a nominal Christianity to the all-absorbing system of Hindu idolatry; and they entered on a course of temple-building

and adornment wholly unparalleled in the annals of the province, and which is in vigorous progress at the present time. Such was the state of things on our arrival in the year 1816'.[11]

That a vast majority of the population in Jaffna were found to be Saivites is also recorded in the Winslow Memoirs. It says: This district called also Jaffna.....has a population of 147,771; of whom. 650 are reckoned as whites, that is....descendants of Dutch and portuguese....There are among the natives, a few Protestant Christians, but the great mass of the population is Heathen. With few exceptions, the natives are of the sect of Siva, though some are followers of Vishnu....The Hindus of Ceylon, are generally of the sect of Siva. This god has two sons, Ganesa and Skanda. These two have many temples in Jaffna, even more than Siva himself; as has also Doorga, or Parvati'.[12] It was estimated that there were in all 329 Hindu temples in the Jaffna Peninsula in 1814.[13]

The disappearance of Protestant Christianity and the recovery of Hinduism within a few years of British rule is all the more significant considered in the light of the fact that Jaffnapatnam was under European Colonial rule since 1619 when the local Tamil dynasty, was overthrown by the Portuguese. For over a period of a hundred and seventy-five years under the Portuguese (1619-1658) and the Dutch (1658-1796) Christianity had enjoyed the status of a state religion Public profession of Hinduism in all its forms was prohibited by law. All Hindu religious institutions and places of worship had disappeared during this period. In the eastern littoral a similar situation had prevailed in the military enclaves of Trincomalee and Batticaloa and for a shorter period of time in the settlements surrounding them.

The Dutch colonial government imposed the Dutch version of Protestant Christianity on the inhabitants. The bestowal of honours, traditional ranks, privileges and positions in the administration were conditional upon conformity on the part of the natives to official policy in matters of religion.[14] Besids, the efforts of the Dutch ecclesiastical establishments were directed towards securing their acceptance of Christianity and education was employed as the primary means of achieving this objective. Schools were set up beside Churches in all towns and principal villages and attendance at schools was made compulsory to all children by government proclamation. Elementary education and instruction in the basic principles of Christianity were provided in schools where large gatherings were reported.

The almost total disappearance of the Dutch Reformed Church among the Tamils and the recovery of Hinduism in the early years of the nineteenth century may illustrate that the Dutch experiment at evangelization was a failure of the highest magnitude and raises serious doubts about the sufficiency of elementary education as a means for effecting religious conversions. In some ways it may provide a clue to the failure of the Protestant Missions in the subsequent period to effect conversions in any substanial measure. The conversions effected by the Roman Catholic missions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, on the other hand, were permanent and enduring and despite vigorous measures adopted by the Dutch against them the Roman Catholic converts remained steadfast in their loyalty to Christianity.

The withdrawal of the element of compulsion as a means of furthering the course of Christianity, under British rule led to the re-emergence of Hinduism just as it led to the re-emergence of Buddhism in the western and south-western portions of the island In matters of religion British policy in the initial stages was governed by pragmatic considerations.[15] Christianity, however, was not proclaimed as the state religion and the inhabitants soon realized that under the new government they were not obliged to profess Christianity in order to retain privileges and rank. Besides, no restrictions were imposed on non-Christian religious beliefs and practices. The Hindus, just as the Buddhists, Muslims and Roman Catholics, could freely, confidently and without any constraints publicly profess their religion and recreate their places of worship. During the first three decades of British rule the indigenous religious traditions considerably regained ground lost previously and became major social forces in the country. That their revival, resurgence and revitalization became possible under British rule is significant.

Although Hinduism was, ostensibly, once again ascendant in the Tamil regions of the island it was not re-established on a secure and solid footing. It was particularly vulnerable when exposed to western influences penetrating through the Christian Missions inspired by evengelical zeal and employing the techniques of an advanced civilization. The social structure of Hindu society was archaic and its economic foundations were fragile. A rigid social conservatism was characteristic of the caste based Hindu society comprising hierarchically organized groups whose functions, occupations, social rank and inter-relations were governed by the principle of heredity and notions of ritual purity. The theoretical basis of social organization and the norms of social relations sanctified by tradition, validated by custom and re-inforced by the absence of spatial mobility tended towards extreme regidity and conflicted sharply with modern and western ideals of social equality and individual liberty.

The physiography of the regions where Hindu society was concentrated was not conducive to the attainment of economic prosperity. Paddy cultivation which was the mainstay of the economy was, to a large extent, dependent on manual labour and nonsoonal rains the failure of which could result in acute shortages in food supplies. In the districts of Trincomalee, Batticaloa and Vanni where communications were poor and villages isolated, malaria and pestilential fever were endemic and mortality rates were high. In those districts, for the most part, human resources available for agricultural and other productive economic enterprises were limited. It was in the Jaffna district where approximately half of the island's Tamil population was concentrated, a stable agrarian economy had been developed despite limitations imposed by ecology and nature. A system of crop rotation and crop diversification had been in existence for a long period in the red-soil belt of the Jaffna peninsula where the system of market gardening was well developed. Agriculture was practised with the aid of lift irrigation, a strenous process, and was economically rewarding. In the Jaffna peninsula which had a high concentration of population there was an acute shortage of agricultural land. Land holdings were small and there was nothing comparable to a Zamindari class or even to a large and affluent mercantile class and class divisions in a modern sense had not yet crystallized.

Besides, in compaprison with Buddhism, Hinduism was in a weaker and more disadvantageous position. Unlike Buddhism and its institutions which had an unbroken continuity and flourished under royal patronage until 1815 in the Kingdom of Kandy, Hinduism had suffered a sharp decline under European colonial rule and its institutions were entirely eliminated while their endowments were appropriated and bestowed on Christian institutions. Moreover, the British were obliged to uphold Buddhism under the terms of the Kandyan Convention. From the viewpoint of the Kandyans it was on an undertaking by th British, as implied in the terms of the Convention, that Buddhism and its institutions would be protected and maintained the Kandyans subjected themselves to British rule.[16] In relation to Hinduism in the island the British had no such obligations. In its encounters with Protestant Christian missions enjoying the support of the Governor and the principal officials with a pronounced evangelist outlook Hinduism was in a more vulnerable position than Buddhism. Nor could the Hindus expect strict neutrality or impartiality from such British officials in controversies involving them and the Christian missions.

Furthermore, unlike Christianity or Buddhism, Hinduism had no ordained clergy or monastic orders. It had no institutional arrangement or organizational framework for the preservation, transmission and diffusion of religous and secular knowledge. The Brahmins were by no means an organized priesthood, their principal concern being the performance of rituals and ceremonial functions. In the Sri Lankan context they had no tradition of propagating and expounding even the elementary principles of Hindu religious and philosophic thought, There is no indication of even the existence of schools designed for purposes of imparting Hindu religious instruction. The two notable schools that existed at Irupalai and Uduppiddy conducted respectively by Senathiraja Mudaliyar and Arulampala Mudaliyar were devoted chiefly to the development of Tamil learning and scholasticism.[17]

Despite its inherent weaknesses and many disadvantages confronting it, Hindu society had a capacity for survival and adaptability and the strength and vitality of its religious and literary tradition cannot be overlooked. A scholastic and literary tradition, although confined to narrow circles, was still very much alive. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had witnessed unprecedented literary activity in the Peninsula and the theme of literary composition was predominantly religious and this was most remarkable in the context of Dutch rule.[18] A large number of texts. in manuscript form, on Hindu religious and metaphysical thought, rituals, grammar, poetry and poetics were available for study among the leading families that had cultivated the tradition of learning over the generations. When exposed to extraneous challenges and influences the local Hindu tradition had potentalities for revitalization and the missionary enterprise under a government that permitted freedom of action in the sphere of religion was to produce a catalystic effect

Missionary organizations and educational institutions

The development of a modern system of education in the Tamil regions, as elsewhere in the island, was achieved chiefly through the efforts of Christian missionary organizations. The three major Protestant missionary organizations, The American Ceylon Mission, The Church Missionary Society and The Wesleyan Mission which undertook evangelical work in these regions had gained a foothold in the island during the Governorship of Robert

Brownrigg (1812-1824). The Wesleyans divided the island into two districts, the North Ceylon District and the South Ceylon District on a linguistic basis for purposes of administrative convenience and a more vigorous prosecution of their work in 1819.[19] The Church Missionary Society also made a similar arrangement.[20] The Americans who were in many respects the pace setters confined themselves to the Jaffna Peninsula where their area of operations was the most extensive. Initially they occupied two stations. Tellipallai and Batticotta (1816) but with the arrival of the second contingent of missionaries in 1820 they occupied three more stations; Uduvil, Manipay and Pandeterippo.[21] In later years, Chavakacchery and Udupiddy also became two additional mission stations.[22] The Church Mission had two inland stations in Jaffna where their field of operations consisted of two circuits, Kopay and Nallur. The Wesleyans, who had arrived in the island in 1814, spread their activities over a much more extensive area and occupied the coastal stations of Jaffna, Point Pedro, Trincomalee and Batticaloa.[23] In due course Protestant evangelical work in the whole Eastern province was left largely in the hands of the Wesleyans.

These missions had a common aim - the propagation of Christianity and all of them adopted the same methods for the realization of their objective. Unlike in the South where Protestant evangelical enterprise was marred by sectarian rivalry, the Christian Missions in the North cultivated among themselves a tradition of close co-operation and friendship. As early as in the year 1919 they instituted the Missionary Union which met in a 'Monthly Reunion' to combine the results of past experience and discuss common problems, plan of work and strategy.[24] Such a tradition of co-operation and unity gave them a greater degree of confidence in the pursuit of their aims and helped to gain active support and encouragement from the government of the Colony except during the period of Governor Barnes.[25] This enabled them to develop as the most formidable social force in the North and develop powerful and effective agencies for social change and modernization. The extent of their success and the character of the institutions they developed was, to a considerable extent, determined by the nature of responses their activities evoked from the people among whom they worked. The interaction between the Protestant missionaries and the Hindus was productive of unforeseen results and developments unanticipated and unexpected by the pioneer missionaries.

Unacquainted with oriental cultures and ill-informed as they were of oriental religions and inspired by evangelical zeal the early missionaries on their arrival had hopes of spectacular success.[26] They preached at market places, street-corners and at work-places besides visiting houses and distributed prayer hymns and selections from the Bible written on palm leaves in large quantities But the results of such labours proved to be distressingly disappointing; as a means of effecting conversions open door preaching proved to be entirely ineffective In 1817 James Lynch of the Wesleyan Mission, Jaffna, reported to the Home Committee that congregations could not be found without schools[27] Although at the outset, generally, all the missions considered education as auxiliary to preaching, it was the experience of those working in the field that reinforced the conviction that education was indispensable as an instrument for evangelical work. The establishment of elementary vernacular schools became one of the immediate and principal concerns of all Protestant Missions.

By 1819 the Wesleyans had established 21 schools in their four circuits in Jaffna and the Eastern province while the American-Ceylon Mission had set up 15 schools where a total of 633 children were in attendance.[28] From such modest beginnings elementary education which helped to promote literacy within an ever increasing proportion of the population attained a steady expansion. The number of elementary schools run by the American Ceylon Mission, 24 in 1821, had risen to 79 with a total enrolment of 3,106 pupils in 1833.[29] In elementary education over which the Americans had a commanding lead in the Jaffna peninsula the Wesleyans and the Church Mission lagged behind with 21 and 18 schools each with a total of 938 and 579 pupils respectively.[30] In this respect the example set by the Protestant missionaries was soon followed by the Hindus and Roman Catholics. In 1828 the Hindus had 106 schools with a total enrolment of 2,430 students while the Roman Catholics managed 24 schools where 424 children were receiving instruction.[31] By 1875 elementary education had expanded to such an extent that the American Ceylon Mission alone had 121 schools where 6588 children were receiving instruction.[32] The Hindus responded most favourably to the efforts made by the missionaries to provide elementary education generally everywhere and particularly in the Jaffna region. The American missionaries introduced the system of free education and in their schools instruction was provided without levying any fees from the pupils. There were several cases where people made appeals to the missionaries to open schools.[33] They were also requested, in many instances, to take charge of private schools under Hindu management.[34]

Once elementary education was provided on a substantial scale the establishment of institutions for the provision of secondary and collegiate education became inevitable. A general and increasing demand for English education among the people and the requirements of the missions were the main incentives for missionary effort directed towards the cause of secondary and higher education the foundations of which were laid in the North by Daniel Poor of the American Ceylon Mission and Peter Percival of the Wesleyan Mission.[35] Although the common vernacular schools helped to raise a literate population their insufficiency as instruments for proselytization was clearly recognized by the Americans within a short period of time. Therefore, they instituted Boarding Schools initially at Tellipallai and Batticotta and subsequently also at their other stations for children of both sexes. They were established for the purpose of maintaining and educating freely children who had been taken into them in a Christian environment and under the constant care and guidance of the missionaries.[36] It was hoped that the children weaned away from their traditional environment and the influence of their parents and brought up in this way would respond more favourably to the teachings of Christianity and would accept it through conviction as the one truly revealed religion. These expectations were not unfounded and a few conversions were made through this process. The pupils in the Boarding Schools received instruction in English and Tamil, and their courses included Scripture, Arithmetic, Grammar and Geography.[37] Those who had been longest under instruction were so far advanced as to be able, with proper help to prosecute the higher branches of Tamil learning, to learn Sanskrit or to apply themselves to European literature aud Science, as might be found expedient, to fit them for service under Government, as Teachers in Schools, as Interpreters for Translators; or as Native preachers.[38]

In the creation of advanced centres of learning and collegiate education for boys and girls, in adopting English as the medium of instruction in schools and higher centres of learning and in the provision of medical facilities and education the American missionaries were the pioneers not only in Jaffna but even in the whole island. Besides, they were the first Protestant Christian mission to introduce printing machines and initiate a tradition of journalism in any Tamil region. The Batticotta Seminary founded in 1823 attracted wide attention and gained recognition within and outside the island as a centre of advanced learning and developed as a pivotal social institution contributing substantially to the process of acculturation and the development of a modern indigenous intellectual and scholastic tradition.[39]

The Seminary as conceived and constituted by its founders had the following principal objectives: (1) imparting to native youth of good promise a thorough knowledge of the English language, (2) the cultivation of Tamil literature, (3) the study of Sanskrit, (4) imparting a knowledge of Hebrew to a select number of students and (5) teaching in the medium of English, as far as the circumstances of the country require, the Sciences usually studied in Europe and America.[40] The courses of study provided at the Seminary included Geography, History (civil and ecclesiastical), Natural Philosophy, Natural and Revealed Religion, Mathematics, Astronomy and Natural Sciences, beside selected languages, European and Asian, Classical and Modern.[41]

The fact that the founders of the Seminary laid a special emphasis on the teaching of English and the cultivation of Tamil learning deserves special attention. They were of the firm view that English held the key to modern knowledge and western learning and that a sound knowledge of that language was essential for acquiring a knowledge of western science and transferring it into the Tamil language. As regards the importance of promoting the study of Tamil language and literature they asserted: 'The Tamil language like the Sanskrit, Hebrew, Greek, etc , is an original and perfect language, and is in itself highly worthy of cultivation....But a more important benefit would be the cultivation of Tamil composition which is now almost neglected . .the attention of many must be turned to writing intelligently, and forcibly, in their own language. Original native compositions, on account of the superior felicity of its style and idiom, will be read when the production of a foreigner, or a translation, will be thrown aside. To raise up, therefore, and qualify a class of *native authors*, whose minds being enriched by science may be capable not only of embodying European ideas, but of putting them into a handsome native dress, must be rendering important aid in the interests of learning and Christianity.'[42]

Commenting on the benefits that were envisaged through the proposed institution the promoters of the Seminary said:

> 'Agriculture and mechanic arts will be improved; learning will rise in estimation, and gradually obtain a dominion over wealth and caste; the native character will be raised; and the native mind freed from the shackles of custom, will imbibe that spirit of improvement which has so long distinguished and blessed most European countries. A college such as this is intended to be, would give a new tone to the whole system of education in the District, and exert an influence which would be felt in every school and village'.[43]

They also pointed out that the colonial government would derive many benefits from the Seminary which would have the potential for providing interpreters, translators, and English teachers for government service, and men for the learned professions. Daniel Poor and his colleagues, the promoters of the Seminary, had a lofty vision and a deep commitment to the cause of higher education. The courses of study they prescribed for the projected Seminary were very comprehensive and the emphasis on secular knowledge and natural sciences is remarkable. Far from being fundamentalist in approach they were inspired by the conception of disinterested benevolence developed in Hopkinsian theology. The Seminary as conceived and constituted by them was intended to develop as a powerful agency for effecting moral regeneration, social transformation, economic progress, intellectual advancement and cultural re-vitalization. The establishment of such an institution was unprecedented and as a western type institution of advanced learning the Batticotta Seminary was the only one of its kind in the whole island during the nineteenth century The aspirations of its founders were accomplished by this institution, in substantial measure, during the thirty-three years of its existence (1823–1856).

The American Ceylon Mission took the lead also in the provision of facilities for secondary education in the medium of English. Encouraged by the success of their free schools and Boarding schools they proceeded to establish English schools for providing instruction of a still more advanced character in 1830. That they found themselves in a position to enforce the payment of an annual fee and maintain strictly a discipline that was essentially and avowedly Christian in character may be a sufficient indication of the appreciation in which their educational activities were held by the people and the value they attached to English education.[43] During the early years of their career the pioneer American missionaries in Jaffna had established free Boarding schools for girls at their principal stations. All the girls who had received instruction in those schools were transferred to a Girls' Boarding School established at Uduvil in 1823.[44] This developed in course of time as a major institution of higher learning for female children and is reckoned as the oldest institution of its kind in Asia. The success of this institution helped to dispel prejudices prevailing in the community against female education and generated a demand for such education. The example set by the Americans in this respect was followed in later years by all the Christian Missions.

On account of the medical services and education they provided the American Ceylon Mission was outstanding among the Christian Missions established in the island. Richards and Warren, who were among the first band of American missionaries who arrived in Jaffna provided medical care and attention to people at Tellipallai where they had set up a minor hospital.[45] Their work however, was soon interrupted on account of their ill health and the eventual death of Warren in Cape Town, in 1818.[46] The medical services provided by the Mission assumed a new dimension and definite direction with the appointment of a medical missionary to Jaffna in 1833 and he started a course of medical education at Batticotta where a medical centre was also established.[47] On his return to America in 1847, Dr. Samuel Green took charge of the medical mission and conducted a school of medicine engaged in raising native physicians trained in western medicine.[48] The medical education and facilities provided by the American missionaries in a land subject to frequent outbreaks

of epidemics of cholera and smallpox, contributed in no small measure to an improvement in personal hygiene, environmental sanitation and conditions of public health. In an age when the colonial government was not committed to providing welfare services the medical services provided by the Americans earned for them the respect and affection of a grateful people and helped to form in their minds a most favourable impression of the nation that produced them Besides, they moderated their passions and sentiments aroused by blatant missionary attacks on Hinduism.

The progressive ideas the American missionaries had with respect to higher education were relatively more advanced than those of others and it was only after the government formulated its guidelines on educational policy on the recommendations of the Colerooke Commission that the other Protestant missions fell in line with their views. In the scheme of reforms envisaged by Colebrooke education was to be assigned a central role. It was conceived as a powerful instrument of social transformation and modernization. The government was expected to promote the diffusion of a knowledge of the English language with a view to producing "a competent class of candidates for general employment who would unite local information with general knowledge and would eventually be capable of holding responsible situations upon reduced salaries."[49]

Since 1833 the government assumed some direct responsibility for general education and took steps to provide a certain degree of central direction to educational operations in the country. The School Commission, instituted in 1834, consisting of leading British officials and Clergymen, all European and Christian, arranged matters in such a manner as to leave English education as a virtual monopoly of Christian missionary organizations.[50] Besides, the closure of government schools wherever Christian missions were established placed them in an advantageous and almost unchallenged position. Increasing employment opportunities provided by the civil and judicial branches of the colonial administration and generated by the development of incipient capitatism chiefly on account of commerce and the beginnings of plantation economy along with government regulations making a knowledge of English a pre-condition for employment created a general and ever increasing demand for English education in the country. In deference to government policy and in response to social needs all the Christian Missions directed their energies towards establishing English schools It was at this stage that the Wesleyans and the Church Mission proceeded to estalish English Schools in Jaffna, where English education had already made considerable progress, as seen earlier, through the agencies of the American missionaries.

The first English schools established by the Wesleyans in Jaffna and Trincomalee around 1821 were meant for English speaking children of Burgher and European parents [51] It was under the direction of Peter Percival that the Wesleyan institutions of secondary and higher education developed in the North. In 1834 their first institution for instruction of an advanced character was established in the main square of Jaffna. In 1837 the English Boys' school in their mission premises had 150 boys in attendance [52] It was called the Central School in 1847 and in subsequent years it developed into the Central College. Its first missionary principal, William Barber was appointed in 1855.[53] Subsequently English

schools for native children were established at all other main Wesleyan stations. There are references in missionary records to English schools at Batticaloa from 1837 and at Point Pedro and Trincomalee from 1838.[54]

Another English school, the St Paul's English Boys' School, had already come into existence by 1841. It functioned as a preparatory school serving as a feeder to the main Boys' School.[55] The foundations laid by Percival constituted a firm basis for the expansion of English education and proliferation in the number of schools in all Wesleyan circuits during the latter half of the nineteenth century. In 1853 William Walton opened the Vannarponnai English School in the Wesley Chapel Vestry which later developed into Kilner College in 1862.[56]

Percival devoted considerable attention to female education; in 1834 the first Wesleyan Girls' Boarding English School was established at the Central Mission Station, Jaffna, and left under the care of Mrs. Percival. In response to the efforts of Percival, Miss Twiddy was sent from England to take charge of this school as Principal in 1840.[57] The establishment of Girls' Boarding English School in Trincomalee (1859), Batticaloa (1874), Point Pedro (1878) and Kalmunai (1882), represented a major Wesleyan contribution to female education.[58]

The introduction of the grant-in-aid scheme in 1872 provided the stimulus for a rapid expansion of Christian missionary educational operations, especially those of the Wesleyans in the Eastern province. The number of common schools under the management of the American Mission, which was 51 in 1870 with a total enrolment of 1,453 children, rose to 121 in 1875 with a total enrolment of 5,584 pupils.[59] While the number of schools had more than doubled there was an almost four-fold increase in the number of student enrolments. Student enrolments continued to increase rapidly after 1875. In 1878 the American Ceylon Mission had under its control 135 schools where a total of 8,120 students were in attendance and among them 1,400 were girls. Of the 135 schools, 121 were Tamil, 12 Anglo-Tamil, and two English; 18 of these were girls' schools and 58 were mixed.[60]

In the North Ceylon District the Wesleyans had, in 1865, 32 schools with a total enrolment of 1194 pupils.[61] But, in 1875 in the Point Pedro circuit alone, comprising the stations of Ploly, Point Pedro, Cattavelly and Vathiri, they had 13 Boys' Schools with 1329 boys and 11 Girls' Schools with 250 girls in attendance.[62] In 1878 there were in all 46 Wesleyan Schools in their North Ceylon District. In 1889 they had under their management 140 schools in which a total of 9,735 children were receiving instruction.[63] Within a period of twenty-five years (1865-1889) the number of schools had multiplied by four and a half times while there was an eight-fold increase in student admissions and such a development constitutes a phase of unprecedented and rapid expansion of educational services.

The contribution of the Church Mission to education in the North, though relatively limited, was not inconsiderable. Their institutions of higher learning in English were established separately for boys and girls at Chundikully and these developed in course time into what were later known as St. John's College and Chundikully Girls' College.

The great advances made in the field of education through the efforts of the Christian missionary organizations pre-supposes that missionary enterprise in educational work evoked a most favourable response from the Hindu Tamils. That there was among them a general and increasing demand for education, especially English education is supported by overwhelming evidence [64] The statistical returns of enrolment at schools and the observations of missionaries provide sufficient indication of public feeling and responses to educational operations undertaken by the missionaries. Economic compulasions and the general desire to acquire the knowledge and skills necessary for securing employment in institutions of the government and the commercial establishments were undoubtedly the the prime motives.

