

# THE CEYLON NATIONAL REVIEW

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*Articles, Reviews and Books for Review should be sent to W. A. de Silva, Darley Gardens, Colombo, or to A. K. Coomaraswamy, Broad Campden, England, or to F. L. Woodward, Galle. Review copies of books in Sinhalese and Tamil, as well as works published in Europe are desired.*



*THE Ceylon National Review* will be published for the Ceylon Social Reform Society, at intervals of about six months. It will contain essays of an historical or antiquarian character, and articles devoted to the consideration of present day problems, especially those referred to in the Society's manifesto, and it is hoped that these may have some effect towards the building up of public opinion on national lines, and uniting the Eastern Races of Ceylon on many points of mutual importance.

The Review will also be made use of as the organ of the Society, and will contain the Annual Reports and similar matter. The Committee of the Society desire to enlist the support of all who are in sympathy with its aims, as without this it will be impossible to carry on the work of the Society or to continue the Magazine. Contributions of suitable articles are also asked for; in all cases stamps for return should be enclosed; every care will be taken of MSS. for the return of which, however, the Society cannot be held responsible. The price of the Magazine [for which paper and type have been specially obtained from England] will be Re. 1.00 and 2/- in England, postage extra.

Articles of a religious character will not necessarily be excluded, but must not be of a controversial character.

The Magazine will for the present be conducted in English, but arrangements can be made for occasional articles in Sinhalese or Tamil if suitable contributions are available.

Authors alone are responsible for the views expressed in their respective contributions.



# THE CEYLON NATIONAL REVIEW.

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[Vol. III.]

## ON AHIMSA AND VEGETARIANISM, MAINLY IN BUDDHISM.

THE principle of non-hurting (*a-himsa*), *i. e.*, of refraining from any violence to living beings, has its origin in the Aryan Orient. How utterly foreign it is to the Jewish-Christian culture is well shown by the following contrast.<sup>1</sup> When the Christ met Peter who was just attending to his work as a fisherman, he blessed his nets so much that the mass of fishes caught brought the boats into danger of sinking. When Pythagoras met some fishermen who were about to pull out their net, he bought from them the whole contents of the net and then set free all the fishes and other animals enclosed in it. Even now the beginnings of *ahimsa* as a generally binding law are feeble enough in the West, though individually all Westerners of the Aryan race are hardly less in favour of it than their brethren in the East.

When *ahimsa* first became a religious principle, is difficult to say. But, of the now existing religions, Jainism is the one which has the most complete system of it and which has always clung to it with the utmost possible tenacity.

The standpoint of the Jains as to *ahimsa* is stated thus in the *Uttarajjjhayana*, one of their sacred books:<sup>2</sup>

“One should not permit (or consent to) the killing of living beings; then he will perhaps be delivered from all misery; thus have spoken the preceptors who have proclaimed the Law of ascetics.

“A careful man, who does not injure living beings, is called “circumspect” (*samita*). The sinful *Karman* will quit him as water quits raised ground.

<sup>1</sup> Schopenhauer, *Grundlage der Moral*, ed. Reclam, vol. III, p. 623 of the Works.

<sup>2</sup> Jacobi, *Jaina Sutras*, vol. II. p. 33, 34.



"*In thoughts, words, and acts* he should do nothing injurious to beings who people the world, *whether they move or not.*"

The 'movable' (tasa, trasah) beings are animals (including men), fire, and wind; the 'immovable' (thavara; sthavarah) beings are earth, water, and plants.

All of these the Ayaranga-Sutta, another ancient and sacred work, brings successively under the following formula:<sup>1</sup>

"Knowing them [the sinful acts], a wise man should not *act* sinfully towards earth (water, fire, etc.),<sup>2</sup> nor *cause* others to act so," nor *allow* others to act so."

This gives an idea of the rigorousness of the Jaina *ahimsa*. These rules, however, are for the ascetic only. Yet the layman, too, is expected to strictly observe at least "the *small* vow of *ahimsa* (ahimsa-anuvrata) which embraces 'movable' beings only:<sup>3</sup>

"Intoxicating drinks, meat, honey, and fruit of milky trees must always be avoided by the good intent upon sheltering movable beings."

"Where minute beings are hurt and unclean things eaten: that dining by night the good full of compassion do not perform."

"As to those who live as vegetarians (annaçinah) through the murder of immovable beings, and those who are meat eaters (mamsa-çinah) through the murder of movable beings, the guilt of these, as the wise must know, is about as different as are an atom and the Meru."

"(For) with vegetarianism it (the guilt) is as big as an atom, so to speak, and can be cancelled by penance; but with meat-eating it is as big as the king of mountains and cannot be cancelled on account of its bigness."<sup>4</sup>

Depriving animals of their property, as happens in the culture of honey, silk, wool, etc., is also forbidden to both ascetics and laymen. Eating honey involves theft and murder, the latter because "each drop of honey is won by the murder of innumerable creatures."<sup>5</sup> "The guilt incurred by reducing to ashes seven villages: the same (guilt) is fixed for having eaten a drop of honey."<sup>6</sup> The enjoyment of animal milk, however, is not considered sinful at all—a curious contradiction to the above reasoning in the case of a country like India full of starving cattle.

<sup>1</sup> Jacobi, Jaina Sutras, vol. I, p. 5ffl.

<sup>2</sup> There are numberless souls embodied in the four elements. Their bodies are only perceptible when an infinite number of them is united in one place. Jacobi, loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup> That means according to the Jivāviyara and other texts; all except the plants and four elements.

<sup>4</sup> Amitagati's Subhashitasamdoha, XXXI, 4, 5, and XXI, 8, 9.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. XXII, 2.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., XXII, 3.



It is hardly imaginable that this whole rigorous system of *ahimsa* came into existence at once, and, therefore, since most of these precepts were no doubt already held by Mahavira and even Parçvanatha, we are led to the hypothesis that the system was started by the Jains or some other community, with something similar to what is now called the "small vow of ahimsa" not less than about two hundred years before the Buddha (800 B. C.). This would bring us back to the close of the Vedic period, and here, indeed, we do find the expected earlier stage, though evidently not the very first beginnings, of the doctrine of *ahimsa*, in the closing section of Chandogya Upanishad which runs as follows :

"Whoso, after having, according to the precept, studied the Veda in the time left by the work for the teacher, returns from the teacher's family; studies by himself the Holy Scripture, in his home, in a clean place; trains up righteous (pupils); makes the Self the footing of all his forces; *does not hurt any being except in holy places* (ahimsant sarvabhutanyanyatra tirtibhyah); he verily, going on like this [all his life,] obtains the Brahman world, and does not come back,—does not come back."

That means: a Brahmin who wants deliverance, is not allowed to kill animals, except in the sacrifice; it being remarkable that a householder is being spoken of here, perhaps because Sannyasa had not yet become a rule.

In the later Upanishads the fourth Açrama appears fairly developed, and the rules given are to some extent the same as with the Jain Yati. Like the latter, the Brahmanic Sannyasin had to refrain from wandering during the rainy season, also to strain the water before drinking it; and apparently, though this is not certain, he had also to abstain from animal food.<sup>1</sup> But, however that may be, this much seems to be certain that in *Brahmanism* even the 'smaller' *ahimsa* was, up to a very late time, restricted to the Sannyasin, and was only introduced in the form of vegetarianism, into the Brahmana caste because of the growing influence of Jainism whose ethics had conquered the public opinion. That at the time of the Buddha, and still much later, vegetarianism was only half recognised in Brahmanism, is proved by the well-known *panca pancanakha* rule.<sup>2</sup> In Mahabharata XII,141.70, this rule appears in the following form :

"Five five-claw (animals) may be eaten by a Brahmin, Kshatriya, or Vaïçya; act according to the law (and) do not direct thy mind to what is not to be eaten."

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Deussen, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, I, 2, p.340. It depends on what we understand by *bhiksha*.

<sup>2</sup> Lueders, *Eine indische Speiseregeln*; *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, 1907, p.641.



It is remarkable that the same rule occurs also in a Buddhist Játaka and in nearly all the ancient Brahmanic Law Books;<sup>1</sup> further in the Kurma-Purana where it is ascribed to Manu. Manu, however, speaks of six animals (so Gautama), and Apastamba allows even seven.

In another place of the Mahabharata (XII, 37, 21-24)<sup>2</sup> a long list of animals (and plants) "not to be eaten by a Brahmana" is given by the sage Vyasa, who would probably have spared himself the trouble, if the number of permitted animals had been a much smaller one.

In the course of time, when Jainism and Buddhism had become powers in the land, the Brahmins could not help restricting the killing of animals and eating of meat to the sacrifice,<sup>3</sup> and here too it had to be more and more reduced, until at last even the "flesh desiring" Pitris (amisha-kankshinah) [whose claim is still recognised, though with some reluctance,<sup>4</sup> in the latest parts of the Mahabharata] were forced to become vegetarians. And finally the ultimate step was taken by some representatives of the Madhva sect, which arose in South India in the thirteenth century A.D., to condemn as sinful any slaughter of animals, and to introduce instead into the sacrifice the practice of the so-called *pishta-paçu* or animal made of dough.<sup>5</sup>

But all this refers to the Brahmins only; or at most, to 'twice-born': the remaining classes of the Brahmanic system were not expected to abstain from meat. The present condition, therefore, is about the following one. Brahmins are strict vegetarians all over Southern India, in the North many of them eat fish, and in Kaçmir also meat. Kshatriyas are and always were meat eaters for the most part. Vaiçyas (*i.e.*, the trading class called Chettiars in the South and Banias etc. in the North) seem to imitate, as a rule, the diet of the Brahmins. Cudras are meat eaters as well as vegetarians: mostly the latter because meat is too expensive.

As to the ascetics, I have already said that the prescripts they follow are much in harmony with Jainism. Abstinence plays a great part with them, and so most of them do not touch meat, last not least, because it strengthens the tendencies to sensuality. But I have known a very

<sup>1</sup> Yajn. I, 177; Vasish. XIV, 39; Gaut. XVII, 27; Manu, V, 18; Ap. I, 5, 17 37; Vishn. LI, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Schrader. Die Fragen des Koenigs Menandros, Appendix, p. XXVII.

<sup>3</sup> As had occasionally been done already before; see above.

<sup>4</sup> *Alpa-dosham iha jneyam* (XIII, 115.45).

<sup>5</sup> There seems to be quite a literature for and against this practice; see Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasada Castri, Notices on Sanskrit MSS., 1907. p. I fl. Possibly the Madhvas were but reformers in this point. For in Mahabharata XIII, 115. 56 we read; "For it is heard (in holy tradition) that in a former Kalpa the sacrificial animal of men was a rice-made one (*vrihi-maya*); with it did sacrifice the performers of sacrifices, longing for the world of the good." The Jain influence comes out rather strongly in verse 63, *ibid.*, where Bhishma forbids 'honey and meat' (*madhu-mamsani*).



ideal and learned Sannyasin, Brahmin by birth, who declared it a weakness unworthy of a true Bhikshu to refuse anything offered to him in good faith, including meat. His idea seemed to be that an ascetic, who was not able to eat every thing eatable offered to him, had not yet succeeded in bridging over the *udaram antaram*, the 'hole' or space between him and the world spoken of in Taittiriya Upanishad (II, 7,) had not yet conquered the *dvandva-moha* or 'delusion of the opposites,' *juguṣa* or 'repugnance' which is said to vanish only when the one and all of the Atman is truly realized. This reminds one somewhat of that remarkable passage of Milindapanha (III, 6) where the Buddhist sage declares: 'He, O Great King, who is not yet free from greed, experiences, while he is eating his meal, the taste as well as the pleasure of the taste; whereas the greedless one, while eating his meal, experiences the taste only, but not the pleasure of the taste.'

*Buddhism*, to which we have herewith turned, offers quite a problem with regard to *ahimsa* and vegetarianism, which has not been solved hitherto, so far as I am aware. The one party, headed by Doctor Neumann, says that the Buddha was a vegetarian; while the other party, to which most scholars belong, denies that he objected to meat except in certain special cases. The one refer to the principle of *ahimsa* being the first vow to be observed by both laymen and monks; the others to certain passages of the Scripture and to the fact that at present the majority of believers in both the Churches, Hinayana and Mahayana, do eat meat and yet believe to observe *ahimsa*.

In my opinion the right is on *both* sides, and that for reasons which I shall now expound in detail.

It is a curious fact that almost the only thing still known about the Buddha among the Jains of Southern India is that he was a very bad man who encouraged the enjoyment of meat! I suspect that the ground of this bad reputation is to be sought in the Dharmapariksha,<sup>1</sup> a polemic work little courteous to Brahmanism either, which is very popular in its Tamil translation. It has but seven verses on Buddhism, the very first objection being the one mentioned, viz., that in the Buddha's opinion there was no sin in eating meat. Now this objection is not exactly an invented one, but in the *older* Jain literature it looks a little different. In the Suyagadanga Suta<sup>2</sup> e.g., the following teaching is ascribed to the Buddha:

<sup>1</sup> Analysed by N. Mironow in his dissertation 'Die Dharmapariksha des Amitagati,' Leipzig 1903. See esp. p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Translated by Prof. Jacobi; S.B.E., vol. XLV, p. 243 and 415.



“ A layman may kill his son (during a famine) and eat him ; a wise (monk) who partakes of the meat will not be defiled by the sin.”

“ If anybody thrusts a spit through a man or a baby, mistaking him for a fragment of the granary,<sup>1</sup> puts him on the fire, and roasts him, that will be a meal fit for Buddhas to breakfast upon.”

Here we have indeed, though in a most grotesque form, a doctrine of the Buddha, viz., his prescript that meat was to be avoided by the Bhikkhu *except when the latter was in no way causally connected with the ‘murder’ in question.*

The prescript is repeatedly given in the Pitakas, most effectively in Chullavagga VII, 3-15 where Devadatta with the intention of making a schism (i.e., well aware that his proposal would not be accepted), approaches the Buddha with the request to forbid the monks to eat fish and flesh.<sup>2</sup> The Buddha declines: “.....for the duration of eight months, Devadatta, sleeping under trees has been permitted by me,<sup>3</sup> and (I have permitted) fish and flesh which are thoroughly clean in three points: *unseen, unheard, unsuspected.*”

That means: neither must the monk have *seen* that the animal in question was killed for his sake (*adittham*) nor must he have *heard* so (*asutam*), nor even is he allowed to have a *suspicion* in this respect (*aparisankhitam*). Such meat was called *pavatta-mamsa* ‘already existing meat,’ as opposed to *uddisakata-mamsa* “purposely made meat.”<sup>4</sup>

Compare also: ‘Let no one, O Bhikkhus, knowingly eat meat (of an animal) killed for that purpose. Whosoever does so, is guilty of a *dukkata* offence. I permit, O Bhikkhus, fish and flesh pure in three respects: unseen, unheard, unsuspected” (Mahavagga VI, 31, end).

Further: ‘How can you, O foolish one, eat meat without having enquired (whence it comes).....let no one, O Bhikkhus, eat meat without having enquired’ (Ibid. VI, 23-9).

Another condition is that the meat was not to be *raw* (Brahmajala Sutta, 10; Ang. Nik. 193-9; Majjh Nik. 38; etc.). Of novices entering the Order it is said over and again that ‘they adopt abstinence from accepting raw [grain; they adopt abstinence from accepting raw] meat.”

Finally, there is the curious prescript of Mahavagga V, 23 (not occurring anywhere else, as far as I know) to avoid the flesh of men,

<sup>1</sup> That is, of course, not possible, as is also objected by the interlocutor. Instead of clumsily reversing a simile suitable only in the preceding (opposite) case (Sutra 26), the author should have confined himself to simply stating that there is no sin in eating what you have killed by mistake.

<sup>2</sup> The flesh of fish,’ Oldenberg; but compare Anguttara Nikaya III, 151: *na maccham na mamsam*.

<sup>3</sup> Referring to another proposal of D.’s.

<sup>4</sup> Oldenberg, Vinayapitakam, vol. II, p. 81 note.



elephants, horses, dogs, snakes, lions, tigers, panthers, bears, and hyenas. This may be looked at as the Buddhist counterpart of Sri-Vyasa's list (see above).

That a great religious teacher preaching *ahimsa* did not altogether condemn the enjoyment of meat; that an ascetic could ever hope to get rid of his passions without having renounced once for all any animal diet;—this must have been something extraordinary and incomprehensible to many a person in that time, just as it is a puzzle still now to thoughtful people who come into touch with Buddhism. It is, therefore, a good thing that we have at least one document which clearly shows how the Buddha used to settle such doubt.

In the Amagandha Sutta of the Sutta-Nipata a certain person addresses the Buddha,<sup>1</sup> and after having described and praised his own vegetarian diet, goes on saying: 'Uncleanness (*amagandha*, lit. 'foul smell') has nothing to do with me: thus thou speakest,' O Brahmabandhu,<sup>2</sup> eating rice-food (mixed) with well-dressed birds' flesh. Therefore, Kassapa, I ask thee: what dost thou understand by uncleanness? To which the Buddha answers: 'Destroying living beings, killing, cutting, binding, stealing, speaking falsehood, fraud and deception, worthless reading;—this is uncleanness, but not the eating of flesh.' There follow six more verses of this kind, all of them ending with: 'this is uncleanness, not the eating of meat', and then it goes on: 'Neither abstinence from fish or flesh, nor going naked, nor shaving the head, nor matted hair, nor dirt, nor a rough garment, nor sacrifices to Agni, will cleanse a man not free from delusions.' 'Reading the Vedas, making offerings to priests, or sacrifices to the gods, self-mortifications by heat or cold, and many such-like penances performed for the sake of immortality, these do not cleanse the man not free from delusions.'<sup>3</sup>

It is a matter of course that under the circumstances described meat was by no means a regular constituent of the Bhikkhu's meal, but rather an exception which could easily have been avoided altogether. But the Buddha did not *want* to forbid it, and his main reason in doing so was evidently the wish to state an open and remaining example of his teaching: *that the question of food (ahara) had absolutely nothing to do with that of moral purity (visuddhi).*

Apart from this conditional use of meat, there was not much difference, as far as our subject is concerned, between the Buddhist and the Jain monk. Like the latter, the former had to avoid carefully the destruction of *any* life. Says Sutta-Nipata (Dhammika-Sutta, 19):

<sup>1</sup> Kassapa, in this case, which matters nothing, since all the Buddhas have exactly the same teaching.

<sup>2</sup> Pseudo-Brahmin.

<sup>3</sup> Rhys Davids, Buddhism, 8th ed., p. 131, and S. B. E., vol. X. p. 40, 41.



‘ Having ceased from hurting any being in the world, *whether immovable or movable* (thavara, tasa), he will not *destroy* life, nor *cause* killing, nor *consent* to others’ killing.’

And similarly Dhammapada (XXVI, 23.):

‘ Him I call a Brahmana who has ceased from hurting any being, whether immovable or movable ; who does not kill nor cause to kill.’

Never should the Bhikkhu forget the ‘ sameness of self’ (sarup-pam attano), *i. e.*, the fact that wherever there is life, there is something like himself.<sup>1</sup>

Wandering about in the rainy season was forbidden in order to avoid ‘ crushing the green herbs, *hurting vegetable life*, and destroying the life of many small things.’<sup>2</sup> Fruits were only allowed when they were damaged by fire, sword, or nails, or when they had not yet any seed in them ; or when the seed (*i. e.*, the capacity of fructification) had already passed away.<sup>3</sup> Herewith, *i. e.*, with the *ahimsa* as to vegetable life, is also connected the often recurring prescript to throw away the remainder of the food at a place ‘ free from grass.’

So much about the Buddhist Bhikkhu. It now remains us to determine if and to what extent these rules were also meant for the *Buddhist layman*.

The expectation that here too something ought to exist like the ‘ small’ *ahimsa* of the Jains is confirmed, *e. g.*, by Samyutta-Nikaya VII, 1, 5. Here a Brahmin called Ahimsaka introduces himself to the Buddha with the words : ‘ I am Ahimsaka, Master Gotama ; I am Ahimsaka, master Gotama.’ To which the Buddha answers in verses :

‘ As the name, so may it be : be thou a non-hurter who does not hurt *by body, speech, and thought*. For he is a non-hurter who does not hurt others.’

Again, in Anguttara-Nikaya (III, 153 ; comp. X, 212 beg.) we read :

‘ Endowed with three qualities, O Bhikkhus, a man will deservedly go to hell. With which three ? He is *himself* a destroyer of life ; he *instigates* others to take life ; he *consents* to taking life.’

This is, of course, not meant for Bhikkhus only, just as the rule in Anguttara-Nikaya X. 174 :

<sup>1</sup> Sutta-Nipata XIII, 10 : and elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> Mahavagga III, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cullavagga V. 5. 2 (comp. Oldenberg, p. 75).



Taking life, O Bhikkhus, I declare to be threefold: caused by *greed*; caused by *hatred*; caused by *ignorance* (lobha, dosa, moha),

Most remarkable, in this respect, is the Dhammika-Sutta of the Sutta-Nipata. After having described the prescript for the Bhikkhu, it goes on saying (verse 18 etc.):

‘The householder’s duty I shall now describe to you, acting by which one becomes (in one’s next life) a disciple and a holy man. For he who has a household cannot possibly observe the virtue expected of the Bhikkhu;’

And then it begins enumerating the duties of the layman with the verse already quoted above p. 107, viz.

‘Having ceased from hurting,’ etc.

This would suggest the idea that the *ahimsa* of the Buddhist layman was even more comprehensive than that of the Jain, in so far as it included both ‘movable’ and ‘immovable’ beings, though the latter term was in Buddhism evidently meant for the vegetable kingdom only. But this is not probable. In the Pitakas very often the same word is used in different senses, and so the interpretation people used to give *here* to *tasa* and *thavara* is most likely the one chosen by Fausboell in his translation viz., ‘those that tremble’ and ‘those that are strong.’

This much is clear, at any rate, that the lay Buddhist had to abstain not only from killing, *but also from encouraging ‘murder,’* e. g., by buying fish or flesh. For he who does the latter, at least ‘consents’ (samanuñño hoti) to the work of the fisher or butcher. In fact he does more: he ‘makes kill,’ ‘encourages killing’ (*ghateti, panatipate samadapeti*); or, to speak with Bhishma (Mahabht. XIII, 113. 40): he ‘kills through his money.’ I believe it is this idea which underlies the story of Mahavagga VI, 31 where the king sends for some ‘ready meat’ (pavatta mamsa) with the disastrous effect that he is decried as the murderer of an ox. Observe also Samyutta-Nikaya XIV, 25. 3 where intercourse with ‘life-takers’ is censured. Mahabharata XIII, 113. 47 says that seven people are ‘eaters’ of an animal, *i.e.*, guilty of *himsa*, viz: he who brings the animal; he who consents; he who kills; he who buys or sells; he who prepares the meat; and he who eats it. Taking exception to the latter two, this is also in harmony with the principles, at least, taught by the Buddha, if not with the practice of his followers.