The general desire for education on the part of the Hindus and their appreciation of the contributions made by the Christian missionaries to the cause of educational advaneement is clearly reflected in the address of welcome the leading inhabitants of Wadamaratchy presented to Hercules Robinson, the Governor, at the reception they accorded him on his visit to the peninsula in 1872. They said:

> 'We would observe further that we are greatly indebted to the various missionary bodies for the education imparted to us by their special labours We are gratified to find that the Government has extended its aid to various schools superintended by the missionaries to whom most of us, owe, nearly all our English education. Convinced as we are of their sincerity of purpose and desire and well-being of our fellow countrymen we have largely contributed by local subscriptions, gifts of land, and materials to the establishment of schools, in several parts of the District which we have placed under their care. We would especially record our gratitude to the Govejnment... which a few years ago extended grants-in-aid to vernacular eductation. We trust that the aid thus given may be continued and even increased as we are sure that it is one of our first means towards raising our countrymen to higher civilization and legitimate power'.[65]

In appreciation of the educational services provided by the missionaries the leading inhabitants extended co-operation and support to them by donating lands and building materials, supplying free labour and in various other ways. Many such instances are recorded in the correspondences of missionaries. For instance the Wesleyan missionary John Rhodes records:

> 'But to obtain Government grants all our old vernacular school bungalows had to be rebuilt. The people came liberally to our help, and in addition to the three old schools we have had land and material given which have enabled us to establish 8 new schools . I was invited to Thikkam, a large central village of well-to-do farmers where I have been looking for an opening....But being invited I went to the village a month ago, on the 23rd of April. The Headman and others met me there. They showed me a splendid plot of land 15 ladchams in extent, close to the houses of the people and divided into two parts ..in fact it is just the spot to erect on one side a substantial school Chapel, and on the other side a Catechist's house, containing a compartment for a Girls' School. They asked me if I could accept it for the mission and build on it an Anglo-Vernacular Scdool . land belonging to 12 people was gifted to the Mission....This is the eighth plot of land given to us, by heathen people for school and Chapel purposes.'[66]

'In this respect the heathens are setting an example which ought to speak most eloquently. At Catcovalam we have the promise of land and trees, with an attendance of 100, if we will but establish a school. At present we have no Christian footing in this village. At Alvai ground has been given to us for a Girls' School. Recently the people gave us ground for a boys' school and paid part cost of the erection. They are all high caste Sivites. At Ploly a native geatleman of great repute, who is honoured by the cognomen "the Ploly Tamby" has most generously given to the mission a fine plot of land, and has undertaken to provide material for the erection of a school building. In the Cattavelly circuit.. a school of 70 boys has been offered to us at Carravetty. At Atcheloo, a central village three miles from Puttur, we commenced a school in July, which now numbers 1150 scholars. The Headman of the village has given the mission 15 ladchams of land, and the people have promised all the trees necessary to build forthwith'.[67]

These were the signs that indicate of the spirit of co-operation and cordiality that had come to prevail in the relations between the missionaries and the native Hindu inhabitants. The generally favourable Hindu responses to missionary enterprise decisively contributed to the proliferation in the number of schools managed by the missionaries and the phenominal expansion of their educational establishments which overwhelmingly absorbed their energies. The schools they established, in many instances, developed as model institutions providing instruction in secular branches of learning and modern knowledge in the medium of English during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Thus was developed a system of modern education of which they laid the foundations and raised the superstructure. The amount of energy, talent and other resources they concentrated and invested in the Jaffna peninsula had no parallel in any other area of comparable extent in the whole island. The developments that flowed from this vast experiment led to social changes which were almost revolutionary.

A most salutary effect of their educational operations was the spread of literacy in Tamil and English. In the mid-nineteenth century more than 100,000 children had received instruction in the Protestant Missions' Schools in Jaffna. The number of chlldren who had untill then been educated in the schools of the Americans was in the region of 90,000.[68] This would imply that on a modest estimate approximately half of the population in the peninsula had been provided with facilities for acquiring literacy and the capacity to seek and gain knowledge. The progress made in secondary, female and collegiate education contributed substantially to social upliftment and economic advancement of the community. The skills acquired through secondary and collegiate education enabled a large number of men and women to secure gainful employment in the various departments of the government, commercial establishments and the teaching, legal and medical professions. Besides, the misionary organizations were able to raise ministers, catechists, preachers and other trained personnel for their vast establishments. All such developments meant the emergence of a well-educated professional elite with a capacity for leadership and organization.

The introduction of printing and the beginnings of journalism were of the utmost importance School text books of all grades, religious tracts, pamphlets and journals were being printed and published in accordance with social requirements. Texts and manuals

representative of Tamil achievements over the centuries in the fields of poetry, poetics, religion, ethical and metaphysical thought which had been in manuscript form in the custody of a select few privileged families could now be printed and made available to the public at large The introduction of printing had unforeseen potentialities and provided the Hindus with an avenue for moblilizing their resources in defence of their religious tradition and combating the Christian evangelical enterprise.

The institution that contributed most towards the diffusion of modern secular knowledge was the Batticotta Seminary. The more competent and imaginative among those who had received instruction in that institution reckoned by informed opinion as not inferior, by any means, to the European Universities of its time produced many men who eventually developed into scholars of the front rank with a wide reputation.[69] They applied the historical and scientific methodology, with which they had become acquainted while in the Seminary, for the scientific study, exposition and modernization of the Tamil language and its cultural tradition. The inclusion of the Hindu religion and philosophy in the courses of study at the Seminary was significant. The advanced pupils of the Seminary were in a position to gain access to the ideas and teachings of Hinduism. One of its scholarly Principals Rev. Hoisington translated three main treatises on Saiva Siddhanta, *Sivagnana botham*, *Sivapragasam* and *Tattwakattalei* and made them available in print.[70] It is also significant that the leadership for the movement for Hindu revival and regeneration was provided by some who had received instruction in the advanced centres of learning established by the missionaries.

Hindu responses to Christian evangelism

It will be misleading to formulate conclusions regarding the impact of Christian evangelical enterprise on the Hindu community by only highlighting the activities of a few select individuals against Christian evangelism. The statistical returns of conversions and the impressions of missionaries may provide a sufficient indication of general trends regarding feelings and attitudinal changes evoked by missionary enterprise and the extent of the success achieved in effecting conversions. There was no uniformity and consistency in Hindu responses and reactions to Christian evangelical activities. The keenness and the enthusiasm with which the Hindus accepted and utilized the educational facilities provided by missionary organizations was not accompanied by a desire or willingness to accept Christianity in preference to Hinduism.

There were no mass conversions at any time. Never was it possible to convert all the residents of an entire village or town or even all the members of any caste or social group. Adult conversions were rare and most of the known cases of such conversions were from Batticaloa where the small Christian community had within its ranks a few individuals holding positions of influence and rank.[71] A few instances of adult conversions are recorded in the following extracts from Wesleyan missionary correspondence:

> 'Ramanaden of Karuvadden keni was a man of simple faith, but of strong moral courage. He manifested the sincerity of his conversions by giving up the heathen temple, which was the temple of the village, with the land on which it stood, for the services of the mission, fearlessly braving the combined opposition of the villagers.'[72]

'I baptized, last Sunday morning, an adult, a woman....Her eldest son received baptism last year.. ..feeling the truth of religion he had been incessant in his endeavours to lead his mother to embrace the only true faith. She publicly denounced heathenism.'[73]

'At Batticaloa, God has given us eleven converts, most of them of adult age. Seven of them had been educated at our Batticaloa English School. Two others had first received the Truth at Jaffna and the remaining two were gathered from Puliantievoe and its neighbourhood....one educated intelligent man from Pt. Pedro English School....His father was a rigid Sivite and a great man. He was *monyar* of the great Sivan Kovil at Pt. Pedro His conversion created a great stir among the Chetties of Batticaloa, and no little presumption and abuse not a few ignominious epithets were heaped the same day upon him.'[74]

Such instances being exceptional, generally an overwhelming majority of conversions were achieved through the instrumentality of schools. Highlighting the importance of schools in this respect the Wesleyan missionary Ripley Winston observes:

'It is in our schools, especially the higher schools that some of the finest opportunities for successful mission work are presented. The missionary is thus brought frequently into intimate contact with the most intelligent and respectable youth and his position gives him considerable influence, in not a few cases has resulted in great and lasting good accomplished by the dissemination of the eagerly coveted western knowledge, in the loosening of superstition and the growth of Christian public opinion it is no slight argument in favour of the schools that the great majority of our Church members and native helpers and all our native ministers and mission agents are obtained by means of them.'[75]

And among schools Boarding Schools had the highest returns in the matter of conversions and this was clearly admitted by the Anderson Committee who in their Report said:

'In other words, the converting influence of the mission is and has been exerted chiefly through its boarding schools'.[76]

For the American Ceylon Mission the Girls' School at Uduvil and the Batticotta Seminary were the two most vital sources for effecting conversions. By the mid-nineteenth century it was found that approximately about half the number of girls educated at the Girls' School at Uduvil had become Christian converts. By 1847, of the two hundred and forty females who had been educated in that institution, more than half had been married to Christians and were found to be 'commuicating to their children the same training and advantages which they had received for themselves' while under instruction.[77] The firmness with which the females from the Uduvil school adhered to their profession of Christianity was considered very remarkable. Moreover, this institution was found to be a powerful means of implanting Christian institutions among the Tamil people of the island.[78]

As of 1850 nearly six hundred students had received instruction from the Batticotta Seminary since its commencement, and upwards of four hundred had completed the established course of education. More than one half had made an open profession of Christianity, and all have been familiarized with its doctrines and were more or less imbued with its spirit.[79] Of the 454 graduates of the Seminary living in 1856, 185 graduates were connected with the churches of the American mission and among them 81 or less than one-half were employees of the mission.[80] Yet, the disposition of most graduates and students of the Seminary and the degree of their commitment to Christianity had become matters of grave concern to the mission. The large number of excommunications, 92, was in itself discouraging. Besides, the fact that many of them had married Hindu girls was considered to be significant of important facts in the character of the relations of the graduates of the institution.[81] Of the 96 students who were under instruction in 1856 only 11 were Church members and it was understood that many of the elder pupils were looking mainly to government employment and were determined to have nothing to do with Christianity.[82] The circumstance of many junior pupils in the lower classes who were children of Church members being 'so intimately connected with such uncompromising associates' caused a great deal of anxiety.

The statistical returns of conversions from the various stations of the different missions was never a matter for satisfaction or encouragement. The evangelical efforts of the Americans during the first 24 years (1816-1839) of their work resulted in a Church membership of 492. Among them 127 persons had been converted during the first twelve years while the remaining 365 had joined the Church during the last twelve years of this period.[83] In 1845 the total membership in all the mission Churches amounted to 630.[84] As a result of some reverses the figure dropped to 357 in 1849 and stood at 376 in 1856.[85] Substantial increases were recorded in subsequent years and the figures were 498 and 891 for the years 1869 and 1879 respectively.[86]

The Wesleyans who had lagged far behind the Americans during the first half of the nineteenth century as regards success in evangelical work made impressive gains during the latter half of the century. Their total Church membership, 141, in 1838 was distributed among their stations in the following order: Jaffna 66, Pt. Pedro 22, Batticaloa 28 and Trincomalee 25.[87] Within a period of twenty-eight years there was a little more than three-fold increase in Church membership which was 469 in 1865.[88] By 1887 the total membership doubled and became 980; 463 were from the Jaffna Peninsula while 457 were from the Batticaloa district where the progress made in conversions was most impressive.[89] It is also significant that the progress in conversions gathered momentum in correspondence with the main phases in the extension of educational operations and coincided with the spread of English education and in particular the introduction of the grant in-aid scheme in 1870. It is also noteworthy that the Christian evangelical movement had made such significant gains at a time when the movement for Hindu revival assumed a definite direction and momentum.

The details concerning Church membership could be misleading unless considered in the light of statistics of population. In 1871 there were 2,491 Protestant Christians in the Jaffna District which had a total population of 241,898.[90] In the Trincomalee District there were

only 230 Protestant Christians while there were 12,668 Hindus living in it.[91] In the Batticaloa District in which there were 52,097 Hindus the total number of Protestant Christians was 480.[92] These figures clearly show that the achievement of the Christian missionary organization in the direction of evangelism was certainly not a matter for rejoicing, comfort or even satisfaction to them but, it was not by any means inconsiderable. It had become a matter for deep concern and anxiety and as the expectations of earlier days remained unaccomplished and hopes of speedy success entertained by previous generations of missionaries faded as the years rolled on.

The unimpressive results of evangelical work in the island caused disappointment at the Mission headquarters in the U. S. A. Spaulding, Scudder and Hutchings who returned home on furlough in 1847 encountered angry protests and serious criticisms.[93] Yet they managed to soothe feelings there and made assurances of impending success, and the controversy was shelved for some time. The anxieties of the American Board of Control for Foreign Missions were shared by the missionaries as well and their intimate friends in the island colony. Sir Emerson Tennent, the Colonial Secretary found himself obliged to remark: 'I am bound to declare that as yet the ostensible result of their labours falls far short of the expectation which might have been formed from their magnitude and zeal....So conscienteous are they (Americans) in this particular, that after thirty years of toil and devotion they have enumerated not more than 680 nominal converts, who have been at one time or other received into communion with their Churches and the number now in connexion with them is 357. *It is a striking illustration of the inefficiency of sermons and of popular preaching to the Tamil unaccompanied by the precaution of previously awakening the mind by education, that from the first to last only 200 communicants have been received in thirty years, exclusive of those who had been educated in the schools and Seminaries of the mission.*' The Church of England missionaries speak with equal humbleness of their own labours during the past; and frankly admit, in explanation of the limited amount of ostensible success which they have as yet to point to, that "the work done bears a relation rather to the future than the present."[94]

In 1855 the American Board of Control for Foreign Missions sent out a deputation consisting of Rufus Anderson and A. G. Thompson to study and report on the state of the Mission in India and Ceylon. The deputation which visited Jaffna in that year came to the conclusion that Jaffna was 'a peculiarly difficult field for missionary cultivations' and focussed attention on the unsatisfactory nature of achievements in relation to congregations and Church membership. They said:

> 'It should be borne in mind, that the Seminary is at Batticotta, the Female Boarding School at Oodooville, and the Printing establishment at Manipay. *Restricting our views to the five older stations we know nothing more surprising in our experience of missions, than this result as regards congregations.* For a period of from thirty four to nearly forty years, these stations have enjoyed the labors of some of the ablest and the most faithful of missionaries, and during all this time, there has been every facility which popular schools of varied form could give. In the year 1836, (when indeed the number was greatest) there were 155 common schools with 6,000 pupils connected with these

stations, not to speak of other schools of a higher order. Yet in a population of 130, 000 souls, separating the congregation the pupils in the mission schools and the persons deriving their support from mission employ, only 124 adults remain for the whole of these five older congregations, who are not members of the Church. Had so much piety, talent and labour been employed, for so long a time, simply in direct preaching efforts to collect congregations without the intervention of schools, *we should have been ready to regard this mission as without doubt to be relinquished for some productive field*.... We have supposed that it proves the insufficiency of schools as a means of securing stated congregations, rather than the impracticability of the field. It falls with similar facts elsewhere to show that schools may secure an audience, for the time being, they are not the best way of securing a stated congregation. They would seem to rather stand in the way of it.'

'The whole number of Church members is 376; and of these, including 31 members of the Seminaries, 249 derive their support in some form from the mission. This is not mentioned as a defect in the Churches; for on point of view, it is certainly well that so large a number of members are worthy of employment, and can find as preachers, catechists, school masters, or of being educated in boarding schools. Still it is a misfortune, that so large a proportion of members stands in just that relation. Now this peculiar constitution of the mission Churches in this province should be viewed in connection with the no less peculiar constitution of the mission congregations....'

'Churches thus produced and sustained cannot become self-supporting, active united Churches, nor give high, satisfactory evidence of piety. We find it hard to trust the motives of their members, and to confide in them, and of course to love and respect them as we should. They cannot greatly be multiplied, and some change is therefore needed in our method of operating.'[95]

Such considerations inspired the deputation to make strong recommendations for a drastic reduction in the scale of the mission's educational operations. The discontinuance of the teaching of all courses in the English language at the Seminary and all other educational institutions and a drastic reduction in the number of schools and student enrolments were among their major recommendations, what was envisaged was a major reversal of policy with regard to educational work and the implementation of these recommendations greatly impeded the advancement of English and higher education in Jaffna. The recommendations embodied in the Report of the deputation were inspired by false assumptions and a misreading of the local situation. The experience of the missionaries of the older generation and statistical returns clearly indicated that congregations could not be found and conversions could not be effected without the instrumentality of schools. Rufus Anderson and his colleague had misjudged the whole course of events and developments in respect of evangelism in the Jaffna region. As a consequence of their ill-advised decisions the educational establishments of the American Ceylon Mission suffered a major blow. But the overwhelming pressure of local requirements and wiser counsels contributed in due course, to their restoration and recovery. The main point in the Anderson Report that has to be noted here is the contention that schools as instruments of conversions were not productive of desired results.

That missionary hopes regarding the sufficiency of schools in relation to evangelism were fading is also indicated by the observations of Wesleyan ministers. For instance John Rhodes says:

> 'Our position in the schools is just now as far as religious results are concerned remind me very much of those miserable calms around the equators. Our sails are spread, and we are ready, longing, anxious to go, but there seems 'nor breadth, nor motion"..... The young men, whom I take daily in class, are as attentive students as anyone could desire, and teaching them is very pleasurable, but none during the past quarter, have resolved to be Christians. Though with several of them I fear, it is now or never. I never felt convinced of my own utter insufficiency'.[96]

That another Wesleyan missionary, Ripley Winston, also was sceptical of the chances of success in evangelism is clear from his observations. He writes:

> 'A missionary's first impressions here are varied in immediate contrast with the circumstances he had recently left. To find oneself in actual daily conflict with heathenism in one of its most subtle forms and on the other to mark the certain indications that Christianity like leaven is permeating the mass of society, occasions, feelings of the most opposite character'.[97]

The station that caused the greatest disappointment to missionaries was Trincomalee where evangelical work among the Hindu Tamils turned out to be utterly unproductive - James Osborn was constrained to remark: 'The Church, I am deeply sorry, is not making a rapid progress. It is really very painful to see so scanty fruit for our labours' [98] Edmund Rigg accounts for the failure of evangelism in Trincomalee in the following terms: 'but it does seem as if the conjunction in one place of both the naval and military element were extremely adverse to propagation of evangelical truth and experience'. *This much is certain that nowhere in Ceylon has effort been crowned with so little success.* It is not in the character of men than as missionaries have worked here that the fault seems to be - for Trinco can show devoted a roll of labours as any circuit. Nor is it on the plans that have been organized from time to time....rather it seems to lie in a peculiarity of the moral atmosphere....most vitiating to the half awakened moral sense of the people, and the blighting to the seeds of Truth'.[99]

The Wesleyan and American missionaries identified caste and the dowry system as the two greatest obstacles to the spread of Christianity. Commenting on the dowry system John Rhodes observes:

> 'Here is one of the common cases, which cause so much misery here. An educated man finds himself united to a wife who cannot at all sympathise with him but also finds the dowry a mirage, which he never gets. If God would blast this accursed marriage system, one of the greatest barriers to the spread of Christianity, if not the very greatest would be removed and certainly a principal source of anxiety with our elder boys would disappear'.[100]

In the Churches of the American Ceylon Mission the marriages contracted by Christian converts with Hindu women often resulted in losses of membership through excommunications on account of that reason. Considerations of caste and rank and the prospect of obtaining wealth and influence seem to have been the principal motivations that attracted Christian converts to Hindu women in preference to girls converted by the mission agencies. It was pointed out: 'that the lads in Batticotta Seminary have come from far more aristocratic or wealthy families, than the girls at Oodooville; or else, by their education, they had raised their former value in the matrimonial market, and sell themselves for rank and dowry'.[101] Ironically, the social consequence of missionary enterprise contributed in considerable measure towards transforming into a social evil of the highest magnitude the dowry-system which in pre-colonial times ensured equitable distribution of wealth among male and female members of the family and protected the proprietary rights of women.

The general missionary viewpoint on caste is substantially reflected in the following observations made in the *Letter of the Deputation* headed by Rufus Anderson:

> 'Your report on caste and polygamy will be highly satisfactory to the Board and the Churches at home....It is doubtless true that the peculiar state of caste in the Jaffna community makes it the more difficult to eradicate it wholly from the Church. It is an evil like intemperance in our own country, that requires a perpetual watch, a perpetual effort, and thus it will be for a long time to come. We do not find evidence, that it stands connected, in the minds of the native Christians, with the idea of blood purity; but it connects itself with notions of family, rank and consequence, and of the value of dowry in the matrimonial market; and many of our native Christians seem too desirous of retaining their connections with their heathen relatives, and too fearful of the consequences that will follow from breaking with the whole world. In their view of this subject, their brethren in our country, who are not free from similar weaknesses, should be slow in condemning them. However, it is our belief that the native Churches will never rise to be self-supporting, efficient and reliable, until the lines of distinction drawn by caste are obliterrated from their social life'.[102]

Such a view concerns mainly the behavioural patterns of the Christian converts and it arose from the peculiar situation in the Jaffna peninsula where evangelical work was confined mainly to the community of agriculturists who in terms of ritual purity and social status occupied the highest position in society, to the exclusion of the Brahmins. Although Christianity as a religion does not provide any theoretical justification for upholding distinctions of rank or social status based on birth or any other consideration, it is significant that enough stress was not laid on Christianity as a means of social emancipation. Therefore, there was never a prospect of mass conversions even among the weaker sections of the community. Besides, the Christian converts were also obsessed with their own notions of rank and social status arising from considerations of caste to such an extent as to cause anxiety among American and European missionaries.

The explanation provided by the Protestant missionaries about obstacles to the success of evangelism are simplistic and do not take the far more fundamental causes into account. In a large majority of cases conversions were achieved through the agency of the Boarding Schools

where children weaned away from their traditional environment and influence of parents were brought up in an avowedly Christian atmosphere under the care and guidance of missionaries. It is but natural that Christian values and principles imparted to young minds ignorant of the moral, ethical and philosophical ideas associated with their ancestral religion, made a favourable and enduring impression. What is most striking is that conversions made under such conditions were so few, although under the prevailing circumstances many efforts were made to discredit Hinduism as totally irrelevant and unsuitable as a means of spiritual salvation.

The prospect of disinheritance and social ostracism were strong compulsions against conversions. The inclination of young children to accept Christianity as their religion and undergo the ceremony of baptism met with prompt and stern disapproval from parents and relatives. The prospect of estrangement from parents and relatives asserted itself as a prohibitive influence on young minds. Although it was generally conceded that Christianity was a good religion still it was an alien religion and it was contended that it could not confer any more spiritual benefits than Hinduism would. The economic complusions inherent in the social structure characterized by a system of interdependence in familial and social relations militated against individualism and operated as an effective deterrent against conversions. Such a tendency was accentuated ever since attempts were made to combat Christian evangelism on a co-operative basis.

That Hinduism continued to maintain its ground after fifty years of intensive and concentrated missionary enterprise is sufficiently clear from the following description:

> 'The American Ceylon Mission field is wholly within the Northern province of the Island, and comprises a population of about 180,000. Its stations are in the rural districts, and its labours are among the cultivators of the soil and the classes immediately connected with them. *The mass of the people are Sivites. Every village has its scores of temples at which annual, monthly or daily ceremonies are performed to gods....Of the larger heathen temples at which there are annual festivals, and which are attended by crowds of people and where there is great display and such expense, there are at least seventy-seven within our mission limits. There are about 483 smaller temples which have no festivals, but where annual or monthly ceremonies are performed*'.[108]

It now remains to consider the general impact of fifty-years of Protestant evangelical activity on the psychology and attitudes of the Hindus. The diffusion of modern knowledge and learning generated a degree of enlightenment sufficient enough to cause an awakening. Inspired by the example of the missionaries and aroused by their blatant attacks of Hindu beliefs and practices a movement for the regeneration and defence of Saivism had been started by men whose intellectual powers had been stimulated and nourished by the advanced learning provided by the missionary institutions. John Kilner who clearly perceived these developments highlights the changes that were taking place in the following manner:

'There can be no doubt as to our verging on a new era, with respect to public opinion and sympathy of the non-Christian populations of the Island.. We are gradually realizing these martial experiences. And if things go on as they are now doing, of which there is every probability, we shall ere long have raised the very storm which our fathers prayed to encounter. It is within the grasp of any one acquainted with the history of the missions, in this country, to understand how this storm originates and the direction it must take. Some there are among the men of influence whose gains are jeopardized and these contend for the old state of things with instinctive tenacity. *Some there are who have flung off old worldly superstitions but think they can construct, out of Hinduism a rational system of faith and duty and who gather round them the trembling sympathies of the better class of men.* Some there are who, having found that current, popular heathenism is untenable, don't trouble themselves one iota further about any novel claims for their faith; and Christianity is cast away as one of the things which rational beings don't need. Some there are – who from one or all of these reasons combined indulge a deadly hatred toward Christianity - and leave no stone unturned in order to stop its progress among their fellow countrymen and their tempers and tendencies are becoming ubiquitous. *It is a matter for surprise and regret that the only form of indigenous organization of which we have any knowledge in this part of the Island, is an organization to arrest the progress of Christianity and maintain some sort of defence for Saivism.*'[104]

The organization referred to by John Kilner was the *Saiva-Samaj* led by Arumuga Navalar whose activities and attainments will be discussed in a subsequent work.[105]

Foot Notes

1. Hindus belonging to the indigenous Tamil Community were also living in the districts of Puttalam and Colombo. Of the 10,498 Tamils living in the Puttalam district in 1871 5,218 were Saivites, the rest being Roman Catholics. There was no effort at Protestant evangelism among the Saivites of this district. According to the census enumeration of the same year, there were in the Colombo district 28,936 Tamils of whom 15,960 were Saivites, the rest being Christians, Roman Catholics and Protestants. The unusually high proportion of Christians among the Tamils in Colombo was partly on account of the movement of Christians from Jaffna and Batticaloa for purposes of employment. A large proportion of Tamils recruited for government service before the 1870s were Christians as they had relatively better opportunities of receiving an English education in mission schools. Another factor that has to be taken into consideration is the possibility that the Tamils living in Colombo from Dutch times did not relapse to Hinduism in such large numbers as in the other parts of the island. The Anglicans and Methodists seem to have made some conversions among the Tamils in Colombo but it has not been possible to collect sufficient information as to formulate conclusions regarding Christian-Hindu interaction in Colombo during the period under consideration

2 David Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance: The Dynamicsof Indiar Modernization 1773-1835*. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969, pp. 17-18.

For i nstance :

Hastings 'was predisposed towards a new cultural policy which aimed at creating an Orientalized Service elite competent in Indian languages and responsive to Indian traditions....Indianization should be conducted thenceforth not only on the level of social intercourse but also on that of intellectual exchange. In as much as the British servant was expected to work alongside his Asian counterpart in the administrative hierarchy, the Englishman would have to learn to think and act like an Asian, other wise the British would be treated as aliens, rapport between ruler and ruled would break down, and the empire would ultimately collapse', pp. 17-18.