But somebody might object: if the layman could not even buy any meat, where did the ‘threefold pure’ meat come from which the monks



were allowed to accept? To this the simple answer is that the Buddhist monk used to beg anywhere, not only with Buddhists.<sup>1</sup>

Our conclusion then would be that in ancient Buddhism meat was a rare food with the Bhikkhu, and a still rarer one with the layman. For the layman did not beg for his food, but he was, of course, likewise allowed to accept food from non-Buddhists, e.g., on a journey.

Absolute *ahimsa* is an impossibility even to the most conscientious ascetic. This is not so modern a discovery as most people are inclined to assume. Just read the interesting story of the 'pious butcher' (dharmavyadha) in the Vanaparvan of the Mahabharata the conclusion of which is that, since nobody can avoid killing innumerable beings in walking, sitting, lying down, eating, etc., nay, in everything he does, there is not a single 'non-hurter' in the world (*nāsti kaṇcid ahimsakah*). This is indisputably true. It is the great tragical fact of life that in order to live we have to destroy life. "All this is pervaded by living beings", and—"All this is swallowed by living beings" (*jivair grastam idam sarvam*). Yet it is also true that we have the duty to avoid all unnecessary slaughter, that we have to spare and mitigate suffering wherever we are able to do so, mindful of the beautiful word of old Bhishma: "Neither was there nor will there be a higher gift than the gift of life" (*pranadanat param danam na bhutam na bhavishyati*; "Mahabharata XIII, 116.34).

F. OTTO SCHRADER, PH. D.

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<sup>1</sup> From this it need not follow that Cunda, from whom the Buddha received his last meal, was a non-Buddhist and customary meat-eater. He might have been at a loss as to food and sent for it to some neighbour. But it is remarkable, at any rate, that in the passage in question (IV, 13-20) Cunda has no title, but is simply called the 'blacksmith's son', whereas later on he is addressed *avuso* (42) and even called a Bhikkhu (41).



## SOME SINHALESE TRADITIONS.

### I.

#### YATAGALA VIHARA.

A Few miles to the north-east of Galle are Kalahe, Metarambe, Talpe, Yatagama, a cluster of villages round a hill on which stands the ancient temple Yatagala Arama. Less than a century ago every inhabitant of these villages took his offering of flowers and gifts to the temple, which, like every other Buddhist temple, was both an educational and a religious centre. Now, two Christian churches and schools on either side of the hill are significant enough to show us that history has somewhat changed.

Guneratna Terunnanse is one of the scholarly priest of the South. He belongs to the Siamese Sect. and is a pupil of the learned priest Sri Sumangala of Hikkaduwa, High Priest of Adam's Peak, and Principal of Vidyodaya Pirivena. As the incumbent of the Vihara and for his own excellence he enjoys a wide reputation, and in the villages round the temple his influence is very great.

The temple grounds cover an area of several hundred acres and a fair portion of the extensive fields, which are characteristic of this part of the country; these wind in and out among the villages and round little hillocks that rear their heads from their midst with a grove of coconut palms, intensifying the beauty of the scenery, as if they had been naturally designed for the cultivator's cottage or the watchman's hut. The large tract of land which these fields occupy, stretching away for miles, seems to show an ancient civilisation and a more prosperous period in a forgotten past.

Some four or five other bhikkhus study under the incumbent. In The Temple Library we found a good collection of Oriental Literature, both ancient and modern. In the little upstairs building was also a portrait of King Sri Wikrame Raja Sinha, the last Kandyan King.

The history of the temple is interesting. It recedes into a forgotten, unknown past. Nobody knows anything about it. It was once a place of worship; then it was forgotten, and round the temple grew a forest and the place lay hidden for centuries. Then about the time when the eighteenth century was just closing or the nineteenth century opening, the ancient temple was discovered in the forest and recovered for Buddhism. Its discovery seems to have awakened no



little curiosity and interest, for the King himself, no other than Sri Wikrama, whose portrait we saw in the Library, gifted the land to the priesthood with a large field and a village attached to it, and presented also four large elephant tusks as his offering to the newly discovered temple. Since then the Sinhalese Monarchy has ceased; the English possessed the land, and in the troublous times that followed, when various other matters drew public attention, the Yatagala Vihara was forgotten and is to-day little better known than any other Buddhist temple in an obscure village.

The residential part of the temple at the bottom of the hill is a modern structure no more than a century old. The ancient Vihara is at the top of the hill. We ascend about two hundred feet above surrounding ground. Conspicuous at the top of this eminence is an array of huge boulders that stand against one another, forming caves, passages, and rooms of various sizes and shapes, once probably the haunt of the ascetic monk or the studious scholar, but now the home of bats and reptiles. The Vihara or the Image house is supposed to have been used as a place of worship so far back as the time of King Dutugemunu.

A large image of the Buddha was in front; a bronze statue of the same great teacher stood on the right. On the left was a figure of Vishnu of the Hindu triad, a later addition probably of Sri Wikrame, who was an Indian, Kannasami by name, and a Hindu before he rose to the throne.

I fell into a reverie and my mind travelled back to forgotten centuries. It was in the reign of Tissa. Prince Mahanaga was flying from his royal brother, fearing he meant him harm. The story of Anula's attempt to poison him is too well-known to need repetition. With wife and faithful followers, along the coast and by an unfrequented road, fearful of pursuit, Mahanaga fled. The wife, being with child, could scarcely make good speed; but with his retinue of faithful men he at last reached Ruhuna. While passing through a forest-grown country, her time for delivery having come, the princess bade preparation to be made to receive into the world the heir and first born of Mahanaga. They thereupon fixed upon the little hill, the huge rocks affording them shelter, and the eminence affording a prospect of the surrounding country and thus enabling them to keep a sharp look-out, seeming to mark it out as the most suitable place. There Mahanaga vowed, should he escape from his enemies and should his noble wife be the mother of a son, to build there a temple to the Buddha, in whom with his household he had but recently taken refuge. Of royal kin and yet under a stone in the forest was born Prince Mahanaga's son and they named him Yatagala Tissa, (Tissa under the



stone), later called Yatala Tissa. Mahanaga true to his word, when later established as chief of the South, with his capital at Mahanaga Gama or Magama, built here a Vihara. A large image of Buddha lay in resting posture where once the mother rested, and thus the the Yatagala Vihara was both a monument and thank-offering. Probably for many years there was a large number of priests at the Vihara, but being in a rather lonely spot the place was neglected after some time had elapsed and was lost for nearly twenty centuries or more. Built probably just after the time when Alexander the great was at the height of his glory (300 B.C.), ere Rome was great, the ancient temple had then been lost to sight, and was found once more when Greece and Rome had grown to be but names and Lanka had faced various vicissitudes of experience under various foreign powers.

"Let us be going" said my friend, who peeped in through the door: I had not been inside for five minutes, but imagination within me was so stirred that I felt as if I had put a key to the History of the Vihara. The story is worth little historically. It may have been true. Yatagala Vihara is still a mystery; but, till some one gives a better story to account for its existence and its past, I prefer to think my vision true.

"The past is all so different," said the good priest of the temple. "Who could have believed that the sons of the ancient heroes would come to this?"

The past is our heritage; it tells us our ancestry; it points out to us our possessions. The spirit of the Sons of Lanka is not dead; it is only sleeping; even more hopefully can we speak, for the spirit of the Lion Race is once more stirring from its slumber. *Fa Hian*, the Chinese traveller (413, A.D.) impressed by the courage and dauntless spirit of the nation exclaimed, "Is it any wonder that the Sinhalese are brave? Are they not descendants of the Lion?" Let us be proud of our past. Let us glory in it. Let us serve the present in the same spirit that our forefathers fulfilled their duties in their day towards their generation.

LIONEL A. MENDIS.



## II.

## KING WALAGAMBAHU.

There is a very interesting tradition regarding the "birth and youth" of King Walagambahu who reigned at Anuradhapura about the year 106 B.C. The story is current among the inhabitants of Harispattu in the District of Kandy.

A woman in great distress made her appearance in the house of the Gamarala (Patriarch) of the Village known as Walahandeniya in Madesiapattu. She introduced herself as a helpless woman without connections, and begged for employment as a domestic servant. Touched by her sad plight the Gamarala's wife offered her shelter and work. The following day the mistress of the house found the stranger in bitter tears and on questioning her discovered that the woman had on the day previous to her arrival given birth to a boy which she had left in a cave a few miles away. The Gamarala immediately despatched an attendant with the woman and rescued the child. The Embiligalena in Hannaskande is seven miles distant from Walagandeniya on the boundary between Matale and Harispattu. The mother and the infant continued to live in the Gamarala's house. As the child grew the mother was compelled to go about the village and earn something for herself and not merely depend on the pittance given by the Gamarala. She had to lead a hard life finding but little sympathy from the villagers. The boy who now attended the Medewela Pansala in the next village where he learnt to read and write Sinhalese used frequently to be taunted by the village lads as to his unknown father which caused him much irritation. When he was about sixteen years of age, one day went for his bath as was his habit before his midday meal. His mother finding that there was no rice to cook begged the Gamarala's wife for a little paddy. But she made excuses that no paddy could be got out of the granary as the male servants were not in the house and there was no one to climb the granary without a ladder. But the poor woman was importunate and she offered her shoulder to the Gamarala's wife who used it as a step ladder and fetched her a little paddy, which she hastened to prepare against her son's return. When he came she set the rice before him on a mat and turned to leave the room when he perceived a foot mark of dust on his mother's bare shoulder. He questioned her and she with some hesitation and shame explained to him how it was caused. The high souled youth disdained to take the food procured under such humiliating circumstances, and in indignation left the house immediately and went aimlessly along the path to Katu-



gastota. It was high noon and he had not gone more than a mile and a half when he felt faint and lay himself down under the shade of a Baniyan tree by the road side where he fell asleep. The tree still exists and flourishes in a hamlet called Mulandiyawa and pointed out to strangers as the historical tree. The youth was roused from his slumbers by the noise of tom-toms and music. Seeing people running along the road he asked them what it all meant and was told that the "Magul Eta" (Royal elephant), was approaching followed by a concourse of people. The lad took no interest in the matter but remained there and as he was. To his astonishment the elephant came up to him and knelt before him. Upon that the Chiefs who accompanied the elephant after rendering homage to him; bathed him in sandal wood water, put on him the Royal robes and set him on the elephant proclaiming him King.

According to an ancient custom among the Sinhalese, it is said that when the Royal line became extinct or a fit person could not be found to ascend the Throne, the Chiefs used to caparison the Royal elephant and start it, following it wherever it went; and before whomsoever it knelt that individual was accepted as King;

The new-made King immediately returned to Walagandeniya and had the Gamarala and his wife hanged on a tree, which is said to be still standing. He had sixty boys who had evidently provoked and annoyed him buried alive in a paddy field and trodden down by an elephant; and as a warning to others to treat the poor and defenceless strangers with more consideration, he degraded the inhabitants of Walagandeniya to the Gattera caste," by suspending a "Kotela" (jug of water on a jak tree. This, it is said, was the process by which a village was degraded. It signified that all intercourse with the people of the Goigama caste was cut off, so much so that a Goigama man dared not take even a drink of water in a Gattera's house

After punishing those who had shown unkindness to him and his mother, the King with his mother proceeded in procession to Anuradhapura.

When he was crowned King he had his mother also crowned and she was afterwards known as Queen Anula. It was evidently an act of gratitude on his part for all the hardships she had endured for his sake.

According to the Mahawansa the Great King Gamunu had a brother Saddhatissa who succeeded him. He left three sons Lamnitissa, Kalune and Walagambahu. So it is clear that the subject of our story was of Royal descent.



About the time in question there were it seems not only frequent Tamil invasions of the Island, but a conspiracy against Kalune the reigning sovereign headed by his Prime Minister Maharattaka who assassinated him and usurped the throne. The disturbances in the Kingdom give some colour of truth to the story of Queen Anula's flight and her concealment is disguise.

Local testimony in relation to the tradition is not wanting either. The reputed jak tree to which the "Kotale" was hung still exists. It stands by the side of the Bakkawella minor road in a garden called Pittedeniyawatte belonging to the Udage Janis and the paddy field which adjoins this garden goes by the name of Petowdeniya after the murdered young ones. If the tradition is true the jak tree and the Banyan tree are over two thousand years old, A Banyan is known to last a very long time, but it is a question whether a jak-tree attains such great age. An old inhabitant who lives in the adjoining village and who counts eighty-five years, asserts that since his boyhood the jack tree has been in much the same state, showing no signs of decay.

A further testimony is the existence of a rock slab with an inscription. To commemorate the spot where he was proclaimed King, Walagambahu had a slab of rock inscribed with the sun and moon set up under the Banyan tree; and the villagers say that it was in position till three or four years ago when it was removed to Atteragama Vihara by the late Incumbent.

The Vihara attached to the Eedewela Pansala is also supposed to have been built by Walagambahu in honour of the Priest who taught him letters.

D. J. JAYATILLEKE.



## CASTE AND CLASS IN CEYLON.

Most persons are apt to regret that caste and class controversies are not yet dead. Yet we may with reason wish for their continuance, since the progress of education has deprived them of much of their bitterness and they appear to have assumed a form in which they are only capable of yielding a wholesome amount of excitement to the disputing parties. It is not the purpose of this paper to present the reader with a historical survey of the institution of caste or to propose a remedy for the evils attributed to the system. I shall merely endeavour to set down some of the varied and disconnected thoughts to which the subject gives rise, and hence it will not be possible to aim at logical consistency or method. The once-prevalent notion that the distinctions of caste correspond to certain differences existing in nature is being gradually abandoned. There are still a great many persons who are under the grasp of the old superstition and who cannot divest themselves of the idea that nature herself has fixed unpassable barriers between the different classes. These notions are being gradually dispelled by the spread of enlightenment, and the saner view that caste is only a particular form of social organization is taking the place of the old beliefs. Caste first arose in India and was the peculiar product of Hinduism. But in Ceylon it has undergone a remarkable transformation. Planted on alien soil and deprived of the religious influences which fostered it, it has lost much of the rigid and exclusive character which it still retains in its original home. Though caste existed and flourished for many centuries in Ceylon, a recognition of its essentially arbitrary character did not fail to impress itself on the most sagacious minds. Even the untaught villager has oftentimes an instinctive consciousness that caste is not founded upon natural differences and that men are in reality what nature has made them. On occasions upon which a departure from established custom is permissible, that which strikes the most casual observer is the extreme friendliness and cordiality which frequently mark the relations between members of different castes. Friendship and love can dissolve the artificial barriers with which each caste is hedged round by custom. And hence, beneath an external compliance with the rules of society, things are much the same in most of the important transactions of life, as if no caste existed. It is no doubt a recognition of the unjustness of the system and a desire to mitigate its rigour which induces most persons of superior caste to address those below them in such terms of affection as brother, uncle &c., thus placing



these men at once on a footing of equality with themselves. This practice is common in Ceylon, but I have not heard that it exists in India.

The numerous subdivisions of the different castes are termed classes. These have not the settled character which belongs to the larger groups under which they fall. Their boundary lines are shifting and uncertain, the members of one class frequently passing into another according as changes take place in wealth and social position. Unlike caste which is peculiar to India and Ceylon, caste distinctions must necessarily exist in every country which has settled laws and a definite political and social organization. The causes which produced caste, whatever they were, are no longer in operation and hence no new varieties are formed. But the source from which class arises is an everflowing source, and therefore no class can continue to be the monopoly of particular individuals or families for any considerable period.

When by industry or otherwise a member of an inferior class succeeds in acquiring a larger amount of wealth than is usually possessed by men of his station in life or rises to some office of state not generally conferred on people of his class, he is elevated at once above his fellows, but as a rule is not received into the ranks of the class above him. He remains in a state of isolation and is regarded with jealousy and dislike both by those whom he has left and by those whose circle he wishes to enter. If his son should succeed in maintaining the position won by his father, and his grandson in his turn be equally successful, then as time goes on and the obscure origin of the founder of the family recedes into the distant past, there gradually grows up one of the most highly coveted of all worldly distinctions, high birth; and the whole family becomes invested with an importance which nothing else can confer. This distinction, so difficult in the making, is equally hard to lose, when once it has been acquired. It adheres to its fortunate possessor and follows him through all vicissitudes. When he dies, be he ever so poor, it becomes a valuable asset in his estate and passes to his heirs as the only inheritance which it is altogether beyond the power of his creditors to reach. Many a descendant of an ancient and decayed family who, having squandered his patrimony, has sunk into a state of abject degradation, both morally and physically, still looks with infinite disdain upon all upstarts who get on in the world without any ancestry to boast of, and is supremely happy in the contemplation of his inherent superiority over all such persons. It cannot be denied, however, that a just pride in one's lineage and ancestry is a noble feeling akin to the higher virtues. It fills men with enthusiasm and stimulates them to



deeds of self sacrifice and heroism. Many a man is often restrained from pursuing an evil course by the thought that he would be dishonouring the memory of the dead. Moreover, mankind in all ages have paid an instinctive homage to good birth, and it is well for the progress of the world that such a feeling should exist. For, of all the rewards which a grateful country can bestow on her illustrious sons, one of the highest is the honour which is paid to their descendants. Hence it will be seen that distinctions of birth, though ridiculed by modern demagogues have their foundation in reason and sound policy. It is a well known fact, however, that nothing good exists in the world but is liable to abuse. To such extravagant lengths is the reverence for high birth sometimes carried that the possession of this one quality is often thought sufficient to cover all other defects.

The contact with western institutions was a rude shock to the caste and class system. But, though greatly weakened, it is still a living force in the land, and has to be reckoned with by those who would devise measures for the improvement of the people. The greatest errors are sometimes those which flourish most vigorously: beliefs which have been held for many generations often take such firm root in the mind that, though condemned by reason and good sense, they defy all attempts to dislodge them. When such is the power which an unreasonable belief can sometimes exercise even over the minds of educated persons, it will be readily understood how the popular mind has become subject to the delusion that caste and class are some mysterious physical properties inherent in the individual—a necessary part of the man himself. Such a belief is in direct opposition to the teachings of Buddhism as well as of Christianity, and yet a knowledge of its unsoundness has no practical effect on the minds of those who hold it. In the distribution of power and places the British Government treats all alike with absolute impartiality, individual merit being considered of more account than the merit of a deceased ancestor.

It is true that a concession is sometimes made to the feelings of whole communities, but this is no recognition of the principle of caste. It is the wise and humane policy of enlightened governments to make allowance for the deep seated prejudices of whole classes of the community, so far as this can be done without detriment to the public welfare. But the direction of the current is unmistakeable. The system is doomed to extinction. In conflict with the levelling forces which are at work in modern society it has no chance of survival. The title *ආචාර්ය* once the peculiar privilege of the high-born, is now a common form of address used by the average villager towards all Government officials who are



invested with any degree of authority over the people. All the high sounding phrases expressive of adoration and all the forms of respectful salutation which the old nobility exacted from those below them, the genuflexions, the cringing, the many modes of physical expression and gesture, more eloquent than words, which are used to denote profound humility and subjection, are no longer the monopoly of the hereditary chief proud of his birth and lineage, but are shared by all officers of Government in proportion to the power which they are allowed to exercise over their fellowmen. What a magic *open sesame* lies in the simple word බුදුන්ගේ! The hardest heart relents on being honoured with the flattering epithet. The villager is not slow to take advantage of this weak side of human nature, and he showers upon his would-be patron all the honeyed phrases of courtesy in which the Sinhalese language is so abundantly rich. Thus all the powers and privileges which are usually accorded to birth are now shared in an equal degree by merit, or in other words by those whom some accident, such as the favour of a Government official, has even for a brief space of time invested with power over their fellowmen. Nay it frequently happens that the ruined descendant of Adigars, whose blue blood is his only possession, but who, in dress, deportment, and circumstances is indistinguishable from the mass of the *hoi polloi* around him, has to assume an attitude of obeisance before some powerful upstart. In the villages there are many scions of respectable families steeped in poverty and leading lives of debauchery and vice. Many such do we often see in the law courts addressing the subordinate officers of Court with the term *Hamuduruvo*. Such is the depth of degradation to which they have fallen that all manliness and self-respect are completely lost. Such self-abasement is however altogether unnecessary since there are many modes of address which the most respectable man may adopt towards those whom he desires to conciliate without any compromise of his own dignity.

This tendency to fall prostrate at the feet of power is believed to be a characteristic failing of all oriental peoples, and is treated with well-merited scorn by all manly-minded persons. It should, however, be remembered that the tendency in question is a degraded form of one of the finer feelings of man—the feeling of loyalty to a person as distinguished from loyalty to a cause. This feeling of loyalty is often one of the chief foundation stones on which empires are built and maintained, and which in times of stress becomes one of the most powerful forces in securing the stability of a state. One result of the democratic tendency of the age is the increasing prominence which it gives to the utilitarian principle. The influence



of private and personal relations tends to grow fainter and fainter. Under a monarchy in its purest form, the sovereign is regarded, with an almost superstitious reverence; a halo surrounds his person; he is different from common mortals; no death can be more glorious than to die for his sake. In some constitutional monarchies, on the other hand, the view, fostered by democracy, is that he is only one member of the community selected by them according to methods which vary in different countries, and placed at the head of the administration. Whatever sanctity attaches to him pertains to the office, the individual being of no account. The principle of equality is carried still further in a pure democracy like that of the United States where the humblest clerk is considered to be intrinsically as good a man as the President himself, the only difference being that owing to accidents of fortune, they are appointed to perform different functions in the economy of the State. Hence the spirit which rejects caste and which refuses to recognise as real the distinctions of birth upon which society is founded has a tendency also to undermine the props of empire by weakening the power of the associations which cluster round the person of the sovereign in virtue of his Royal birth.