3. ibid., pp. 17-18 47-
4. ibid., p. 47.
5. Acculturation denotes a process of culture change initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous culture systems.
6. James Emerson Tennent, *Christianity in Ceylon*, London, 1850, p. 63.
7. C. D Veluppillai, *A History of American Ceylon Mission (Tamil)*. Tellipalai, 1922, p. 24.
8. ibid., p. 26; *Christianity in Ceylon* p. 84.
9. ibid.
10. H. A. I. Goonetileke, *Images of Sri Lanka through American Eyes*, 1976, pp. 8-9.
11. Letter of the (Anderson) Deputation, Batticotta, May 12, 1856, Missionary Herald, 1855, p. 121.
12. H. A. I. Goonetileke, *Images of Sri Lanka through American Eyes*, p. 41.
13. K Arumainayagam, 'Pattonpatām nūṟṟāṇṭin caiva maṟumalarcci', *Tirukkētīsvaram Tirukudattirumanchana malar*, Colombo, 1976, p. 73.
14. 'With this view proclamation was publicly made that no native could aspire to the rank of Modliar, or be even permitted to farm land or hold office under the Goverment, who had not first undergone the ceremony of baptism, become a member of the Protestan-Church and subscribed to the doctrines contained in the Helvetic Confession of faith't *Christianity in Ceylon*, p. 45.
15. K M. de Silva, 'Religion and State in the Early Nineteenth Centuary', *University of Ceylon, History of Ceylon (UCHC)*, Vol. III, p 68.
16. K. M. de Silva, *Social Policy and Missionary Organizations in Ceylon, 1840-1855* London, 1965, pp. 64-65.
17. *A History of American Ceylon Mission*, p. 38.
18. P. Poologasingham, 'The contributions of Ceylonese to the development of Tamil in the Nineteenth Century', *Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference of Tamil Studies*, 1974, Vol. II, pp. 293-316.

19. *A History of the Methodist Church in Ceylon, 1814–1964*, ed. W. J. T. Small. Colombo. p. 88.

20. *Social Policy and Missionary Organizations in Ceylon*, p. 27.

21. *A History of American Ceylon Mission*, pp. 34–35, 45.

22. ibid., p. 85.

23. *A History of the Methodist Church in Ceylon*, p. 93.

24. 'The regular gathering, too, in the first Monday of every month, of the various missionary families within a circle of 20 miles is another most interesting assembly' Wesleyan Missionary Correspondence (Wes. Miss. Corr.)

    Mss. John Rhodes, Jaffna, 18th January, 1867; *Christianity in Ceylon*, pp. 43-44; *A History of American Ceylon Mission*, p. 44.

25. He was unfriendly to the Americans and refused them permission to establish the printing press. Additions to their staff through fresh arrivals from America were disallowed, Besides, in the circumstances there was no prospect of obtaining a charter from the Governor for a Collegiate institution conferring degrees.

26. 'A great many of their disappointments sprang from their overconfidence, and their under-estimation of the indigenous religions. They came expecting the sort of response the Wesleyans had evoked in the industrial cities of England and the extent of their disappointment was in proportion to the immensity of their expectations' - K M. de Silva, 'The Government and Religion: Problems and Policies, c. 1832 to c. 1910;, *UCHC*, Vol. III, 189.

27. *A History of the Methodist Church in Ceylon, 1814–1964*, p. 38.

28. ibid., p. 110; *A History of American Ceylon Mission*, p. 38.

29. C. H. Piyaratna, *American Education in Ceylon, 1816–1875, An Assessment of its Impact*, The University of Michigan. Ph.D, (Thesis), 1968, University Microfilms Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1971, p. 113.

30. ibid., p. 195.

31. ibid., p. 195.

32. ibid., p. 174.

33. One such instance is reported in the records of the Wesleyans. When the Perenteroo School was begun and the services were held, a petition was received from the inhabitants of Tambalagamam requesting the missionary to visit them and establish a school in that village too'. *A History of the Methodist Church in Ceylon*, p. 204.

34. For instance: Coomaraswamy Mudaliyar, the father of Wyman Cathiravetpillai, who conducted a free school at Valvetti, with an attendance of 60 pupils, peferred to vest the school with the American Ceylon Mission provided they accepted responsibility for maintaining it. This offer was made to Daniel Poor when he visited the locality. *A History of American Ceylon Mission*, p. 82.

35. Peter Percival, 'One of the ablest missionaries ever sent to the East' and 'The greatest Tamil Scholar Missionary Methodism has ever had', arrived in the island In 1826 and had served at the Stations of Trincomalee and Jaffna before he became the Chairman of the North Ceylon District in 1838. In 1851 he returned to England.

36. J. V. Chelliah, *A Century of English Education. The Story of the Batticotta Seminary and Jaffna College.* Tellipalai, 1922, p. 3.

37. ibid., p. 4.

38. ibid., p. 6.

39. A Kandyan Buddhist monk and a number of South Indians were among those who were educated at this institution before 1830. Among the South Indians trained at the Seminary Satkunanathan, Abhishekanath, Issac Pillai, Ponnaiyapilli, Masilamani and Jivanantham had subsequently attained prs-eminance in Society. *A History of American Ceylon Mission*, p. 79.

40. *A Century of English Education*, pp. 9-15.

41. ibid., p. 15.

42. ibid., pp. 12–13.

43. *Christianity in Ceylon*, p. 147.

44. *American Education in Ceylon, 1816–1875*, p. 45.

45. *A History of American Ceylon Mission*, p. 39.

46. ibid.

47. ibid., p. 123.

48. ibid.

49. L. A. Wickremaratne, 'Education and Social Change, 1832–1900', *UCHC*, Vol. III, p. 175.

50. ibid., p. 196.

51. *A History of the Methodist Church in Ceylon*, p. 110.

52. ibid., p. 215.

53. ibid.

54. ibid.

55. ibid.

56, ibid.

57. ibid. There are references in the Minutes of 1837 to 'upper' and 'lower' English Girls' Schools in the Mission premises with 24 and 38 girls respectively.

58. *A History of the Methodist Church in Ceylon*, pp. 215, 300, 319, 320.

59. *American Education in Ceylon, 1815–1865*, p. 174.

60. *Report of the American Mission in Ceylon in 1878*, Strong and Asbury Printers Jaffna, 1879, p. 5.

61. *A History of the Methodist Church in Ceylon*, p. 319.
62 *Wes. Miss. C.* W. R. Winston, Jaffna, August 10th, 1975.
63 ibid., p. 319.
64. 'Thus the passion for the English Language, in preference to the Tamil, is every where cultivated; increasing our perplexities as a mission. The declaration we have heard from the most intelligent natives, as to the rush of feeling for English in the native mind, almost exceeds belief; and yet, until quite lately, we have heard no contrary testimony from any quarter. We have heard it affirmed by the highest Tamil authority in the district, that no education is valued by the people except in the English Language, that the value placed upon that language is simply as a means of acquiring wealth, office and influence....' – *Missionary Herald*, 1856, p. 114.
65. *Wes. Miss. C.*, John Rhodes, Pt. Pedro, May 20, 1872.
66. ibid.
67. *Wes. Miss. C*, John Rhodes, Point Pedro, September 1870.
68. *Christianity in Ceylon*, p. 144.
69. 'The course of education is so comprehensive as to extend over a period of eight years of study. With a special regard to the future usefulness of its alumni in conflict with the Brahmanical system, the curriculum embraces all the ordinary branches of historical and classical learning and all the higher departments of mathematical and physical science combined with a most intimate familiarisation with the great principles and evidences of the Christian Religion. *The knowledge exhibited by the pupils was astonishing; and it is no exaggerated encomium to say that, in the course of instruction, and in the success of the system of communicating it the Collegiate Institution of Batticotta is entitled to rank with many European Universities*' – Emerson Tennent, *Christianity in Ceylon*, p. 152.
70. *A Century of English Education*, p. 52.
71. Daniel Somanader of Batticaloa was one of the most influential among the prominent persons in the Eastern province. His son who was the Chief Mudaliar of the province was a member of the Wesleyan congregation in Batticaloa.

    Commenting on the qualities of the Christians of Batticaloa John Rhodes remarks: '– Fine, dignified, noble-looking, earnest, devout men they are. Three of them hold titles of native rank, several have wealth, some are vulnerable with age, others in the prime of manhood, but the interest, and practical common sense and business tact they display is most delightful. Indeed our Leaders and Local Preachers' meetings, have seemed to me like model specimens from England, firmly rooted and naturally developed'. *Wess, Miss. C.* John Kilner, Jaffna, June 24, 1868; John Rhodes, Batticaloa, 10th October, 1872.
72. *Wes. Miss. C.* James Brown, Batticaloa, December 11, 1874.
73. *Wes. Miss. C.* Edmund Rigg, Batticaloa, September, 1861.
74. *Wes. Miss. C.* Edmund Rigg, Trincomalee, 19 February, 1869.
75. *Wes. Miss. C.* Ripley Winston, Jaffna, April 22, 1874.
76. *Missionary Herald*, 1856, p. 106.

77. *Christianity in Ceylon*, p. 161.
78. *Letter of the Deputation*, p. 112.
79. *Christianity in Ceylon*, p 154.
80. ibid.
81. *Missionary Herald*, 1856, p. 112.
82. ibid.
83. *A History of Amrican Ceylon Mission*, p. 106.
84. ibid.
85. ibid., p. 131; *Missionary Herald*, 1856, p. 106.
86. *Report of the American Ceylon Mission*, 1868, p. 13; *Report of the American Ceylon Mission*, 1878, p. 2.
87. *A History of the Methodist Church in Ceylon*, pp. 196, 202.
88. ibid., p. 103.
89. ibid., pp. 29–299.
90 G. S. Williams, *Census of Ceylon*, p. 105.
91. ibid.
92. ibid.
93. *A History of American Ceylon Mission*, p. 109.
94. *Christianity in Ceylon*, pp. 170–171.
95. *Missionary Herald*, 1856, p. 106.
96. *Wes. Miss. C.* John Rhodes, Jaffna, April, 18, 1868
97. *Wes. Miss. C.* Ripley Winston, Jaffna, April 22, 1874.
98. *Wes. Miss. C.* James Osborn, Trincomalee, 13 December, 1876.
99. *Wes. Miss. C.* Edmund Rigg, Trincomalee, August 16, 1876.
100. *Wes. Miss. C.* John Rhodes, Jaffna, April 18, 1868.
101. *Letter of the Deputation*, p. 162.
102. ibid., pp. 109–110.
103. *Report of the American Ceylon Mission*, 1868, p. 3.
104. *Wes. Miss. C.* John Kilner, Jaffna, No. 1874.
105. The year 1875 has been chosen as a convenient terminal date for this study on account of two principal considerations. The second phase of Protestant missionary enterprise during which the missions consolidated their position in the island came to a close in the 1870s. It was in the 1870s that the missionaries generally became convinced that their objective of mass conversions could never be achieved. Thereafter, they consolidated their monopoly of English education and extended their educational operations since the introduction of the grant-in-aid system and administrative regulations such as that of 30 November 1874 which refused grants to any school, established after that date, within a distance of three miles from an existing govern. ment or state-aided school of the same class, save under exceptional circumstances Moreover, the first phase Hindu revival was almost over by 1875 by which time Arumuga Navalar had almost concluded his activities towards the defence and regeneration of Saivism. See *UCHC*, Vol. *III*, p. 196.

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FEUDALISM, CAPITALISM AND THE DYNAMICS OF SOCIAL CHANGE IN A KANDYAN VILLAGE[1]

K. TUDOR SILVA

The term feudalism has long been used to describe the pre-colonial social order in the Kandyan highlands. In his characterization of Kandyan feudalism Pieris (1956) emphasized the rights and priviledges of the king and the aristocracy over the peasantry as evident in the land tenure system. Leach (1959) preferred to use the word 'caste feudalism', for caste was used as a mechanism for extracting service from the peasantry. In more recent times there have been attempts to analyze Kandyan feudalism using a more rigorous Marxian framework (Bandarage 1983, Gunasinghe 1983). The present paper investigates post-independence changes in aKandyan village here called Welivita against its historical background in colonial and pre-colonial times. The broader issue addressed here is how far contemporary social change in Kandyan rural society may be undertood in terms of a long-term transition from feudalism to capitalism.[2]

Following Laclau (1971:33-35), the feudal mode of production can be characterized as follows: first, an economic surplus is produced by a labour force subject to extra-economic compulsion; second, the ecomic surplus is privately appropriated by a social class not directly involved in production; third, the property in the means of production remains in the hands of the direct producer subject to superior rights of an exploiting class. In the capitalist mode of production too, the economic surplus is subject to private appropriation, but as distinct from feudalism, ownership of the means production is severed from ownership of labour; it is this that permits the transformation of labour-power into a commodity, and with this the birth of wage relations.

A main character of the feudal system, then, was that the economic surplus was appropriated from the direct producer by non-economic i.e. legal, political and customary means. Under capitalism, in contrast, the dispossesesd worker produces a surplus for the capitalist not because of legal or political pressure from above, but because of the sheer economic necessity of earning an income.

The development of capitalism in agriculture involves the conversion of land, labour and agricultural produce into commodities freely bought and sold on market, in this process necessarily dismantling the frozen social and economic arrangements that constituted the feudal mode of production It also involves the growth of a capitalist class structure which separates the successes from the failures, capitalist farmers from the dispossessed farm workers,

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1. This paper is based on an unpublished Ph.D. thesis (see Silva K.T, 1982). The field research was supported by a grant under the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship programme of the Australian government. A supplementary grant from the University of Peradeniya enabled some follow-up study in 1983. An earlier version of this paper was read in the International Conference on Symbolic and Material Dimensions of Agrarian Change in Sri Lanka held in Anuradhapura from 23 to 27 July, 1984.

2. Welivita is a pseudonym. For an earlier interpretation of social change in Welivita see Silva K.T. 1979.

in place of the feudal class structure based on hereditary distinctions, social bondages and master-servant relations. The concentration of the means of production in the hands of profit-oriented capitalist farmers who replace the feudal landlords whose main form of appropriation is rent (as a share of the produce) extracted from the scattered tenant farmers is at the centre of the social transformation in the countryside. ".. capitalism replaces the former scattered production by an unprecedented concentration both in agriculture and in industry" (Lenin 1964: 598).

The conceptual distinction between the two modes of production is fairly easy to establish. It is far more difficult to determine empirically the exact character of a given, specially changing, socio-economic environment. The controversy surrounding the characterization of the contemporary rural scene in India points to the difficulties involved[3]. The central issue here is whether changes brought about by green revolution in parts of India represents a significant advance of the capitalist mode of production. If this is understood as a case of capitalist development, how then do we characterize the colonial period in feudal or even semi-feudal terms (Chattopadhyay 1972, Patnaik 1971, 1972)? The neo-Marxist view about dependent capitalism also becomes questionable if we do find a continuation of feudal elements during the colonial period (Alavi 1975, Banaji 1975). If we do understand the contemporary rural scene in capitalist terms, how can we account for the persistence of small scale producers and continued existence of frozen social arrangements such as caste (Harriss 1982)?

In the course of the above debate the question of structural transformation in the countryside has increasingly been posed in an empirically testable manner. According to Alavi (1975: 172), the important issues are as follows. First, the extent to which commodity production is generalized i.e. not meant for local consumption. Second, extent to which commodity production is done by landless workers and how far they constitute a force of 'free' wage labourers. Third, the degree of capitalization of rural production and the extent to which capital in the countryside remains in the sphere of circulation and does not affect production relations in agriculture. Fourth, the significance of tenancy relations in agrarian production.

The questions mentioned in the preceding paragraphs have direct relevance to the Kandyan case. However, only some of these questions can be dealt with in a village study. Our primary aim is to present an ethnographic account of the dynamics of change in Welivita during a 31 year period from 1948 to 1979[4]. Such a limited focus enables us to capture details of the processes operating in the larger society. The structural transformation mentioned earlier can not be observed in all its details within a single village. On the other hand we find that all or nearly all aspects of change in Welivita during the post-independence period can be seen as dimensions of a larger transformation affecting the Kandyan society as a whole.

3. This debate can be only briefly discussed here due to limitation of space. For a recent account of the various issues involved see Harriss 1982.

4. The fieldwork reported here was completed in 1979. Therefore, we take 1979 as our cut-off point.

The Village

Welivita is located in what used to be the heartland of Kandyan feudalism. It lies at the bottom of a fairly insulated valley situated some 10 miles to the south-east of the historic Kandy town, which as capital city of the pre-British Kandyan kingdom, constituted the main hub of the feudal relations in the area. Prior to 1815 Welivita and some of its neighbouring villages in the valley constituted a royal village (*gabadāgama*) which produced an agricultural surplus and provided certain services required by the royal family in Kandy under the service tenure system. During the British period (1815–1948), following the abolition of the service tenure in 1832, Welivita ceased to be a service village. The changes originating from the colonial rule, however, resulted in a reorganization of the village social structure along semi-feudal lines rather than in a complete disolution of the feudal system. As caste provided the key to the social as well as economic organization of the village until after independence (1948), we may well begin our account by looking at the caste composition of the village.

Table 1 : *Caste Composition of Welivita, 1979*

Caste Name & Traditional Caste Service	Traditional Relation to Rice Farming	No. of Households	%	Population	%
Patti (officials)	Landlord/owner farmer	14	7.0	82	6.7
Navandanna/Galladu (smiths)	owner farmer	3	1.5	22	1.8
Hena (washermen)	owner farmer	18	9.0	94	7.7
Nakati/Berawa	tenant	161	80.5	1009	82.1
Other	—	4	2.0	21	1.7
		200	100.0	1228	100.0

Feudal background of Welivita is evident in its caste composition. In contrast to the commonly found 'free' villages where the Goigama are normally in a numerical majority, the numerical predominance of one or more low caste groups seems to have been a distinctive structural feature of service villages[5]. The respective feudal overlords required the services of some specific low caste groups in order to maintain their priviledged position in society. The existence of customary and legal restrictions applying to the low castes meant that it was easier to subject them to surplus extraction compared to the free peasants of Goigama caste. In other words, the caste system was an important element in the 'general ensemble of extra-economic compulsion' prevailing in Kandyan feudal society.

5. The low caste predominance in service villages is revealed through ethnographic findings of Leach 1961, Evers 1969, Seneviratne 1978 and myself. Leach noted "It is a general feature of this part of Ceylon that temple property is extensive but very badly maintained. The temple estates are, for the most part, a residue from the days of the Kandyan kingdom. In earlier times the tenants, who were always members of the inferior castes, cultivated the temple lands as part of their service duties, and such service was unforceable. Today such land is still usually cultivated by members of these same inferior castes, but the cultivators are sharecropping tenants of the temple priest, and the rights of the priest-landlord are unsupported by government sanction (1961:38).

All four caste groups in Welivita belong to the category of service castes, implying that they were at the service of those superior to them in caste hierarchy. However, it is wrong to think that the caste distinctions within the village were irrelevant. The Patti, constituting a relatively low status subcaste of Goigama, have held a dominant position vis-a-vis the other caste groups in the village. Their own conception of the past as well as some available evidence point to the fact that historically the administrative elite in the village came from the Patti caste. Its control over the other three caste groups in the village in turn varied according to caste status. The Navandanna and the Hena, accounting for less than 10 percent of the village population and occupying intermediate positions in the local caste hierarchy, have had some degree of independence compared to the Nakati who are at the bottom of the local caste hierarchy. Over 80 percent of Welivita's population belong to the Nakati (drummer) caste, whose traditional caste occupations of drumming and dancing typically involved dependence upon and obeisance to caste superiors.[6] It appears that as principal caste servants attached to the royal village, the local Nakati were required to play a dual role as service givers and surplus producers. Their physical concentration in this area in large numbers and structural position within the caste hierarchy made it easy to mobilize them as duty-bound caste servants.

Its caste composition indicates that Welivita has never been an independent social entity. The presence of a large concentration of drummer caste people meant that their caste service was not restricted to the village. The existence of the Patti at the top of the village caste hierarchy implied that the entire village was subordinate to a feudal overlord of higher status. The higher status subcaste of Goigama, namely the Goigama proper (sometimes known as Rate Atto in this area), and the Radala (aristocracy) were not included in the royal village, so that it was directly and completely subject to the surplus appropriation by the royal family, The influence of some Goigama proper families in nearby villages was felt in Welivita only after 1815 when it ceased to be a royal domain.

The Historical Background

In an effort to reconstruct the history of a Kandyan village one has to largely depend on general historical accounts of the Kandyan socicty. Included in this category are works by Knox (1956), Pieris (1956), Dewaraja (1972) and Bandarage (1982). Regional histories are not available except for the brief sketches in Lawrie (1896). Oral tradition and ethnographic evidence are also useful to a considerable extent.

Let us now examine the background of Welivita in each historical period.

The Kandyan Period, (1500-1815)

Feudal overlordship of the king, aristocracy, and the Buddhist clergy was a central feature of the Kandyan kingdom. Ideologically all land within the kingdom belonged to the king who distributed it among his officials and subjects including the clergy according to

6. To quote Seneviratne "The very act of dancing in front of someone in certain contexts, of which the Perahara is one, places the dancers in a low position and the recipient of the dance in high position. This inequality is enhanced by the dancers worshipping the radala authorities every now and then in the moving Perahara.....the dancers also perform the remarkable feat of walking backwards from time to time...another sign of honour accorded to a high status person to whom one does not turn one's back" (1978; 151).

their respective caste statuses which in turn determined their duties to one another and to the king. The king maintained an exclusiveness from the Kandyan caste system by claiming Kshatriya descent from India. The ruling aristocracy as well as chiefs of the Buddhist clergy generally came from the aristocratic (Radala) subcaste of Goigama which (latter) accounted for the bulk of the population in the kingdom.

The peasantry was broadly divided between the Goigama who were free peasants and the service castes or low castes which in many instances held land subject to caste service and other feudal obligations. Thus the caste hierarchy provided the social farmework of Kandyan feudalism. At the pinacle of the caste hierarchy was the aristocracy which controlled feudal landholdings as well as administrative and religious offices that reinforced their dominant economic position. At the bottom of the caste hierarcy, the level with which this study is specially concerned, were the service castes which were placed in a serfdom (including restriction upon their movement) and dependence, their lower status and economic subordination within the overall scheme determined by interlocking structures of caste, land tenure and civil administration.

In the Kandyan kingdom the rights and obligations within the land tenure system were primarily determined according to the caste system. The king, aristocracy, Buddhist temples and deity shrines each had service villages assigned to them known as gabadāgam. nindagam, vihāragam and dēvalagam respectively. The service villages differed from the vast number of ordinary villages where a majority of the inhabitants were upper caste and were only subject to generalized taxes and duties imposed by the state. The service villages were largely low caste in composition and were bonded to one or the other feudal overlord. The service villages were, therefore, more directly and more systematically subject to feudal exactions. This is an aspect that has received relatively little attention in the writings on the Kandyan kingdom.[7]

As a constituent part of a royal village (gabadāgama), the pre-colonial social order in Welivita was characterized by the land tenure system commonly found in service villages (Pieris 1956). The landholdings in a service village were divided into three distinct domains i e. lord's domain or muttettu, upper caste domain or pamgu (lit. shares) and low caste domain or nila pamgu (lit. service shares). The inhabitants of a service village were collectively responsible for the cultivation of the lord's domain and transfer of its produce to the lord's mansion. The upper caste inhabitants, whose numbers in a service village was not large and to whom were restricted the positions of authority in each service village, held a permanent and hereditary (paravēni) right to their respective landholdings in the upper caste domain. In contrast, the low caste landholdings, while permanently allocated for the respective caste services, were held by the individuals concerned, on a temporary or conditional (māruvena) basis subject to caste service. Hence, it was through fulfilling the service obligation expected of them that the low caste inhabitants could retain access to the means of production. The land tenure system in a service village gave a weaker right to the service-bound low caste inhabitants and thereby placed them in a subordinate – servile position. Thus the system of surplus appropriation prevailing under feudalism was reinforced by the caste hierarchy.

7. Pieris (1956), for instance, does not elaborate the connection between caste obligations and feudal exactions.

The pre-colonial system of land tenure, however, was not without benefits to the low caste people. The low caste landholdings in a service village, while subject to compulsary service, had been permanently assigned to the respective caste services This meant that such land could not be transfered from one low caste to another or, more importantly, from a low caste family to an upper caste family. The low caste people had an element of protection in their lower social standing and in the fact that the services of each low caste group were indispensable to the higher orders in society.[8] Thus while the pre-colonial social order was marked by sharp social inequalities, there were customary mechanisms against further intensification of such inequalities through the now familiar process of 'exploitation of the weak by the stronger'.

This is the background against which changes in Welivita during the colonial period must be examined.

The British Period (1815-1948)

The effect of colonial rule on Kandyan rural society is yet to be analyzed in a satisfactory manner. On the one hand there is the dual economy thesis which argues that the development of a plantation economy by the aliens had a minimal impact on the Kandyan villages (Snodgrass 1966). On the other hand there is the view that the processes emanating from the British occupation of the Kandyan areas gradually incorporated the rural population into the world capitalist system (Ponnambalam 1980, Bandarage 1982). Various modes of interaction which now seem possible between the colonial and pre-colonial systems have not been seriously considered in relation to the Kandyan society.[9] In any case the evidence from Welivita indicates that although the rural social structure was substantially altered in the British period, there were also important structural continuities.

One important structural continuity was that the British administration of the Kandyan villages upto 1930 or so was through a hierarchy of native headmen, adapted from the pre-existing feudal administration. These native officials were now made responsible to a newly appointed government agent who was a British civil servant (see figure 1), but the social background of these officials as well as their method of administration showed much continuity with pre-colonial forms.

Figure I: Village Administration in the British Period

Office	*Administrative Division*
Govt. Agent (British Officer)	Palātha (province)
↓	
Rate Mahattaya (R. M.)	Rata
↓	
Korale Mahattaya (K. M.)	Kōrale
↓	
Arachchi Mahattaya (A. M.)	Vasama
↓ ↓	
Deputy Headman (Ārachchi Mahattaya / Duraya) — Irrigation Headman (Vel Vidāne / Vel Duraya)	Gama (village)

8. Leach 1960: 1-10.
9. See, for instance, Laclau 1972, Benaji 1972 and Alavi 1975.

The government agent for the Central Province was based in Kandy and under him there were nine rata divisions, each under a R. M. Welivita came under the rata division of Pata Hewaheta consisting of three Korale which, in turn, were subdivided into vasama. An Arachchi (headman) was in charge of a vasama covering a few villages. Under each Arachchi there were deputy headmen and irrigation headmen who were village level officials.

On the whole, the native administrative hierarchy headed by Rate Mahattaya served to reinforce certain structural features stemming from the pre-colonial social order. These administrative offices were largely hereditary, although the competition for them may have increased in the latter part of the British period. There were no salary or bureaucratic procedures applicable to these positions until the early part of the 20th century. The R M., K. M. and A. M. were essentially of Goigama caste. They were expected to come from the respective subcastes within the Goigama caste, although there was an instance where a person belonging to the Patti caste rose to the highest position of R. M. in the Welivita area. Only the lowest rung of the administrative hierarchy was open to the low caste leaders. In villages where low caste people were in a majority, as in Welivita, a deputy headman and an irrigation headman could be recruited from the respective low caste groups, as assistants to higher level officials necessarily from the Goigama caste. However, a petty official of low caste status was officially known in an inferior title A deputy headman of Goigama caste was called an Arachchi ('officer') whereas a low caste deputy headman was known as a duraya ('office-holder'). There was a similar distinction between vel vidāne ('officer in-charge of paddy fields') and vel duraya ('paddy field attendent'), irrigation headmen representing upper and low castes respectively. The other authors have elaborated the manner in which the administration of temples and shrines rested on the caste hierarchy (Evers 1972, Seneviratne 1978). The data from Welivita shows that there was a similar significance of the caste hierarchy in the civil administration during the British period.

The Formation of a Gentry

During the British period Welivita and the surrounding villages in the valley saw the rise of an upper caste gentry which gradually established a dominance over the area. This gentry gained control over land ownership and administrative offices in several villages in the valley. It consisted of some closely knit kin groups belonging to Goigama proper and Patti castes, the predominant upper caste groups in the area. This gentry emulated aristocratic Radala) lifestyle and severed kinship ties with ordinary members of the respective caste groups so as to consolidate its status within the larger society. The members of the gentry competed among themselves for land ownership and office, but there was also considerable cohesiveness within the gentry, specially when their common interests were at stake.

Structural parallels to what I term gentry have been reported by several other writers on rural Sri Lanka. Obeyesekere, for instance, found in Southern Sri Lanka landowning kinship alliances locally known as 'pelanthiya'. He defined pelanthiya as 'status groups formed on the basis of a traditional *feudal* ideology' (Obeyesekere 1967:10) (emphasis mine). Although characterized as status groups pelanthiya also had a substancial economic base supported by administrative influence. In characterizing the agrarian stratification in a Kandyan Village named Delumgoda, Gunasinghe (1975) identified a stratum of 'semi-feudal landlords', controlling a substantial amount of land in this village. Describing semi-feudal landlords Gunasinghe mentioned,

> Some of these families hail from the days of the Kandyan kingdom. Their ancestors were state officials who manned the feudal state bureaucracy. It is true that most of these families will not be able to trace their ancestry to a Kandyan noble and the scene is largely dominated by the 'new comers' who acquired prominance during the British period. However, the myth of continuity prevails....(1975: 132).

The evidence from Welivita and Delumgoda reveals that the upper caste gentry that evolved during the British period not only possessed a feudal ideology as pointed out by Obeyesekere, but also was instumental in continuing semi-feudal production relations in the Kandyan areas. A detailed analysis of the origin and development of this upper caste gentry is beyond the scope of the present paper, but the processes whereby the gentry became prominent in the Welivita area can be summarized here.

First, there was a reinvigoration of a local influence structure through the administrative hierarchy described earlier. Under the British rule the more enterprising individuals among the R. M., K. M. and the A. M. were able to increase their power and influence over the local population as they found a greater latitude under the foreign administration. In an area where the bulk of the population was low caste and the higher level officials essentially came from the upper caste, the administrative structure essentially reinforced the caste system and the accompanying social forms which were feudal or semi-feudal in character.

Second, from among the local population these officials were the first to benefit from opportunities for concentration of land ownership under the British rule. Following the deposition of the king, the royal domain (muttettu) in and around Welivita became crown property and it appears that the local officials gradually expanded their economic base by acquiring sections of this crown property, in the process re-establishing feudal linkages with tillers of the soil who in this area were essentially low caste. With the abolition of service tenure in 1832, low caste landholdings (nila pamgu) could now be transfered across caste boundaries. Once again the dominant local families belonging to Goigama proper and Patti castes were able to benefit from this situation, also helped by a grain tax introduced by the British in the 1840s. The local officials, who were empowered to collect the grain tax from the peasants, seemed to have turned it to their own advantage, compelling specially the low caste peasants to free themselves from the tax burden by transfer of their land to the officials concerned. Obeyesekere (1967) and Roberts (1968) also found that the grain tax ordinances enabled the local officials to enhance their grip on rural society. Because of the insulated position of the valley, the officials in the Welivita area hardly faced any competition from land buyers from the outside, including immigrants from the low country.[10]

Third, the evolving production relations in the Welivita area retained a feudal character because of the fact that the landlords used administrative as well as caste priviledge in extracting a surplus from the local share-tenants, a majority of whom came from the drummer caste. Both caste priviledge and administrative power stood as extra-economic pressure weighing down upon the share-tenants. The service obligations also continued as the shars-tenants and the members of their families were required to do some domestic work in

10. These immigrants were largely based in urban centres in the hill country.

landlord houses (walawwa), specially on ritual occasions.[11] On the whole, the Nakati, the majority caste group in Welivita, remained bonded servants even though they were no longer connected to a formal feudal structure sanctioned by the state.

During the latter part of the British period, there was an important transition in the power base of the local gentry from hereditary office in the home area to bureaucratic posts in urban centres. Beginning in 1920 or so, the members of the local gentry began to provide an English education for their children in boarding schools in Kandy. The composition of the gentry gradually changed. It now included clerks, teachers, doctors, engineers and even civil servants. This transition corresponded to the efforts by the colonial government to gradually bureaucratize the rural administration with effect from 1930 or so. With its transition to the bureaucracy there was considerable outmigration from the local gentry mainly to the cities of Kandy and Colombo. The more successful branches of the landlord families moved to the cities, leaving their ancestral properties in charge of the less successful who remained in the local area (cf Obeyesekere 1967). The outmigrants too retained control over the means of production as absentee landlords. Eventhough there was a transition in the gentry its dominance in rural society as well as surplus appropriation from the local peasantry continued, sometimes in new forms. Their newly acquired bureaucratic posts provided an important power base and an effective substitute for hereditary office in continuing their domination in rural society. Eventhough they became urbanized and linked to the national elite, to the extent they continued surplus appropriation from the local population, using extra economic pressure at their disposal, they remained a semi-feudal force in the countryside.

To sum up the changes that occurred in Welivita during the British period, as social securities inherent in the pre-colonial social order disappeared, there was an intensification of inequalities that originated in the caste system. The drummer caste, the lowest and the largest caste group in the village, became economically dependent on a dominant upper caste elite which utilized caste privileges of pre-colonial origin on the one hand and the opportunities opened up during the British period on the other, to gain control over the local population. The village was by no means isolated from the larger political economy of British Ceylon. The acquisition of bureaucratic posts by the gentry signified new linkages with the town. There was also a gradual increase in the numbers turning into wage labourers in nearby tea plantations, particularly among the low caste groups. The overall pattern of social hierarchy within the village, however, remained caste linked and the village economy retained a semi-feudal character.

Post-independence Changes

The social, economic and political changes in Welivita subsequent to national independence (1948), must be understood against the semi-feudal background described in the preceding section. As a predominantly low caste village Welivita remained a more or less exclusive domain of the local gentry. The organization and relations of production within the village, specially in the arena of paddy cultivation, revolved around the caste hierarchy.

11. The term Walawwa is normally applied to aristocratic (radala) houses. The local landlords too used it although they were not aristocratic by caste status.

The continued presence of the gentry especially in newly created administrative posts meant that it now had a new source of power with which to protect and maintain its hereditary interests in the village.

It was in the political arena that there was an initial breakthrough in the transition to capitalism in Welivita. Later there were parallel changes in the economic organization. Let us examine political and economic processes in turn.

Political Change

The earlier forms of political conflict within Welivita were related to competition for positions in the administrative hierarchy. The leading Nakati families in the village held positions of Deputy Village Headman (duraya), Irrigation Headman (vel duraya) and Chief Drummer in the Temple of the Tooth (panikkaya) in Kandy[12], each as deputy or subordinate to and, to a large extent, appointees of higher level officials drawn from upper caste families. In this situation factional divisions within the drummer caste were aligned with corresponding divisions within the Goigama and Patti caste groups in the area, so that each faction was essentially an intercaste alliance in opposition to identical alliances. This form of political conflict was not in defiance of the caste order in so far as conflict at each level of the hierarchy involved opponents of identical status who were required to submit themselves to those at the higher levels in order to remain in contention for office. With the gentry's transition to the bureaucracy the importance of localized competition for office declined, but there was no immediate change in the local political organization. On the whole the pre-1948 political conflict in Welivita upheld the semi-feudal social order with gentry in a controlling position.

The rise of a low caste leadership independent of and largely opposed to the gentry was a turning point in the more recent developments in Welivita. A local Nakati leader named Mambara became a prominent figure in the area since 1948. He entered local politics around 1936 as a member of the Village Council and hence his name Mambara[13]. He became an organizer and the principal spokesman for the drummer caste, the majority caste group in the area. He also had the support of certain other low caste groups in and around Welivita. Realizing the threat posed by the rising influence of Mambara, the local gentry made an early attempt to create a rival faction within the Nakati caste without success Mambara was gradually able to mobilize more or less his entire caste group in his fight against the gentry.

The rise of Mambara was not an isolated event. He was initially drawn into the political process through the campaigns ofGeorge E. de Silva (1879-1951), a higher level politician of low caste origin. George E. de Silva represented the Kandy electorate in the national legislature from 1927 upto 1948 and was one of the founders of the United National Party (UNP). He was a cabinet member of the first UNP government established in 1948. The

12. The post of chief drummer was held by some local Nakati families although the village was not formally linked to the Temple of the Tooth. For details regarding this office see Seneviratne 1978.

13. Mambara, a corruption of the English word 'member', was a commonly used name by which V.C. members were known in rural Sri Lanka.

politics of George E. de Silva has been analyzed in greater detail elsewhere[14]. One of his major achievements was that he was able to mobilize a substantial low caste population in localities around the Kandy town. The rise of a low caste politician in what used to be the seat of power of a feudal kingdom may seem paradoxical, but it reflected the articulation and growing influence of anti-feudal forces throughout this region.

One of the first independent political moves by the drummer caste leaders in Welivita was the establishment of a community centre in 1948. This community development outpost came under a nationwide programme started by S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, the Minister of Local Government in the first UNP government. In Welivita this community centre gradually developed as a centre for Kandyan dance training and, therefore, became locally known as 'kalāyathanaya'. The dance training was supported by a grant from the local Village Council as central government funds for cultural activities were distributed through local government bodies at that time. Mambara, who was also a renowned Kandyan dancer, was the main figure, behind the kalāyathanaya. This organization was also used by George E. de Silva in his political campaigns in this area.

One might approach the developments reported so far from the perspective of persisting caste loyalties In a recent study, Jiggins (1979) saw electoral mobilization of various low caste groups in various parts of Sri Lanka as a manifestation of the vitality of caste as against class as a basis for political action. A similar analysis is implicit in Seneviratne's (1978) treatment of anti-establishment tendencies within the religious institutions in Kandy. If we adopt a similar viewpoint in regard to Welivita, it may be said that in his politics Mambara appealed to caste loyalties among his own people and manipulated caste symbols. The attempt to promote Kandyan dance, a cultural heritage and a caste profession of the Nakati, may be seen in this light. Such a narrow consideration of caste, however, tends to neglect the historical and structural context of the so-called 'low caste politics'. The follow-up of low caste politics in Welivita reveals its anti-feudal and, therefore, progressive character.

Following the national level transfer of power in 1956 from the UNP to a coalition led by the newly established Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), there were more important changes in Welivita. Mambara and his followers readily turned to the new party as its reformist policies had a greater appeal to those fighting against feudal social barriers. In the Welivita area the support for the SLFP came from the same social bases that had been initially mobilized by George E. de Silva as a low caste politician within the UNP. As evident in local events, the SLFP contributed to a greater crystallization of an anti-feudal ideology among the underpriviledged caste groups in Kandyan rural society. The tenancy reforms introduced under the Paddy Lands Act of 1958 unleashed a major attack on the remaining semi-feudal arrangements in the countryside. Mambara's leadership was instrumental in the articulation and strengthening of share-tenants' rights in Welivita. It showed that his leadership had the goal of liberating his caste group from the remaining clutches of feudal oppression. On the whole his politics was a reaction against the semi-feudal social order rather than an affirmation of it.

14. See Russell 1981.

The Paddy Lands Act sought to strengthen the share-tenants' position by bringing down the rent to a fixed level and by providing legal safeguards against eviction. Leach (1962: 242n) referred to it as an 'astonishing piece of Marxist legislation'. In Welivita it in fact had a revolutionary effect on dissolving semi-feudal production relations The Act was followed by a period of turmoil in Welivita. While the low caste share-tenants became increasingly aware of their enhanced rights under the new Act, the landlords sought to retain the traditional half-share rent, eviet the militant share-tenants and generally evade the tenancy law. While their entrenched power within the bureaucracy gave the upper caste landlords an upper hand at higher levels, the low caste share-tenants, to their advantage, had a favourable political climate, long-term possession and use of land, the strength of numbers and, above all, a remarkable degree of solidarity among themselves in their fight against the gentry.

The effect of tenancy reform varied according to the relative strength of the parties involved.

First, a substanial number of Nakati share-tenants managed to take advantage of the Paddy Lands Act and, thereby, established themselves as protected share-tenants paying a much reduced rent to the landlords. A majority of share-tenants in absentee-owned land were able to benefit in this manner. The absentee landlords in Kandy and Colombo did try to overcome the sharecropper demands, but because of their physical distance from the village they were unable to withstand the organized campaign by the local share-tenants. Some of the landlords opted to sell their land to the tenants themselves, while the other absentee owners gradually accepted the regulated rent. No precise data are available regarding lands transfers, but it appears that roughly about 25 percent of the paddy area in Welivita came under the statutory control of the local share-tenants As the control exercized by the absentee landlords declined, there was an overall weakening of the semi-feudal economic base of the gentry. The liberated low caste peasants became a new force in the countryside.

Second, there was an eviction of share-tenants by many of the resident landlords. This was possible due to the vigilance and immediate presence of the resident landlords who had always followed a policy of changing share-tenants from time to time as a protective measure. Following the eviction, for some years the local Nakati boycotted any work for the landlords concerned, compelling the latter to either work the land themselves and thereby do something demeaning to the gentry status, or employ hired workers from outside. In any case evictions resulted in a separation of the workers from the means of production and, thereby, contributed to a change in production relations. Thus the disruption of tied relations to land was an important outcome of the tenancy reform.[15]

Third, not all share-tenaacy arrangements in Welivita, however, became altered or disrupted through the above mechanisms. In 1979 some 8 percent of the total paddy area in Welivita continued to be operated under half-share tenancy arrangements of one sort or another. These tenants had not been able to benefit from the tenancy reforms because of

15. "If, for example, the relation of lord and serf in respect of land is no longer binding, and there is no probability of a meaningfully oriented course of action by each party then the social system which we designate 'feudalism' is at an end." (Pieris 1956: 6).

their continuing ties with the landlords. The prevailing low caste openion in the village however was rather hostile towards these remaining patterns of subordination. These continuing tenancy arrangements indicate that the process of dissolution of semi-feudal economic ties evident in Welivita is as yet incomplete.

In summary, it can be said that an emerging low caste political leadership played a critical role in the processes leading to the disruption of the semi-feudal social order which had evolved in Welivita during the British period. If we identify the gentry as a conservative force inhibiting rural change, the newly emerged leadership was a dynamic force contributing to tenancy reform and other such change in the countryside. The above-mentioned political processes in turn were closely related to important economic changes that occurred in Welivita during the post-independence period.

Economic Change

As typical of Kandyan villages highland and paddy land constitute the major economic resources in Welivita. The village covers roughly about 200 acres of land consisting of 127 acres of highland and 73 acres of paddy. The highlands are used as housesites, home gardens and small plots of tea, coffee, coconut and pepper. Nearly a third of the highland area is not suitable for cultivation due to steepness, soil erosion and lack of water. Minor export crops, which thrive in certain other Kandyan villages (Morrison 1979), can not be grown successfully in Welivita due to climatic and soil conditions. On the whole highland provides little scope for capitalization of agriculture.

Paddy cultivation, which depends on local rain water and water flow in the village stream, had traditionally suffered from a number of limitations. During the dry season from May to August, a substantial area of paddy situated at higher elevations was left out of cultivation due to the scarcity of water. Paddy yields were quite low partly because the caste based production relations had a rigidity that prevented dynamic change in the rural economy. As the tenants paid a half of the produce to the landlords, many of whom were absentee owners with no direct involvement in the production process, the prevailing tenancy arrangements were grossly counter-productive; because of the half-share rent the tenant, the direct producer, had neither the ability nor incentives to adopt improved practices or make any long term investment on land. As an overall outcome of adverse ecological and institutional factors, the village economy remained stagnant and under-developed.

Prior to 1958 there was only sporadic improvement in production techniques in paddy cultivation in Welivita. Adoption of improved seed varieties, transplanting and application of chemical fertilizer were started by a few successful tenant farmers. However, the prevailing tenurial arrangements prevented widespread utilization of the new practices.

In the early 1950's there began a far more important change in the local agricultural scene. This relates to the utilization of certain paddy fields for cultivation of some vegetable crops during the dry season of each agricultural year. This innovation was initially introduced to Welivita by an uxorilocal (binna) husband who originally came from Marassana where paddy land had long been used for seasonal vegetable cultivation. It was discovered that the paddy

land that remained uncultivated during the dry season due to the scarcity of water can now be utilized for vegetable cultivation which has a lesser demand for water compared to paddy. In effect, there evolved a crop rotation between paddy and vegetables with the latter as a dry season crop grown primarily for the wholesale vegetable market in Kandy. Initially the main advantage of the crop rotation was that it put an end to the annual fallow or low season, thereby, resulting in an intensification of land use. Gradually it was discovered that due to crop rotation paddy harvest in the wet season too was substantially improved It also became clear that because of the high price the vegetables fetched in the Kandy market, it was far more profitable to grow it in the dry season even on land where paddy was traditionally grown in both seasons. Thus rationality and profitability of crop rotation became increasingly evident. However, in Welivita the crop rotation became firmly established only after 1958 showing, as will be elaborated later, a connection with tenancy reforms.

The post-independence evolution of a successful crop rotation between paddy and vegetables appears to be a widespread development in villages in the south-eastern part of the hill country[16]. In 1955 Yalman noted its presence in Terutanne.

> In the dry season when the fields were not under rice, some vegetables could be substituted, but the total was strictly limited by the lack of water. In areas nearer the town centres such as Nuwara Eliya, rice lands had been converted into vegetable gardens; it seemed clear that with a steady demand from organized markets and improved transport facilities there would be no insurmountable traditional hindrances to the cultivation of cash crops (1967:48).

As evident from Welivita organized markets indeed have emerged, and vegetables have become one of the principal cash crops in villages in this region.

The recent expansion of cash crop farming of vegetables in villages in several parts of the hill country is linked to the development of a countrywide vegetable marketing network. The wholesale markets in Colombo and Kandy which supply vegetables to smaller markets and retail traders throughout the country serve as the principal outlets for vegetables produced in the hill country villages (Abeyesekere and Senanayake 1974, Gunawardena and Chandrasiri 1980). The development of a countrywide network of periodic markets (pola), as recently reported by Deborah Winslow (1977) and Piyadasa Senanayake (1980), may also be related to the expansion of vegetable cultivation. The expansion seems to have mainly affected the cultivation of what are known as exotic or upcountry varieties of vegetables which are distinct from indigenous varieties traditionally grown mostly by chena farmers using primitive techniques.[17]

16. For references to the crop rotation see Report on the Kandyan Peasantry Commission 1951, Yalman 1967, Abeyesekere & Senanayake 1974 and Gunawardena & Chandrasiri 1980.

17. Examples of the exotic varieties are beans, tomatoes, cabbage and carrots. The indigenous varieties include okra, ma, pathola (snake gourd), watakolu, kekiri (melon) and the like. For more details on this distinction see Winslow 1977.

The seasonal vegetable cultivation in Welivita developed directly in response to the demand from the Kandy wholesale market. The vegetable wholesalers in Kandy, most of whom are immigrant businessmen of low country origin, provide capital to the local vegetable farmers whose produce is directly purchased by these wholesalers. There are four or five wholesalers in Kandy who purchase almost the entire vegetable production in Welivita through advancing credit to the local producers.[18] Lorries owned or hired by the wholesalers are used for transporting vegetables to Kandy. As members of an urban capitalist class the wholesalers now acquire a surplus from Welivita through the medium of merchant capital which has, however, contributed to important strucural changes in the rural economy.

The following table describes the vegetable farmers in Welivita during the dry season of 1979.

Table 2: *The distribution of vegetable farming households in Welivita by caste and scale of operation*

Scale of Operation	CASTE					
	Nakati	%	*Other*	%	*Total*	%
Large scale	9	5.5	0	0	9	4.5
Medium scale	14	8.6	3	7.9	17	8.5
Vegetables as a subsidiary crop	42	25.9	3	7.9	45	22.5
Total No. of households engaged in vegetable farming	65	40.0	6	15.8	71	35.5
No. not involved in vegetable farming	97	60.0	32	84.2	129	64.5
Total	162	100.0	38	100.0	200	100.0

Only the first two categories of vegetable producers supplied their produce to the Kandy market. Those in the third category produced vegetables mainly for household consumption; if they obtained any surplus it was sold to local shops or to itinerant traders. Oftentimes they cultivated only a small portion of their rice fields with vegetables, using the remaining area for paddy cultivation. The medium scale cashcroppers had at least one rice field fully cultivated with vegetables, but their farm size was not more than one acre The large scale operators whose farm size was larger than one acre, usually had two or more fields under vegetables. A characteristic feature of the large scale operators was that, in addition to their own land including the land they were controlling as statutory tenants, they leased in land from others for vegetable cultivation under a short term lease. The leaseholders paid a cash rent at the rate of Rs. 400 per crop season for $\frac{1}{2}$ acre plot.

18. For a more comprehensive discussion on the impact of the wholesale vegetable market in Kandy on surrounding rural areas, see Silva, K. T. 1982.

In Welivita through market gardening of vegetables a stratum of relatively successful commercial farmers has emerged. During the 1979 dry season when roughly about two-thirds of the total paddy area in Welivita was under the vegetable crop, nine households (4.5 percent of all households) had a total of 23 acres (33 percent of all farmland) under vegetables with an average of 2.5 acres per household. All the leading cashcroppers in Welivita belong to the Nakati caste, indicating that vegetable cultivation in fact has enabled certain families belonging to the bottom layer of the caste hierarchy to move up in society. Through their cash income from vegetables they purchased land on a moderate scale, educated their children and maintained a relatively high standard of living. They became clearly differentiated from the vast majority of the impoverished low caste households.

As an emerging low caste leader Mambara represented the upwardly mobile social stratum in Welivita. His growing influence showed that the upwardly mobile social stratum has gradually surpassed the gentry as the dominant force in the countryside. Mambara himself was a medium scale cashcropper and his political rise was in many ways linked with the development of cashcropping. We already found that he gave leadership to the local campaign for tenancy reform. He also successfully campaigned for certain infrastructural developments which directly contributed to the development of cashcropping in the area. One such project was reconstruction of canals distributing water from the local stream using concrete, resulting in a substantial improvement in the local irrigation system. Even more important was his role in road building in the area. Until 1965 there was no direct motorable access to Welivita because of its location at the bottom of a steep valley. Those days farm produce was carried on head a mile or so over the rugged mountain upto a point reached by the lorries. The tarred road was extended to Welivita in 1965, largely due to the lobbying by Mambara to the local MP. Now lorries from Kandy can come to Welivita within 30 minutes and the improved transport facilities have been a major factor in the recent expansion of vegetable cultivation.

The expansion of vegetable cultivation in Welivita proceeded hand in hand with the tenurial changes resulting from the Paddy Lands Act of 1958. A weakening of the semi-feudal control exercized by the gentry and acquisition of a greater control over the means of production by some of the local Nakati who were directly involved in cultivation seems to have been a structural prerequisite for the development of cashcropping in Welivita. Following the tenancy reform it became possible for the statutory share-tenants to use the land for cashcropping or sublease it for cashcropping, provided that the statutary paddy rent or its money value was paid to the absentee owners. The resident landlords on the other hand found it advantageous to obtain a high cash rent by leasing out their land to the cash-croppers under a short-term contract valid for only one crop season. That these landlords are not directly involved in vegetable cultivation reveals their increasing marginality, lack of commercial enterprise and restrictions imposed by their caste background as non-cultivating owners. The development of cashcropping was related to several outcomes of the tenancy reform; strengthening of the rights of some of the cultivators, rent regulation and its change from a produce rent to a money rent, the dissolution of hereditary economic ties and the consequent liberation of the low caste population, the switch from long-term tenancy to short-term lease and several land sales from absentee owners to local cashcroppers. Thus the demise of semi-feudal economic forms through tenancy reforms was structurally linked to the advance of the capitalist mode of production.