It is true that the motive which inspires the patriot is the love of country, but the abstract idea involved in the term "country" is too unsubstantial to satisfy the emotional needs of the heart, and requires to be embodied in a human being. It is impossible to love such an impersonal abstraction as a cause. The cause should have visible embodiment in a person. This is the true ground of the Superiority of hereditary monarchy over all other forms of Government. The importance of this principle cannot be over-estimated in an Eastern Country where the strongest tie that binds the people to the throne is that of personal affection to the Sovereign. The loyalty of England's Eastern dependencies to her flag is centred in the person of the Sovereign. No form of democracy, however perfect, could inspire such a feeling in the hearts of an Asiatic race. A republic might indeed cause itself to be feared by the display of irresistible force. But there would be nothing in it which could claim the homage of the heart, obedience to its authority being a simple matter of necessity.

Thus caste in Ceylon in the days when it had gained its highest ascendancy was typical of the spirit which in all ancient communities tended towards the maintenance of order and authority. At the head of the Caste System was the King himself. His royal birth, often reaching back to the remotest past and associating him with the Gods themselves, invested him with a sanctity of a peculiar nature, and when combined, as it most



frequently was, with the more important attributes of sovereignty made his personal influence in the state supreme and irresistible. Similar in principle, though of necessity much smaller in degree, was the influence which the greater and lesser chiefs exercised each within his own domain. Birth was an important qualification, though sometimes not indispensable; nor was it supposed that merely to be born of a good family was a sufficient compensation for defects of character which rendered the holder of the office unfit for the position he occupied. Modern politicians may not indeed approve of a system of Government in which so much depended upon the mere weight of personal influence, for it is thought that this influence might have been exerted just as easily in the wrong as in the right direction. No human scheme is free from imperfection, but upon a review of the characteristics of different systems it will be seen that the balance of advantage was decidedly in favour of the ancient system of Government.

A political system is the outward form in which the national life of a people expresses itself. If the life of the nation is vigorous and strong, there is no need to fear that any form of Government which it adopts will be inimical to its interests. Yet the form and the substance are in this case so closely interwoven, that each modifies the other to a very considerable extent. Modern political science is dominated by the utilitarian Spirit. The goal kept in view being practical utility, the production of wealth and material comfort has become the sole measure of utility. The tendency is to reject, as useless and unpractical, all that addresses itself merely to the feelings. Now the peculiar advantage of monarchical institutions is that inasmuch as they are capable of stirring the emotions and of arousing a feeling for the sublime, they fulfil one of the primal necessities of our nature. Democracy on the other hand, which never rises above the dead level of the practical, has a tendency to extinguish such sentiments. This is a point which can only be briefly noticed here as it has no more than an incidental connexion with our subject. But although the caste system, as it existed in ancient times had much to recommend it, in its present form it retains most of the objectionable features of the old system, without any of its compensating advantages.

The most striking characteristic of the system in its original state was the complete acquiescence of the lower castes in the position assigned to them by immemorial custom. The harmony which prevailed between the different castes was, there is reason to believe, grounded upon a knowledge of the true nature of the distinction. Nothing but a deep sense of the natural equality of all men could have



begotten that feeling of cordiality which is so apparent in the relations between members of the different castes even at the present day. The tendency of western civilization has been to introduce an element of discord into these peaceful relations. Under the old Brahminical system distinctions of caste were believed to be distinctions founded in the ultimate nature of things. The mere touch of a low caste man was considered pollution, and it was impossible, when such notions were entertained, that any true fellow feeling could exist between the higher and the lower castes. In Ceylon, however, under a more rational system of belief, caste was deprived of its most hateful characteristic. From having being a divine ordinance which no human power could alter, it came to be regarded as a purely conventional arrangement for holding together the different parts of the social structure. If any degradation attached to the lower castes, it was no more than that which falls to the lot of the lower classes in countries in which inequalities of wealth and political status form the only basis of distinction.

But although in its underlying principle caste in Ceylon approximated to the class systems of other countries, in outward form it remained the same as its Brahminical prototype. The lines of division were fixed and immutable, no transition being possible from one caste to another. At the present day the lower castes are dissatisfied with their position. Familiarity with Western ideals has inspired them with the belief that they have been unjustly treated and kept out of their lawful rights. But the intermingling of new with old ideas has greatly complicated the situation. The old prejudices still prevail, inherited from remote antiquity and fostered by tradition and surroundings.

The attitude of the English Government towards the question of caste is marked by the greatest wisdom and moderation. While all classes of His Majesty's subjects irrespective of caste, colour and creed, enjoy equal political and social rights, and caste, as such, is altogether unknown to the law and to the executive officers of Government, yet, in so far as it is a living factor in Society influencing in various degrees the relations between the different members of the community, it receives a full measure of recognition. The line of Government policy is theoretically clear and well-defined, but in practice the individual predilections of particular officers of Government often give it a changing and uncertain appearance. It is clear that no attempt should be made to revive caste and class distinctions where they are already dying out under the influence of education and enlightenment. But it sometimes happens that, residing in places where



caste jealousies are rife, even European officials become imbued with the current prejudices, and the amusing spectacle is not unfrequently, though we are glad to say very rarely, afforded, of English Civil servants, with an enthusiasm worthy of a better cause, occupying their valuable time in endeavouring to rake up from the dust of oblivion the most insipid details of family history which can have no possible interest to anybody except the parties concerned. Such questions have a biographical, but not a national interest. They may also be important as throwing light on the social and political life of the people and the customs and habits of bygone ages. In this view nothing is without its use. To the philosopher and the student of human nature every fact has a deep significance. If it is in this spirit that the information is collected, no labour spent in the task can be fruitless. But if, as seems to be the case, its purpose is only to put life into a decaying system which is not suited to the present age, then the only effect it can have will be to flatter the vanity of a few individuals and fill them with a false pride which will make them insensible to the higher duties of life. Family pride is a noble feeling when it inspires men to noble deeds, but if it leads to self-exaltation and snobbishness and to an inbred contempt for all who are not within the charmed circle, then to pander to such a feeling is to sow the seeds of discord and enmity and to retard the advancement of the nation.

This is an age of intellectual freedom. Men's minds can no longer be confined within the moulds into which they have been cast by the false beliefs of antiquity. The youth of our country should rise to higher conceptions of greatness, should recognise the true relations in which human beings stand to each other and should realise the fact that natures, castes and classes are founded on differences in moral temperament, in physical characteristics and intellectual gifts. No truer words were uttered than those which Glancus spoke to Diomed at the siege of Troy.

"Diomed, why askest thou of my race? The races of men are as the leaves of the forest which the wind blows to the earth and lo! in the spring they shoot-forth again" (*Iliad* VI. 145-149). When this level of thought is attained there are still greater heights to be scaled. The contemplation of one's own superiority over others in point of natural endowments is likely to engender an inordinate self-esteem and a feeling of repugnance towards less favoured creatures. Such a feeling is inimical to true culture. In the upward ascent of man to the highest planes of thought and feeling two conditions are indispensable—the cultivation of the feeling of sympathy and knowledge of the facts of



nature. It is characteristic of the highest natures that the possession of great gifts and the desire to cultivate and maintain them are not destructive of a tender concern for those to whom Fortune has been less kind. It is sympathy alone which can beget such a feeling. Pride itself is begotten of ignorance—ignorance of the facts of nature. The distinctions we have been considering seem infinitely petty in presence of the vastness of Nature's plans. Unnumbered as the leaves of the forest, and counted like them as nothing in the eye of nature, are the generations of men. The whole period of man's duration upon this earth is but an instant when computed by astral time. Soon therefore shall man himself pass away and leave no traces of his existence. His place upon the theatre of this planet will be taken by another race of creatures, to whom man and his tragedies will be of as little interest as are to us the loves and quarrels of our predecessors, the dragons, that 'tore each other in their slime'.

J. R. MOLLIGODE.



## THE MUSIC OF THE SINHALESE AND TAMIL.

One of the many subjects which the West learned from the East is Music, which was derived from the Hindus of Ancient India. The Europeans have considerably developed some divisions of the Music which they studied from India and have left some portions, including that on "*Raga*," untouched.

Our Music is very ancient and is scientific and graceful. One of the standard works on Hindu Music is "*Sangitha Ratnakara*," a Sanskrit book written centuries ago. In every division of our music there is science and a system observed, and those who say that we have no science and system, say it through sheer ignorance. It is again a mistake to suppose that our music can be studied only by the ear. Very few are aware of the fact that the European notation of music was modelled after that of Karat, the most ancient music notation in the world.

I have many a time heard it said that our music is invariably monotonous. I admit that it sounds so to the untrained ear, whereas to a musician it is not. The parts which appear to be monotonous are all variations. It is again a mistake to include tom-toms in our music. They are played in order to attract attention and for nothing else. Yet there is still required skill in the beating of the drums to time or *Tala*.

It will not be out of place to mention that Military music and dance music were also Indian, for it is stated in the Mahabharata that the armies drilled to music and had bands. The ancient Indian dances and dance music still prevail in India.

The two most important of the divisions of music are those of *Raga* and *Tala*. The Europeans do not have *Raga* in their music but have *Tala* which they call time. A *Raga* may be defined as a melody produced by a given scale of the different kinds of the seven principal notes *sa, re, ga, ma, &c.*, or *do, re, mi, fa, &c.* There are said to be about 1008 *Ragas*. There are about 105 *Talas*.

The ancient Hindu music, as described in the "*Sangitha Ratna*," came to be divided into four schools, two only of which now survive, viz.: "*Bharatmut*" and "*Hanumanmut*." The music of the former school prevails in Northern India and that according to the latter in Southern India. The difference between them lies in the style of delivery, in the classification of theory of music and in nomenclature. Another peculiarity of Indian music is the "*Gamuka*" which may be defined as one



waving sound produced by touching on all the three different kinds (flat, natural, sharp) of any one of the seven principal notes, except *Sa* and *Pa*.

The best compositions of North India are in Sanskrit and perhaps Gujerati, and of South India in Telegu. The ancient compositions are still considered to be the best. In North India, Tan Sane and Bibi Jan stand in the forefront of the composers and are very popular. In South India, the best are of Tiaga Raja Iyer and Dikshitar. The former, who is indeed very popular, composed in Telegu, and the latter in Sanskrit. As the best compositions in South India are in Telegu, many study those compositions merely for the sake of the music, even if the language be not known to them. The other noted Telegu composers are Subramania Iyer and Vina Kuppiyer. Compared with those in Telegu, compositions in Tamil or Malayalam or Canerese cannot be considered equal. The best Tamil composers are Gopalakrishna Bharati, Suppramier, Muttu Thandaver. While North Indian compositions are more graceful and pleasant, South Indian are more mathematical and (more) difficult to sing and play.

In the matter of musical instruments, India still possesses the most perfect instrument in the world. This is the Vina. It is a very ancient one and is said to have been introduced by Lord Siva.

The Vina is a long stringed instrument, which eminent musicians have acknowledged to be a perfect and very sweet-toned one. A modification of the Vina as played in North India is known as the Sitar. Another stringed instrument is the Saranda or the Dilruba, in imitation of which was made the Violin in Europe. Another ancient instrument is the fife (*Pullang Kulal*) made of a foot of bamboo with six holes. This produces very sweet music. Another popular instrument is the *Mirdangam* or drum which is essential for keeping time. The *Dole* is a Mohammaden modification of this instrument and the *Tabla* is Persian. *Jalatarangam* is music on water bowls, composed of China cups and tuned with water.

The music employed on the present Indian stage is not that of the ancient system. The Indian stage is not what it was. It has been quite Westernised in arrangement and the music employed there resembles that of the West. The present stage music is a very corrupt form of the classical music and could be very easily learnt. This music is very popular with the ordinary public, but musicians detest it. Owing to the existence of this cheap and easy music, to which weight is added by the stage-language employed in the composition, I am inclined to believe that the present generation have greatly neglected the study of their ancient and classical music.



The Ceylonese, where music is concerned, do not do justice to their ancestors. In both the Sinhalese and Tamil areas of the Island, music is in a deplorable state, but the former are worse off than the latter. When the Sinhalese came over from India they brought their music with them, but at present they seem to have lost all knowledge of it. Their bands still survive but in a modified state. The only music, if I may call it so, which survives among the Sinhalese, is that employed in the chanting of their *Gāthā*, but no musician could find out the Raga used there. The cause of this decline is undoubtedly non-cultivation. The present denationalised generation of the Sinhalese despise the study of their ancient music and have taken up the study of European music, whether they appreciate it or not, merely as a matter of fashion. A Piano and a few songs sung in the "Drawing Room" of our homes the fashion of the day. In many houses pianos are kept as mere ornaments and not for use. It is surprising to find that those who really appreciate the study of Indian music among the Sinhalese now, are those of the poor and educated class; but their music, of course, is not of a very high standard.

I have often heard it said that the Sinhalese are making a revival of the study of their ancestral music. This is indeed good news. This alleged revival has been due to the influence of the Parsi Theatres which occasionally visit Colombo. Parsi stage music is more or less Indian, but it is of a very corrupt form and unsuitable for a home. No musician would care to play it. This is the very kind of national music which now prevails to a small extent among the Sinhalese and Tamils of Ceylon. Sinhalese songs have now been composed to those melodies and are sung invariably to the accompaniment of that coarse instrument the Folding Harmonium or the Serapina, as it is called in Ceylon. Classical music is now almost unknown to the Sinhalese and the Vina is a complete stranger to them. The terms *Tappa* or *Malkosh*, *Vasanta* or *Chappu* have not been heard by them, but they have heard the terms Diatonic Major Scale and Crotchet, of which they know nothing. In fact, some of them do not think it *fashionable* even to hear native music.

The Tamils of Ceylon are in a slightly better state than the Sinhalese. By the Tamils I mean the Hindus. They are better judges and understand South Indian music. During a recent visit to Jaffna, the chief seat of the Ceylon Hindus, it was surprising, to find music uncultivated there also. The *Ragas* are employed only for singing *Thevaram* or Hindu Tamil hymns. The style of singing in Jaffna is different from that of the Indians. *Thevaram* is sung very well in Jaffna. It is sung with due attention to the *Pun*, *Thiruvagasam* is also sung well and in the proper way. The Tamils of Jaffna as a rule do not understand the



theory of music with the exception of a few well-known *Ragas* such as *Sangarabaranam*, *Kambothi*, *Surati*, *Mohanam*, *Arikambothi*. They do not understand *Tala*, and this is due, I believe, to the singing of *Thevaram*. Ancient musical instruments, like the *Vina*, *Saranda* &c., are not found in Jaffna but the wretched stage music again plays a prominent part there.

There are in Jaffna a few very fine specimens of Tamil Bands or *Nagasuram*. They are composed mainly of Indians that have come and settled down in Jaffna. There are clever Jaffna Hindus also among them, but they had to go over to India to study the art. In Colombo, we have no good specimens of *Nagasuram*.

The Sinhalese are inclined towards the North Indian Music of the Bharatmut School. The Tamils understand only the South Indian Music of the Hanumanmut School. In Ceylon, North Indian music is often mistaken for Parsi stage music. Theatre songs are quite different from *Ustadi* or classical songs. Whereas stage songs are very easy, *Ustandi* songs are not.

In conclusion, I appeal to my countrymen to revive the study of our music. Indian music is not inferior to European Music, and to us it ought to be dearer and more natural. Let the *Vina* take the place of the Piano. Let every lady learn to handle it and every man the manly fife of Maha Vishnu. The Seraphina is not at all suited to our music, for the "Gainuka", the most peculiar part of our music, cannot be performed on it. The violin answers well but the *Saranda* or *Dilruba* and *Sitar* answer better. *Jalataranga* is indeed a novelty. The *Mir-dangam* or *Tabla* must be used to keep *Tala* or Time.

The Sinhalese, unfortunately, may not be able to find classical songs in their own language, but they could do no better than study Indian compositions, to begin with, even though they may not understand the language of the songs.

W. SATHA SIVAM.



## THE LAND SETTLEMENT POLICY UNDER THE WASTE LANDS ORDINANCE IN CYLON.

Amongst the grievances which the people of Ceylon have to complain of, we wish particularly to dwell on the chief, one to.....which reference has often been made in the public newspapers, namely the Waste Lands Ordinance of 1897, 1899, 1900 and 1903, which has resulted in much hardship to cultivators and owners of lands. We shall have to explain the mode of possession held by the people from time immemorial as regards *chena* cultivation, which has been discouraged, if not countermanded, by the present Government, notwithstanding the sanctioned usages which obtained in the time of the Dutch Government and at the commencement of the British rule. The following passages are taken from the early Government proclamations and minutes which have been since repealed. We quote a paragraph from the Government Proclamation of May 3rd, 1800, as it may be interesting:—

“All lands now enjoyed without title or grant under the denomination of *Kanvis*, *Parveny*, *Ratmehera* or any other whatsoever may be appropriated by the occupier on condition that he should state the said possession before Landraad, before the 1st November next, and have the same enregistered duly in the Register of the District, and the land so appropriated shall pay a tenth of the produce annually to Government from the time of its appropriation. If it is not presented to be registered by or before the 1st November next, it shall pay half of its produce to Government from that date.”

We quote also the Government Minute dated June 23rd 1809, as published in the Ceylon Almanac of 1819, which defines *Kanvis-parveny lands* held by Natives:—

“These were originally forests or jungles of large extent, cut down and cleared by individuals, which they sowed once every seven or eight years. These lands were free from all tax under the Dutch Government, but since the present took possession, they are subject to pay a tenth of their produce, and the remaining 9/10 are divided between the *goiyas* and the persons who originally cleared them or their heirs.”

It is the want of proper representatives of the people that has misled the Government or induced the officials, whilst passing the Ordinance. No 12 of 1840, not to take cognizance of possession of lands by *Chena* cultivation as held even at the commencement of the British rule.



There are in almost all the districts extensive tracts of village *Chena* lands that have been cultivated and possessed by the different families for several long generations, by clearing the jungles at regular intervals and in rotation; and the produce, (fine grain hill-rice and other crops) which these caused to be raised went far to supply food to the villagers without their having to depend much on imported rice. The cultivation of *Chena* lands, instead of being a hindrance, went a great deal to help the cultivators in their growth of rice on paddy fields. In fact, it was of more lasting benefit to the people, as a means of supplying food, than jungles cleared for tea or coffee and other plantations. These lands were once registered by the English Government and there were registers kept till lately in Kachcheries *i. e.* Government Agent's Offices. There are, besides, lands granted by the Dutch Government, other than those granted by the Sinhalese kings. The originals of the Dutch Grants are still extant and in the custody of the present Government. It is true that after the lapse of long periods, namely after two or three generations, most of these grants were lost, but the possession of the lands has been kept up by members of families, as will appear from such manuscripts as the *wattoors* (list of lands with assessment of crops) written during the time of the grain tax. There are also records called *Maha-lekam-mitiya* and *Heêna-lekam-mitiya* in which the lands of the Kandyan (Up-country) districts are registered. Most of these are now preserved in the Government archives, and some are in the Land Settlement Office. Most unfortunately for the people they have now no access to these records and are not in a position to obtain copies or extracts, although formerly, when these documents were in the Kachcheries, the people found no difficulty whatever in referring to them and getting extracts. The claimants to lands should receive every help to prove their claims.

We confess to a growing conviction that the working as well as the policy of the Waste Lands Ordinance has in many instances brought great hardship on the villagers. One of the most serious defects of the Ordinance is the ignoring of possession of lands by *Chena* cultivation for fine grain and hill-rice, for growing other crops and for using the same for keeping and grazing cattle. In fact the procedure adopted under the Ordinance is so singular that we doubt whether there is the like of it in any other Colony or in any of the civilized nations of the world. Many of the lands possessed by the people in this manner have already been taken from them, notwithstanding their possession of them for many generations by periodical cultivation and their upkeep by annual rotation. The Settlement Officer gets the land surveyed, often cut up into small lots, and, taking steps under the rules and pro-



visions laid down, declares every lot so cut up, on which there happened to be no old plantation at the time, to be Crown property. Even portions of waste or unplanted land lying within private property are often surveyed and taken for the Crown,—a proceeding highly objectionable. Such portions of land are at times planted with sweet potatoes and other vegetables or are reserved for other purposes. The claimant is often called upon to pay sums of money which approach to or exceed the value of the lands. In many cases he is unable to make up the amount. When the occupant or claimant is unwilling to admit the Crown's right he is compelled to go to Court and proceed as Plaintiff against the Crown. The ordinance places claimants under such overwhelming difficulties and disabilities, while creating in favour of the Crown various presumptions, that more often than not claimants, especially among villagers, are forced to abandon all attempts to vindicate their title. In some instances the old deeds are taken from the land owners and they are allowed only a small portion out of the full extent shewn in the deed on various alleged reasons, or entirely deprived of land upon an adverse construction put on the wording of the deed by the Settlement Officer. It is to be hoped that there is no compulsion or force used in these matters. One may ask "when would the people feel the consequence resulting from such action?" We know that in this manner large numbers of villagers in the Low-country as well as in the Up-country have been ousted from their ancestral possessions, and we hear that this is what is now going on in various parts of the Island. The people should have a voice in matters that concern them. There should be voices raised and relief sought, lest their condition be reduced to one of utter depression and helplessness, resulting in loss of self-respect. Otherwise the outcome of all this will be an increase of crime and the degradation of self-respecting peasant proprietors into a scorned and despised slavishness which is the necessary concomitant of a hand-to-mouth existence.

A. DISSANAIKE.



## CLASSICAL EDUCATION IN CEYLON.

"It must, of course, be kept within its proper place, and duly limited as to things and persons. It can only apply in full to that small portion of the youth of any country, who are to become, in the fullest sense, educated men. It involves no extravagant or inconvenient assumptions respecting those who are to be educated for trades and professions in which the necessities of specific training must limit general culture. It leaves open every question turning upon individual aptitudes and inaptitudes, and by no means requires that boys without a capacity for imbibing any of the spirit of classical culture are still to be mechanically plied with the instruments of it after their unfitness has become manifest."

No apology is needed for taking as my text the above passage from Mr. Gladstone's letter to Lord Lyttleton on the subject of classical education, which appears in Morley's biography. For the weight and authority that attaches to any words of Mr. Gladstone's on the subject is undoubted. Indeed it may be regarded as the *locus classicus* on the problem which is at present exercising the minds of educationists all the world over. Everywhere the spirit of reform in matters of education is in the air. It has engendered change in many and varied directions. Accepted ideals and standards are being re-cast, giving place to new. It was inevitable that this new spirit should reach our shores sooner or later.