The evolution of a crop rotation in Kandyan villages must be seen as a spontaneous capitalist development produced mainly by market mechanisms. It can not be directly attributed to any specific production campaign by the government. On the contrary, at the initial stages the government extension staff seemed to have discouraged the growing of vegetables on paddy land as it was seen as a practice contrary to the government drive for self-sufficiency in rice. It has been suggested that the imposition of an import ban on certain commodities in recent times had a positive effect on the local vegetable cultivation.[19] The import restrictions, however, applied to dry, storable vegetables like potatoes, onions and chillies which do not come under the crop rotation in the Welivita area. Although there is a government department responsible for marketing of vegetables, its contribution to the expansion of vegetable cultivation seems to have been quite restricted (Abeyesekera and Senanayake 1974, Gunawardena and Chandrasiri 1980). On the whole it was due to its rationality and profitability as realized by private traders and cashcrop farmers rather than due to any direct support from the government, that the crop rotation developed in the Kandyan villages.

In an agro-ecological sense, crop rotation represents an improvement over simple year-round cultivation of paddy. Each crop has a definite advantage in the particular season in which it is grown and the crop rotation adds to the fertility of soil and constitutes an efficient and profitable use of land and water resources. Because of the crop rotation now the entire paddy area in Welivita is intensively used in both crop seasons. As a result of the changed cropping pattern the actual and potential productivity of land rapidly increased to yield a marketable surplus. The land values increased from about Rs. 4000 an acre in the 1950s to over Rs. 20,000 in 1979. The rationalization of rural production processes has recently been reported for various parts of Sri Lanka,[20] but its specific nature in hill country villages must be seen in the light of non-availability of large tracts of irrigated farm land, and the presence of other constraints imposed by hilly terrain and a feudal background. In a context of rapid population growth, the crop rotation has made it possible to use the available land and water resources more efficiently and more productively than in the past. We know from Geertz (1963) that similar processes can lead to an involutive tendency whereby pre-exisiting social patterns, instead of weakening, achieve a greater elaboration. Our findings on crop rotation however lead us to take the opposite view.

The change in cropping pattern in Welivita has been accompanied by an overall reorganization of the rural economy. A heavy capital outlay is now needed in both paddy and vegetable cultivations, but more predominantly in the latter. Therefore, the owners of capital, namely outside traders and local cashcroppers, have been the main beneficiaries of recent increase in productivity of land. Wage labour had gradually replaced family and cooperative (attam) labour as the predominant modes of labour utilization in local agriculture. Family and and attam labour still have a place in paddy cultivation, but even here the disintegrative processes noted by Gunasinghe (1976) are at work. The recent changes within the rural economy has been accompanied by a rapid increase in the numbers seeking wage-earning opportunities outside the village. The number of local people working in nearby

19. Morrison et. al. 1979.

20. Brow 1978, Hettige 1980, Alexander 1982.

tea plantations has substantially increased in recent years (see Silva K. T. 1980). Seasonal migration to the dry zone in search of farm work is also widespread, especially among the local youths.[21]

The economic processes outlined so far indicated the increased capitalist penetration into the countryside, particularly after 1958. The changes in cropping pattern in particular represent a significant advance of the capitalist mode of production and a corresponding weakening of remaining feudal elements.

Conclusion

Thus both economic and political changes in Kandyan rural society during the post-independence period must be understood in the larger historical context of transition from feudalism to capitalism. The local level politics after 1948 reveals the contradiction between the emerging capitalist forces and the declining feudal elements in the Kandyan rural society. Analysis of political dimensions of agrarian change has been lacking even in the current debate on India. Alavi observes,

> None of the participants in the debate have demonstrated that there is any conflict between the new 'rural 'capitalist' class and the 'feudal' landlords, if they can be structurally distinguished at all! (1975: 172).

In the case of Welivita we have demonstrated that the feudal and anti-feudal elements were clearly distinguished and that the contradiction between them was expressed clearly in the political process. Any dualistic notions of co-existence or unity between capitalist and pre-capitalist forms, commonly attributed to colonial and neo-colonial situations, are not supported by our data concerning the post-independence period.

The changes observed in Welivita from 1948 onwards were irreversible and structurally discontinuous in character. We find an overall reorganization of the rural economy, a weakening of the caste system and a parallel development of a rural class structure independent of and largely opposed to the caste hierarchy. If we understand the changes in the colonial period as structurally continuous with the pre-colonial social order and, therefore, producing semi-feudal arrangements, we must consider post-independence changes in far more radical terms i.e. as a structural change in the rural economy. The recent findings of other authors too point to the structurally discontinuous nature of post-independence changes in Kandyan rural society (Gunasinghe 1975, 1976; Robinson 1975; Brow 1978; Seneviratne 1978).

As Gunasinghe (1979) has rightly pointed out, the recent accounts of the Kandyan rural society tend to emphasize the disruptive and disintegrative character of the processes of change operating in the countryside. The evidence from Welivita indicates that the processes operating are not only distructive but also constructive. The crop rotation in particular must be seen as a constructive change, indicating a capitalist reorganization of the rural economy. It can not be said that the post-independence changes in Welivita amount to a full scale

21. For greater details see Silva K. T. (1982).

transition to the capitalist mode of production. The separation of the worker from the means of production is not yet complete. There has not been a complete restructuring of land ownership following tenancy reforms. Despite the increased integration with an outside market, production for subsistence also continues, specially in paddy cultivation. Such continuities, however, may rapidly disappear with further changes in the countryside along the capitalist path. It may well be that the liberalized economic policies of the new government formed in 1977 have led to a further advancement of the processes outlined in this essay.

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PROFITS FROM ARRACK RENTING IN NINETEENTH CENTURY SRI LANKA[1]

PATRICK PEEBLES

THE amount of money in circulation in the domestic economy of nineteenth century Sri Lanka was small, and the British did little to encourage its growth. The plantation industry depended on foreign investment, foreign labor, foreign ancillary services (from the British agency houses to the Indian money-leaders, shopkeepers and laborers), low taxes, and speedy repatriation of profits. Even before the last two decades of the century, however, when Sri Lankan lawyers and other professionals, gem dealers, furniture manufacturers and others began to accumulate sizable fortunes, there was some 'leakage' from the estates to the domestic economy. Some peasants produced coffee as a cash crop; carters transported rice to the estates and coffee to the port until they were displaced by the railroad. Of these the greatest beneficiary among Sri Lankans of economic growth was the arrack industry, which gained directly from the growth of the plantations and the incomes they generated, and did so at the expense of the colonial revenues.

'Arrack renting' was the annual lease by auction of the government monopoly on distillation, distribution and trade in arrack (coconut liquro). It provided the capital that many wealthy Sinhalese families built their fortunes on. The government derived much of its revenues in the nineteeth century from tax farming of this sort; it is an ancient an inexpensive form of revenue collection.[2] Until its abolition in 1892, the paddy tax provided the largest amount of revenue from tax farming. It was divided among many small renters, however, and was closely watched by the administration, so it did not produce the same effect of creating a small number of very large fortunes.

Profits from arrack renting were high because a small group of families from the Moratuwa area dominated the industry.[3] They and a small number of other renters were able to conceal from the government their costs and receipts. The government attempted to regulate the arrack renters and their trade through restrictive legislation and *ad hoc* restraints, but with little success. In later generations these families diversified their invesments into land, commerce and even higher education for bright young men, and many Moratuwa families left the arrack industry altogether. Nevertheless, arrack was the foundation of the fortunes of these families and the *karāva* caste they represented.

The profits from arrack renting are attributable to high levels of demand, government ignorance of cost factors, and the concentration of renting in the hands of a small number of men. The initial deposit could be borrowed or provided by a partner, while the monthly payments were met from receipts. An initial investment of some size was necessary, in contrast, to purchase land for either development or speculation and the uncertainty was greater.

The arrack renters also rented toll-collection rights, which was a substantial source of income, particularly before the opening of the Kandy-Colombo railway in 1865. The toll-stations on the Kandy-Colombo road and at certain ferries near Colombo, for example, provided as much revenue as all but the largest arrack farms. Toll renting must be taken into consideration to arrive at a complete picture of the income of the arrack renters, although there is no space in this study for a comparable analysis. A detailed study undoubtedly also would show that many twentieth century elites began their rise to prominence as renters of the paddy tax. This was essentially a local-level occupation, however, since a successful renter needed to know the productivity and the seasonal variation in yield of each field.

There are a great many references to arrack in the first four decades of British rule in the correspondence of the governors to the Colonial Office.[4] Unfortunately, the British were concerned exclusively with the development of arrack as an export commoditry, and not with local production and consumption. It was considered a profitable industry. Arrack was sold to the British troops, carried into the Kandyan kingdom, and shipped in small boats to India. The government of Ceylon even tried to get the British East India Company to import greater quantities of the liquor into British territories. However, there are no reliable statistics on arrack production in any part of the nineteeth century, and none whatsoever for the earlier years. When the government experimented with different forms of control of the arrack industry in the 1820's, it was the *karāva* population of Moratuwa that complained, thus establishing their early connection with the industry. In 1829 Colebrooke received petitions from inhabitants of Moratuwa.[5] "For want of lands fit for cultivation at our village" they wrote, "[they entered]....the business of drawing toddy from the coconut trees and distilling arrack." Again, "the population at our village is more than 7000, a few of whom follow the trade of fishing for six months, a few, that of carpentry, and all the rest earned their subsistence by means of extracting toddy and dealing in arrack".

Part of the trade of Moratuwa was in small boats to the shores of Tamilnadu. The other, and probably greater, part was inland trade to the Kandyan kingdom, which had been land-locked since the Dutch annexation of the remaining Kandyan ports in 1765.[6] The Kandyans depended on coastal traders for textiles and salt. They also purchased arrack: "a most destructive traffic", complained the collector of Colombo in 1802, "has been carried on from Morottoo (Moratuwa), Pantura (Panadura), and other distilling villages, by carrying large quantities of arrack into the country, and exchanging it for paddy and other raw produce.."[7] The conquest of Kandy (following an invasion, the pretext for which was retaliation for the mutilation of ten low-country traders by the king) temporarily disrupted this trade but eventually expanded it tremendously. In 1820 the arrack renting system was introduced into the Kandyan territories. The improvement of transportation made it easier for low-country Sinhalese to set themselves up in Kandyan districts as shopkeepers, tavern keepers, and itinerant traders.

It was, of course, the emergence of the coffee plantation economy that created a commercial boom in the interior. Not all of the colonial rulers looked with favor on this development. Thomas Skinner, the army officer responsible for the construction of many of Sri Lanka's roads summed up the effect of the coffee plantations on Sri Lanka as follows:

> the influx of European capital, and the extensive cultivation of coffee, has thrown a large amount of specie into circulation in the interior... temptations to, and examples of intemperance, and vice of every kind were rife; the most profligate of the low-country Sinhalese flocked from the maritime provinces into the interior.[8]

He touched upon, in his outraged manner, three of the crucial points about the Sri Lankan economy in the nineteenth century: the plantations put money into circulation, much of this money was spent on liquor, and low-country entrepreneurs – if we may substitute a more generous term—were there to sell it to them.

The Arrack Monopoly

Arrack (*arakku*) is distilled from toddy, the nectar that collects in the flowers of palms that are cut and bound for for that purpose.[9] Most arrack produced in Sri Lanka was made from coconut toddy until recently, when a shortage of men willing to gather the toddy ("toddy tappers") has forced many Sri Lankans to drink an inferior molasses-based product. Toddy is sweet when it is gathered but rapidly ferments. This fermented toddy makes *polwākara*, a distillate of varying strength. "Strong" *polwākara*, the first to come from the still is put aside; "weak" *polwākara* is distilled a second time and blended with the strong *polwākara* to produce a potent drink of 45 percent alcohol. About seven gallons of toddy are required to produce one gallon of arrack.

Arrack stills can be as small as the apparatus of clay pots and tubes that produce a gallon or two of illegal "pot arrack" overnight.[10] The smallest licensed still, however, was required in 1868 to have a minimum capacity of 150 gallons and to pay a license fee of one hundred rupees, to discourage illegal distillation. In the late nineteenth century stills were small, usually producing less than 200 gallons of arrack during the season. Arrack can be distilled in any part of the island, but the British restricted it to the Western and Southern Provinces for easier control. The major arrack producing area is in the Western Province south of Colombo, where the fringe of coconut palms along the coast provide abundant toddy.

While the Dutch began the system of tax farming in a small way in the eighteenth century, the British rapidly expanded it. Governor North created the nineteenth century system of annual public auctions of tax collection rights and monopoly franchise in its essentials.[11] Then after some experimentation in the 1820's, the arrack rents settled into a pattern: every stage of the production and sale of arrack was regulated in theory, but the rights to these were sold in practice to a small group of renters. The British remained uneasy about the system. Throughout the remainder of their colonial rule tn Sri Lanka they weighed the advantages of the regular income from the renters at little cost to the administration against the potentially greater returns from a costly direct administration of the monopoly.

Under the regulations the distiller could sell his product only to wholesalers or to the renters.[12] Wholesalers were licensed; the profession was open to competition, but they could sell only to the renters, which limited the gain from wholesaling. The renters had exclusive retail rights in the district of their franchise. The distribution was regulated—in theory—in minute detail to prevent fraud. Arrack had to be stored in a locked warehouse

(godown) in a cleared area, subject to regular inspection. The distiller could sell only in quantities of 35 gallons or more. The wholesale price was not fixed, but marketing restrictions held it near the cost of production (approximately one rupee a gallon). On one hand the renter was the only legal market, while on the other the regulations required the wholesaler to dispose of his entire stock before December 31, when the new season began. This attempt to prevent fraud by the distiller and wholesaler gave the renter a monopoly over purchases, and thus control over the distribution.

The right to sell arrack and toddy by retail usually was auctioned by districts called "farms". In practice the tightly-regulated auction became a struggle of wills and wits between the Government Agent (G. A.) and the renter. This essay can suggest only briefly the number of devices used on both sides to raise or lower the sale price, respectively. One example of the complexity of the renting occurred in the size of the farm. Renters purchased contiguous farms for efficiency and to discourage smuggling from nearby farms. Over time, these rended to become single farms. The G. A.'s discouraged this, as it surrendered a great deal of government authority to a dwindling number of men. Yet in spite of repeated schemes by the government to subdivide the farms, there were oniy 18 of them for the whole island by the end of the century. Of these, the farm of Colombo and its suburbs and that of the Central Province were by far the largest.

Table 1. *ARRACK RENT BY PROVINCE IN 1896*

Province	*Population*	*Consumption* (gallons)	*Rent* (rupees)	*Rent per capita* (rupees)	*Consumption per capita* (gills)
Central	263,000	206,521	612,000	2.32	25
Northern	161,000	26,893	113,000	.70	5
North Western	175,000	141,593	323,000	1.84	25
North Central	41,000	7,471	20,000	.47	5
Uva	88,000	32 964	120,000	1.36	11
Sabaragamuwa	142,000	59,039	210,000	1.48	13
Eastern	79,000	27,880	103,000	1.31	11
Southern	249,000	118,221	238,000	.95	15
Western	401,000	399,185	970,000	2.42	31

Source: Sessional Paper XXXI of 1897, p. 21.

Table 2. *ARRACK RENT OF 1896 97: PROFITS*

Location	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Estimated Consumption		Price per Gallon	Estimated Receipts	Rent	Profit
	Silva (gallons)	Ellis (gallons)		(000 Rupees)		
Western Province	563,750	399,185	..	..	..	..
Colombo	412,500	..	5.96	2458	550	1496
Siyane & Hewagam	42,500	..	6.77	288	142	104
Negombo District	75,000	..	6.77	508	180	283
Panadura & Raigam	15,000	..	6.97	105	43	47
Kalutara & Pasdun	18,750	..	6.18	116	55	42
Central Province	300,000	206,521	8.79	2637	612	1725
Southern Province	71,250	118,221	6.05	431	238	82
Northern Province	34,750	26,893	8.07	280	113	132
North-West Province	120,000	141,593	..	..	..	..
Seven Korales	52,500	..	7.50	394	120	221
Chilaw&Pitigal Korale	52,500	..	7.42	390	152	185
Puttalam District	15,000	..	7.59	114	51	49
North Central Province	15,000	7,471	9.46	142	20	87
Sabaragamuwa	67,500	59,039	..	..	..	..
Three Korales	30,000	..	8.45	254	90	134
Four Korales	18,750	..	8.55	160	57	84
Ratnapura	18,750	..	9.00	169	63	87
Eastern Province	34,750	27,860	7.83	272	108	134
Uva Province	30,000	32,964	13.24	397	120	147
TOTALS	1,200,000	1,019,767	7.48	8976	2709	5067

Source: Compiled from *Sess Pap. XXXI of 1897* and [Gabriel de Silva] *Arrack Farming in Ceylon.*

The government agent had two forms of auction available, public outcry and sealed tenders. He was not required to accept the highest bid, or any bid for that matter. If public outcry did not provide what he considered an adequate offer from a qualified renter, the G. A. could call for tenders. When the renter finally bid an acceptable price, the G. A. accepted it tentatively and forwarded it to the colonial secretary for the governor's approval. Even then, the governor, on the advice of the colonial sceretary, sometimes rejected bids that were too low. Bids were rejected even when the G. A. produced what hc considered compelling reasons for acceptance. The G. A. then had two options: the farms could be rented by taverns in order to get tavern keepers and others with less capital than the renters to invest in the rents, or the farms could be collected in *amani*, directly by headmen. Although these latter two methods appealed to some G. A.'s, they invariably provided less revenue and caused a great deal more work for the *kachcheris*, because of governmet ignorance of the market.[13]

Bids were rejected so frequently by the G. A. and the governor because they expected open competition to drive up the rents close to the renters' costs. The files overflow with frustrated correspondence between the colonial secretary and G. A.'s who eould not induce another renter to raise an outrageously low bid. Their problem was that the demand for arrack rents was limited to a small interconnected group of men. Their bids reflected not only the rational calculation of profit, but their concern for the goodwill of their fellow renters, the costs of taking a farm from an established renter, and the long-term effects of driving up the rents. All the renters benefitted from keeping rents low, and in this sense, competition was between the renters collectively and the government as much as it was between renters.

When rents failed to rise, the British assumed that a "syndicate" of renters conspired to keep them low. Although the idea of a syndicate has become fixed in the literature, there is little evidence of such a conspiracy. In fact, the records of the annual auctions confirm the uncertainty of the bidding. When tenders were called for, occasionlly a renter would submit a fraudulent bid under a servant's name just to discover what a rival had bid. On the other hand, there were probably as many cases of over-bidding in the frenzy of an auction as there were of outright collusion. The threat of renting farms by tavern or administering them in *amani* strengthened the G. A.'s bargaining position. On balance, the tortuous process of bidding and re-bidding, pursued by the G. A.'s with occidental cunning to force bids higher, seems to have extracted the maximum the renters were willing to pay.

The lawful tippler bought his arrack at a licened tavern. The price was fixed and marked on the side of the glass. The customer could buy up to two quarts to take home for personal consumption—not for re-sale. The tavern was allowed to sell in larger quantities, but in these cases a written receipt must be issued to discourage fraud. The legal price was raised from rupees 2.60 a gallon to rupees 3.20 and then to rupees 4.48 in the 1870's. The renters either sub-contracted the taverns to tavern keepers or operated them directly by the employees.

Renters were obligated to pay the government in twelve equal installments due on the last day of each month. Arrears were charged nine percent interest, less than the normal interest rate of twelve percent. To ensure payment the government required an initial deposit of ten percent of the amount contracted and surety for one-third. The deposit was in cash, but, the surety was usually in the form of title deeds to land which were hypothecated for the term of the rent by the renter and his partners. If an installment fell more than one month in arrears, the contract could be cancelled and the farm re-sold to another renter. The amount of the new contract would be subtracted from the first one, and the first renter was liable for the balance. Since the resale was invariably at a lower rate this was usually a substantial amount. The surety of the defaulting renter could be sold to pay this balance. In theory, therefore, the government's share of arrack revenue was almost guaranteed.

This system worked well in many ways. From 1840 to 1845, while arrack exports declined by nearly 70 percent, government revenue from the arrack monopoly rose 44 percent, from 41 thousand pounds to 59 thousand pounds.[14] In the second half of the nineteenth century it provided up to sixteen percent of government revenue in return for the minimal costs of auctioning the arrack monopoly, recording the payments and inspecting taverns and warehouses, (Table 3). The costs of production, collection (except for defaulting renters), and prevention of illicit manufacture and sale were met by the renter. The government felt certain that the system allowed a minimum of illegal sales. They expected the licensed renter to prevent illicit distilling and sale, since any such sales would reduce his (presumably) narrow profit margin.

These welcome receipts never quite overcame government suspicions that it did not collect all the revenue potentially available; as the government minimized costs, it also minimized surveillance. The government's ignorance of the industry was summarized by the Auditor-General in 1886:

> little or nothing is known of the consumption of arrack, or the sufficiency of the supply, of the quality of the spirit, or, in fact, of anything connected with the subject, except the amount to be annually recovered fron the renters, a portion of which amount is frequently paid in arrears, and is recovered only after much trouble and annoyance, and sometimes is not recovered at all.[15]

They could not tell what a fair price for the rents would be, and the agent who sold them would have to infer from the behavior of the renters and other indirect evidence what the maximum revenue should be.

Ignorance of the industry produced two defects from the British point of view: on the one hand, arrack renters sometimes accumulated conspicuously large fortunes, while on the other hand the rents did not always increase from year to year at the rate anticipated by the G. A. and the secretariat As long as the renters made their payments regularly, these defects could be tolerated. They became intolerable from the G. A.'s point of view, however, when revenues declined or the renters fell into arrears. In the first case, the G. A. had to explain decreases in revenue under any heading in the revenue to the governor in the annual administration report. The first and foremost entry in this report was a comparison of

aggregate revenue for the current year and the previous one, and the G. A.'s career rose and fell with the balance. In the second case, official correspondence of the period contains extended discussion on arrears. G. A.'s were required to carry them for years, long after any possibility of collection had passed, until the colonial office gave permission to strike them off.[16]

There was thus a built-in tension between the G. A. and the renter. The G. A. depended on efficient renters to maintain the revenue at a high level, yet the most competent renters were the most difficult to administer. Every G. A., for example, deplored the tendency of renters to make their monthly payments irregularly and late. Most renters seemed to prefer to incur the small interest charges for late payments. They paid in numerous—up to 200—small payments in sacks of coins apparently brought directly from receipts. This caused not only additional clerical work, but a distortion in the records. And when December's payment did not come until January, it lowered the figures in that year's revenue report. Furthermore, renters used default as a means of defrauding the government.[17] In some cases the G. A.'s were unable to sell the deeds put up as surety to recover the balance owed by a defaulting renter. Occasionally the title would be invalid, or else the same land had been hypothecated for another rent, in which case the land could not be sold. Even when the deeds could be sold, appraised values were invariably much higher than the market price. Some G. A.'s believed, with justification, that renters bribed the *mudaliyars* who appraised the land; others found that the original owner dissuaded potential purchasers in order to repurchase the land himself.

An extreme case of renter fraud was the "Kandy Fraud Case" dealing with the default of the renters of the farm of Tumpane and Harispattu for 1879–1880. One deed was "purchased" at an inflated price by one of the renters just prior to the sale in order to hypothecate it at the higher value. Another lot was registered twice-and both "owners" had used it as surety. The renter claimed to own all of another lot-and had a bill of sale to prove it-but the person he had purchased it from owned only one-eighth. The G. A.'s were left for years with a large balance of uncollectable arrears.

In practice, therefore, the simple system of tax farming became a time-consuming ordeal requiring constant vigilance on the part of the G. A. In addition, regulations were modified to improve the administration [18] Payments in coin were eventually prohibited; stricter rules for sureties were passed. The amount of the surety was raised to one-half the value of the rent; the property must not have had any encumbrances, claimants, or have been purchased within the previous ten years; sureties used for one rent could not be hypothecated for another until the first was completely settled; and a renter could not take possession of a rent until all deeds were appraised.

Such rules were unenforceable. Most renters were fully committed to current rents at the time of the sales and could not have found new sureties in time. A G. A. who refused to carry over the surety to another year would have to encourage new renters. Rents would have to be collected in *amani* directly by officials until the appraisals were completed. In practice, therefore, the G A.'s frequently overlooked these infringements of the regulations, especially where they believed the revenue might suffer by refusing a high bid.

The Profits from Arrack

No direct evidence exists for calculating the profits from the arrack industry. This section of the the paper is an attempt to estimate these profits from the extant data, dealing only with the period 1889–1900. These data thus exclude the early pioneers, but they suggest that the arrack industry served to concentrate a disproportionate amount of the wealth generated by the growing export economy in the hands of a few entrepreneurs.[19]

The ultimate source of the renters' profits was the growing plantation economy of the later nineteenth century. The wages of the estate laborers imported from South India were the largest source of cash in the domestic economy, but the "leakage" of money from the export economy to the internal economy took other forms also. For example, plantations hired short-term labor from the villages. Until 1868 they paid Sri Lankan carters to bring rice up from the harbor and to take coffee down from the estates. The planters and exporters also purchased coffee grown by villages, and bought local land claims to head off litigation. The "multiplier effect" of consumption provided opportunities for shopkeepers, itinerant traders, and craftsmen. The latter tended to be Sri Lankans from the southwest coast, who were experienced in a cash economy. The export economy created direct opportunities for Sri Lankan entrepreneurs as well as these indirect ones. The "infrastructure" of British Sri Lanka eventually enabled them to export not only coffee but graphite, coconut products, cinnamon and cinnamon oil, other crops, gems and, of course, arrack. All these developments increased the amount of money in circulation.