With us the question that demands an answer is to the exact value of classics in our scheme of education. Opinion seems, as usual, divided. With some distinguished alumni of the Royal College, it is evident, their faith in the established order of things is unbroken. Reared and nurtured in the classical atmosphere, their attitude is at once natural and prejudiced. But a more impartial and detached examination of the subject reveals aspects of it which are worthy of consideration. Of course, there are some to whom the word "classics" is as comforting as the blessed word "Mesopotamia" was to another party. They will swear by them, quite apart from their intrinsic worth in the educational curriculum. This mode of thinking is solely due to the tendency always to look for guidance to the Western ideal. Classics form, so they argue, the very marrow of the English boy's education. Hence it follows that they must fill a corresponding place in ours. This reasoning leaves out of consideration several important facts. In the first place ours is an alien civilisation which owes nothing to the spirit of Greek and Roman culture with which Western civilisation is imbued. Besides, the English boy acquires his knowledge of classics through the medium of his own mother tongue, in which he is fairly proficient before he turns to Latin and Greek. But the school-boy in Ceylon commences his studies with an effort to learn a foreign language—English. And before he has made any headway, he is compelled to acquire other languages through the medium of that foreign tongue. To the former



the vehicle of instruction is the language which is his own. While to the latter it is one about which he has just begun to feel his feet. A little reflection will at once show the immense disadvantages under which our youth labour. And one wonders how they have managed to achieve even the measure of success which has been theirs so far.

In England classics are no longer sacrosanct. Even Oxford, the ancient home of classical learning, has relaxed its *non possumus* attitude. It was the common custom to defend instruction in them on the ground that they provided what was called "mental gymnastics." But that theory of education no longer finds favour. And the ideal education now is that which instructs and interests. It will be at once seen how much greater is the need for us to consider the importance which we ought to attach to their study in Ceylon, particularly because it is felt with increasing insistence that a classical training has failed to produce satisfactory results in the East. It may be worth while to investigate the reason for such failure.

In order to do so, let us examine the scheme of education as it exists at present in our schools. A commencement is made with English, which a boy is taught to read, write and speak. To the tender mind the acquisition of a foreign language at the start is no mean task. But the difficulty does not end there. Before he makes fair progress in it he is confronted with Latin and is made to learn it through the medium of English, of which he knows next to nothing. The result is that he loses interest in both and learns neither. Then comes French, and then Greek, till at length he is bewildered by a babel of languages which produce an utter lack of intellectual enjoyment. This stimulation in the student of interest in his work is now regarded as of prime importance. When he leaves College he carries away with him painful recollections of the hours he has spent with his Greek grammar and a hearty contempt for all intellectual interests. Also the education through which he has muddled makes him, needless to say, little equipped for practical life. I am speaking of the average boy. I do not want to exaggerate. I freely admit that the boy of exceptional ability has sufficient mental fortitude to run the gauntlet of the languages and come out victorious. But he is the exception whose success, it often happens, distracts attention from the failure of the vast and unfortunate majority of his fellows. The danger of the intrusion of the classics is at once apparent. It is evident that we do not realise that it is far better to ground our boys in a few subjects thoroughly than to teach them a large number flabbily. Infinitely preferable is it that a boy when he leaves college should be able to speak and write English decently than that he should possess a smattering of English and unpleasant



memories of Latin composition and Greek grammar. It is an open secret that the vast majority of our boys, when they leave school, are incapable of writing an essay in accurate and elegant English. Witness, for instance, the dismal tale of fallures at the Clerical Examination. The reason is not far to seek. The classical distractions gave no adequate time for English, mathematics and elementary science, which certainly stimulate a good deal of interest. And when they come to read Shakspeare, they are prone to include that subject in the classical category and treat it as drudgery. The reason is clear. They have failed, owing to the intrusion of classics, to acquire a mastery of the English language to enable them, when they came to read Shakspeare, either to appreciate the beauties of his language or to understand his marvellous interpretation of human nature. Such a system is bound to be barren of results, and to succeed in the main in the production of automatons and not well-trained, well-equipped boys.

To come to the suggested reforms. Can it be said that even the boy of extraordinary talent who takes up the Scholarship examination has approached in his knowledge of Greek to that point which is essential to a love of literature, the instinctive perception of the beauty of majestic and noble words? I think not. What emboldens me to say so is the fact that not one of the distinguished alumni of our colleges, so far as I am aware, seeks mental relaxation in after-life in a perusal of the Greek classics. If they had really imbibed the spirit of Grecian culture, their interest in it would surely be less transitory.

It has, therefore, to be seriously considered whether Greek should not be entirely eliminated from our course of studies; as to Latin, whether its introduction into the educational curriculum should not be postponed to a later stage and whether it should not be limited to that "small portion of the youth of the country who are to become in the fullest sense educated men"—in other words to those whose goal is the University Scholarship; as to the practice of "mechanically plying boys without capacity with the instruments of culture after their unfitness has become manifest," whether it should not be forthwith discontinued. These are matters for reflection for more competent minds among us. The issues involved are so wide and far-reaching. They are not merely of parochial interest, but of imperial importance. It argues great courage in Sir Henry McCallum to have raised them. Their right determination affects the future of the subject nations of the East.

A. B. COORAY.



## SOME POETICAL WORKS OF THE SINHALESE.

### THE LOVÆDA SANGARAVA.

There are many works in the Sinhalese Language written in verse that throw much light on the history and social conditions of the people of this island. Some of these books date back to the ninth century A.C. A translation of a poetical work hardly represents the ideas expressed in the original, but translations serve a useful purpose in at least attracting scholars to the study of the originals. In the following pages will be given the literal English translation of a short Sinhalese poem, the *Lovæda Sangrava* (the book of public welfare), by a well-known Buddhist Elder, Vidāgama Mahā Netraprasadamūla Mayitriya. The Lovœda Sangarava consists of 135 four line rhythmic verses in pure Sinhalese. The three first verses form the usual adoration to the Buddhist triple gem, the Buddha, Dharma and the order of Disciples. The fourth verse states that the work is compiled for the purpose of explaining in Sinhalese the results of actions. The fifth, sixth and seventh verses indicate the benefits that are derived from listening to the recital of the doctrine. Verses 8 to 17 describe the conditions under which good actions cannot be performed. Verses 11 to 75 describe the importance of earnestness and promptitude in engaging in good deeds. Verses 76 to 103 describe the results of evil actions; 104 to 133 give the results of good acts; 134 states the good wishes of the author and 135 gives the name of the author and the object with which he undertook the compilation of the work.

Within the compass of these 135 verses the main principles that guide the life of a Buddhist are distinctly and impressively stated. Mahā Netrāprasādamula Mayitriya great Elder (chief monk) of Vidāgama, and otherwise known as Vidagama, chief monk, the author of this work lived at a monastery at Vidagama, a village situated in Rayigam Korle in the Colombo District, about A.C. 1410-1470. He was the principal of Sri Ganānanda Pirivena (college) and was greatly respected for his learning and piety.

Besides the Lovœvda Sangarava, Vidāgama Maha Tero had compiled several other interesting poetical works; of these we have now in existence:—*Buduguna Alankara* (a description of the attributes of the Lord Buddha) containing 611 four line verses; *Kāviya Laksana Manimalava* (a gem garland of poetical beauties) dealing with the rules of poetical compositions, containing 87 verses. *Tisara Sandesa*, (message of the swan) describing the journey of a swan messenger sent from



Kotte Jayawardanapura to the Sanga Rāja (Chief Monk) Vanaratna of Kœragala, containing 201 verses.

N.B.—The following is a literal prose English translation of the original Sinhalese. A separate line is given to each of the lines of the original poem.

*(The Book of Public Welfare.)*

1.

The sea of great qualities that give peace and happiness,  
The physician for the sorrows of being,  
The sun that dispels the thick darkness of false teachings,  
The great Lord! I adore with joyous heart.

2.

That which is discoursed of with complete knowledge by the Lord  
As what should be shown to all as worthy of notice,  
And as what should be understood according to the wisdom of each  
individual,  
With a heart full of faith I adore! the pure Doctrine.

3.

(The Order) that wipe their feet on the head of the prosperous Brahma<sup>1</sup>  
That come in succession from Soëriyut and Mahā Mugalam,<sup>2</sup>  
The good and great Order of Disciples accomplished in their duties,  
With respect and love I adore! with hands joined on my forehead.

4.

The well pleasing Subjugator, the Doctrine and the Order,  
With respect and love, having thus adored,  
For those not well acquainted with Pali writings,  
I now proclaim, translated into Sinhalese, the results of deeds.

5.

Once upon a time, from the translations of the Doctrine into Sinhalese,  
Having without doubts listened to the verses with an open heart,  
And reflecting on the components of the body,  
Sixty members of the order attained Peace.

6.

Therefore, though this is spoken in Sinhalese, deprecate not,  
And, if adored with love and regard,  
This greatly pleasing Doctrine be listened to with pleasure,  
Verily the joys of Happiness and Peace will be attained.



## 7.

Do not sit on the floor and listen to a preacher who is standing,  
Do not with carelessness sit on a higher seat and listen,  
Hear the preaching with earnestness and discernment ;  
Thus will come Happiness and Peace.

## 8.

To dispel the diverse sorrows throughout this life's journey,  
To draw near without hesitation to the Happiness of Peace.  
All beings do the good deed told by the Lord.  
There are eight seasons when good deeds cannot be performed.

## 9.

The very thought makes one shudder :  
To the hideous one hundred and thirty six lower regions <sup>3</sup> if  
    one falls,  
He will suffer great and cruel sorrows ;  
And there is no opportunity there for performing any good deed.

## 10.

If born as an animal through one's bad deeds,  
There will be fear, unending, continuous,  
And never will one have the slightest peace.  
How then can his thoughts be directed to good deeds ?

## 11.

If born as a Preta (lower spirit)<sup>4</sup> by one's unlawful bad deeds,  
He will not get at any time as much as saliva or nasal throwings ;  
If dipped even into the river of the Devas<sup>5</sup> he will not get sufficient to  
    moisten his throat :  
There is no opportunity for doing any good deeds in this state, in spite  
    of the desire to do so.

## 12.

Where always bad deeds and not good deeds are done,  
And the Teacher's Doctrines are not known—in the outer regions of  
    the Universe,<sup>6</sup>  
Though regularly born with riches to one's hearts content—  
Never a good deed of value can be done.

## 13.

If one sometimes listening to the words of wicked men  
Abstain from good deeds and do great evil deeds,  
And obtain this body blind, dumb, and deaf,  
Even a slight good deed of value he cannot perform.



## 14.

There are four Brahma regions<sup>7</sup> where there is only mind and not body:  
 There is one Brahma region without mind and with body :  
 These are regions where beings are born as a result of good deeds :  
 But even born there it is not possible to do deeds meritorious.

## 15.

In this greatly fortified city of life's journey,  
 The grove of evil deeds that grows like a dense-rooted Ficus clump,  
 Like poisonous thorns spread along the road leading to Happiness  
 and Peace,  
 To the irreligious persons meritorious deeds will not accrue.

## 16.

When there is no Buddha born unto the world,  
 The journey of life without the pure Doctrine is beset with darkness,  
 And the distinctions of merit and demerit are not understood well,  
 Therefore it is not possible then to obtain Happiness and Peace.

## 17.

Verily if one listens to the Doctrines preached by the Lord,  
 Without attention, like the deaf and the dumb,  
 He well remain without good deeds.  
 In this manner there are eight seasons when it is not possible to perform good acts.

## 18.

In the broad and wide seas lying within the regions of the world,  
 The tortoise that raises its head once in a hundred year  
 May chance to see through the holes of a floating yoke ; but once  
 fallen into the lower regions,  
 It is not easy to be born in this human world.

## 19.

A Buddha is born unto the world once in a long period,  
 And a person obtains the human form after great troubles,  
 The combination of these two circumstances helps the dispelling of  
 the sorrows of this life's journey .  
 Why then, good men, do you not put forth your best efforts ?

## 20.

By the committing of five evil deeds—sorrow is obtained here and  
 hereafter.  
 One gets to the suffering regions<sup>8</sup> and undergoes diverse sorrows,  
 Therefore gather unto you in this human world acts of merit,  
 And spend not in vain this form obtained after a long period.



## 21.

Like those who eat with avidity the fruits of the poisonous mango  
tree,  
To their heart's content, and with what results?—Death follows you  
now,  
Therefore what should be done is good deeds executed with skill.

## 22,

Alert like a man with flaming head to put the fire out,  
If to do good deeds one does not delay a moment,  
The heaps of sorrows that cling to this life's journey,  
To get rid of, positively, there is no other means.

## 23.

Even were a pebble thrown up with very great effort,  
It will not remain in space but will come down to the ground.  
If one does not do good deeds with a cheerful heart  
There is no resting place (for him) but the four undesirable regions. <sup>9</sup>

## 24.

Do not consider that this decaying body is permanent.  
Its impermanence can be compared to a flash of lightning.  
Never incline the body to any evil deed,  
But do good deeds with earnestness and effort.

## 25.

When shooting a horse hair target<sup>10</sup> from a distance in the dark,  
If the brightness of the flash of lightning fails, then it misses,  
When we have this body which is like unto a flash of lightning,  
If one is not earnest he will miss future Happiness and Peace.

## 26.

Whatever place it may be in death is not deterred,  
And the enjoyment of present happiness is limited to the continuance  
of the results of our good deeds.  
Without believing in the Doctrines of the Buddha, to expect to cross  
the sorrows of the journey of life,  
Is a mockery, frolic, fun and a matter for laughter.

## 27.

For those with faith who abhor the sorrows of the world,  
The good opportunity is the present and no other;  
When men realise without dimness the good effects of charity  
and conduct,  
One hour to them is equal to a thousand years.



28.

Death will come this day and this day, so do good deeds.  
 How can one believe that death is not coming the next day.  
 Even a large army cannot secure one from death:  
 Then why should one be slow to do good deeds?

29.

Why should one always eat, drink and be content?  
 Where will you take this body to?  
 Without hesitation always do good deeds,  
 And that alone will take you across the sea of the journey of life.

30.

Without slowness it will take you across the ocean of the journey of life,  
 And gather for you the permanent happiness of Peace.  
 If you leave bad deeds and listen always to the Lord's Doctrines,  
 And do good deeds with unflagging devotion.

31.

Make up your mind always for good deeds,  
 And thus prepare the way to Peace.  
 Why neglect advice for your good.  
 Why will you realise them only after getting to the regions of suffering.

32.

The birth of a Lord that brings the happiness of Peace,  
 Cannot be obtained once in a hundred thousand kalpas.<sup>12</sup>  
 The present is a time when a Buddha's influence prevails:  
 And if you miss this opportunity there is no help hereafter.

33.

Think that one's own service and service for others are alike,  
 And spread good thoughts for all beings.  
 If you fail to shorten your journey of life by that means,  
 How will you obtain the happiness of the City of Peace?

34.

The dog licks the bone without flesh or blood,  
 And does not obtain the benefit of filling its stomach.  
 In this manner do not think the present happiness is true.  
 Where the evils are not seen, only sorrows will result.

35.

A vulture flying in the sky with a piece of flesh,  
 If it does not drop the flesh, will be killed by other vultures.  
 In like manner, if one gets attached to the pleasures of the senses,  
 He will meet with sorrow through twenty-five great fears.<sup>13</sup>



36.

There is the sweet doctrine of the Lord which brings Peace.  
 You have ears not deaf to hear the same,  
 And there is no good deed beyond your powers;  
 But you cannot bear the sorrows of the four evil regions.<sup>14</sup>

37.

When evil deeds are being committed they are sweet as honey :  
 When sorrows are being endured they are as fierce as fire :  
 Understanding the manner in which evil deeds can be repelled,  
 Do not allow the three doors<sup>15</sup> to let them in.

38.

Than live through unrighteous means,  
 'Tis better for men to die in righteous attempts.  
 Remembering the Lord's Doctrine thus declared,  
 Verily do good deeds and attain Peace.

39.

To a single being for the sorrows of one's mother's death  
 Than the tear-drops he has shed in weeping,  
 The waters of all the seas are less :  
 Why then are you attached to the journey of life ?

40.

In the water pot till the fire is kindled,  
 The crab played thinking it was happiness:  
 If you contemplate this without reserve,  
 You will find there is no happiness in this play in the sweets of senses.

41.

Taking it against the wind,  
 If you do not realise that the lighted dry grass will burn your hand,  
 If the sweets of the senses are considered to be the best results,  
 Then the results of such actions will make you linger in the lower  
 regions.

42.

The ornaments borrowed for a festival—  
 Like the person who becomes indebted to others by their loss ;  
 For the happiness you enjoy for your previous good deeds,  
 Do not become proud now and get into the suffering regions.

43.

The criminal who is being taken under fetters to be tortured,  
 Has an escort of drums and is garlanded with hibiscus flowers :  
 If you get attached to the happiness obtained through your good deeds,  
 That happiness, the results of your deeds, will be stolen by death.



## 44.

When a criminal is thrown down from the peak of a precipitous rock,  
 To his faintness the fresh air will be of no avail:  
 When decay is only rid by getting to the mouth of death,  
 To you who have done deeds what use can such happiness be ?

## 45.

Looking to the evils of the sweets of senses which tend to attachment,  
 Go into retirement from the world when of an age able to do so.  
 The man who is on a tree eating of its fruits,  
 Will he sit there without alighting till it is severed from the roots ?

## 46.

The teachings of the Lord are not false :  
 Believe that this body is impermanent :  
 Life is like the dewdrop on the blade of grass :  
 Do good deeds without hesitation.

## 47.

Listen to the useful things I have now spoken.  
 If you remain satisfied doing ill deeds,  
 And if born as Yakkha, Bhuta or Pisaca (evil spirits),<sup>16</sup>  
 You will wander about in want, and as a result of your evil deeds will  
 have no opportunity for doing good.

## 48.

All beings who have done evil deeds with a selfish mind  
 Are taken befor King Yama<sup>17</sup> and to him complaint is made.  
 They are not allowed to remain quiet as they please,  
 But there and then get the sorrows of evil regions.

## 49.

Some enjoy constant pleasures with a glad heart:  
 Even seeing with their own eyes the conditions of those who have  
 done good and evil deeds,  
 They neglect good deeds without heeding even words of advice,  
 And when they fall into the evil regions they suffer sorrows unlimited.

## 50.

Engaging in folly without understanding good and evil,  
 They only eat meat and sweets to their heart's content.  
 Thus they cannot escape without getting hereafter to suffering  
 regions :  
 Therefore leave your love for such a life from this day.



## 51.

The eating of savoury foods with avidity,  
 The rubbing of sweet scented sandalwood,  
 And the decking of fine ornaments,  
 Are like the turn of a clown at a show.

## 52.

Use your own judgment in this and listen to the nature of this  
 impermanent human body:  
 Understand that it consists of a thirty-two-fold loathsomeness and  
 nothing more substantial:  
 After obtaining the human form if you neglect to do good deeds it  
 avails you not:  
 When you fall into the thirty-six-fold suffering regions then you  
 will perceive your foolish conduct.

## 53.

By the potentiality of the wishes made in lives before,  
 Even if remaining near without separation and passing the days with  
 love,  
 When life is extinct you will be alone and those who are in the house  
 will separate:  
 Only the results of good deeds that have been done by you will accom-  
 pany you and make you happy after you leave this life.

## 54.

What great and diverse frolics this unsubstantial loathsome body  
 perform:  
 Even if you remain with your husband constant and enjoying happi-  
 ness,  
 When gruesome death comes in due time and invites you to accompany  
 him,  
 You cannot stop him by making any promises: therefore it is well  
 that you do some good deeds.

## 55.

Take the Lord as your ideal: why do you remain without doing  
 good deeds?  
 Is it to allow Yama to take you away when death comes?  
 If you with wisdom do some virtuous acts, give in charity and per-  
 form good deeds, such will stand by you  
 Oh! relatives, what foolishness is this! Do you weep to keep him with  
 you?



## 56.

Even if you remain weeping and lamenting, it is not possible to see him afterwards.

Why do you collect treasures without making up your mind to do good deeds,

Why should this loathsome body that is going to be left behind enjoy pleasures?

Listen to these preachings of mine to gain victory and to obtain the City of Happiness.

## 57.

This journey of life is attached as if by a hook;

This sorrow is suffered with continuous subjection to decay.

It is like seeing a dance through a flash of lightning:

Knowing this, do not be slow to do good deeds.

## 58.

Do not think that charity and good deeds are not possible:

With pleasure listen to the news of the good deeds done by others:

Then you obtain good effects as much as derived by the person doing them.

In this manner Happiness and Peace are obtained.

## 59.

It is for hunger that flavoured rice is eaten:

It is for the smell that the body is scented:

For beings in this world medicine is for sickness:

Then why do you think that these are pleasures?

## 60.

Even if with pride one thinks that these pleasures are great,

It is as false as scent applied in a dream.

If you do not do good deeds by charity and conduct,

Your acts will only take you from light to darkness.

## 61.

When the heap of dry-wood takes fire,

It is not called dry-wood but a fire.

In this manner the Lord has compared and preached.

There is only sorrow and no such word as body.

## 62.

If you live long you will become feeble by decay;

If not you get to the chasm of death's mouth,

Between these two Decay and Death,

Who will count present pleasures as happiness?



63.

When a neighbouring house has been robbed,  
 With suspicious mind you protect your own house :  
 Seeing that all beings are taken away by death,  
 Why remain without doing good acts unhesitatingly ?

64.

Perching on the elephant's carcass that was being borne down the  
 river for the savour of its flesh,  
 As the crow was destroyed in mid-ocean:  
 If you become attached to the pleasures you have now obtained,  
 There is no way of crossing the ocean of existence.

65.

On hearing that enemies are approaching,  
 You run to the wilds leaving wife and children:  
 Seeing the gruesome death and decay approach you,  
 Why remain dallying without good acts ?

66.

Like a man in affliction when being carried by a flood,  
 Who refuses to get aboard a boat which is taken near him,  
 Neglecting to follow the Doctrine that brings Happiness and Peace,  
 Why should you fall into evil spheres and suffer sorrow ?

67.

In the exercise of the art of dancing and service,  
 Such simple things, what trouble one takes !  
 But if pure conduct is well maintained,  
 You will enjoy bliss and happiness for thousands of kalpas.

68.

When seated it is not possible to get up with ease :  
 To remain standing there is not sufficient strength :  
 When old age comes agility will not remain :  
 If you do anything, perform well acts of charity and do good deeds.

69.

All these your wife and children are born.  
 Through the effects of good deeds they remain long,  
 They are only enjoying the results of good deeds they have done :  
 And your attachment is due to these.

70.

Why should you not devote yourself to the practising of virtues of  
 What you always love and sustain [conduct ?  
 The young loving wife and children,  
 Are like the toy nut-shells you play with when you are young.



## 71.

The riches collected with toil and greed,  
 Usually take men to the regions of suffering.  
 The wife and children you maintain bring you anxieties,  
 But the pure conduct that takes you to Peace you neglect.

## 72.

Where no food is obtained to dispel hunger,  
 Where no cloth is found to cover oneself, are the gruesome regions  
 of suffering,  
 Realising the pain of such sorrows,  
 Do not hesitate the least to do good deeds.

## 73.

If aught should be destroyed it should be the faults of selfishness  
 and ignorance.  
 If one should reside, he should reside among those with faith.  
 If anything should be preached it should be the doctrines that bring  
 Happiness and Peace.  
 If anything should be listened to it should be the words of the Lord.

## 74.

Right praise is the praise of the qualities of the Buddha.  
 Right control is the control of one's own mind.  
 Right giving is the giving in charity and good deeds.  
 The right victory is the victory over the next world.

## 75.

If you should listen in truth it should be the words of the Lord.  
 If you should leave entirely it is the ten evil deeds.  
 If you should maintain it should be conduct with a pure heart.  
 If you should know, this is the time for all these.

## 76.

In the tree of this journey of life the branches that bear poisonous fruit,  
 As they would remain with their own fruit :  
 Without casting your mind away with thoughts of pleasure,  
 Listen hereafter to the results of the ten evil deeds.

## 77.

Listen to the sayings of the Buddha and calm your mind.  
 In that mood leave cruel deeds of taking away of life.  
 In whatsoever manner you destroy other lives,  
 Great sorrows will befall you in the four lower regions.



78.

The frog which is the prey to the mouth of the serpent,  
Feeds on worms with great relish ; in like manner,  
When being troubled with decay and is at gruesome death's door  
See how men destroy other lives.

79.

Through force or with a thieving mind,  
Through ones own hands or through his commands ;  
If a thing belonging to another is taken by false means,  
Through that he will travel from suffering region to suffering region.

80.

Men who commit unpleasant thefts through greed,  
The sorrows they suffer in this world are endless.  
If now one does not refrain after seeing these results,  
And continue ; when will he obtain Peace ?

81.

If detected there will be no protection left,  
And if tortured and killed no one will inquire.  
Do not think slightingly of the evils of adultery,  
It will in its time drag you to suffering regions.

82.

Listen with heed to the words I utter.  
For each time you say lying words,  
The road to the sphere of gods is securely closed,  
You will not escape without sorrow in regions of suffering.

83.

Without looking to the results of deeds good and bad ;  
You utter words like the burning garland<sup>18</sup> ;  
Baseless slander that cause strife,  
When you do not realise the sorrows they will bring you hereafter.

84.

Not words that are without non-stingness which are like pointed  
iron in the ears,  
If you utter pleasant words with a joyous heart.  
There is great wrong in uttering harsh words.  
The sting of such will not disappear without bringing sufferings in  
the next worlds.

85.

What was avoided without utterance by the learned from of yore,  
It is evil to utter a word that is of no use for either world,  
Even for pleasantry, it is a word that has no benefit.  
It is a king's high road that leads to regions of suffering.



86.

Looking at another's prosperity with covetousness,  
 And wishing that it should not be his, but one's own.  
 Through the evil effects of a thought thus thought  
 One will in the future obtain sorrows in the regions of suffering.

87.

The resentment against those who are disliked,  
 With the wish that they should perish is known as *Vépada*,  
 It is a vessel that takes one to suffering regions.  
 Do not ever commit such an undesirable thing.

88.

What the Teacher had shown is the Path to Peace,  
 The doctrines which differ from it—the sixty-two false ways<sup>19</sup>  
 Being believed correct, one becomes irreligious.  
 Such false ways become fresh seed for continuing the disturbed life.

89.

Those who take to irreligion and neglect conduct  
 Will burn in the Kalpa fire.  
 Even after they suffer in eight great suffering regions  
 They will be born in some part outside the sphere of this universe.

90.

With body pierced with three hundred lance-blades,  
 The suffering a man endures for a day continuous,  
 Is not equal to the suffering in suffering regions for one moment.  
 Will a grain of mustard equal the Himalayas.

91.

A neem seed placed in soil mixed with sweet materials  
 Bearing bitter fruit, the effect of the treatment is not perceived.  
 By those with irreligious ideas, mentioned afore,  
 Whatever is said and done is effective of evil merits and not of good.

92.

Even by becoming a Buddha it is not possible to tell with completeness,  
 The great sorrows suffered perpetually  
 In the eight great suffering regions, fearful to think,  
 And in the one hundred and thirty-six minor regions,

93.

If even one of these ten evil deeds is committed,  
 Or some other made to do it by device or word,  
 And if you acquiesce in the same,  
 To the suffering regions you will go without delay.



## 94.

Once upon a time a woman having chopped the neck of a cow,  
Suffered in the suffering regions with flames embracing her body:  
She had her head severed as many times as there were hairs in the body.  
Such will happen to all according to the evil deeds they do.

## 95.

A man who hid the cloth of a friend in fun,  
And afterwatds showed the hiding place and returned it,  
Even having been born a Deva, did not get a cloth to cover his  
nakedness.  
Do not even for fun knowingly commit a theft.

## 96.

Those who took delight in the evils of adultery not having ceased  
from the desire,  
Sink deep with thunderous noise and rise up once in thirty thousand  
years,  
Some still suffer in the boundless *Lokumbu*.<sup>20</sup>  
Those who are possessed of wisdom and wish to be well, will not do  
such evil deeds.

## 97.

The moment when a king readily uttered false words,  
Losing his *Iddhi*<sup>21</sup> powers, his human body  
Fell into the lower regions through the parting of the earth.  
Therefore, know ye of this world, that the utterance of false words  
is bad.

## 98.

Having brought about a dissension among two members, of the Order  
by uttering slanderous words,  
One suffered in the lower regions for a period of kalpas,  
And born afterwards, suffered with a sore face and then became  
a Preta (low spirit).  
So from this day do not utter a word of slander.

## 99.

Once upon a time a member of the Order having spoken wickedly  
to the assembly,  
Fell into the suffering regions, and till the earth grew seven *gows*<sup>22</sup>  
Suffered gruesome sorrows, and next became a cruel lower spirit.  
So speak not to others unpleasant words.



## 100.

If one utters useless and false words, in the bowels of the lower regions,  
Great cruel sorrow will he suffer; and if afterwards he return here,  
No assembly will accept even true words uttered by him.  
In truth, he will endure indescribable pains in this life's journey.

## 101.

If one covets and wishes for other's possessions to be his own.  
It will make him suffer in the lower regions, and even when he returns here,  
His desired wishes will never be fulfilled.  
Therefore do not think such evil thoughts in the future.

## 102.

What will bring suffering in different lower regions for many thousands of years,  
Where men will be tortured with cruel and frightful evils.  
And what wherever born will bring sorrows of lower regions,  
Is the wish that ill should befall others: therefore never knowingly make such a wish.

## 103.

Even when the end is seen after suffering in lower regions for a time,  
His body will become sickly through various forms of disease,  
His thoughts will not be pure and will not possess much wisdom;  
Being irreligious.—From this day do not commit such evil.

## 104.

From life to life the roots of evil are many,  
Know without uncertainty the sorrows you now suffer. [of life,  
What the Lord has preached to enable you to rise above the journey  
I now declare, the good deeds, which if you listen to them, will result  
in happiness.

## 105.

Without ordering others through inactivity,  
Without expecting anything else but the result of a good deed,  
Charity, given with a pure three-fold heart,<sup>23</sup>  
Will bring one treasures wherever he goes.

## 106.

When a fire is raging within  
The only goods that will be of any avail will be those that are thrown  
Keep this in mind and give unselfishly in charity; [out.  
That will bring you future results.



## 107.

Without believing the wicked men who do no good deeds,  
 Making the mind clear by ridding it of the taint of the three faults,<sup>24</sup>  
 Keeping always the precepts of the five forms of conduct, and on  
*Poya*<sup>25</sup> days the precepts of eight forms of conduct;  
 Through these, reach the City of Peace without hindrance.

## 108.

Always uproot selfish thoughts as if they were non-existent.  
 Keep the precepts as pure as the rays of the moon,  
 Like a *Semara*,<sup>26</sup> who watches with concern its tail.  
 You will obtain without delay the happiness of Peace.

## 109.

Let all beings always be without pain,  
 And attain happiness, without suffering the sorrows of life,  
 And reach the definite Peace preached by the Lord.  
 The practice of loving thoughts is a great source of good.

## 110.

Look, how these men do not think of good.  
 If those who hate others will love each other,  
 And practice the meditation of love,  
 It will without doubt bring them the joy of Happiness and Peace.

## 111.

When you give, like men giving gold on interest,  
 The joys of the results of the good deeds done by you  
 They will come to you increased.  
 Therefore, now do not hesitate to give the joy of the results of  
 your good deeds to others.

## 112,

If the phrases of the words preached by the Lord are arranged,  
 And preached to men with kindness.  
 The good effects of such a deed closing the fearsome lower regions,  
 Will take you to the future joyous Happiness and Peace.

## 113.

Incline your mind to gladness as if you had seen the Lord:  
 Adore with raised hands those who know the Doctrine;  
 With love listen to phrase after phrase;  
 Through the results of such good deeds the road to lower regions  
 will be barred.



## 114.

Dispel always the pride of mind,  
 And worship with adoration from as far you can see,  
 And offer rice, flowers and lights in praise of the Lord.  
 Such will bring to light the road to Happiness and Peace.

## 115.

There are always in the world even wild flowers,  
 Which can be offered anywhere in praise of the Lord.  
 Without making up your mind and performing even a good deed of  
 this nature,  
 How will you escape from the journey of life?

## 116.

The members of the Order,—the sons of the Lord—mother and father,  
 tutors,  
 The aged, the patriarchs, the sick, and religious mendicants,  
 The service rendered in maintaining these,  
 Will bring pleasures and the enjoyment of happiness in the city of  
 Devas.

## 117.

Looking at those in the world with wisdom and discernment,  
 Without making a distinction that some are not friends,  
 Unhesitatingly utter the praise of those worthy of praise.  
 This is a way of doing a good deed by those who are wise.

## 118.

Save beings from the sorrows of life and,  
 Bring them into Peace with gladness.  
 Through the contemplation of the virtues of the Three Gems.<sup>27</sup>  
 Then there will be no more suffering in the journey of life.

## 119.

There is no help from relatives, it is only good deeds (that help).  
 There is nothing that you will inherit from them in the future;  
 And if men keep this in mind and trust their future in good deeds,  
 It will suffice them even if they do not do other meritorious acts.

## 120.

Tho' the whole earth heaped with the seven forms of gems,  
 And a building erected as high as a Brahma world,  
 Then decorating it with golden banners and gem-set arches,  
 And an offering made:—yet greater in result will be the good effects  
 of taking unto one the ideal of Buddha.



## 121.

Listening to these preachings without remaining dull,  
 Always performing good deeds,  
 Purifying the heart by not leaving the roots of evil taint,  
 Obtain without future suffering Happiness and Peace.

## 122.

Once upon a time one who was a beggar, espying the elder Anuruddha,  
 Gave only one spoonful from the rice he obtained.  
 Through this means he became the powerful Deva chief Indra.  
 Thus, seeing the results, those who are wise, engage in acts of charity  
 and good deeds.

## 123.

Once upon a time a lady who had kept the precepts of conduct for  
 about a day,  
 Attended by a thousand radiant daughters of Deva world,  
 Is now in continual enjoyment of happiness in the Tusita.  
 Remember not to fail in such conduct even for a moment.

## 124.

Make your thoughts excluding tainted ideas,  
 They will bring the happiness of Brahma world without sorrows,  
 And will give you victory over the power of death and bring pure  
 Peace.  
 The good deed that is the best of good deeds is meditation.

## 125.

To ask others to share the joy of good deeds done with a pleasant  
 heart,  
 Is a golden ladder to ascend to the floor of the Deva world,  
 It is like a full moon that arises to take away the faintness of the  
 fears of darkness.  
 Therefore always ask those whom you meet to share in the joys of  
 good deeds done by you.

## 126.

When the Jetavana Vihara was being presented to the Lord,  
 A man who accepted the offer of the joy of the good deed,  
 Obtained even a greater share of good results than the Sette.<sup>28</sup>  
 Therefore whether you give or not where is the harm in accepting  
 the joy of good deeds.



## 127.

Having calmed the mind through the sweetness of the preaching of  
the Buddha,  
The frog who remained pleased and who was crushed by a driving stick,  
Died and obtained much happiness in Tusita.  
Now do not be slow to listen to such doctrines.

## 128.

A poor person having felt faith in the Buddha,  
Offered a water lily at a Shrine.  
From this he obtained the happiness of Cakravarti five hundred  
times.  
There will be no sorrows if such offers are made after refraining from  
evil deeds.

## 129.

Where one always attends and serves the well-conducted.  
Those noticing the same will become greatly attached to him.  
The means designed for good deeds by those with wisdom,  
If well understood, is a source of great merit.

## 130.

Those who do good deeds for increasing their effects ;  
With pleasant hearts will describe their good as they appear.  
Wherever they are born their fame will spread in the world.  
Such words of preaching are like the advent of the full moon.

## 131.

A man, who once took the three ideals.  
After staying for thirty one kalpas without getting to a suffering region,  
Obtained much happiness and the happiness of Peace.  
Why do you suffer these sorrows without taking those ideals ?

## 132.

It is only through want of wisdom that you do forget,  
It is a great help to you who are helpless.  
If you with a collected mind think of the virtues of the Buddha.  
Do not doubt, that unlimited happiness will result.

## 133.

If the great virtues of the Lord who is noble in the world are  
Taken to mind and contemplated with clear wisdom,  
To such beings will not come, even occasionally, the approach of  
sorrows of life ;  
And they will obtain with a certainty the joys of good cheer and  
prosperity.



## 134.

Pointing out all good and evil for divers men in this world,  
 I compiled the book of Lovœda Sangara: through the good results of  
 which, to all beings,  
 Let there be protection and let them never be unhappy.  
 And let all beings obtain satisfaction by attaining the City of Peace.

## 135.

The Elder—Met of Vīdāgama Vihara—  
 With a joyous mind uttered these well.  
 These verses, that have been composed for obtaining Peace without  
 hindrance,  
 Let them always remain clear in the minds of beings.

W. A. DE SILVA.

## NOTES.

1. Verse 3, line 1, *Brahma*.—One who is advanced. Brahma as used in Buddhistical writings means advanced beings born in certain regions, whose minds are pure and less attached than in beings inhabiting other regions, they enjoy happiness devoid of the taints of lust and hatred. The Brahma have no distinction of sex. The word is sometimes used in a special sense (a) To denote Maha Brahma the personages who first reach the respective Brahma regions at the commencement of a Kalpa in a world period; (b) To denote the Lord Buddha; (c) For Parents; (d) A man of Brahmin Caste; (e) To signify the great and the noble.
2. Verse 3, line 2, *Sœriyut and Maha Mugalan*.—These were the two principal disciples of the Buddha. The Disciple Sœriyut before he was ordained was known as Upattissa and belonged to a Brahmin family of Upatissa village. Sœriyut or Sariputta means the son of Sari, Sari being his mother's name. He was renowned for his wisdom.  
 The Disciple Maha Mugalan before ordination was known as Koliya, from the village of the same name, was also a Brahmin by caste. Mogallana means the son of Moggali. He was renowned for his psychical (iddhi) powers.
3. Verse 9, line 2, *One hundred and Thirty-six lower regions*.—The unhappy regions or *Niraya* are divided into various groups. There are eight major ones known as 1, Sanjiva; 2, Kalasutta; 3, Sanghata; 4, Rourava; 5, Maharourava; 6, Tapa; 7, Pratapa; 8, Avici and to each one of these is attached 16 minor ones making a total of 136.
4. Verse 11, line 1, *Pretā*.—Unseen lower spirits that suffer variously.
5. Verse 11, line 3, *River of the Devas*.—The river in the deva worlds believed to be the portion of the Ganges which flows in those regions.
6. Verse 12, line 2, *Outside the Universe*.—In the Buddhist writings the existence of innumerable worlds and groups of worlds is indicated and what is beyond the sphere of the earth and its group including the Deva, and Brahma regions and the lower regions is outside the Universe.



7. Verse 14, line 1, *Brahma Regions*. There are sixteen Brahma regions mentioned where form exists and four Brahma regions where no form exists. The last four are described in this verse as the Brahma regions with only the mind without a body. The region described as one with only the body without a mind is known as Asannasatta. Those born here pass the time in mere form without any sense of feeling.
8. Verse 20, line 2, *Suffering reigns*.—See note 3.
9. Verse 22, line 4, *The four undesirable regions*. Are 1, the Lower regions; 2, Animals; 3, Lower spirits; 4, Asuras, those living in the dark regions.
10. Verse 25, line 1, *Horse hair Target*.—In the practice of archery there was on form of target where a horse hair was suspended with a weight usually of a small solanum fruit, and the archer was required to shoot it in the dark and bring it down by severing the hair. He awaits a flash of lightning and takes aim.
11. Verse 30, line 2, *Happiness of Peace*.—Nirvana.
12. Verse 32, line 2, *Kalpa*.—A world period. There are three forms of Kalpa described, viz:—1 Antahkalpa; 2 Asankyakalpa; 3, Mahakalpa. An Antahkalpa is the period of the evolution of human beings from that of attaining majority, old age and death within a period of ten years to that of development that takes an asankya of years and then a retrogression back to ten years. Twenty of such periods form an Asankyakalpa. Four Asankyakalpa form one Mahakalpa.
13. Verse 35, line 4, *Twenty-five great fears*.—Birth, decay, disease, death and sorrow are five fears, When these are considered as past, present and future they count fifteen. To these have to be added ten other fears, such as dangers from thieves, enemies, water and fire, kingse lower spirits, accidents, pestilence, planetary influence, and wild animals.
14. Verse 36, line 4, *Four evil regions*.—See note 9.
15. Verse 37, line 4, *The three doors*.—Body, speech and mind.
16. Verse 47, line 3, *Yakkha, Bhuta, Pisaca*.—Yakkha are known as the followers of Vesamuni and possess certain powers. Bhuta are the attendants of Rudra. Pisaca are the servants of Vesamuni and are consumers of flesh and blood. They are all known as evil spirits.
17. Verse 48, line 2, *King Yama*.—Presiding genius of the lower suffering regions and is himself a lower spirit possessing certain powers.
18. Verse 83, line 4, *Burning garland*.—A mythical ornament the wearing of which produced pain and suffering.
19. Verse 88, line 2, *Sixty-two false ways*.—Sixty-two forms of false beliefs are described in the Brahmajala Sutta of the Digha Nikaya.
20. Verse 96, line 3, *Lokumbh*.—One of the divisions of the suffering region. The Lokumbh is described as filled with melting metal.
21. Verse 97, line 2, *Iddhi*.—The power to carry out to a success ones wishes and desires.
22. Verse 99, line 3, *Gow*.—The gow is a measure of distance usually equal to about four English miles. It is believed that the growth of the earth is equal to about an inch in a thousand years and the expression. "Till the earth grew seven gows" indicates a long period signifying one Antahkalpa.
23. Verse 105, line 3, *Pure three-fold heart*.—Thoughts devoid of selfishness, at the idea of giving, at the act of giving and after giving in charity.
24. Verse 107, line 2.—*Taint of the three faults*.—Lust, hatred and ignorance are the three faults.
25. Verse 107, line 3, *Poya days*.—The days of new moon, first quarter, full moon and last quarter.
26. Verse 108, line 3, *Semara*.—An Antelope which takes very great care of its tail, which is highly prized on account of its beauty.
27. Verse 118, line 3, *Three Gems*.—The Buddha, his Doctrines and the Order of Disciples are known as the three gems.
28. Verse 126, line 3, *The Situ*.—The Situ referred to in the verse is the Anepidu Maha Situ, who was one of the chief supporters of the Buddha. His name was Suddatta; and was subsequently known as Anepidu—the feeder of the poor—on account of his liberality. He built the Jetavanarama Vihara.



## THE PORTUGUESE IN CEYLON.

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" Tales I tell of women wailing  
Cruel wrong and bitter strife,  
Shrieking souls that pass, and quailing  
Hearts that shrink beneath the knife :  
Tales I tell of evil passions,  
Men that suffer, men that slay.  
All the tragedy that fashions  
Life and death for such as they."

SIR HUGH CLIFFORD,

(*In Court and Kampong,—L'envoi*).

" With avarice and ambition fir'd,  
Eager alike for plunder and for fame,  
Onward they press to spring upon their prey.  
There every spoil obtained, with greedy haste  
By force or fraud could ravish from the hands  
Of nature's peaceful sons, again they mount  
Their richly freighted bark. She, while the cries  
Of widows and of orphans rend the strand,  
Striding the billows, to the venal winds  
Spreads her broad vans and flies before the gale."

CUMBERLAND (*Historical Fragments*).

Of all the European nations that, during the early or more recent ages of the world's history, have overthrown or sought to overthrow the different empires of the East, none were so uniformly cruel in the methods they employed as the Portuguese. Aggrandisement was their chief aim and object, and to it everything was made subservient. Promises and pledges, oaths and treaties counted for nothing wherever plunder was possible. And they maimed and tortured and butchered in cold blood whoever stood in the path of their infamous progress.

The spread of their religion was also a matter of great concern to them ; and they strove always, with might and main, by fair means and foul, to perpetuate it in the various lands they passed through. Often, much too often, their religious fervour and zeal overcame all the limits which either dictates of humanity or motives of prudence might have been expected to impose. And in the name of the meek and gentle Jesus, they perpetrated atrocities surpassing anything that Suetonius and Lampridius have related of the worst Cæsars.