The economic pie grew much larger during the second half of the nineteenth century with a temporary setback due to the collapse of the coffee industry, 1878–1883. Even after the planters and officials from Britain helped themselves to the largest portions, substantial slices were left for local entrepreneurs. In this society the role of arrack renter provided an ideal economic niche for a small number of these entrepreneurs to maximize their opportunities Industrialization was out of the question as long as the entrepreneurs had no political influence—there would be few enterprises that would not conflict with British interests. Direct competition with British plantations likewise would have been suicidal. Their best opportunities for the accumulation of capital were in fields protected by the government—and the arrack monopoly and the toll rents were the greatest of these.

The most valuable arrack farms were in the central and western provinces which contained most of the plantations, the port of Colombo and the roads connecting port and plantations. The coffee industry appears to have involved more peasant producers and suppliers to the plantations, and thus more potential arrack customers, than the tea industry. On the other hand, the impact of the transition from coffee to tea may have been to strengthen the bargaining position of the renters. As I show later, the sale price of arrack farms fell further than other sources of revenue and remained low longer, suggesting that profits may actually have increased.

In general the income of the renters was correlated with the state of the economy. It is difficult to pinpoint the exact relationship, and it is useless to make facile generalizations on the basis of other impressionistic evidence.[20] Receipts varied also from year to year within each farm, and from farm to farm for local reasons. For example, one of the most vivid

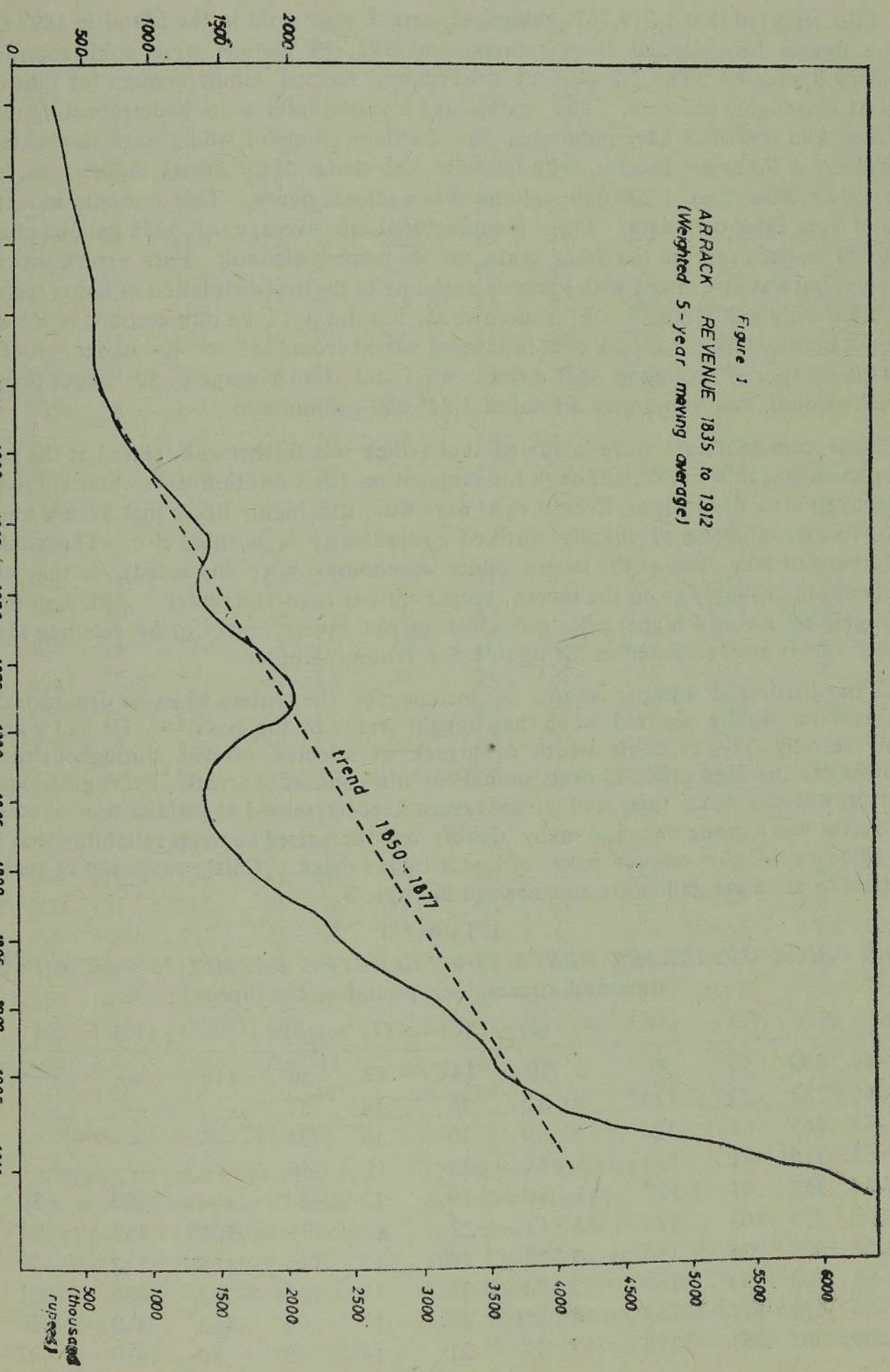
examples of the relationship between British expenditures in Sri Lanka and arrack sales was the change in their value as railway construction proceeded. The values of each farm increased when construction was underway, dropped off as the railway crews moved to other districts, and fell to new lows when the opening of the railway disrupted cart traffic. Of this last, a G. A. wrote. "These figures are a startling proof of the thirsty nature of cartmen, and perhaps account for the losses of coffee, of which complaint was formerly so frequent".[21]

Few Sri Lankans possessed all the qualities demanded of the renters: entrepreneurial skill, wealth enough to post sureties, the local authority to prevent illicit sales, and the boldness to deal on a face-to-face basis with the lordly Government Agent. A renter needed good working relationship with arrack producers, the cooperation of local officials. and the assistance of a large staff of tavern keepers, carters, and watchmen. The few men who could qualify for the occupation were well known to each other.

The handful of renters who successfully held the great majority of rents made high profits because they carried on their business in a highly efficient manner and because they found other lapses in the government regulation of arrack.[22] They refused to bid higher not because they conspired with other renters, but because no other renters could bid higher and still make a profit. The difference was the return that accrued to their entrepreneurial skill. I will now turn to an examination of what that return was.

It was apparent to the British that at least a few of the leading arrack renters were accumulating fortunes from the industry, but they were unable to explain satisfactorily how these fortunes could slip past the elaborate network of regulations they created. The simplest explanation, but only a partial one at best, was that a "syndicate" of renters had combined to lower the bids at auctions. The inadequacy of the bids was particularly evident in the 1880's, when the revenue from arrack remained far below the gradually increasing totals the colonial government expected, as Figure 1 suggest. Since the revenue from arrack was exceeded only by customs duties and after 1868, by railway receipts as a source of government revenue, this was a matter of great concern to the government. Before the last years of the century, when arrack revenue rose sharply, the arrack renters appear to have made huge profits, probably getting a greater income from the industry than the government This section of this essay attempts to estimate the magnitude of their profits.

The information on the rents of the year 1896-1897 are unusually complete due to the investigation of the arrack industry of the year by the government. I will use these and private sources to estimate the gross income from arrack in that year and to arrive at a loose estimate of the years that preceded it. The investigation was carried out by the G. A. of the Western Province, F. R. Ellis, who amassed a considerable amount of data. His conclusions, however, seem to have been greatly influenced by a predecessor, Fredrick Saunders, who was G. A. of the Western Province from 1877 to 1890, the period when arrack rents rose least relative to other sources of government revenue. "Arrack renters", Saunders wrote, "as a rule, make a fair, but not an excessive, profit considering the risk".[23] Ellis maintained this opinion in the face of contradictory data.



Source: Computed from annual Blue Books

Ellis reported that 1,019,767 gallons of arrack were sold in the island in 1897 according to the figures he collected from retners, and 997,719 gallons were sold according to the distillers' figures.[24] The 2.2 percent discrepancy seemed minor enough for Ellis to accept them as reasonably accurate. The renters had a vested interest in underreporting their sales, however, and they may have influenced the distillers (some of whom were also renters) to do the same. A Sinhalese proctor with intimate knowledge of the arrack industry, G. M. Silva, reported to Ellis that 1,200,000 gallons was a closer figure. This amount, in fact, can be derived from Ellis' own data. Stills manufactured an average of 5458 gallons of arrack at 19° to 20° under proof on the Sikes scale, or 46 percent alcohol. Pure arrack was not sold, however, but was first mixed with variable amounts of the first distillation of toddy *(polwākara)*, which was only half strength. Ellis discovered, but did not take into account in his estimates of consumption, that the arrack sold in taverns varied from 25° to 40° under proof. After deducting exports, assuming that arrack was sold at an average of 30° under proof, or 40 percent alcohol, this would give a total of 1,225,000 gallons sold.

Most commentators have assumed that arrack was further adulterated at the tavern.[25] Ellis denies that this was so, although his explanation (that dilution with water alters the taste distinctively) is a feeble one. Even if this were true, it is highly likely that arrack was diluted by the further addition of illicitly distilled *(polwākara)* if nothing else. This adulteration would have to take place at the tavern (since warehouses were inspected), so that any extra profits would probably go to the tavern keeper rather than the renter. Although the renter might gain by asking a higher price for subletting the tavern rents, or by retailing the arrack himself, this is not calculated in the figures for renters' profits.

Ellis discovered another source of income for the renters when he demonstrated that patrons were usually shorted when they bought arrack by the glass.[26] He had government agents secretly buy 25 cents worth of arrack at selected taverns throughout the island. According to the fixed price, 25 cents should buy nine ounces of arrack. Every glass purchased, however, was less than this, and some tavern keepers served as little as four ounces! The experiment was a crude one, and many doubts can be raised as to its reliability, but it is the only evidence of the market price of liquor by the drink. Ellis' conversion of these prices per glass to price per gallon are summarized in Table 3.

Table 3

SALE PRICE OF ARRACK RENTS FOR SELECTED FARMS, 1859-60 to 1899-1900

(thousand rupees, one pound = ten rupees)

Year	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
1859–60	230	55	90	6	10	14	12	50	116	—	—	467
1860–61	288	77	120	8	12	18	14	57	—	—	—	595
1861–62	269	61	123	8	10	10	10	51	—	—	—	570
1862–63	315	71	110	8	13	23	11	46	—	—	—	598
1863–64	355	87	127	11	10	19	12	60	—	420	20	681
1864–65	328	103	126	12	13	22	14	75	105	457	25	693
1865–66	408	201	156	14	28	29	17	112	165	532	28	865
1866–67	402	90	150	15	24	35	19	123	165	639	31	858
1867–68	402	77	152	14	15	36	17	66	112	478	20	780
1868–69	365	51	138	17	17	21	14	45	80	410	27	669

Table 3 - *Continued*

Year	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
1869–70	353	38	103	20	17	27	12	27	—	429	31	597
1870–71	381	52	120	20	20	31	12	33	119	429	31	669
1871–72	490	67	140	24	24	36	14	39	—	442	36	834
1872–73	555	75	162	28	26	45	17	51	—	562	36	960
1873–74	471	95	160	25	31	40	15	48	—	434	45	884
1874–75	580	98	168	29	33	50	17	47	—	613	46	1023
1875–76	540	85	160	33	38	65	15	60	181	618	75	889
1876–77	387	95	181	36	39	91	18	58	197	799	112	1105
1877–78	570	100	208	36	38	93	14	51	184	762	104	1111
1878–79	505	85	181	31	30	80	16	41	163	640	83	970
1879–80	420	85	181	26	26	61	14	40	160	506	75	852
1880–81	400	76	170	23	20	53	13	30	143	395	57	786
1881–82	415	80	170	23	20	53	13	23	153	416	65	798
1882–83	461	83	152	21	22	46	14	19	123	404	59	818
1883–84	461	84	152	18	18	30	12	15	124	281	54	790
1884–85	462	85	155	20	14	26	17	20	176	251	59	799
1885–86	420	86	156	18	12	26	20	20	127	175	50	758
1886–87	468	76	131	22	15	23	24	20	146	216	43	779
1887–88	456	76	130	22	15	25	40	28	177	276	50	793
1888–89	476	88	143	29	17	28	42	32	166	357	55	854
1889–90	500	82	155	30	18	⌣——57——⌣			197	356	74	905
1890–91	551	93	162	38	18	⌣——119——⌣			210	380	60	971
1891–92	580	96	175	30	19	37	52	33	250	470	75	1023
1892–93	660	116	190	45	26	44	68	35	323	552	82	1185
1893–94	500	121	195	41	28	38	60	39	256	435	62	1021
1894–95	700	149	229	48	40	43	71	47	—	455	92	1327
1895–96	550	110	180	50	41	44	62	42	294	478	67	1079
1896–97	550	142	180	55	43	63	90	58	323	612	120	1180
1897–98	550	157	180	58	46	⌣——231——⌣			359	627	132	1221
1898–99	644	158	194	60	44	⌣——287——⌣			352	641	163	1345
1899–00	815	158	209	61	44	⌣——287——⌣			355	637	163	1584

SOURCE: Peebles, 1973, pp 361–362.

(1) Colombo, Salpiti. Lansiyawatte
(2) Siyane and Hewagam Korales
(3) Negombo and Hapitigam Korales
(4) Kalutara and Pasdun Korale
(5) Panadura and Raigam Korale
(6) Sabaragamua
(7) Three Korales
(8) Four Korales
(9) Seven Korales
(10) Central Province
(12) Badulla District/Uva Province
(12) TOTAL Western Province (inc. Sabaragamuwa)

Silva estimated the amount of arrack sold in the 17 main arrack farms of the island, rounded off to 25 leaguers (2750 gallons).[27] If one accepts Ellis' figures for sale price and Silva's estimate of the amount sold, multiplying the two would give an estimate of the total receipts from arrack sales. In the only case which I have independent evidence directly from a renter's ledgers in that year, it corroborates the validity of this method. The estimate for the gross receipts of the rent of Three Korales for 1896-97, arrived at by multiplying Silva's quantity by Ellis' prices, is Rs. 253,004/38.[28] The correlation between the actual and the estimate seems too close to be spurious. There are two points to clear up before considering the profits of the renters: estimates by Silva that are lower than Ellis' figures rather than higher as one would expect, and Ellis' claim that most of the excess profits went to illicit retailers.

In most cases Silva's consumption figures are higher than Ellis', For the Southern Province, however, Silva gave 71,250 gallons, while the renters themselves reported 118,221 gallons, and for the North-Western Province the figures are 120,000 and 141,593. This is puzzling at first since one would expect renters to underestimate sales, and casts doubts on Silva's figures. These Provinces had high ratios of reported consumption to sale price and to population (Table 2), however, suggesting the possibilty that renters might have overreported the consumption in their farms. The most likely reason for overreporting would be to conceal the purchase of illegally distilled arrack, which could be resold at a profit to the more profitable farms of the Central Province and Uva. Both overreported provinces have large coconut-growing areas suitable for the clandestine manufacture of arrack. Renters and wholesalers could purchase this arrack illegally but they were subject to heavy fines if caught. Therefore, to protect themselves they could record the purchase as a normal one from a licensed manufacturer (who would also enter it into his own books). It then could be smuggled into the Central Province, recorded as a legal sale. All shipments from the still to the interior would be covered by receipts and waybills in case of inspections by government officials. In addition to providing profits from illegal arrack, this procedure affected the value of rents. Higher reported consumption in those two provinces would not affect their rents substantially, but underreporting the others might keep the price down. The inflated figures, therefore, can be explained as part of a device to circumvent government legislation.

Ellis rejected his own evidence that showed that arrack renters received more profit from the arrack farms than the government received in revenue.[29] He claimed that most of the arrack sold legally was not sold by the glass at seven or eight rupees a gallon, but was sold by the gallon at the legal rate of Rs. 4.80. The purchasers of the gallon then resold their gallon by the glass, he wrote, and most of the illegal profits went to them. This bit of specious reasoning was later ridiculed by Sri Lankan critics of the arrack renting system, since it concedes the point that arrack was sold at higher prices then legally allowed. Ellis never denied that all the arrack ultimately purchased by the glass was sold at far above the fixed price. He merely tried to absolve the renters, which is beside the point, Ellis' conclusion is inexplicable unless one considers it as a conscious or unconscious defence of Saunders' administration.[30] Accusing the renters would put part of the blame on the Government Agents who accepted the low bids and who were unable to prevent their illegal practices. It does raise the question of who received the returns from arrack.

I estimate the gross receipts for 1896–97 to have been nearly nine milion rupees. At an arbitrary (but reasonable) figure of one rupee a gallon as the cost of producing arrack, the sale of the arrack farms that year for Rs. 2,709,000 left over five million rupees to be distributed among the renters and others. Transportation and distribution costs needed to be paid from this figure. Furthermore, at each stage the renter required the cooperation or acquiescence of many parties—mudaliyars, potential competitors, illicit distillers, police *vidanes*, and local elites, for example. These would have to be either rewarded or (in the case of illicit sales) punished, both costing money.

Illicit sales, in particular, were ubiquitous, due largely to the reduction in the number of taverns. Arrack was sold legally by retail in licensed taverns. In 1860 there were over 1600 of these throughout the island, but successive waves of temperance reform lowered them steadily to 1500 in 1870, and to less than 1000 in 1891. Further more, the taverns were unevenly distributed through the island. In Uva and the North-Central Province there were only one or two taverns for every 10,000 adult males, while in the Eastern and North-Western provinces there were ten.

Few villagers could afford to buy arrack in large quantitities to keep at home. The most likely possibility would have been that a renter or tavern keeper would advance arrack in quantity (in the guise of a legal sale) to a villager for resale. The renter may or may not have lost some of his profits. One would expect the wealtheir and more powerful renter to strike such a bargain on his own terms. That is, he would be in a position to require an additional payment from anyone who purchased arrack by the gallon to resell it by the glass—since that illicit retailer had no restrictions on his price. It would be reasonable to conjecture that renters would prefer such an arrangement in localities where the maintenance of a tavern would be too costly or where illicit sales were difficult to control.

On the basis of these considerations, I would estimate that half of the gross receipts after paying for the arrack and the rent would remain as the net profit. Thus the renters received as much from the sale of arrack as the government did in 1896-97. It remains to project these figures backward to the preceding decades when the fortunes of the renters were being established. It is important to realize that by this time the sale price of the franchises were shooting to new hights. In the 1880's, the revenue from arrack hovered around Rs. 1,500,000. In the period 1860–1890 the internal economy fluctuated in response to external conditions—primarily the transition from coffee to tea—and profits from arrack certainly varied widely also. The depression of 1866, for example, is reflected in the arrack rent sales of the following year and in the number of renters in default at that time. The transition from coffee to tea between 1878 and 1883 is the most dramatic change in the Sri Lankan economy in this period, but it has not yet received the microeconomic examination it deserves.

The revenue of the island from all sources fell from Rs. 17 million in 1877 to Rs. 12 million in 1882, after which it rose slowly. These figures represent severe economic dislocation among Sri Lankans.[31] Many smallholders of paddy fields depended on the sales of coffee to pay their paddy tax, and then lost their fields when this source of income disappeared. For elites, however, this was as much a period of opportunity as of adversity.

Some Sri Lankan families are believed to have lost heavily from the decline of the coffee ndustry, but few of them had coffee as their primary investment. Resources were quickly diverted to other crops, particularly coconuts and paddy.

Arrack revenue fell steadily from 1877 to 1884, and in some districts continued to decline through 1886. Even then it rose more slowly than other revenue. Arrack fell from a peak of 15.7 percent of the total revenue in 1876 to a low of 10.4 percent in 1888. Superficially, therefore, arrack consumption was hit even harder than the rest of the econamy. Saunders agreed. In 1880 he wrote, "There is perhaps no class which has suffered more from the present crisis than the arrack renters....every effort has been made to treat the renters with consideration, and not to force sales where it could be avoided."[32] But this applies primarily to 1878 and 1879, when renters throughout the island defaulted on high bids made the previous spring. In the 1880's bids were only a fraction of what they had been in those years, and it is highly likely that profits actually increased during the period.

Figure 1, which shows the actual revenue collected and not the sale price of farms, graphically illustrates the point. The total rental of all farms for 1897, 2.7 million rupees, is well below the trend line established in the boom period 1850–1877. The steep decline in the late 1870's illustrates the crisis brought on by the failure of coffee. I submit, however, that the arrack revenue fell further than the renters' receipts. Estate laborers, for example, had increased in numbers drastically during the last years of the coffee industry. due to the influx of over 150,000 migrants from famine-stricken Madras in 1876 and 1877. There was also a great deal of labor involved in the transition to tea in the clearing of fields, planting and in the construction of tea factories. In the mid–1880's there were 20 to 25 thousand more adult male migrants in Sri Lanka than in 1875.[33] Yet the sale price of the Central Province and Uua farms fell from 811,000 Rupees in 1876–77 to only 225,000 Rupees in 1885–86. It is likely, therefore, that most of the decline in the arrack revenue was due to the ability of the renters to prevent competition and to convince the Government Agent that their profits were less than they actually were. There is independent evidence of this from the Colonial Auditor, W. H. Ravenscroft, who estimated in 1885 that arrack consumption from 1874 to 1884 averaged 1,034,860 gallons a year.[34] It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that consumption remained at a high level throughout the two decades before 1897. If this is so. the renters actually held a larger share of the gross returns for most of this time than they did in 1897. In round figures, receipts could have averaged Rs. 7 million each year, and profits could have averaged Rs. 3 million If half of this amount accumulated in the hands of the renters, and sales and costs were comparable during the boom years of the coffee industry, their total profits may have been of the order of 50 to 60 million rupees from 1860–1880 equal to three or four years' government revenue. This amount was unequally distributed among the renters, as I show in the sequel to this essay.

Although the British refused to admit officially that renters made such profits, their actions speak volumes to the contrary. By a variety of means, the Government Agents pushed up the arrack revenue steadily from 1885 onwards.[35] By 1892 the cooperation among Western Province renters had come to an end and serious competitive bidding began to appear. At the turn of the century rents were double of what they had been fifteen or twenty

years earlier. These, I believe, cut sharply into the profits of the renters because the other interested parties would continue to expect their share, if indeed they did not increase their share by playing one renter against another. The renters changed farms more frequently, causing additional expenses.

I have examind the system of arrack renting in this paper and concluded that the generation of arrack renters from 1860 to 1900 amassed profits of 50 to 60 million rupees. The major beneficiaries of these income were a highly unified group of *Karāva* caste entrepreneurs, many of them from Moratuwa. There has been an attempt to minimize the the sale of arrack renting in the formation of a *Karāva* elite in nineteenth century Sri Lanka[3,6] but the wealth of the *Karāva* capitalists was indeed distilled from the nectar of the coconut palm.

References

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15 *Sess. Pap.* XXXI of 1897, p. 33.

16 *E. g* PRO, CO 54/257, Governor to Secretary of State, 3 January 1849, and PRO, CO 54/436, 27 April 1867. Cf. also Sri Lanka, Department of National Archives, Lot 33, old series, volume 1338 (hereafter cited as DNA 33, old series, 1338), Miscellaneous Papers relating to Remittances of Rents & C., 1872–1888, and DNA 33, old series, 2734, list of Renters in Default of Tolls and Arrack Rents.

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20 This approach is characterized by Michael Roberts, "Elite Formation and Elites 1832-1931," in *Collective Indentities, Nationalisms and Protest in Modern Sri Lanka* (Edited by Michael Roberts, Colombo: Marga Institute, 1979), p. 169.

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SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHER CHARACTERISTICS AS PERCEIVED BY PRINCIPALS, TEACHERS AND STUDENTS IN SRI LANKA

MOHOTTIGE U. SEDERE
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Introduction

Personality characteristics contributing to effective teaching has been a subject of considerable research during the last few decades. These studies have taken several forms. Certain investigators have attempted to determine characteristics related to effective teaching, by seeking to correlate various measures of teaching efficiency with assessments of various teacher personality characteristics (Singer 1978, Coulter 1978, Witkin 1977, Saracho and Spodeck 1981, Richter and Tjosvold 1980, Aspy 1972, Sheppard 1978, Barr 1948, Ryans 1952, 1959, 1961). There have also been attempts by some investigators to identify characteristics of effective teachers under experimental and observational situations Delamont (1978).

Besides these correlational and experimental studies, there have been several investigations of the teacher's self-perceptions and perceptions of others with reference to personal pre-requisites of effective teaching (Symonds 1955, Taylor 1962, Brown 1966, Delamont 1978, Barr 1961, Gallup 1976, Chaikin 1978, McKeachie 1980). Referring to the significance of teacher characteristic perception studies, Barr (1961) claimed that, "it is not enough to know merely what is, but it is equally important that we know what people think is".

The present investigation was a teacher characteristic perception study, the first of its kind to be undertaken in Sri Lanka. It was concerned with characteristics or traits perceived by principals, teachers and students to be desirable for secondary school teachers. Its specific objectives were to determine the relative and absolute importance of each of 25 selected teacher traits as perceived by Secondary School Principals, Teachers and Students and to discover consensus within and acorss the groups of subjects regarding their perceptions.

Methods of Study

(a) Population and Sample:

The principals, teachers and pupils of grades 10 and 11 in the secondary schools of one Educational Region, Kandy in Sri Lanka formed the population that came under the purview of this study. Kandy Education District is moderately populated and consist of both urban and rural populations. Secondary schools in the district are not much different from those of other school districts of Sri Lanka. Three representative systematic samples consisting of 72 principals, 300 teachers and 320 pupils were drawn. Stratified random sampling procedure produced a sample of 40 urban and 40 rural schools

(b) Identification of Teacher Traits :

A questionnaire was administered to a sample of principals, teachers and students which required them to describe or list characteristics they consider to be desirable for secondary school teachers. Based on an analysis of the responses to the above questionnaire and a review of literature on traits which have been investigated earlier, the following list of 25 teacher traits was developed. For the most part, names and definitions offered for these traits follow earlier teacher characteristic perception studies.