Sir Hugh Clifford, K.C.M.G., in an article contributed to *Blackwood's* a few years ago under the heading of *Time and Tobago*, thus denounces in vigorous language the early Portuguese filibusters I have referred to. He says : " The Portuguese, and in a minor degree the Spaniards, were the forerunners of the three great European rulers of Asiatic lands—of



the Dutch, the British, and the French ; and though the peoples of the Iberian Peninsula have left behind them in Asia a name little creditable to the white race, the fact that their successors adopted different tactics was due in the first instance to policy rather than to principle. The Portuguese, with a start of some three quarters of a century ahead of their rivals, had in the beginning nothing to fear from competition, and had felt themselves free to act in whatever ruthless manner the fashion of their age and the degree of contemporary civilisation approved. Bigots of a fanatical type, they hated the 'Moors' and the pagans with a deadly hatred, as beings foredoomed to the eternal wrath of God. They regarded themselves, in some sort, as children of Israel, who did well to spoil the Egyptian. They made the broad seas of the East uninhabitable to native craft : they tortured such prisoners as fell into their hands, for the greater glory of the God of the love of their neighbour they insulted the religions of the Asiatics whenever the opportunity occurred ; they sought to make proselytes by the convincing thumb-screw and the argumentative rack ; they held that honour did not compel faith to be kept with the infidel ; and in less than fifty years after Da Gama had wrestled his way round the Cape they had made the name of the white man to stink in the nostrils of the Asiatics, and had dragged the reputation of the "higher" race through seas of blood and dirt and crime."

This scathing denunciation is amply borne out by a study of the history of the various Eastern nations, that at one time or another came in contact with the Portuguese. To go no further than the adjoining continent, this is what an Indian historian has left on record,—Sheikh Zeen-ud-deen, in the *Tohfut-ul-mujahideen* (Rowlandson's translation, pp 103-108) says :—

"The Franks (Portuguese) Christians by religion (whom may God Almighty confound), who began to oppress the Mohamedans, and to bring ruin amongst them, being guilty of actions the most diabolical and infamous, and indeed such as are beyond the power of description, they having made the Mohamedans to be a jest and laughing stock, displaying towards them the greatest contempt ; employing them to draw water from the wells, and in other menial employments ; spitting in their faces and upon their persons ; hindering them on their journeys, particularly when proceeding on pilgrimages to Mecca ; destroying their property ; burning their dwellings and mosques ; seizing their ships, defacing and treading under foot their archives and writings ; burning their records ; profaning the sanctuaries of their mosques ; ever striving to make the professors of Islamism apostates from their creed and



worshippers of their crucifixes, and seeking by bribes of money to induce them to their apostasy : moreover, decking out their women with jewels and fine clothing in order to lead away and entice after them the women of the Mohamedans, slaying also the pilgrims to Mecca and all who embraced Islamism and practising upon them all kinds of cruelties, openly uttering execrations upon the Prophet of God (upon whom may the divine favour and grace for ever rest !), confining his followers and incarcerating them. Further, binding them with ponderous shackles, and exposing them in the markets for sale, after the manner that slaves are sold ; and when so exposed, torturing them with all sorts of painful inflictions, in order to extract more from them for their freedom. Huddling them together into a dark noisome and horrible building ; and when performing the ablutions directed by their law, beating them with slippers (to a Mohamedan the most degrading species of chastisement) torturing them with fire, selling and making slaves of some, and harassing others with disgusting employments ; in short, in their whole treatment of the Mohamedans, they proved themselves to be devoid of all compassion ! In addition to the system of persecution also, the Franks sallying forth in the directions of Guzerat, the Conkan and Malabar, and towards the coast of Arabia, would there lie in wait for the purpose of intercepting vessels ; in this way they iniquitously acquired vast wealth and made numerous prisoners. For, how many women of noble birth, thus made captive, did they not incarcerate, afterwards violating their persons, for the production of Christian children, who were brought up enemies to the Church of God (Islamism) and taught to oppress its professors ! How many noble Saids, too, and learned and worthy men, did they not imprison and persecute even unto death ! And how many acts of this kind, atrocious and wicked, the enumeration of which would require volumes, did they not commit ! May the all gracious and merciful God consign them to eternal destruction ! ”

Now, to be quite fair to the Portuguese, it would not be proper to quote against them the sole testimony of their enemies. The Eastern historians might well be accused of misrepresenting or distorting facts so as to paint their enemies as black as possible and hold them up to the contempt and odium of the world. But the Portuguese historians themselves, while admitting that their countrymen were guilty of the greatest excesses, furnish us with ample details of shocking cruelties practised by them, which exceed in barbarity anything that the Eastern writers have related of them.

Fra Paolino alludes to a work entitled *Istoria della Vita e Fatti illustri del ven Monsign. Giuseppe di S. Maria di Sebastiani*, Roma 1719),



in which he says these excesses are particularly described. Whils the Carmelite Father, however, admits his own nation's guilt in this matter, he would not have it supposed, says Rowlandson, that he acquits others in an equal degree, for he has the following serious reflection: "Avarice, insolence, dishonesty, infidelity, and injustice will always bring kingdoms and states to destruction; and if there be any truth in this observation, some other Colonies, perhaps, will not long remain in the hands of the Europeans."

A man who has never been within the tropics does not know, it is said, what a thunderstorm means: a man who has never looked on Niagara has, we are told, but a faint idea of a cataract. And he who has not read the Portuguese historians of this period may be said not to know what cruelty is. Let us confine ourselves to the period of the Portuguese occupation of Ceylon (1506-1658), and a remarkable picture is presented to our view. For we find that the most faithful records of Portuguese misgovernment in this "utmost Indian isle, Taprobane," are contained in the writings of their own historians. And for the details of the horrible atrocities committed by them during their occupation of this island, we will quote the own words either of Maffeus, or of De Barros and De Couto, Castanheda, Faria Y. Sousa, or Ribeyro, as the case may require.

The narrow bounds of the kingdom of Portugal had, in the middle ages, become too narrow to contain the greatness of its native hearts. Therefore, carried on by a glorious boldness, says Faria Y. Sousa, they found it necessary to increase their dominions by adding to them at one time a great part of Mauritania; then a greater of Ethiopia; at another time that vast extent of Asia, and lastly that not inconsiderable region of America, called Brazil or New Lusitania. Having conquered the West, they passed to the South, and having subdued this they went on to the East. The Portuguese discovery of Ceylon, like that of Brazil, was the result of a pure accident. Lourenzo d' Almeida, wishing to go to the Maldives whither his father had sent him, and not knowing the right course for those islands, made landfall at Colombo in September, 1506.

This was how the Portuguese "discovered" Ceylon. Not many years after, in 1518, they built a fortress in Colombo and gradually commenced to fortify their position in the Island. Nothing very unusual is related of them during the early years of their stay, for they were as yet insecure and could not afford to take liberties. But they mixed themselves up in all manner of intrigues and shady transactions, and were guilty at first of many petty meannesses. They considered it politic at first



“ To work in close design, by fraud or guile.  
What force effected not :”

and thought that the best way to aggrandize themselves was to incite the petty native kings of the low-country to war against each other. Martim Affonso de Sousa (Portuguese Governor of India 1542-1546) who had arrived in Colombo, “ encouraged him (Bhuvaneka Bahu VII., King of Cota 1534—1551), and emboldened him against his brother (Mayadunne, King of Sitavaka, 1534--1581), telling him that at any time that he should need it he would most certainly have the succour of the Portuguese.” [Barros, Dec. V. Bk. I, Chap. VI. P76. Mr. Donald Ferguson’s translation.]

Still, the Portuguese were guilty of nothing particularly atrocious. Only they contracted a few debts, and treated most shabbily the poor King of Cota who had lent them vast sums of money. For we read that the same “ Martim Affonso de Sousa, (who had returned to India, but had come back again to Cota on Bhuvaneka Bahu’s invitation,) seeing that there was nothing for him to do there (as just before his arrival Bhuvaneka had patched up terms of peace with his brother Mayadunne of Sitavaka) treated with the king regarding his coming, and asked him for a loan towards the expenses of the armada and the pay of the soldiers because he had sent and offered all this. The king granted him this with great alacrity, commanding to give him 45,000 cruzados, which were charged as a loan upon the factor of Columbo, in whose receipt-book we saw this money, and both this and much other that he afterwards lent was repaid to him very badly and even to-day (*circa* 1597) the greater part is owing to him, the King of Portugal urging strongly upon his Governors to make a very prompt payment to him.” [De Couto, Dec. V., Bk. II. Chap. V. P. 95, Mr. D. Ferguson’s translation].

Correa mentions that shortly after the above debt had been contracted, the viceroy of India, D. Garcia de Noronha, wrote and asked the King of Ceylon for a loan, which he obtained, but which was never repaid. [Vide *C. Lit. Reg.* III. 221].

We now come to the first recorded act of deliberate and wanton Portuguese cruelty. A certain Mudaliyar, holding high rank in the army of Vira Vikrama, King of Kandy, had fallen a prisoner into the hands of Antonio Moniz Barreto, a Portuguese Captain (afterwards Governor of India, 1573—6). From this Mudaliyar, Barreto learnt that the enemy intended to attack him at a bridge which he would have to cross in the course of his march. Thus forewarned, he reached the bridge (which stood probably over the Ritigaha-oya at Kannattota). And when the enemy



attacked him, as he had expected, he was prepared to receive them. Still, the onslaught of the Sinhalese was so furious and determined that the Portuguese at length considered themselves lost. But "here a sudden and fortunate idea came to Antonio Moniz Barreto, namely, to cut off the legs of the *modeliar* whom they held prisoner, who was a leading personage; and to leave him in the road, in order that the enemy should occupy themselves with him, which they did." [De Couto, Dec. VI. Bk. IV., Chap. VIII., P130]. Freire de Andrade says that the prisoner's legs were broken.

In 1551, the poor ill-used Bhuvaneka Bahu of Cota was dead. He had been killed by a firelock shot fired by the Portuguese. Valentyn (*Ceylon* 77) attributes the act to "a Portuguese," and adds that some said that it was done on purpose, others accidentally. The *Rajavaliya* (79) says: "And, as he (the king) walked about, looking up and down the river, the Portuguese fired a shot, which struck the king on the head, and instantly killed him. Some say that this hurt was done of set purpose; others, that it was done unwillingly. God alone knoweth which is true."

However that may be, Bhuvaneka Bahu's grandson was now proclaimed king of Cota; and on this news reaching Goa, the viceroy, D. Affonso de Noronha, set out with a large armada for Colombo, where on landing "he at once began to behave in the most extraordinary manner towards the king of Cota and his followers, torturing them in order to discover hidden treasure, and extorting large sums of money." The details of this Portuguese aggression on a friendly king, and of their cruelty and robbery, are to be found in the narratives of the Portuguese historians themselves. For the *Rajavaliya* is content with a bare mention of it. All that it says (80) is that the viceroy "took possession of much of their royal treasures."

However, Faria Y Sousa records: "The first thing he (the Viceroy, Don Alfonso de Noronha) did after his arrival in Ceylon, was to put upon the rack some subjects of that king he went to succour, that they might discover where their prince's treasure was buried, as if he had been an enemy, or had sent for him to make him his Treasurer. In the second place, he searched the Dead Man's Palace and found 80,000 ducats. Thirdly, he demanded 200,000 ducats for his charges, which were immediately granted," [*Asia Portuguesa*, Vol. II Pt. II, Chap. IX., P151—Captain John Steven's translation.]

But De Couto is much more luminous. For he says: "The Viceroy took up his lodging in the factory, and immediately despatched his son Dom Fernando de Meneses with 500 men to occupy the



city of Cota, in order to hold the passes to it, so that no one should go out of it; the which Dom Fernando did, placing a Captain with a 100 men on guard over the king's palace, so that there might be no disturbance of any kind; these precautions scandalising many, since it appeared as if they were going to conquer a friendly king rather than one that was an enemy. The viceroy.....laid hands on the chief *modeliares* and the servants and the oldest persons of the household of the king, the latter being unable to come to their help, and began to inquire of them, regarding the treasures of the ancient kings, since it was surmised that they were very great; and because he could extract nothing from them he ordered several *modeliares* to be put to the torture, we know not by what right or justice; and in this he went to such an extreme, and carried it out with such evil methods, that all being horrified at the tortures that they saw some put to, they began to leave, a few at a time, and during that period there went over to Madune more than 600 of the principal men. The viceroy, seeing that they would not reveal anything to him, ordered the king's palace to be searched, even invading his private apartments, and carried off all his gold, money, including 560 *portnguezes* of old gold, silver, jewels, and precious stones, and the money alone amounted to a 100,000 *pardaos*: all of which was incharged upon Simao Botelho, the *veador da fazenda*, in a separate book, which is among the revenue accounts at Goa, where we saw these details." De Couto, Dec. VI., Bk. IX, Chap. XVII., Ps. 150. 151.]

Incredible as the above statements appear, they are fully substantiated by Simao Botelho himself, whom Mr. Donald Ferguson terms "the only honest man in the whole gang of robbers." [ *Cartas de S. B.* 39, and *O Inventario do Thesouro do Rei de Ceylao*, printed for the first time in 1904 by Sousa Viterbo.]

Thereupon, "after they had taken from this poor king all that they could find, the viceroy discussed with him and his father Tribuly Pandar the business of Madune, and they agreed (among other things) as follows; that they should give him 200,000 *pardaos* for the cost of that expedition, 100 at once and the other 100 afterwards, for which an acknowledgment was given, which was incharged upon the factor of the fleet Manoel Collaco and afterwards upon the factor of Cochim, and by him handed over to the receiver of residues, where we went to see it.....Furthermore the viceroy agreed with the king of Cota that all the prizes that should be taken in Ceitavaca should be divided equally, one half for the king of Portugal and the other for the king of Cota.....the king of Cota giving the viceroy then and there 80,000 *pardaos* on account of the 100,000 that he was under obligation to give



him immediately ; though even to give him this, he had to sell jewels and other personal and household articles, which he carried with him and had thus saved." [De Couto, Dec. VI., Bk. IX., Chap. XVII., P 151.]

At length the combined Portuguese and Sinhalese forces entered the city of Sitavaka. The viceroy took up his quarters in Mayadunne's Palace (on the site of which now stands the bungalow of the Police Magistrate of Avisawella). Then commenced the destruction of the palace and the plunder and sacking of the city : "The city was then sacked both by our people and by those of the king of Cota, and many prizes were found in it. The viceroy ordered the whole of the royal palace to be dug up, to see if he should find the treasures, which he did not, and he did the same with the great *pagode* that was there, in which were found many idols of gold and silver, large and small, candle-sticks, basins, belts, and other things, all of gold for the service of the *pagode*, and some pieces of jewellery set with stones.....All this the viceroy collected together, without giving half to the king of Cota as had been agreed (in the headings to the list printed in *O Thesouro do Rei de Ceylao* 24-8, the fact is stated that half was for the king of Ceylon as agreed by contract made with the viceroy), besides what was concealed and secreted, and God only knows how much that was." [De Couto, Dec. VI., Bk. IX., Chap. XVII, Ps. 152, 153.]

Faria Y. Sousa records, in regard to the same, that "the booty was very considerable. The viceroy turned over the earth and dug up the foundations of buildings, to discover hidden treasures. One was found, consisting of many gold and silver idols of a large size and other things. One half of right belonged to the king we pretended to relieve, according to agreement ; but (adds Sousa very sarcastically) "the wants of India permitted no performance of promises. Had the Indian broke his word with the Christian, he had been a barbarian : perhaps wiser men know." It appeared we went in search of hidden treasures, not to relieve distressed kings ; when this king desiring 500 Portuguese might be left with him, to prevent his enemies making head again he was left without any, because there was no more hope of treasure. [Vol. II., Pt. II., Chap. IX, p. 158.]

This act of Portuguese faithlessness was followed by other acts of extortion and rapacity. Mayadunne, whose city was now in ruins, had fled to the mountains of Deraniyagala. The King of Cota, learning this from spies, begged of the viceroy 500 men to go with his father Vidiye Bandara to attack Mayadunne and capture him. But "the viceroy thereupon asked him for the 20,000 *pardaos* that were due to him of



the balance of the 100,000. And as the king was poor, and for the 80,000 that he had given had even sold articles of his personal use, as we have said above, he could not collect the money, nor had he any source where to obtain it, and the viceroy leaving the business in suspense said that it was already late, and that it was necessary for him to go and despatch the ships that had to leave for the kingdom." [*De Couto*, Dec vi., bk. ix. chap. xvii., p 153.]

The next outrage which the Portuguese were guilty of was the violence done by them to the person of Vidiye Bandara, the father of their friend and ally, King Dharmapala of Cota. Diogo de Mello Coutinho, the Portuguese Captain-Major at the time of Ceylon, "who having an interview with the King, asked and required him to order his father to come to Cota, because he wished to speak with them both on matters concerning the service of the King of Portugal. The king thinking that Diogo de Mello would not meddle with him, sent to summon his father, who at once came to Cota. Diogo de Mello went thither, and in the King's house seized him, and brought him to Colombo, and put him in a tower that served for keeping the powder in, and put on him strong iron fetters." [*De Couto*, Dec. VI., VI., Bk X., Chap. VII., p 159.]

"Three days after this had occurred (Sept. 1552), there arrived Dom Duarte Deca (the new Captain of Colombo.) The King went and interviewed him, and begged him to release his father, which he would not do, but rather made his imprisonment more rigorous." [*De Couto*, Dec. VI., Bk. X., Chap. VII., p 159.] And a little later, "he ordered to be put on Tribuly a huge fetter and to fasten it to a chain, and to stop his communications with the friars, by whose means he thought he might obtain some alleviation, and all the other consolations that a prisoner could have, whereby he reduced that unhappy prince to a state of utter desperation." [*De Couto*, Dec. VI., Bk. X., Chap. XII., p 160.] De Couto adds (*ibid.*) that the Portuguese themselves were "disgusted by these excessive measures."

We now read of an act of Portuguese treachery of a very despicable nature indeed. Vidiye Raja had made his escape from prison. And King Dharmapala, while persuading his irate parent to forgive and forget the wrongs he had suffered at the hands of the Portuguese, pleaded with the latter to let bygones be bygones, and urged upon both that they should all unite to overthrow their common enemy, Mayadunne of Sitavaka. "Dom Duarte Deca having considered all these things made a compact with the King against Mayadune, bringing into the league



Tribuly Pandar, who was to go from the town of Pelande, where he was, with his troops against Ceitavaca, and that the King should send the grand Chamberlain with all his army and 50 Portuguese that he would give him. This compact the captain swore upon a missal to observe, and the King thereupon gave him a 1,000 crusados towards the expenses of the fifty soldiers. . . . and when he expected the 50 Portuguese that Dom Duarte Deca was to send him, he failed him with all of them, sending word to him that the soldiers did not care to serve without pay, and that he must send him more money for this. The King, as he had been plundered and was penniless, had nothing to send him; but the grand Chamberlain had a golden girdle that was worth 500 cruzados, and this he sent him that he might pay the 50 soldiers. Dom Duarte received the girdle, and responded by sending him 20 soldiers, and as Captain of them Joas Ceelho. The King was very indignant at Dom Duarte Deca's thus failing to do as he had sworn: but he did not cease preparing for the prosecution of the enterprise." [*De Couto*, Dec, VI., Bk., X., Chap. XII., Ps. 162, 168].

Eventually, the combined forces of Dharmapala and the Portuguese routed Mayadunne in several encounters. But at this stage the Portuguese Captain proved treacherous. For, says De Couto (*ibid.*): "Dom Duarte Deca, whether it were that Madune, learning of this confederation, sent secretly to bribe him, in order that he might not aid the King of Cota, or lest he should, from cupidity of what he hoped to get from him, offer himself to him, or whatever it was, they had communications with one another, which were not so secret that Tribuly Pandar did not get to know them, and at once informed his son thereof. The King seeing such bad faith, as he was a great friend of the Portuguese, fearing some treachery, sent to recall all with the grand Chamberlain. Tribuly seeing this injustice of the Captain's, and how on top of what he swore he corresponded with Madune, wished however to be quit with him and pay him back in the same coin." [*De Couto*, *ibid.*]

To be quite fair to the Portuguese, however, it must be admitted that some time after the above incidents, an attempt was made to make restitution of the plunder they had carried away at various times. For, early in September 1553, two ships arrived at the bar of Goa from Portugal, bringing letters and orders from His Catholic Majesty. In one, "the viceroy found an *alvara* (a royal order) in which the king commanded him immediately, as soon as he had read it, to return to the king of Ceilao all the money and jewels that he had taken from him, and if any had been sold, to pay him their value." And "as a matter of fact,



a part of the jewels yet remaining unsold were sent to him. Of the rest however," which might be worth some 200,000 *pardao*, a declaration was made in order that it might be repaid to him little by little, but of the whole the poor king did not get back 20,000 *pardaos*." [De Couto, Dec. VI., Bk. X., Chap, XIV., p. 154.]

During the seven or eight years that followed this the Portuguese conducted themselves more like Christians and members of a civilised race than heretofore. Of course, they never wholly abstained from making use of the convincing thumbscrew and the argumentative rack," or from subjecting defenceless Sinhalese women to shameful indignities sometimes. But they did nothing particularly revolting.

In the neighbouring continent, however, just at this time, *i.e.* about the year 1560, the Inquisition was established at Goa by Don Constantine de Barganza, the viceroy, of whom Mickle says sarcastically; "He was remarkable for his affability and politeness, and during his administration the inquisition was established at Goa." [Tohfut-ul-mujahideen, Rowlandson's note p. 105-6.]

In this connection, it would be interesting to read M. Dellon's account of the Inquisition at Goa, in which he details a system of atrocities practised by that institution which, says, Rowlandson, makes the reader's blood boil with indignation against the nation and government that could uphold so diabolical an institution. But as for the present we are not concerned with what took place outside the limits of the Island, we will confine ourselves to the atrocities perpetrated by the Portuguese here in Lanka, which atrocities, we venture to say, will be found to equal if not to exceed in diabolical malignity and fiendish refinement of cruelty anything which the Inquisition ever imposed on any of its numberless victims.