Trait	Definition
Cognitive Traits	
Scholarliness	Thorough knowledge and understanding of the subject required to be taught.
Understanding of children	An understanding and awareness of pupils' needs; abilities; weaknesses; difficulties; peculiarities and patterns of behaviour.
Professional knowledge	A knowledge of the aims; principles techniques and processes of education, alertness to changing trends and developments.
Objectivity	Making use of adequate evidence and critical reasoning in making decisions and conclusions, being free from prejudices.
Pedagogical Traits	
Ability to discipline	Ability to control pupil behaviour appropriately in order to establish a classroom environment conducive to learning and teaching.
Stmulatingness	Ability to stimulate pupils' interest in learning.
Preparedness	Organization and planning of all instructional activities and ensuring availability of required materials beforehand.
Expressiveness	Possession of predominently verbal, and other skills of communication necessary for clear exposition of learning materials to students.
Use of recognition and praise	Offering recognition and praise to pupils for their efforts and succes in learning,
Temperamental and Dispositional Traits	
Efficiency	Ability to accomplish tasks punctually and expeditiously.
Orderliness	Ability to accomplish tasks systematically, adherence to definite routines and schedules of work.
Interest in guidance	Interest in providing children proper guidance in their learning through example, precept, warning and punishment.

Interest in subject	Interest in continuous learning in order to keep imformed of current developments in subject matter knowledge.
Ethicalness	Morally virtuous, and well disciplined conduct
Fairness	Equal concern for all students, having no favourites.
Co-operativeness	Able to work co-operatively with the principal; teachers. students; parents and others.
Kindliness	Kind and sympathetic to students.
Democratic nature	Not enforcing excessively rigid and restrictive rules concerning pupils' classroom behaviour, offering opportunities to pupils to express their views; to make certain collective decisions and to undertake responsibilities.
Friendliness	Enjoying students' companionship, maintaining personal contacts with them, interested in their problems and needs;
Emotional stability	Emotionally stable, calm and consistent in behaviour.
Sociability	Seeking cordial relationships with individuals and various social groups, participating in social groups and community affairs.
Leadership	Readiness to take initiative in a number of school and out of school activities.
Interest in extra curricular activities	Taking an interest and actively participating in extra curricular activities of the school.
Cheerfulness	Cheerful in classroom and school.
Pleasantness	Pleasant personal appearance and pleasing manners.

(c) Instruments :

An assessment instrument was developed to measure the perception of the relative and absolute importance of each of the 25 traits thus derived, as well as to elicit certain personal information about the subjects. The first part of the questionnaire was designed to gather required personal information about the subjects. Second part of the questionnarire presented the subjcets with a rating task using a five point Likert type rating scale, in order to measure the perceived absolute importance of each of those teacher traits. Each item consisted of the trait name and a brief definition of the trait. Respondents were requircd to express, their perception of the importance of each trait by indicating the frequcncy with which teachers should display each trait. Frequencies with which teachers may display each trait were presented as five alternative, namely that the teachers may, 'vary often,' 'often,' 'occasionally,' 'rarely' or 'very rarely' display the particular trait. Third part of the questionnaire presented the subjects with a paired comparison task in order to determine the relative importance of each of the 25 selected traits.

(d) Statistical Treatment:

To analyse the perception of the absolute importance of each of the 25 traits, the 5 alternative responses of the Likert scale were assigned arbitrary scores ranging from 1 to 5 and the arithmetic means and standard deviations were computed for each trait in respect of each group of subjects. Group differences on perceived absolute importance of traits were further tested using a Z-test statistic (Ferguson, 1968).

Perception of the relative importance of traits axamind under paired comparisons was analysed using the procedures specified in Torgerson (1958), Edwards (1969), and Sedere (1983). Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient, Kendall's Coefficient of Concordance and Mann–Whitney Test werc suitably employed to examine congruence of perceptions.

(e) Results and Discussion

Perception of the Relative Importance of Teacher Traits :

Table 1 shows the rank order position awarded to each trait by each group of subjects. These trait ranks reveal their perception of the relative importance of each of the 25 traits investigated. Groups of principals in general were found to have perceived the traits, understanding of children, ability to discipline and scholarliness as bcing of prime importance to teachers. Besides, the traits efficiency, preparedness, ethicalness and stimulatingness have been ranked high. Traits ranked low, included leardership, friendliness, emotional stability, cheerfulness, sociability interest in extra curricular activities and pleasantness. Remaining traits had been assigned middle order rank positions.

Certain striking peculiarities in the perceptions of certain groups of principals could also be noted. Thus female principals had attributed much more importanee to recognition and praise, democratic attitude and kindliness than the others, whereas trained graduate principals had attributed much more importance to emotional stability than the rest.

The composite principal sample place greatest value on traits contributing to teacher's skill as an able manager of children followed by traits contributing to cognitive and instructional competence and good social relations. Pleasantness was perceived to be of least relative importance.

Table 2 presents correlations between the trait rankings of different groups of principals, calculated using rank data presented in Table 1. It reveals impressively high correlations between the trait rankings of urban and rural principals, male and female principals and trained graduate and trained non graduate principals. The common variance, between these groups was found to vary from 77% to 88% indicating a very high level of agreement

The similarity of trait rankings of all the groups of principals, suggested a high degree of consensus among them. A high coefficients of concordance (0.9406) discovered among the trait rankings of the 6 independent groups of principals substantiated the above conclusion as seen in Table 3 which presents coefficients of concordance among the trait rankings of independent sub groups constituting principal, teacher and student samples.

Teachers perceived the traits scholarliness, understanding of children, ability to discipline, preparedness, interest in subject, stimulatingness as being of highest significance. Traits ranked low consisted of pleasantness, cheerfulness, sociability, friendliness, emotional stability and interest in extra curricular activities.

The composite teacher sample placed greatest value on scholarliness, followed by traits related to teachers skill in management and control of children, instructional competence and good social relations. Like principals, teachers too had perceived pleasantness to be of least relative importance.

Table 2.

CORRELATIONS AND COMMON VARIANCE (r2) BETWEEN TRAIT RANKINGS BY PRINCIPAL, TEACHER, STUDENT GROUPS, AND THEIR STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE

GROUPS	Coefficient of Correlation	Common Variance
Principals :		
Urban/Rural	.9377 **	88%
Male/Female	.8900 **	79%
Trained Graduates : Trained Non-Graduates	.8785 **	77%
Teachers :		
Urban : Rural	.9900 **	98%
Male : Female	.9731 **	95%
Over 40 years : Under 40 years	.9500 **	90%
Trained Graduates : Graduates	.9054 **	82%
Trained Graduates : Trained Non-Graduates	.9200 **	85%
Trained Graduates : (GCE OL/AL)	.8262 **	68%
Trained Non-Graduates (GCE OL/AL)	.9438 **	89%
Graduates : Trained Non-Graduates	.9700 **	94%
Graduates : GCE (OL/AL)	.9292 **	86%
Students :		
Urban : Rural	.9477 **	90%
Male : Female	.9092 **	83%
Working Class : Middle Class	.7460 **	56%
All Principals : All Teachers	.9146 **	84%
All Principals : All Students	.6335 **	40%
All Teachers : All Students	.6954 **	43%

* P < .05
** P < .01

Table 1 *RANKING OF (DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF) TEACHER TRAITS BY PRINCIPALS, TEACHERS AND STUDENTS*

Traits	PRINCIPALS							TEACHERS											STUDENTS						
	Rural	Urban	Male	Female	Tr. Graduates	Tr. Non Grads.	C. Pr, Sample	Rural	Urban	Male	Female	Over 40 yrs.	Under 40 yrs.	Tr. Graduates	Graduates	Tr. Non Grads.	G.C.E (OL/AL)	C. Tr. Sample	Rural	Urban	Male	Female	Middle Class	Working Class	C. St. Sample
COGNITIVE TRAITS																									
Scholarliness	3	4	4	2	4	2	4	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	4	1	1	3	1	5	1
Understanding of Children	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	3	1	2	2	11	7	7	15	7	14	9
Professional Knowledge	8	9	8	17	7	10	8	13	13	13	12	13	10	7	13	13	14	13	17	17	14	17	13	17	16
Objectivity	11	15	13	12	12	14	13	11	11	9	13	11	12	13	9	10	12	11	12	13	13	8	12	7	12
PEDAGOGICAL TRAITS																									
Ability to Discipline	2	3	3	1	2	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	4	4	3	5	3	8	12	8	13	11	10	11
Stimulatingness	7	2	2	4	3	6	3	6	5	6	4	5	6	5	7	5	7	5	1	6	2	7	4	3	5
Preparedness	5	5	6	5	8	4	5	4	4	4	5	4	5	8	2	4	3	4	9	8	10	9	10	9	8
Expressiveness	13	16	14	15	19	12	14	8	9	10	9	6	13	11	5	8	8	8	10	10	9	10	8	13	10
Recognition and Praise	14	11	12	7	10	13	12	10	10	11	7	10	7	6	10	11	15	10	20	19	21	18	20	18	19
TEMPERAMENTAL AND DISPOSITIONAL TRAITS																									
Efficiency	4	8	5	11	6	5	6	9	6	8	11	7	8	10	11	7	4	9	2	3	4	2	5	2	2
Orderliness	10	12	11	13	15	9	11	7	8	7	8	7	9	12	6	9	6	7	6	4	6	5	3	8	6
Interest in Guidance	9	7	9	10	11	7	9	12	12	12	10	12	11	9	12	12	13	12	15	18	17	19	16	20	18
Interest in Subject	12	10	10	8	9	11	10	5	7	5	6	8	4	3	8	6	9	6	13	11	12	11	17	11	13
Ethicalness	6	6	7	6	5	8	7	15	14	14	16	18	14	15	14	16	10	15	14	14	15	12	14	12	14
Fairness	15	17	16	18	18	16	16	14	15	15	14	14	15	14	15	14	18	14	3	5	3	4	2	6	4
Co-operativeness	16	13	15	16	16	15	15	16	16	17	15	15	17	20	18	15	11	16	7	9	11	6	15	4	7
Kindliness	18	14	17	9	14	17	17	17	17	16	17	16	16	17	16	17	16	17	5	2	5	1	9	1	3
Democratic Attitude	17	19	18	14	17	18	18	18	18	18	18	17	20	19	17	18	17	18	16	15	16	14	6	19	15
Friendliness	20	21	20	20	23	19	20	20	21	21	20	20	21	21	21	21	20	21	19	16	18	16	18	16	17
Emotional Stability	22	18	22	19	13	23	21	19	20	20	19	19	18	18	20	19	19	19	22	20	20	21	19	21	21
Sociability	24	22	23	24	21	24	23	23	23	23	23	23	23	23	24	24	22	23	18	21	19	20	22	15	20
Leadership	19	23	19	23	20	21	19	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	20	23	22	23	24	24	24	24	24	24
Int. in Extra Curr. Activities	21	20	21	21	22	20	22	21	19	19	21	21	19	16	19	22	21	20	21	23	23	22	23	22	23
Cheerfulness	23	24	24	22	24	22	24	24	24	24	24	24	24	25	23	23	24	24	24	22	22	23	21	23	22
Pleasantness	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	24	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25

Tr. – Trained; C. – Composite; Pr. – Principal; Tr. – Teacher; St – Student; Grads. – Graduates

Correlations between the trait rankings of different teacher groups too point to a high degree of agreement between them – (Table 2). Common variance between the various correlated groups was found to vary from 82% to 98%, with the only exception of that between G. C. E teachers – (least qualified teachers who are at the bottom of the teacher recruitment scheme) – and trained graduate teachers which amounted to only 68%. The impressively high coefficient of concordance (0.9624) among the trait ranking of the 10 teacher groups, which was also the highest for any set of groups, suggested a vary high degree of consensus among teacher groups – (See Table 3).

Table 3.

CONCORDANCE AND COMMON VARIANCE (r2) AMONG TRAIT RANKINGS OF DIFFERENT GROUPS OF SUBJECTS AND STATISTICAL SIGNIFIACNCE

GROUPS	Coefficient of Concordence	Common Variance
Principal Groups (m = 6)	.9406 **	88%
Teacher Groups (m = 10)	.9624 **	92%
Student Groups (m = 6)	.9278 **	86%
Principal and Teacher Groups (m = 16)	.9214 **	95%
Principal and Student Groups (m = 12)	.7175 **	51%
Teacher and Student Groups (m = 16)	.8109 **	66%
Composite Principal, Teacher and Student Groups (m = 3)	.5901 *	33%

m : Number of sets of ranks

. $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

The traits perceived by student groups to be of prime importance to teachers, included stimulatingness, efficiency, fairness, scholarliness, kindliness, orderliness and co-operativeness. The traits ranked low included sociability, recognition and praise, interest in extra curricular activities, emotional stability, leadership, cheerfulness and pleasantness.

The composite student sample attached highest value to scholarliness, followed by efficiency, kindliness and fairness. Next in order of importance were traits closely related to teaching competence. Like principals and teachers, pleasantness was considered to be of least relative importance.

Fairly high correlations between the trait rankings of different student groups suggested general agreement between them – (See Table 2). Correlation between the trait rankings of middle class working class students was however found to be lower, and was also the lowest for any pair of groups within the three major samples. Common variance in this instance amounted to only 56% suggesting considerable disparity between the perceptions of these two groups.

Ranks assigned to teacher traits by different student groups appeared to be less consistent than those of principal and teacher groups. As the coefficient of concordance (0.9278) indicates, cosensus among the 6 student groups appeared to be slightly less compared to consensus among principal and teacher groups – (Table 3).

A comparison of the trait preferences of the composite principal and teacher samples revealed that principals attributed much more importance to efficiency, ethicalness, professional knowledge and interest in guidance than the teachers. Greatest disparity occurred in respect of ethicalness ranked 7th by the principals and 15th by the teachers.

Between the composite principal and student samples too many marked discrepancies could be observed. Principals laid greater emphasis on understanding of children, ability to discipline, ethicalness and professional knowledge than the students. Students placed greater emphasis on fairness, kindliness, co-operativeness, democratic attitude and efficiency than the principals. Greatest disparity occurred in respect of ability to discipline ranked 2nd by principals and 11th by students.

Between the composite teacher and student samples too discrepancies very much similar to those discovered between principals and students could be noted.

Considering the relative importance attributed to 3 major trait categories, it was found that principal, teacher and student groups had in general placed highest value on cognitive traits followed by pedagogical traits. Least relative importance had been attributed to temperamental and dispositional traits. Statistics presented in Table 4, which are based on rank data reported in Table 1, substantiate the above conclusion. This Table which reports thh results of Mann-Whitney Test, reveals that the hypothesis of no difference between principals, teachers and students in the relative inportance attached to each of the major trait categories has been proved in every case.

Table 4

CONGRUENCE BETWEEN PRINCIPALS, TEACHERS AND STUDENTS IN THEIR PERCEPTIONS OF THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF MAJOR CATEGORIES OF TEACHER TRAITS

Trait Category	Larger Sum of Ranks	Smaller Sum of Ranks	T Value	0.05 Level CR	Null Hypothesis
Principals and Teachers					
Cognitive	18.5	17.5	7.5	2	Accepted
Pedagogical	37.5	28.5	13.0	5	Accepted
Temperamental	266.0	262.0	126.0	84	Accepted
Principals and Students					
Cognitive	20.5	15.5	5.5	2	Accepted
Pedagogical	31.5	23.5	8.5	5	Accepted
Temperamental	280.5	247.5	111.5	84	Accepted
Teachers and Students					
Cognitive	19.5	16.5	6.5	2	Accepted
Pedagogical	35.0	20.0	5.0	5	Accepted
Temperamental	282.0	246.0	110.0	84	Accepted

0.05 Level CR Value taken from,
Conover, W. J. -*Practical Nonparametric Statistics* (1971).
Table 8

Perception of the Absolute Importance of Teacher Traits

Table 5 shows the traits which received high (above 4.5) and low (below 4.0) mean values on five point Likert scale, that is those traits which were expected to occur more frequently and less frequently in teachers. The three groups were very much similar in their perceptions of the most and the least important sets of traits. Students however had attributed higher values to a fewer and lower values to a larger number of traits, than principals and teachers. The two columns under Highest/Lowest indicate the highest and the lowest mean rating awardded by any of the sub-samples such as urban/rural, male/female and trained/non-trained.

These trait preferences suggest that principals, teachers and students expected teachers to possess most of the time, those traits contributing to cognitive and instructional competence, efficient pupil management, good interpersonal relations and conduct, just and reasonable trestment of students, pleasing manners and appearance.

Teachers, in their evaluations of the absolute importance of traits had attributed highest values to almost all traits. These apparently exaggerated values may have arisen out of their desire to present a self image of a most ideal teacher stereotype. Students on the other hand had given lower values to most traits than the other two groups. Realities encountered by students in their relationships with teachers may have probably induced them to be more modest in their demands on teachers.

Table 5.

TRAITS WHICH RECEIVED HIGH (ABOVE 4.5) AND LOW (BELOW 4.0) MEAN VALUES FROM HALF OR MORE THAN HALF OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF GROUPS WITHIN EACH OF PRINCIPAL, TEACHER, STUDENT SAMPLES WITH THE HIGHEST AND THE LOWEST RATING VALUE RECEIVED BY ANY OF THE SUB-SAMPLES

Traits	Principals		Teachers		Students	
	Highest	Lowest	Highest	Lowest	Highest	Lowest
High - (Above 4.5)						
Preparedness	4.88	4.55	4.81	4.64	4.65	4.55
Scholarliness	4.75	4.08	4.85	4.68	4.81	4.63
Expressiveness	4.67	4.08	4.48	4.49	4.63	4.48
Efficiency	4.65	4.16	4.63	4.50	4.73	4.38
Stimulatingness	4.61	4.08	4.77	4.60	4.65	4.52
Pleasantness	4.75	4.41	4.76	4.62	..	..
Ethicalness	4.75	4.25	4.77	4.50	..	..
Orderliness	4.65	4.00	4.80	4.47	..	..
Interest on subject	4.65	4.25	4.72	4.51	..	..
Interest in guidance	4.67	3.75	..	..	..	..
Ability to discipline	4.65	3.91	4.74	4,56	..	..
Co-operativeness	4.58	4.06	4.70	4.36	..	..
Fairness	4.58	4.00	4.71	4.54	..	..
Understanding of children	..	..	4.62	4.45	..	..
Low - (Below 4.0)						
Emotional stability	3.96	3.50	4.14	3.85	3.90	3.00
Sociability	3.96	3.16	3.95	3.58	3.38	3.07
Leadership	4.15	3.66	4.22	3.77	3.93	3.42
Friendliness	4.33	3.52	4.32	3.72	3.70	3·40
Interest in extra curricular activities	..	..	4.08	3.79	3.77	3.41
Professional knowledge	..	..	..	..	3.98	3.39
Recognition and praise	..	..	..	..	4.06	3.79
Cheerfulness	..	..	..	..	3.90	3.63

Table 6 shows the trait standard deviations in respect of the three groups of subjects. It reveals that the trait standard deviations of the teacher groups were comparatively lower than those of the other two groups, indicating greater consensus within teacher groups. Trait standard deviations of student groups revealed greater deviations among them in their values compared to those of principals and teachers.

Table 6

TRAITS WITH LOW (BELOW ONE) AND HIGH (ONE AND ABOVE ONE) STANDARD DEVIATIONS IN RESPECT OF HALF OR MORE THAN HALF OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF GROUPS WITHIN EACH OF PRINCIPAL TEACHER, STUDENT SAMPLES

Traits	Prineipals		Teachers		Students	
	Lowest	Highest	Lowest	Highest	Lowest	Highest
Low						
Preparedness	0.43	1.37	0.39	0.67	0.60	0.72
Scholarliness	0.49	1.50	0.42	0.63	0.46	0.69
Expressiveness	0.54	1.24	0.50	0.81	0.71	0.86
Efficiency	0.60	1.33	0.58	0.98	0.48	1.03
Stimulatingness	0.58	1.50	0.47	0.65	0.56	0.72
Pleasantness	0.42	1.24	0.54	0.61	0.80	1.04
Ethicalness	0.51	1.54	0.55	0.76	0.65	0.85
Interest in subject	0.54	1.35	0.44	0.79	0.65	1.00
Ability to discipline	0.51	1.31	0.46	0.75	0.85	0.95
Co-operativeness	0.76	1.16	0.45	0.77	0.62	0.96
Kindliness	0.84	0.96	0.60	0.92	0.75	1.03
Orderliness	0.54	1.04	0.46	0.79	..	..
Fairness	0.76	1.41	0.55	0.82	..	..
Interest in guidance	0.55	1.28	0.67	0.91	..	..
Int. in extra curr. Activity	0.60	1.09	0.82	0.95	..	..
Democratic attitude	0.69	1.26	0.72	0.97	..	..
Cheerfulness	0.69	1.41	0.69	0.97	..	..
Objetivity	0.76	1.15	0.44	0.89	..	..
Recognition and praise	0.90	0.98	0.59	0.89	..	..
Professional knowledge	..	..	0.70	0.97	..	..
Understanding of children	..	..	0.56	0.78	0.70	1.13
High						
Leadership	0.93	1.18	0.75	1.06	1.02	1.20
Emotional stability	0.90	1.35	0.85	1.13	1.03	1.30
Professional knowledge	0.99	1.35	..	..	0.89	1.23
Sociability	..	..	0.82	1.11	1.08	1.29
Friendliness	..	..	0.72	1.17	0.91	1.34
Fairness	..	..	..	..	0.97	1.31
Interest in guidance	..	..	..	..	0.62	1.11
Recognition and praise	..	..	..	..	0.79	1.13
Interest in subject	..	..	..	..	0.96	1.00
Cheerfulness	..	..	..	..	0.87	1.23

Table 7 *MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF TRAIT RATINGS GIVEN BY PRINCIPALS, TEACHERS AND STUDENTS*

	Principals N = 72		Teachers N = 300		Students N = 320	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Understanding of children	4.3750	0.9910	4.5333	0.6956	4.0938	0.9652
Ability to discipline	4.5278	0.7500	4.6500	0.6394	4.1219	0.9373
Stimulatingness	4.5278	0.8218	4.6800	0.5820	4.5906	0.6514
Scholarliness	4.6111	0.7792	4.7368	0.5492	4.6781	0.6429
Preparedness	4.7361	0.6919	4.7133	0.6102	4.5812	0.6855
Efficiency	4.5694	0.7841	4.5767	0.7343	4.5063	0.8491
Ethicalness	4.6667	0.8222	4.6000	0.6940	4.2780	0.8271
Professional knowledge	4.1250	1.0869	4.2400	0.8708	3.5469	1.2025
Interest in guidance	4.4861	0.7871	4.4664	0.8354	4.1031	1.0257
Interest in subject	4.5833	0.7459	4.5933	0.6803	4.1156	0.9280
Orderliness	4.5417	0.6907	4.6033	0.6689	4.2563	1.0093
Recognition and praise	4.2222	0.9378	4.4533	0.7323	3.8438	1.0802
Objectivity	4.4583	0.8212	4.4567	0.7506	3.9594	1.0023
Expressiveness	4.5414	0.7861	4.5767	0.7112	4.5094	0.7957
Co-operativeness	4.5000	0.8558	4.5067	0.7659	4.3780	0.8587
Fairness	4.5139	0.9192	4.6233	0.7140	4.4218	1.0535
Kindliness	4.2639	0.8557	4.3167	0.7949	3.9938	0.9921
Democratic attitude	4.1111	0.8485	4.0733	0.8929	3.9187	1.0826
Leadership	3.9583	1.0934	3.8602	0.9884	3.8156	1.1498
Friendliness	3.8333	0.9929	3.8733	1.0556	3.6156	1.2051
Emotional stability	3.7361	1.1748	3.9867	1.0115	3.3375	1.2539
Interest in extra curr. activities	4.1667	0.9193	3.9333	0.9265	3.5094	1.9714
Sociability	3.8333	1.0209	3.7373	1.0548	3.2219	1.2510
Cheerfulness	4.3472	0.8584	4.3467	0.8178	3.7219	1.1513
Pleasantness	4.7083	0.6377	4.6900	0.5846	4.3375	0.9089

Table 6 further reveals that traits perceived to be most important had lower standard deviation indicating greater consensus within groups in respect of these. Traits perceived to be less important had higher standard deviation, suggesting less consensus within groups regarding the degree of importance attributed to these traits.

Table 7 presents mean values and standard deviations of trait ratings given by the composite samples of principals, teachers and students. Table 8 reveals congruency between different groups of subjects in their perception of the absolute importance of each of the teacher traits. No significant differences in trait perception were found between principals and teachers. Between principals and students, significant differences were found in respect of most traits, principals responding higher in every instance. Between teachers and students significant differences were found in respect of 20 out of the 25 traits. Thus greatest congruency existed between principals and teachers and least congruency between teachers and students.

Table 8 *Z-TEST STATISTICS AND SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCES IN TRAIT RATINGS BETWEEN PRINCIPALS, TEACHERS AND STUDENTS*

Traits	Principals vs. Teachers	Principals vs, Students	Teachers vs. Students
Understanding of children	-1.26	2.16 *	6.52 **
Ability to discipline	-1.27	3.93 **	8.23 **
Scholarliness	-1.28	-0.68	1.22
Efficiency	-0.07	0.60	1.26
Preparedness	0.26	1.70	2.57 *
Ethicalness	0.63	3.60 **	5.25 **
Stimulatingness	-1.47	-0.60	1.80
Professional knowledge	-0.83	3.97 **	8.24 **
Interest in guidance	0.18	3.49 **	4.85 **
Orderliness	-0.68	2.87 **	5.07 **
Objectivity	0.01	4.43 **	7.01 **
Interest in Subject	-0.10	4.56 **	7.33 **
Expressiveness	-0,34	0.31	1.11
Recognition and Praise	-1.94	2.99 **	8.26 **
Fairness	-0.94	0.74	2.80 **
Co-operativeness	-0.06	1.09	2.04 *
Democratic attitude	0.33	1.64	1.94
Kindliness	-0.47	2.33 *	4.48 **
Leadership	0.69	2.37 *	2.84 **
Friendliness	-0.30	1.60	2.83 **
Int. in extra curr. activities	1.92	5.26 **	5.21 **
Emotional stability	-1.66	2.55 *	7.10 **
Cheerfulness	0.01	5.21 **	7.91 **
Sociability	0.74	4.37 **	5.50 **
Pleasantness	0.22	4.07 **	5.28 **

* $P < .05 = 1.96$
** $P < .01 = 2.58$

Conclusions

The present investigation has revealed the absolute and relative importance of 25 personality characteristics for secondary school teachers as perceived by principals, teachers and students. In their evaluation of the absolute importance of each of the 25 traits, the subjects of this inquiry have indicated their desire to see teachers displaying most of these traits often or very often in their behaviour. Highest values have been attributed to those traits contributing to teachers' cognitive and instructional competence and efficient pupil management. This seem to suggest on the one hand the need to give due credit to academic achievement in the recruitment of secondary school teachers and on the other hand the need to include in teacher education programmes catering to those with only a secondary education, and academic component designed to upgrade their knowledge of the subject matter. It is also implied that the professional component of a curriculum for teacher education should aim at developing traits such as understanding of children, knowledge of aims, functions, processes and methods of education, ability to motivate learning, skills of communication, ability to plan instructional activities and skills of effective classroom management and control.

The other characteristics which the subjects of this study desired sscondary school teachers to display most frequently consisted of those related to good inter personal relations (kindliness, co-operatvieness, friendliness, fairness and democratic attitude), ethical conduct, pleasing manners and appearance. It would be highly desirable if these qualities could be given cosideration in selecting prospective teachers despite the difficulties involved in determining the presence of such qualities in an individual. Attitudes favourable to these personality traits need to be ineulcated and the traits fostered in teachers during their period of professional preparation. These qualities enable a teacher to build up a teacher-pupil relationship characterised by mutual respect and acceptance without which a fruitful teaching-learning encounter appears inconceivable.

In their evaluation of the relative importance of each of the 25 traits, principals, teachers and students have all attributed highest ranks mostly ranging from 1 to 10 for eight traits. These consisted of scholarliness, knowledge of children, ability to discipline, stimulatingness, preparedness, expressiveness, efficiency and orderliness. Traits to which highest relative importance had been awarded were once again found to be those contributing to teachers' cognitive and instructional competence and effective classroom management and control Unlike principals and teachers, students were found to have assigned high relative values to three other traits, namely kindliness, co-operativeness, and fairness. Students expect to have some of their emotional and expressive needs fulfilled during their interaction with their teachers. The above trait preferences of students may therefore be interpreted as an expression of certain student needs which require to be fulfilled if a satisfactory teacher pupil relationship is to be ensured. Teachers need to be aware of traits other than knowledge and teaching skills that contribute to their succes in classrooms.

Although there was general agreement among subjects in their evaluations of traits described above, there were also certain striking differences among them, particularly in their perception of the relative importance of certain traits. As these traits underlie certain role behaviours, differences in trait perception may be interpreted as disagreements in role expectations Such disagreements between complementary role incumbents like principals and teachers or teachers and students lead to poor interaction which may ultimately result in frustration, poor learning and teaching and low morale.

Two traits concerning which there occured considerable disagreement between teachers and principals were ethicalness and interest in guidance. Principals' demands on these qualities were higher than what the teachers appeared willing to concede. These differences may therefore be treated as representing one possible source of principal-teacher conflict in our secondary schools.

Similary considerable disagreement occured between teachers and students concerning the traits, kindliness; co-operativeness and fairness. Students were found to have awarded much higher values to these traits than their teachers. These differences suggest the possibility of poor teacher-pupil interaction taking place in source of our secondary school classrooms.

Teachers as well as principals need to be aware of the possible sources of conflict, and be willing to evolve a working consensus in the interests of good inter-personal relations, upon which ultimately rests the success of a classroom and a school.

Despite broad consensus among subjects in their evaluation of certain traits, they were also found to have attributed varying degrees of importance to certain other traits. These peculiarities in the perceptions of subjects appeared to be primarily related to their distinct role specifications, personal backgrounds and their perception of the objectives of secondary education.

Thus principals as administrators of schools valued most highly traits which contribute to effective pupil management and control and the maintenance of order and discipline in the schools. Teachers whose major role is considered to be that of dispensing knowledge valued most highly teachers' knowledge and the qualities that underlie succesful imparting of this knowledge to pupils.

Pupils whose major need is to be taught and whose major role is that of receiving knowledge, valued most highly teachers' knowledge and the qualities that enable teachers to impart this knowledge most effectively. Being the occupants of the lowest position in the school authority hierachy they have given expression to their need for just and sympathetic treatment from those who wield power over them, by placing much more value on fairness and kindliness than the teachers and principals.

Trait perceptions also appeared to be related to certain personal variables of the subjects. Thus female students as well as female principals placed greater value on kindliness. Trained graduate teachers and principals attributed much more importance to professional knowledge than the others.

Middle class students attached greater absolute importance than all the other students groups to almost all teacher traits in general.

Finally the evaluation of teacher traits also seemed to be related to the perceptions of the objectives of secondary education. Primary objective of secondary education is probably perceived to be that of providing academic learning. This appears to be one plausible explanation for the highest value placed by all subjects on cognitive traits followed by pedagogical traits.

Present findings also appear to provide further evidence of students' capacity to make reasonable and valid evaluations of teacher traits. By attributing greater importance to simulatingness they revealed their preference for teachers' ability to evoke interest in learning within them. In contrast they placed very much less value on recognition and praise indicating their less concern for sources of extrinsic motivation. They valued ethicalness much more than qualities such as friendliness, democratic attitude, sociability and pleasantness and like principals and teachers placed highest importance on cognitive and pedagogical traits, and least importance on personal qualities.

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BOOK REVIEWS

MARTIN SOUTHWOLD. Buddhism in Life: The Anthropological Study of Religion and the Sinhalese Practice of Buddhism. *Manchester: The University of Manchester Press, 1983. xii + 232 Pages. £19.50.*

In 1983, three gifted western anthropologists published substantial studies focussing upon different aspects of Buddhist society and culture. Each of these studies is more specific in scope than the comprehensive presentations offered by Spiro, Tambiah, and Gombrich more than a decade ago. Michael Carrithers, in his *The Forest Monks of Sri Lanka* (Oxford), examines various modern expressions of monastic asceticism and finds these models of spiritual pursuit rooted in paradigms of religious behavior articulated within the canons of Sinhalese Buddhist monastic literature. Bruce Kapferer, in his *Celebration of Demons* (Indiana) analyzes ritual exorcism around Galle and by uncovering intrinsic principles of purity and pollution, argues that exorcism is a ritual drama cathartically expressing mental disturbances which are then balanced through the public manipulation of recognized cosmological symbols. While Carrither's and Kapferer's studies are essays in etiology per se, Martin Southwold's *Buddhism in Life* is fundamentally an etiology of previous misconception and misunderstandings of Buddhism in particular and religion in general. Of these three excellent contributions, Southwold's work is the most engaging in terms of its theoretical considerations.

Having completed fourteen months of field work in the Kurunagala District during 1974-75, Southwold confesses that he encountered grave difficulties in settling down to write his book. His delay in writing was due not so much to "writer's block", but rather due to the fact that his experience in Sri Lanka caused him to re-evaluate the manner in which anthropologists have traditionally set about interpreting the religious traditions of other cultures. In this context, Spiro, and to a lesser extent Gombrich, serve as foils for his basic thesis: unwittingly conditioned by Protestant understandings of religion, anthropologists have frequently distorted the character of religion by over-emphasizing the importance of belief structures. Further, Southwold finds that anthropologists are not alone in committing this basic hermenutical sin. In typologizing the Sinhalese Buddhists he encountered (including his research assistants), he argues that "Buddhist modernists" or "middle class Buddhists", as opposed to "village Buddhists," also share a perverted view of Buddhism because of their own insistence upon the importance of belief. In formulating his well-argued assertions, Southwold finds fault with the manner in which late nineteenth and twentieth century western interpreters presented the basic principles of Buddhism. By interpreting Buddhism solely on the basis of textual exegeses of the Buddhist canon, these scholars thoroughly ignored the cultural and social contexts of the tradition (sāsana). This resulted in an understanding of Buddhism structured after the systematic Protestant theology of the West. In turn, this view of Buddhism was taken over by zealous Buddhist reformers anxious to legitimize and re-establish the pristine purity of ancient times (which Southwold contends probably never really existed). Buddhism, the author argues, has never been a matter of what Buddhists believe (especially in the Protestant sense); rather, Buddhism is what Buddhists do—more specifically, what village Buddhists, the most unfettered inheritors of tradition, do.

Southwold reaches this conclusion through four different paths. The first begins with noting that when villagers were asked what Buddhism basically is, they consistently responded by saying "not to kill animals." This specific ethical injunction is seen as indicative of the ethical basis of village Buddhism. Second, Southwold widens the discussion to argue for the basic primacy of action over belief in religions generally. Here he relies upon Robertson Smith's 1856 classic study of Hebraic religion which demonstrates, through extended biblical exegesis, that while Hebrews continuously performed rites of sacrifice with little change over long periods of time, religious reflections on the meaning of sacrifice changed significantly. For Southwold, this is primarily what has happened in the case of Buddhist ethics and their interpretation. While modern Buddhist apologists assert that sīla (moral conduct) is the first step toward nibbāna, Southwold takes the position (cantra Spiro) that nibbāna has never been the poximate goal of Buddhists. If nibbāna is to be understood properly, it must be understood as the eventual ideal goal. Nibbāna is rarely in the mind of the villager and its attainment is only through fortuitous karmic action (ethical behavior) which leads to rebirth during the time of the future Buddha Maitreya. Southwold continues by maintaining that ethical acts are not a first step, but an integral part of the means by which Buddhists hope to improve their lot now and in future rebirths.

Third, Southwold, in recapitulating the frustrated attempts of western scholars to discover the life of the historical Jesus, argues that scholars of Buddhism must accept the same fate. The original teachings of the Buddha, like the life of the historical Jesus, are fundamentally not recoverable. Why then says Southwold, should scholars and religious apologists continue to begin their accounts of religion with considerations of the founder, followed by his teachings, the development of religious communities and the evolution of religious cultures? Presentations of this nature only perpetuate attempts on the part of religious reformers to re-establish or re-capture what they cannot really know. What Southwold proposes is that we invert the approach beginning with the present situation (which we can observe) and move backward through time. This approach is not only more intellectually honest, but also more methodologically sound and can help avoid the canundrums which beset Gombrich (and Bechert as well) when they tried to reconcile the apparent contradictions between Buddhist "belief" and practice. Since our knowledge about the Buddha is at best inferential, why not leave consideration of the Buddha and his teachings for the end of such a treatment basing these speculation on what can be traced historically back through time?

Fourth, Southwold maintains that many anthropologists have been misled by adopting the "rationality principle" first articulated by Popper, given currency by Jarvie, and utilized by Gombrich in his study of Buddhism in the Kandy district. According to this "principle," in order to understand religious behavior social scientifically, it is necessary to assume that men always act in their own self-interest. That is, man acts rationally in his own behalf. Southwold shows that this is a form of "instrumentalism," the view that humans consistently calculate the best form of action to take in light of beliefs that they hold. While men do admittedly base some of their actions on beliefs, rationality principle cannot explain the significance of all actions and leads to the theoretical position of positivism which, Southwold holds, is "the real root of the delusion that belief is basic to religious practice." Against positivism, Southwold proposes that the bases for religious

acts which "ameliorate experience" are more often than not rooted in "sapientialism," metanoia, contrition and wisdom. These are states of mind that religious humankind experience which in turn motivate or provide genuine altruistic intentions. These are not matters of "believing in" or "believing that". Rather, "sapiential assertions are projected 'truths' about the objective world, [and] their truth is of a symbolic or mystical kind, which transcends sensory experience and hence cannot be established by the same means by which truth is established in instrumentalism" [or positivism for that matter].

Because of the diverse arguments proposed by the author criticism will come from many quarters I would contend that Southwold has not made his contention strong enough. In critiquing "the historical quest for the Buddha," Southwold has short-circuited what potentially might have been one of his strongest points. On grounds brilliantly presented by Erich Frauwallner in his landmark 1956 comparative study of Vinaya materials, Southwold points out that it is impossible to conclude that any portions of the Buddhist canon were intact before about 100–150 years following the Buddha's demise. What he has failed to see in Frauwallner's argument is that the earliest Vinaya materials were most likely framed in advance of or as a result of the issues which surfaced at the Second Great Buddhist Council. This council, of which we have varying accounts from both Hinayana and Mahayana sources, was concerned precisely with the issue of monastic *behavior;* that is, what *actions* are proper for a bhikkhu. According to Frauwallner, the Vinaya is the earliest extant source within the Buddhist canon. A careful reading of it leads one to see that action, indeed, assumed primacy over belief in early Buddhism. Further, the primacy of action over belief can also be seen in the preponderance of Dhamma-talks preserved in the Suttas. And when one considers that the earliest Buddhists were known as Śrāmanas, meaning "one who strives or endeavors," one wonders why Southwold would choose to neglect this important evidence. It is not necessary, nor is it historically accurate, to claim that Asoka is the earliest Buddhist epitomizing an "action-based" Buddhism.

Martin Southwold has stated that while he was in the village he was [instrumentally?] looking for what lay buried in himself. That, in seeking an order to village Buddhism, he was seeking most to put himself in order. As such, *Buddhism in Life* falls into the tradition that anthropology and autobiography are intricately related: the latter is always contained in the former.

This work, then, is of multivalent character and speaks to an audience wider than just buddhologists and anthropologists. The author is to be congratulated for writing a book that is ethnographically significant, theoretically provocative and so personally engaging.

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NEELAN TIRUCHELVAM: The Ideology of Popular Justice in Sri Lanka; A Socio-Legal Inquiry. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd; 1984. pp. 215

"I have always felt that the occupational disease of judges is cruelty, sadistic self-righteousness, and the higher the judge the more criminal he tends to become. It is one more example of the absolute corruption of absolute power. One rarely sees in the faces of less exalted persons the sullen savagery of so many High Court Judges' faces Their judgements, *obiter*, *dicta* and sentences too often show that the cruel arrogance of the face only reflects the pitiless malevolence of the soul". (Leonard Woolf, *Sowing* London: The Hogarth Press. 1961–1965).

"I have met in my time a few pleasant and lively wig and robe men. But even the best of them, well away from their courts have never quite seemed to be real contemporaries, honest-to-God neighours. I have never felt they were really with the rest of us. There has always been something anachronistic about them I find it hard to believe they own cars and refrigerators and take their wives to see a film. Even at a dinner table, doing their best to keep the talk going, they still seem to exist in a queer atmosphere of their own, And I suspect that it is this atmosphere, as well as their whacking great fees and costs, that make most of us dread any litigation. We feel that it would be like trying to explain ourselves to another time, on another planet." (J B. Priestley, 'Wigs and Robes' – *New Statesman*, 17 August 1962: 197).

In the first of the passages quoted above. Leonard Woolf makes his comments against the background of his experience in Ceylon as District Judge and Magistrate. In the second. J. B. Priestley comments on the remoteness of the law and the courts from the lives of ordinary folk. Both passages have relevance to the theme of Dr. Neelan Tiruchelvam's book,

In this book Dr. Tiruchelvam examines the working of state-sponsored popular tribunals in Sri Lanka and several other countries. The book is primarily concerned with popular tribunals in societies that perceive themselves to be following a 'socialist' path of development. However, other societies, too have mechanisms for promoting lay participation in the administration of the law. For instance, it has been said that the most striking feature of the English legal system is the part played by the layman. The court of the English lay magistrate, an amateur, may be identified as a popular tribunal within the definition given in the first page of the book though, of course, a lay magistrate is advised on technical and legal matters by a clerk with legal qualifications.

Chapter I is a survey of the emergence of popular tribunals in certain countries where there has been a socialist-style political transformation. The Soviet Union, Chile, Poland, Cuba, Tanzania, India, Burma and China are the socialist countries in which the phenomenon of "deprofessionalization" is explored. Chapter II examines the history of the gamsabawa in Sri Lanka. Unlike in the low country in the Kandyan areas the gamsabawa system remained relatively intact during much of the colonial period. In the low country the Dutch left their mark on the legal system. Footnote 9 on page 32 might well have included a reference to T. Nadaraja, *The Legal System of Ceylon in its Historical Setting* (Leiden: E. J. Brill 1972)

in which the consequences of the Dutch rule in the legal sphere have been set down. Sir Henry Maine's book on Village Communities in East and West is said to have "fired" the late eighteenth century revivalists into creating the Village Communities Ordinance of 1871 (page 33). It might be of interest to mention Maine's Momorandum dated February 20, 1880 concerning Mr. Caird's Report on the Condition of India. Mr. Caird was appointed a member of the Indian Famine Commission in 1879. He spent four months in India and submitted a report dated October 31, 1879. In his momorandum Maine wrote, "You may revive the village courts, but you will inevitably resuscitate the barbarism which went with them. Speaking, generally, he who would bring to life again one of these barbarous institutions is placed in the following dilemma; either he must connive at many of their accompaniments which are condemned by modern morality and modern civilisation; or, in the attempt to give them a now character, he must so transmute them that they cannot be distinguished in any sensible degree from the modern institutions by which civilisation has superseded them".

On the litigiousness of the people, Maine observes in this same memorandum that the litigiousness of the population belonging to the same social stage as the people of India is, so far from being extraordinary, a very frequently observed phenomenon; it appears to be their over-indulgence in the luxury of justice which is comparatively new to them; but unquestionably it may be carried to excess. The true remedy is however, to be found, not in a violent recoil to the institutions of barbarism, but in the adoption of some of the newest legal expedients of civilisation. Maine's observations in his memorandum are relevant to Governor Hercules Robinson's views on the ill-effects of the imposition of the British court system on the rural peasantry referred to on page 33. On the point whether litigiousness was a result of the British court system a comment similar to that of Maine's is made by L. I. Rudolph, and S. H. Rudoph, (*The Modernity of Tradition: Political Development of India*. Chicago: Chicago University Press. 1970).

The gamsabbawa's role on the eve of British rule is the theme of Chapter II and the author concludes that by then the gamsabbawa had changed into a legal institution not mainly concerned with legislation and administration as may have been the case in medieval Sinhala society. The gamsabhawa was primarily an adjudicatory body though sometimes, it aimed at conciliation. The terms 'adjudicatory' and 'conciliation' are used in Chapter II and elsewhere in the book. An elucidation of these terms might perhaps have been helpful. Incidentally, these terms are relevant in labour law, and in that context conciliation has been described as "the practice by which the services of a neutral third party are used in a dispute as a means of helping the disputing parties to reduce the extent of their differences and to arrive at an amicable settlement or agreed solution" (*Conciliation in Industrial Disputes*, ILO, Geneva 1973). The late Professor Lon Fuller in an unpublished paper states that "the distinguishing characteristic of adjudication lies in the fact that it confers on the affected party a peculiar form of the participation in the decision, that of presenting proofs and reasoned arguments for a desision in his favour." The implicit assumption (see pages 164 & 185) that the essential difference between adjudication and conciliation is that the former involves a binding decision is not really acceptable because even a settlement through conciliation may be seen in our labour law where the terms of such a settlement are considered to be implied in the contract of employment. One is also a little mystified as to how Sir John D'Oyly's sketch of the gansabbawa may be described as "idyllic" (page 40).

Chapter III has for its theme the work of voluntary organizations in connection with crime control. Of particular interest in this chapter is the concept of collective responsibility of the village for the wrongs of an individual (pages 83, 84). On this point Brian Barry's comment may be worthy of mention. "Although in the society we know, a value is attached to 'not punishing the innocent' we are still willing to override it, eg. in tims of war when we intern aliens. And if Britain does not experience collective fines and such like at home does not this merely prove that they haven't been needed? Wherever order is threatened these methods come into play. They have, e g. been of great importance in British colonial policy (e.g. collective fines for villages in Cyprus)" (Brian Barry, *Political Argument*. London: Routledge, Kegan Paul 1965: 110).

Chapter IV is concerned with the "philosophy" behind the move to establish the Conciliation Boards in Sri Lanka. It is of some interest that the popular Sinhala term for these boards is සාමී මණ්ඩල or Peace Councils. The phrase "authors of the Constitution" at page 87 is perhaps a trifle inexact. Who, indeed, are the authors of the Constitution? The author presumably means the Soulbury Commission. The Constitution referred to was made by Orders in Council under the royal prerogative. It was based on a local draft, that of the Board of Ministers. Tnis draft was approved in 1945 by the Soulbury Commission and took effect in 1946 with modifications. The role played by Mr. M. W. H. de Silva, the Minister of Justice in the MEP government of 1956 is highlighted in this Chapter. He had shown interest in the nyaya panchayats of India and the West Bengal Panchayat Act of 1957. However, after a comparison of the Conciliation Boards with the nyaya panchayat model, the author concludes that the two were substantially different. Mr. M. W. H. de Silva is identified by the author as belonging to the "reformist" school which, while keen to improve the administration of justice and its procedures, accepted the basis of the judicial system. There were two other rival conceptions of the Conciliation Boards – the "socialist" and the "revivalist" (pages 95 97).

Though published in 1984, this book has apparently been written during the period of the United Front Government under Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike. This seems obvious from the language and style between page 108 and 124.

The language is, in places, a trifle inelegant. How do policy statements "implicate" a legal system (page 109) and what are "judicial" controversies (page 117).

The doctrine of deprofessionalization is said, sometimes to take the form of an effort to limit the powers of courts of law (page 113). The curtailment of the power of the courts to review administrative action or legislation is seen as part of this doctrine The fact that the courts are "non-elective" was seen as a justification of this position. Though the author is here only recording thc views of the socialist regime of 1970 to 1977, one might have expected him as a perceptive scholar to have pointed out the shortcomings of this position. The power of the courts to review administrative action is an aspect of the rule of law and is found e.g. in the Indian and other Commonwealth systems. Where there is no system of special administrative courts as in Western Europe and elsewhere it is the ordinary courts which have to perform this task. The author states that "consistent with the coalition's desire to weaken

the judicial arm of the government and correspondingly concentrate pawer in the legislature was its decision to eliminate the non-elective second chamber." The consistency is not at all obvious.

The use of the term "deprofessionalization" to cover the curtailment of the powers of the courts of law seems open to question. The erosion of a vital aspect of the rule of law is concealed by the use of an innocuous term.

Chapter V is concerned with the working of the Conciliation Boards Unit, the nerve centre of the scheme of statutory conciliation and analagous to an appellate tribunal. The unit acted in violation of the legislative provisions in thc recruitment of panel members. It performed supervisory functions though this was not contemplated by the Act. The directives and guidelines issued by the Board have had the effect of introducing formality into procedure and judicializing the approach to conflict.

The progress of statutory conciliation is the theme of Chapter VI which is based on a study of the panel at work in Teldeniya. We are introduced to the "legal amphibians", the village proctors or the goda-perakadorus. The legal amphibian has had no formal training in the law. One may, therefore, be pardoned for wondering whether there is not an element of exaggeration in the statement that he has helped to transmit the techniques, the role conceptions, values and forms of the specialized adjudicatory system to the conciliatory system. The author describes them as the "carriers" of legal culture from one model of conflict resolution to another (page 158). The chapter ends with an interesting comparison between conciliation boards and courts of law.

The concluding Chapter VII examines the differences between the gamsabhava and the conciliation panel. Conciliation and adjudication are again referred to and these ideas might perhaps have been clarified.

Although the last paragraph refers to 'post-traditional societies' no elucidation is offered of this term. In a book edited by S. N. Eisenstadt, (*Post-Traditional Societies*, New York: W. W. Norton & Co. 1972) it is observed in the preface that the term is not very felicitous. Eisenstadt states that the term has been coined to facilitate new ways of looking at certain central problems of modernization and development.

One final point. The very last paragraph of the book states that the role of popular tribunals in post-traditional societies is to challenge prevailing social attitudes and values and disrupt existing social arrangements. However, what they do is to consolidate them, thus retarding socialist transformation. A more extended elaboration of this thesis is called for.

In conclusion, one may congratulate the author for a significant contribution to legal and sociological literature. It would be no exaggeration to say that the author has provided new insights to those concerned with the administration of justice in Sri Lanka.

K, Selvaratnam

NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS

The Editors welcome articles based on original research in the social sciences with an emphasis on Sri Lanka. However articles of general interest on Asia will also be considered for publication Contributors are requested to adhere to the following format in preparation of the articles for the journal:

Tpyescript Typescripts should be double spaced (including all notes and reference) and typed on one side of the page only, and should not normally exceed 6000 words. Two copies of all papers must be submitted.

Illustrations Copies of maps and charts may be submitted in manuscript or near-final form. After a paper has been accepted for publication, the author must submit the originals of all illustrations.

Tables Tables must be typed. They should be numbered consecutively with Roman numerales (Table I, II, III etc.)

Notes and Referencs Authors may choose **one** of two systems.

(1) Author's name (no initials) and the dates given in the body of the text (eg. Farmer, 1957) and the references list alphabetically at the end of the paper (under the heading References) in the following form:

Farmer, B. H (1957) Pioneer Peasant Colonization in Ceylon (London).

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