No details of any single outrage are so loathsome, so horrible, or so revolting as those which are narrated by De Couto and Faria Y. Sousa in connection with the great and final siege of Cota by Mayadunne's army under Raja Sinha—In 1564-5. The siege had been in progress for some time, at least, for nearly three months, and the Portuguese had already performed innumerable prodigies of valour. At length, though the Sinhalese had been unable to effect an entrance, the besieged Portuguese were reduced to very bad straits. Food ran short, and they were soon confronted with the terrors of starvation. Nevertheless, they fought manfully, and when one day Raja Sinha attacked Prea Cota with the whole strength of his forces, fifty Portuguese soldiers successfully defended that position,



performing deeds of great daring and working great havoc among the enemy. De Couto adds :

“ Had they not been aided by the divine arm, they could not by human agency have escaped that fury and unequal strength ; and the enemies themselves said afterwards, that they saw a most beautiful woman, who, arriving at that moment with a blue mantle, extended it over our men, and sheltered them from those clouds of arrows and bullets that rained upon them : and that the same woman caught in the air the enemies' darts and hurled them back upon themselves ; and that they likewise saw an old man clad in red, who with a staff that he bore caused great havoc among the Chingalas ; and they affirmed that the sight of that lady and of the venerable old man caused them all such great terror, that forthwith they fell into a panic of their own accord : and we may piously believe that this old man was the blessed and chaste St. Joseph, who, in that crisis, had accompanied his spouse the most holy Virgin Mary our Lady.” [*De Couto*, Dec. VIII, Chap. III, ps. 238,9].

After this miraculous, divine, intervention on their behalf, their immediate subsequent conduct is all the more surprising and inexcusable. Raja Sinha, seeing the discomfiture of his forces, retreated in disorder towards Sitavaka, and the Portuguese captains, Dom Dioge de Atayde and Jorge de Mello, when they learnt of Raja Sinha's flight, fearing that he had gone against Colombo, which was left to itself, without communicating with Pedro de Ataide Inferno (who was at Cota), set off in great haste to the help of their city. At this stage :—

“ The Captain Pedro de Atayde, when he saw himself relieved, threw out spies in order to get information regarding the enemy who had already crossed over the river Calane, and went the round of all the posts, and found that not a soldier had been killed in all that combat except one named Francisco Fernandez Gameiro upon which he went out to the field and saw the notable havoc that been wrought among the enemy, and found that the number of dead exceeded two thousand, besides a larger quantity (?) that were wounded, of whom many died ; and seeing that in the fortress there was only enough to eat for that day, he ordered the soldiers to collect the dead bodies in order to salt them in slices, so that if the enemy returned they might avail themselves of that provender : and so in a short space of time they set aside and reserved four hundred of the fattest ; (Faria Y. Sousa says that the bodies were actually salted). And a mulatto called Fernao Nunez there and then opened one and took out the liver, which he roasted and ate. The father Frey Simso de Nasaraeth, seeing those corpses being collected,



hastened with great alacrity and requested the Captain not to collect the dead, because it was a thing prohibited to Christians to eat human flesh: to which Pedro de Atayde replied that in the extreme need in which they were everything was permitted; and whilst they were thus debating, there came to the Captain a Christian Caffre, who had come from Raju's arrayal and told him how he had been routed and had a large number of men killed, and that he had left him already in Seitavaca, upon which the Captain desisted from the carrion business that he had ordered to be commenced and commanded to set fire to all these corpses" [*De Couto*, Dec. VIII, Chap. III, p. 223].

It is only necessary to add that but two hours after this "carrion business" was ended, provisions and relief arrived from Colombo for the besieged Portuguese.

Thereupon, "what Raju had designed we now did ourselves; for it being difficult and troublesome to maintain Cota, it was judged expedient to demolish it, and remove the King to Colombo, where he was no less tormented with the covetousness of the Portuguese commanders than he had been before with the tyranny of Raju." [*Faria Y Sousa*, Vol. II, part III, Chap. II. p. 248.]

Some time elapsed and the great siege of Colombo by Raja Sinha had now commenced. Whilst the siege was in progress, some volunteers offered themselves to Raju, to burn the watch-towers that stood between the bastions of Madre de Dens and Sao Gonsalo (overlooking the present day Beira lake.) Spies conveyed this news to Manoel Mexia, who, with some soldiers, made preparations to lay an ambush for the enemy. The latter advanced in silence, "and in front came an *arache*, a very valiant man, who in the past war of Manoel de Sousa Continho had brought to Raju twenty-nine heads of *lascarins* of Colombo, a man well-known and greatly feared, and hated by all; and coming upon the ambush of Mexia, he sprang out upon him with a spear in his hands, and set upon him with such speed, that he (the *Arache*) was only aware of him when he found himself run right through. And at the same time that he thrust the spear into him he seized him and lifted him up in his arms, and came to the embrasure which was near, and through it handed him to the *lascarins* that were inside, who looked at him, and one of them named Maroto, to whom he must have been very odious, recognising him gave him a slash over the heart that cut him completely open, and three times took his blood in his hands and drank it to satiate the thirst of hatred that he had towards him." [*De Couto*, Dec. X. Bk. X. Chap. p. 329.]



The name "Maroto" means "Rascal" in Portuguese, says the learned translator of De Couto, Mr. Donald Ferguson, and may have been bestowed upon this man as a nickname either from his character, or possibly in punning allusion to the village from which he may have come. See note *De Couto* Dec. X, Bk. X. Chap. V., p.329).

Colombo was still being bravely defended by the Portuguese, who were now in a position not only to defend themselves against Raja Sinha but even to take the offensive and meet him in the field, and make war on him "along all his coast," Accordingly, a small fleet of five foists, two *charatones*, and ten small *tones*, with thirty Portuguese and 150 *lascreens* under the command of Capt. Major Peto Alfonso, set sail in the direction of Galle, in order to destroy and lay waste all Raja Sinha's ports in that part.

"This fleet having left Colombo, they went to the point of Gale (Galle) destroying everything that they came across, chiefly the villages of Berberi, Belicote (Welitota or Welitara near Balapitiya) and others; and turning the point of Gale to the further side they disembarked at the city of Belgas (Weligama), where they wrought great destruction, and killed and captivated much people and the *lascarino* committed very great cruelties on women and children, because, in order to get from them their earrings and bracelets, they cut off their ears and hands, and leaving everything burnt and plundered, they passed on to other places which they proceeded to lay waste and destroy and thus they spent the whole time that their provisions lasted; and when they were finished, they returned to Colombo laden with prizes, and with one hundred and eighty persons captives." [*De Couto* Dec., X., Bk. X., Chap. XI., p. 358].

Faria Y. Sousa says in the same connection: "Our commander, finding himself strong, sent out Peter Alfonso with a squadron to destroy all he could along the coast. He did so in the towns of Bellicote, Berbero and Beligai, where, for haste to take off the women's bracelets and pendants, they cut off their hands and ears, and having made great havoc in many other places (that is, along the coast) they returned with much booty and prisoners." [Vol. III., Part I., Chap. VI., p. 52.]

To do justice to the Portuguese, however, "let us in a few words here perpetuate the memory of two illustrious actions, the one the effect of a sincere love, the other of a true generosity." [*Faria Y. Sousa*, Vol. III., Part I., Chap. VI., ps. 53, 54.]

It is a pathetic and touching incident and deserves mention here if for no other reason than that it is the only act of high-souled Portu-



guese magnanimity and consideration towards the Sinhalese to be found in their annals. It reveals Thome de Sousa de Arronches, villain though he was, in a singularly favourable light, and all honour be to him for his share in it. But it also does more. It makes de Arronche's previous and later barbarity all the more aggravating and inexcusable, since a man who is capable of such elevated feeling is greatly culpable for letting the brute in him hold sway over his actions. De Couto's narration of the incident makes interesting reading :

"Thome de Sousa de Aronches having set out from Colombo with the six ships and four *tones* to wage all the war he could along the whole coast of ceilas, the first place at which he disembarked was one called Coscode (Kosgoda), which they burnt, and captivated eleven persons, among whom was a Chingala young woman lately married; and after having completed their work they embarked. Being on the point of leaving, there came in great haste a sturdy Chingla man, who seemed a rustic, and without waiting for anything got into one of those ships in which that Chingala woman was; and betaking himself to her, they embraced each other with many tears, upon which the captain of the ship hastened thither: and asking what that was, one who spoke the language told him that that man was the husband of that woman, and that he was not in the village when they captivated her; and that hastening thither, learning that the Portuguese had carried off his wife, he rushed like a mad man to the vessels, and got on board that in which he saw her, and caressed her tenderly. The captain of the ship told the affair to Thome de Sousa, and as it was a remarkable thing he went to see it with his own eyes, and found them both embraced and uttering lamentations; what that was, and what he was saying to her, he told him that on that man's coming to his wife he clasped her in his arms in that manner and spoke to her in these words: God grant that never may I, with you going captive, remain free, but that both may have a like fortune; be you captive of the Portuguese, and I your captive, and for love of you, because thus shall the captivity of both be easier and more sufferable, because love will alleviate for us its trials"; and that she, with many tears, answered him: "Now that I see this. I count myself the most fortunate of all the Chingalas: to-day you have placed a crown on yourself," and on me a very strong fetter of love and loyalty, which as long as I live shall hold me a prisoner." Thome de Sousa was moved with pity at what the interpreter said he had heard from them, and at seeing that these two lovers were so wrapped up in their dalliances that they neither saw the Captain nor paid any attention to him; and the Captain, astonished at that strength and constancy of love in those two Barbarians, and understanding well that it was not any



kind of love that made him do that, but a very great force of it, which was what made a free man of his own accord offer himself to captivity, moved to pity by that act, made them rise and taking them by the hands ordered to say to them: "God grant that never might two such good spouses, who loved each other so, be any more parted, nor have greater captivity than the tie in which love had placed them; that he liberated them, that they might go happily, and might they live as long as God pleased in that agreement"; and they understanding that through the interpreter threw themselves at his feet, and said that since he showed that humanity towards them they likewise did not wish to show themselves ungrateful for so great a favour: that of their own free will they wished to go and live in Columbo, in order both of them to serve him there and thereafter in every place whither he might go. The captain ordered him to remain in the ship, and strongly enjoined on her captain to treat them very well, and afterwards he made use of the husband as a spy, in which he always found him very faithful, both while he was there and afterwards in Columbo, where he always lived. Now let the poets of fable as much as they like in order to show the world the great proof of love that many have made: because these two barbarians surpassed all that they have painted, and all that they have put in hell, suffering anguish for love; and the incident when they told it to us caused us such great envy; and even afterwards when we wrote this, the tongue was dumb, the pen shrank, and the understanding was embarrassed at not being able to extol it with that gravity and style that so great and such unusual love merits: and so we desist, because those smitten with love know better how to feel this than we to write it." [De Couto, Dec. X., Bk. X., Chap. XIV., p. 366.]

Now followed the whole sale destruction of peaceful villages and towns by the Portuguese, and the infliction of all manner of tortures on the poor unoffending natives, men, women and children. The same Thome de Sousa de Arronches, leaving Kosgoda, carried death and destruction whithersoever he went. Madampe, near Ambalangoda Gintota, Galle, Weligama, Matara, and other places were all sacked and burnt, "reduced to dust and ashes." We have already read of a force under Pero Affonso's command destroying Beruwela, Welitotta and other places as far as and including Weligama. Now we read of Thome de Sousa's armada completing the work of destruction as far as and including Dondra which contained that famous Hindu-temple of Vishnu, "The most celebrated and most resorted to by pilgrims of all in the island, excepting that of Adam's Peak, the which in structure resembled a beautiful city, having a circuit of a full league....." (De Couto, Dec. X., Bk. X., Chap. XV., p. 373.)



The Portuguese crew of plunderers marched up to the *pagode* without encountering any resistance, broke open the gates, and "seeing that all was deserted, Thome de Sousa delivered it over to the soldiers that they might do their duty: and the first thing in which they employed themselves was to destroy the idols, of which there were more than a thousand divers forms, some of them clay, others of wood, others of copper, and many of them gilt. Having done this, they demolished the whole of that infernal structure of *pagodes*, destroying their vaults and cloisters, knocking them all to pieces, and then proceeded to sack the storehouses, in which they found much ivory, fine clothes, copper, pepper, sandalwood, jewels, precious stones, and ornaments of the *pagodes*: and of everything they took what they liked, and to the rest they set fire, by which the whole was consumed. And for greater insult to the *pagode*, they slaughtered inside several cows, which is the most unclean thing that can be, and for the purification of which are required very great ceremonies. And they also set fire to a wooden car made after the manner of a towered house of seven stories, all large and most beautifully lackered in divers colours and gilt in many parts, a costly and sumptuous work, which served to convey the principal idol on a ride through the city, to which likewise they set fire, by which the whole was consumed." [*De Couto*, Dec. X., Bk. X., Chap XV., p. 375.]

Faria Y. Sousa says in reference to the same: "The *pagod* is seated on a hill not far from the town, and at sea looks like a city. The circumference of it was above a league. it is richly vaulted, and the arches covered with gilded copper plates, the idols in it were above 1000 on the side chapels and large cloisters. All round were streets full of shops, because people from all parts resorted to the *pagod*. Sousa entering this temple, cast down all the idols, demolished the curious workmanship, carried away all that could be removed on men's backs, and killed cows within, which is the greatest affront that can be offered to those idolators." [*Faria Y. Sousa*, Vol. III. Part I., Chap. VI., p. 53.]

There now enters upon the scene "the greatest villain of them all," one who approached nearer than any person mentioned in history or fiction, whether man or devil, to the idea of consummate cruelty and fiendish malignity of disposition, one who was to earn for himself eternal infamy by his cruelties to the Sinhalese—Don Jeronimo de Azevedo. "Twice before, in 1582 and 1588, had he visited Ceylon; but on both occasions his stay had been brief. Now, however, he was entering upon one that was destined to last 18 years, during which he was to deluge the island with blood and earn for himself an eternal infamy." [Donald Ferguson's trans. of *De Barrows* and *De Couto*, p. 103].



This bloodthirsty monster deserves more than a mere passing notice. "Fierce cruelty his look bespake", like that of the devil black, that running up advanced along the rock, whom the Florentine poet saw in the eighth circle in his vision of hell. Says Faria Y. Sousa; "He was of a middle stature, thick and swarthy, his under lip hanging and always moist, a certain token of cruelty." [Vol. III, Pt. III., Chap. XIV., p. 278]. His was of a savage disposition, but we will do him the justice of believing that he was perhaps born so, that he was like those "unhappy men constitutionally prone to the darker passions, creatures whose blood is gall, and to whom bitter words and harsh actions are as natural as snarling and biting to a ferocious dog." He was a very portent of wickedness, whom even Nero or Caligula or Azzalino would have hailed as "Master"; and they lived in this base Christian age, and from whom they would have dearly liked to take lessons in the art of refined torture and cruelty.

Says Faria Y. Sousa: Our General D. Hieroma de Azevedo ordered Salvador Pereyra de Silva and Simon Pinnam (Simao Pinhas) with a few but choice men, to oppose him (Vimaladaham Surya King of Kandy, 1592-1604). They with singular success destroyed towns, took forts, slaughtered many people not without cruelty to strike a terror, and reduced all the Corlas or precincts that were in rebellion to our obedience" [Vol. III, Pt. II, Chap. II, ps. 97-8]. De Couto says in the same connection that "our people committed conspicuous cruelties on the inhabitants of the villages that had rebelled, as an example to the others." [Dec. XII, Bk. I Chapt. XIV. p, 422].

And if additional unbiassed testimony were needed to confirm the general depravity and villainy of these two men, we need only refer to two interesting documents: The first of these is a royal letter of 13th January, 1598 (Brit Mus. Addit. 20861), which says that Dharmapala, King of Cota, had written to the King of Portugal complaining of the behaviour of Dom Jeronimo and Thome de Sousa, who had treated him badly, *used indecent language to him*, misappropriated his rents, etc. etc. And the second is a royal letter of 10th March 1558, printed in *Arch Pert Or.* III, (857-61), which gives the substance of a letter written to the King of Portugal from Colombo on 27th November, 1596 by Frery Griso-stimo da Madre de Deos, guardian of the convent of Sao Francisco in Ceylon, in which serious charges are brought against Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo and Thome de Sousa de Arronches, of taking bribes, conniving at rebellion, peculation, torturing natives in order to get possession of their wealth etc. [*Vide M. Lit, Reg.* IV. 210-1.]



In the meanwhile, the fell work of destruction, plunder and torture went gaily on. Says Faria Y. Sousa: "There being no plunder in the city (Badulla), it was burnt etc.," [Vol. III, Pt. III, Chap. VI, p. 223]. Again, "he (Peter Peixoto de Silva) spared neither sex nor age." [Faria Y. Sousa *ibid*]. Then we read of how a Sinhalese Ambassador who had been sent by Vimala Dharma Suriya of Kandy, "to treat of an accommodation," was most foully murdered [Faria Y. Sousa, Vol. III, Pt. III, Chap. IX. p. 236], and how "our General, D. Nunno Alvares Pereyra, divided his men, and with much hazard put all to the fire and sword, sparing neither sex nor age," the particulars of which, Sousa suggestively adds, "are not worth relating." [Vol. III, Pt. III, Chap. XII, ps. 256-7].

Then we read of a certain misfortune befalling Don Jeronimo, viz., his arrest on landing at Lisbon, his imprisonment and confinement in a dungeon, &c. And Faria Y. Sousa piously remarks that "these misfortunes were a judgment from the hand of God for his extraordinary cruelty. In the height of his success in Ceylon, he forced mothers to cast their children between mill-stones and having seen them ground to mash, they were afterwards beheaded. He caused the soldiers to take up children on the points of their pikes and hearing them cry, bid them hark how those cocks crowed, playing upon the likeness of the names, those people being called Galas, and cocks in Portuguese galos. He caused many men to be cast off the bridge of Malvana, for the soldiers to see crocodiles devour them. And those creatures were so used to this food that, at a whistle, they would lift their heads above water," [Faria Y. Sousa, vol. iii, pt. iii., ch. xv., p. 277-8].

Next we see how Sangili, king of Jafanapatam, fleeing after an engagement with the Portuguese under Cliseyra, "was taken, and with him 8,000 crowns, our men undecently treating the princesses that were in his company. The king seeing his brother-in-law's ears cut off for the ear-ring, took out his own and gave them to the next man." [Faria Y. Sousa, vol. iii., pt. iii., ch. xvi., p. 289-90].

And then we are told that "Lins Teyxeyre, entering the kingdom (of Jafanapatam), did many actions, barbarous and inhuman. He clove men with axes like trees, *opened the wombs of women and put in their children snatched from their arms.* These are impieties unworthy of a Christian, yet sometimes executed in war." (Faria Y. Sousa, vol. iii., pt. iii, ch. xviii p. 300.)

And when the kings of Matale, Uva and Kandy with 20,000 men came to lay siege to Colombo "the besieged Portuguese were reduced to that extremity, it is said, *they eat the dead, and some mothers their own children.*" (Faria Y. Sousa, vol. iii, pt. iv. ch. xi., p. 396.



And so we need feel no surprise to learn what Sousa tells us that "the fame of these actions made many come in and submit, whom our General treated with kindness and rewarded: but fear and malice being equally prevalent in them they hid themselves, thinking to get away to their own people again, when Don George understanding, caused them to be apprehended gave some as slaves to the captains, and delivering one to the cafres, *they in sight of his wife and children and cut him in pieces, which they divided among themselves to eat*" [Faria Y. Sousa, vol. iii, pt. iv, ch. xi, p. 399].

But it is sickening to proceed any further with the mention of these Portuguese barbarities. It is all too foul, too terrible, too revolting to be long dwelt on. Nor can we wander at the malediction which bursts forth in all the bitterness of concentrated hatred from the anguished heart of the Christian when, in his pitiful impotence, he invokes the Almighty in these terms: "May the all gracious and merciful God consign them, (the Portuguese to eternal destruction!" [Toh-ful-ul-mu-jahideen, p. 108].

The Portuguese themselves, by reason of their barbarity, did their own cause more harm than the enemies sword. "We had not grown odious to the Chingalas had we not provoked by by our *infamous proceedings*. Not only the poor soldiers went out to rob, but those who were lords of villages adding rapes and adulteries. *which obliged that people (the Sinhalese) to seek the company of beasts on mountains rather than be subject to the more beastly villaines of men.*" [Faria Y. Sousa, vol. iii, pt. iii, ch. iii. p. 203-40.

Truly, Sir Hugh Clifford is right: "In less than fifty years after Da Gama had wrestled his way round the Cape, they (the Portuguese) had made the name of the white man to stink in the nostrils of the Asiatics, and had dragged the reputation of the "higher" race through seas of blood and dirt and crime!"

JNO. M. SENAVIRATNE.



# THE REFORM OF THE CEYLON LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

## I.

### MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED BY MR. JAMES PEIRIS TO THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE.

The Legislative Council of Ceylon was created by Letters Patent in the year 1833. The number of its members, including the Governor, who is *ex-officio* Chairman, was fixed at sixteen, ten of whom were to be Officials and six Unofficials. The latter are nominated by the Governor, to represent the Sinhalese, Tamil, Burgher, General European, Planting, and Mercantile communities. For a considerable time past the privilege of electing the representatives of the two latter communities has been intrusted to the Planters' Association of Ceylon and the Chamber of Commerce, both bodies composed almost exclusively of Europeans, and their nominees have been invariably appointed to fill those seats.

During the seventy-five years the Council has been in existence, the only change that has been made in its Constitution has been the addition of two Unofficial Members to represent the Kandyan Sinhalese and the Muhammadan communities. The Unofficial Members were originally appointed for life; but their term of office was, in 1889, limited to three years, since extended to five. They are, however, re-eligible for another term of five years.

Since the Constitution was granted, the condition of the Colony has undergone a complete change. Its material, moral, and intellectual progress has been phenomenal.

In 1833 the population was a little over a million, it is now four millions. In 1834 the number of pupils attending school was estimated at 13,891; in 1906 it was 267,691.

In 1833 there was hardly any provision for higher education in English, now there are the Royal College maintained by Government and a number of Colleges and High Schools established by different religious bodies and private individuals, and English education is very widely diffused. From the Census Report of 1901 it appears that in that year there were 76,496 persons able to read and write English. It is no exaggeration to say that for every person who had a good knowledge of English in 1833 there are a hundred now.

If the educational progress of the country during the last quarter of a century has been great, its material improvement has been still more remarkable.

In 1833 the revenue from all sources was Rs. 4,375,550. In 1907 it was Rs. 36,573,824. In the former year the imports and exports were valued at Rs. 2,208,910. and Rs. 1,325,300 respectively. In 1906 the figures were Rs. 112,789,270 and Rs. 126,331,154. In the thirties the coffee planting industry was in its infancy, systematic cultivation of the coconut palm had not commenced, and such products as tea, cocoa, and rubber were unknown. In 1907 there were over two million acres of land cultivated with various products of which 987,000 were under coconuts, 380,000 under tea, and 104,000 under rubber. In the same year 35,000 tons of plumbago, of the estimated value of Rs. 10,457,490, were exported. The last quarter of a century has been especially remarkable for the great expansion of the industries and commercial pursuits controlled by the native population.

With the rapid and continued development of the resources of Ceylon, the work of its administration has become more complex, and the departments of the Government have been re-organized and considerably increased. It has been found necessary to increase the number of Provinces, into which the Island is divided for administrative purposes, from five to nine, while there are now twelve separate districts under the charge of Assistant Government Agents. A number of large spending departments, such as the Public Works, Railway, Education, Post and Telegraphs, Medical, Police, Prisons, and Irrigation Department have been created, and all questions connected with their administration and finances are regularly submitted to the Council.

While the Colony has been taking such vast strides in the path of progress, and almost every Government department has undergone radical changes, the Legislative Council has alone remained stationary, with the result that it is completely out of harmony with the present advanced and progressive condition of the Island. It is no wonder then that there is a general feeling among the educated and thoughtful classes that the time has arrived for a liberal reform of its constitution.



Though Ceylon was granted a Legislature before similar institutions were introduced in India, the latter country is now ahead of it, in having the elective principle partly recognized in its Councils, and now we are on the eve of a large measure of self-government being granted to the Indian people.

Although the progress of India has been great, it cannot be compared with that of Ceylon. Taking, for purposes of comparison, one test—and that an important one—viz., that of literacy, it would appear that Ceylon is far ahead of India. In the year 1891, there were in a thousand males 109 literates, and in a thousand females only 6 in India, while in Ceylon there were 349 and 69 respectively. Relatively, in all other respects Ceylon has shown herself to be more progressive than her big neighbour.

It is not only with India, however, that Ceylon compares unfavourably in regard to its Constitution. It is far behind several Colonies, which are greatly inferior to it both in population and revenue, as well as in general progress. Cyprus, Malta, Mauritius, and Jamaica, whose combined population is less than that of Ceylon, and collective revenue only a little more, have 12, 8, 10, and 14 elected members respectively in their Legislative Councils, while Ceylon has no members directly elected by the people.

The position of Ceylon appears to be still worse when compared with such Colonies as British Honduras, Bermuda, and Bahama Islands. The revenue of the Colombo Municipality is larger than that of any of those Colonies; yet their government is of a far more liberal and representative character than that of Ceylon. Almost all these Colonies have a large proportion of native population, and cannot be said to have any special claims to be treated differently from Ceylon in regard to representative government.

It will therefore be manifest that the claim of Ceylon for a more representative form of government is founded on Justice.

There are two reforms which are urgently needed to make the Legislative Council better suited to the present requirements of the Colony. They are the abolition of the present system of racial representation and the introduction of the elective principle in place of nomination.

At the time the present Council was established there were no doubt good grounds for the adoption of the racial system, and the country was not advanced enough for representative government. At that time there were many matters regarding which special legislation was needed, affecting the various races resident in the Island, and an Advisory Council, composed of men with a special knowledge of their customs, manners and usages, was a useful institution. These matters have been all dealt with, and the period of special legislation is at an end. With regard to the questions which now come before the Council, the interests of the different classes of inhabitants are practically identical.

A glance at the relative numbers of these races, and the number of members assigned to each in Council, will demonstrate how unjust it is to continue the present system, when the *raison d'être* for its continuance has ceased to exist. The figures are as follows:—

Population.			
Europeans	..	..	9,000. have 3 representatives
Burghers	..	..	23,000, have 1 representative
Muhammadans	..	..	226,000, have 1 representative
Tamils	..	..	955,000, have 1 representative
Sinhalese, Kandy n	..	..	872,000, have 1 representative
Sinhalese, Low-country	..	..	1,458,000, have 1 representative

It is absurd to suppose that one member can make himself acquainted with the wants of nearly one and a half million of people scattered all over the Island, as the member of the Low-country Sinhalese is expected to do. When it is remembered that the landed and commercial interests of the latter community is equal, if not superior, to that of all the other native communities put together, the inequality in the representation would appear to be utterly indefensible.

Not only do the soil and climate, but the general character, wants, and circumstances of the various Provinces and districts differ very materially from each other. Under the present system of representation the districts which are remote from the centre of Government suffer, while those districts of which the members of Council have an intimate knowledge, or in which they have interests, are unduly favoured.

It might be said that the interests of the different Provinces are safe in the hands of the respective Government Agents. It is, however, a fact that their recommendations are often pigeon-holed, unless they are pressed in Council by members backed up by a strong public opinion. The Puttalam Railway, which has been for many years advocated by successive Government Agents, and repeatedly postponed in favour of less urgent public works, is a case in point. Nor can it be said, either, that the durbar of native chiefs, which is held annually, affords sufficient means to the Governor to ascertain the wants and grievances of the people. With the decadence of the communal system, and the great change that has



taken place in the rural economy of the land, the tie that bound the people to the headmen has been considerably relaxed. There is at present a large body of unofficial opinion in the country which does not reach the ears of Government through the usual official channels.

What is wanted, therefore, is a system of local representation, which will enable the inhabitants of the different districts to place their wants before the Council through their representative, who could see that the large votes for public works which are passed every year are properly apportioned and that justice is done to the various localities.

Local representation will, however, be of little advantage unless the people are given the right of electing their representatives.

As regards the question as to whether the people of Ceylon are fit to be entrusted with the privilege of choosing their representative, any one who impartially considers the present condition of the Colony will have no hesitation in answering it in the affirmative.

Ceylon has long been accustomed to representative institutions, and the elective principle has been adopted by the Government in connection with a number of institutions. Wherever it has been tried, it has on the whole worked satisfactorily. A primitive form of local government has existed in the Island from the earliest times, in the Village Councils, known as Gan-abhawas. They fell into decay, but were reconstituted by the Village Committee Ordinance of 1871, by which authority was given them to make rules, subject to the approval of Government; and enforce them, in regard to a variety of local purposes. They were also empowered to raise the necessary funds by the imposition of an annual tax. The members of those committees were elected by the male inhabitants of the villages above 18 years of age. Those committees have been established in about sixty districts.

There are twenty Local Boards entrusted with the duty of maintaining the public health, and carrying on the work of general improvement in the smaller towns. They are composed of three official and three elected members. Again, District Road Committees, which are generally composed of two official and three elected members, exist in eighteen separate districts.

Lastly, there are three Municipal Councils in Colombo, Kandy, and Galle, in which at least half the members are elected as representatives of the different wards into which these towns are divided. The work which these Councils, especially the Colombo Council, have been called upon to undertake, has been often of a very important character, and has been performed satisfactorily, without much friction with the Government, which has a general control over these bodies. The fact that racial differences are hardly, if ever, introduced into municipal elections, and that there is the greatest harmony among the elected members, to whatever race they belong, is eloquent testimony to the fitness of the Ceylonese for representative Government.

The extent to which local self-government prevails in Ceylon may be judged by the fact that a sum of about four million rupees is yearly spent by those elective bodies.

There are a number of other institutions, some of them constituted under legislative authority, such as the Committee under the Buddhist Temporalities Ordinance and the Synod of the Church of England, in which the elective principle is in force. There are, besides, numerous associations formed for political, religious, charitable, and other purposes, in which the people have had a training in the art of self-government. Referring to those associations, Mr. F. J. Ellis, C.M.G., at one time Auditor-General of the Island, now retired, in his report as Commissioner of Census in 1901, says: "An improved education and an assured well-being appear to have aroused new interests and awakened new ambition. The decade has been the age of associations and societies. Many of them, doubtless, the work of youthful

'Catos who give their senate laws  
And it attentive to their own applause.' "

But even these encourage many persons to take an interest in local matters in which before they were quite indifferent. It has always been our policy to foster the spirit of local self-government, and every indication of the growth of such an interest should be encouraged and directed into channels where it can work usefully and efficiently.

The logical goal of these institutions is representative government. No danger need therefore be apprehended from the introduction of the elective principle into the Legislative Council.

Though the Legislative Council was apparently intended originally to be an advisory board, whose duty was to deal with legislation only, it has long been the practice to submit all financial proposals of the Government for its approval, and lately a Finance Committee has been formed, on which all the Unofficial Members have been appointed to serve.

That the Colonial Office in England considers the criticism of financial proposals to be an important function of the Legislative Council, is shown by the following passage in a recent despatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dealing with the programme of public works submitted to



him by Sir Henry McCallum :—"Many of the services relate to matters which, so far as I am aware, have not been the subject of public discussion in the Colony. You will, therefore, regard this despatch as an authority to bring the proposals before the Legislative Council, but if that body has any representations to urge with regard to any of these details, I shall naturally desire to give proper consideration to their view before arriving at a final decision."

If the Secretary of State is to be guided by the opinions of Members of Council as expressing the public opinion of the country, it follows that the people should have a voice in their election. The inadequacy of the representation of native interests in the Council, and the fact that the Unofficial Members are nominees of the Governor, who has the right to renominate them at the end of their term of office, or replace them by others, tend to make their criticism less effective than it would otherwise be. It has often happened that the public have found it necessary to express their views through the medium of public meetings. This is a practice which, if it became more frequent, would embarrass the Home Government in the consideration of proposals placed before it by the Colonial Government. If the people were given the privilege of electing representatives, they would recognise that their constitutional mode of representing their views would be through the medium of their representatives in Council, and such other action, as the public might be obliged to take, would be in the direction of influencing their representatives or strengthening their hands.

The introduction by the present Governor of the practice of setting a programme of works extending over several years, and ear-marking a large proportion of the revenue for specific purposes, make it the more necessary that provision should be made for the most ample discussion of such proposals in Council by the representatives of the people.

With the ever-increasing number of persons scattered all over the Island competent to act as members of Council, each of whom has a following in the country, the task of making a selection is becoming more and more difficult for the Governor, who has often no personal knowledge of the persons who are suggested for nomination. His chief advisers, too, in making recommendations, are often guided by considerations other than those which would influence an electorate, with the result that much dissatisfaction is almost invariably caused among large sections of the people whenever nominations to Council are made.

Life membership was abolished some time ago, and the term of office restricted to five years, apparently with the object of introducing fresh blood into the Council, as well as of enabling a large number of men to have a share in the government of their country. Yet, when the majority of the unofficial seats became vacant in 1905, Sir Henry Blake found it so difficult to make a choice from among the different names suggested by the public, that he re-nominated all the sitting members, a contingency that could not have been contemplated when power was reserved to the Governor to re-nominate members when he found it expedient. If the Governor is relieved of this embarrassing duty, the chance of his maintaining his personal popularity among the different sections of the people will be greatly enhanced.

No radical change in the present Council will be necessary to carry out the reforms indicated above. The Council might be enlarged by increasing the number of members to, say, twenty-five, thirteen Officials and twelve Unofficials. Seven of the latter might be elected as representatives of the Provinces, the smaller and less important Provinces being grouped together for electoral purposes. In view of the important interests represented by the Planting and Mercantile Members, the privilege now accorded to the Planters' Association and Chamber of Commerce of nominating them might be retained. A similar right may be conferred on the Municipal Council of Colombo to nominate a representative, and the Governor might be given the right to nominate two members for the purpose of safeguarding the interest of minorities, who might be adversely affected by the abolition of racial representation.

The present rule, which debar the Unofficial Members from proposing, without the leave of the Governor, any Ordinance vote, or resolution which creates a charge upon the revenue might be abrogated, and Official Members, some of whom are not in the Executive Council, freed the obligation of voting with the Government on all questions submitted to Council, power being reserved to the Governor to command their votes whenever he thinks it expedient. Following the precedent of several other Colonies, the Executive Council might be strengthened by the addition of two Unofficial Members chosen by that body.

The expediency of relieving the Governor from presiding at the ordinary meetings of Council, and imposing that duty on the Colonial Secretary, might also be considered, as it would remove His Majesty's representative from the arena of controversial politics and give him more time to travel in different parts of the Island and acquaint himself with its wants.

As regards an electorate, there is a highly intelligent one, composed of members of the Government Service, professional men, graduates, landed proprietors, and merchants of all races, who may be safely



entrusted with the duty of electing their representatives in Council. The qualification which is now adopted in the case of jurors, with certain modifications, might be made the basis of the franchise.

These moderate reforms, while in no degree weakening the power of the Governor and his responsible advisers, or affecting the constitution of the country as a Crown Colony, will do much to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Ceylon people to have a voice in the government of their country, and rally on the side of the Government the most intelligent as well as the most influential of its inhabitants.

It is not good policy to wait for a general agitation in the country—and there are signs that such an agitation is commencing—before granting a reform which has been necessitated by the very changes which the English Government has itself initiated. It would indeed be a gracious act on the part of the Crown, if the unswerving loyalty of the people of Ceylon during a century of British rule is rewarded by concessions which are about to be made to their fellow-subjects on the neighbouring continent, who cannot be said to have shown the same unfaltering devotion to the British throne.

The present Legislative Council was intended to be purely tentative, and it was admitted by its authors that it was imperfect, and should be superseded at a later date by a Council constituted on more liberal lines. It is a matter of history that, more than half a century ago, Sir Alexander Johnstone, who was commissioned to suggest a reform of Council, submitted a scheme of representative government which would have been adopted had not the Colonial Minister, who favoured it, resigned office soon afterwards.

These remarks on Legislative reform in Ceylon cannot be more appropriately brought to a close than by quoting the following observations on the subject made by Pridham in his work on Ceylon, published sixty years ago, which can only have gained additional force by the rapid progress which the Colony has made since they were written :—

“The form of Government by which the affairs of the Island are administered is of a very exclusive character, though Ceylon already possesses every element requisite for the working of popular representation. \* \* \* \* \* An analysis of the elements which go to form the population of Ceylon will show, we venture to affirm, that whether wealth, civilization, intellect, education, enterprise, a numerical standard, a feeling in favour of British supremacy, the equality with which the persons likely to be returned as representatives are distributed over the country be considered, it possesses a strong and valid claim to a privilege, and I may add, a right to which every Colony of Great Britain is entitled to under similar circumstances. Independently of those holding official rank, civil and military, it possesses a highly honourable and respectable mercantile community, both European and native, a large and increasing landed proprietary, a numerous and intelligent native aristocracy, both in the maritime Provinces and interior, an influential body of professional men of every grade, and lastly, a body of Moormen, Parsee, and Tamil capitalists presenting, when combined, a *Political ensemble* rarely, if anywhere else, to be found within the British Dominion,



## II.

### DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR SIR H. E. McCALLUM, G.C.M., G., A.D.C., TO THE RIGHT HON, THE EARL OF CREWE, K.G.

My Lord,—Referring to Your Lordship's despatch No. 661 of November 6 last, forwarding copies of a question asked in the House of Commons on the subject of suggested changes in the Constitution of this Colony and of the answer returned thereto, and referring further to Your Lordship's subsequent despatch No. 66 of February 9, 1909, enclosing copies of a letter from Mr. James Peiris on the same subject, I have the honour to transmit for your information five memorials addressed to Your Lordship praying for the "reform" of the Legislative and Executive Councils.

2. The first of these documents is signed by Mr. H. J. C. Pereira and certain other native inhabitants of this Island ; the second by the Chairman and Secretary of the Low-Country Products Association ; the third, fourth, and fifth on behalf of the Jaffna Association, the Chilaw Association, and the National Association, respectively,

3. The Low Country Products Association came into existence in 1907, ostensibly to do for the planters of the low-country districts what the Planters' Association of Ceylon has long done for the interests of the planting community as a whole. It has not, however, been joined by the European planters in the low-country ; it has from its inception been a purely native institution ; and of late it has evinced an inclination to concern itself largely with questions of a wholly political character. Its members are many of them landed proprietors, but, so far as I am aware, no property qualification or direct connection with agriculture is insisted upon as an essential condition of membership.

The Jaffna Association is composed of Tamils,, most of whom are resident in the town of Jaffna, and are engaged in commercial or professional pursuits.

The Chilaw Association is composed for the most part of the commercial and professional native residents in and around Chilaw. Many of the members are I believe, possessed of land. The Association has chiefly made itself notorious by its opposition to the Waste Lands Ordinance, the object of which is to define the landed property of the Crown.

The National Association, most of whose members are drawn, I understand, from the professional and commercial classes in the Western Province, is a debating society, which interests itself largely in local political questions. I am aware of nothing in its organization or membership which gives it any claim to the title which it assumes.

4. All these memorials, and with them I include the letter from Mr. James Peiris referred to above are drawn upon approximately the same lines, the difference between them being matters of detail, which do not call, in my opinion, for particular examination or discussion. That the schemes which they propose have not always been thought out with any great knowledge of the facts or consideration of the numerous interests involved is illustrated by the suggestion made by Mr. Peiris that "the qualification which is now adopted in the cases of jurors, with certain modifications, might be made the basis of the franchise." In this connection it is perhaps hardly necessary to point out to Your Lordship that, without making any deductions on account of European jurors, there were only 4,795 names on the jury list for the Western Province in 1908, when the population of the Province was returned at 920,683 at the last Census. Similarly, the Eastern Province, with a population of 173,602 has a jury list containing 135 names ; the Southern Province, with a population of 666,736, a jury list of 540 persons ; the Northern Province, with a population of 340,936, a jury list of 100. In other words, it is seriously proposed, for example in the Western Province, to entrust the representation of a million people in a small group of 6,000 persons mostly belonging to the professional and commercial middle classes. The result would, of course, be the establishment, not of representative, but of oligarchical class government, even assuming that the jury lists are not in all cases yet full as they might be.

5. I would further invite Your Lordship's attention to the fact that all these memorials emanate, not from "the people of Ceylon," as is claimed by the memorialists, but from certain well-defined classes of the native population—classes, moreover, which represent a very small minority of the whole. I refer to those of the natives of Ceylon who have assimilated an education of a purely Western, as opposed to Oriental type, and who are to be regarded, not as representative Ceylonese, but as a product of the European administration of Ceylon on lines approved by British tradition. As Your Lordship will presently perceive, this is a point of cardinal importance in my opinion, and it must be steadily borne in mind in considering the questions with which, in this despatch, I attempt to deal.



6. The main contentions set forth by the authors of these memorials are;—

- (a) That the Constitution of Ceylon, as it at present exists, is antiquated and unsatisfactory ;
- (b) That the European communities are over-represented ;
- (c) That the European communities have a larger voice in the selection of the representatives nominated by His Majesty to sit in the Legislative Council on their behalf than is accorded to the native communities ;
- (d) That election, not nomination by the Crown, should be in future the means whereby the representatives of the native communities should be selected to fill seats in the Legislative Council ; and
- (e) That one or more Unofficial Members should be appointed to seats upon the Executive Council.

7. Incidentally, too, it is contended by the memorialists that the native populations of Ceylon, ought to be regarded as forming a single "nation," and that the present system whereby members are designed especially to speak for various races in the Legislative Council should cease.

8. Before examining the contentions enumerated in paragraph 6, I propose to offer a few remarks upon the last-named proposition.

9. In the first instance, it is important to note that the memorialists, though they profess to speak for "the people of Ceylon," are for the most part the inhabitants of the Provinces on the western seaboard or of the Jaffna peninsula, and are mainly drawn from the population of towns. The latter description also applies to the members of the Jaffna Association. Many of the signatories, doubtless, possess landed property, but many more are employed in professional capacities, as lawyers and the like. Hardly any of them, to the best of my information, have any wide or intimate experience of the Colony as a whole, any close and authoritative knowledge of the rural populations which form the bulk of the native inhabitants, and few, if any, have visited every part of the Island or have made any prolonged sojourn in more than one or two districts of the Colony. This, apart from all other considerations, renders void, in my opinion, the claim which they put forward to speak for the inhabitants of Ceylon as a whole.

10. The population of the Colony is composed, as Your Lordship is aware, of a number of different races ; the Singhalese, who are divided into Low-Country Singhalese and Kandyans, differing from one another in habits, customs, traditions, and to a minor extent even in the idiom which they employ; Tamils of Jaffna and the Tamils of the Wanni and the Eastern Province, who again differ materially from one another in character and customs ; Muhammadans (Moormen, as they are locally called), who are of Indian extraction but long resident in the Colony, and who, it should be noted, have not associated themselves with the present agitation for an alteration of the Constitution by means of any collective memorial or representation to Government ; and the Tamil immigrants, who are free labourers, who supply the labour of the tea, rubber, and cocoa estates, and who form a portion of the population which is essential to the economic well-being and prosperity of the Colony. Even my short residence in Ceylon and the visits which I have paid to almost every portion of the Island have sufficed to show me that the needs of the various Provinces and of their heterogeneous populations differ widely according to race and to locality, and I have seen and learned enough to be able with confidence to assure Your Lordship that any attempt that may be made to represent "the people of Ceylon" as forming a single entity, welded together by common interests to an extent sufficient to nullify these differences, is to the last degree misleading, and argues a radical misconception of local conditions and ignorance of the Colony regarded as a whole.

11. I do not wish to be understood as in any way impeaching the good faith of the memorialists, in spite of the erroneous nature of their statements as to Ceylonese "nationality." It is precisely because these gentlemen belong to and are representatives of, not the bulk of the population, but a particular class of it—the class which has assimilated an education and training of a distinctively European type—and because their acquaintance with the Colony is for the most part confined to a few of the more highly advanced districts, that they have been betrayed into pinning their faith to this misconception. Among the classes to which they belong and for which alone they speak, the tendency unquestionably is for educated men born in the Colony to pay progressively less and less attention to the racial, religious, and caste distinctions by which their fellows are still rigidly divided. Even among them, however, the welding process is not yet by any means complete, more especially in the matter of caste distinctions ; but in considering these classes, if their members would have it so, I am prepared to waive the point and to regard those Ceylonese who have obtained an education and training of a distinctively European character as forming, for administrative purposes, a separate portion of the population, irrespective of race, creed or caste.

12. Before examining in detail the contentions which I have enumerated in paragraph 6 above, I propose, in the first instance, for facility of reference, briefly to outline the present Constitution of this Colony.



13. The Government of Ceylon is administered by a Governor, aided by an Executive Council and a Legislative Council. The former is composed of the Governor, the Officer Commanding the Troops, the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Controller of Revenue, the Treasurer and one Member (who is usually an *ex-officio* Member of the Legislative Council) nominated for the purpose. The Legislative Council is composed of the Members of the Executive Council, the Government Agents of the Western and Central Provinces, two heads of Departments nominated for the purpose, and nominated Unofficial Members selected to represent respectively the Mercantile, Planting, General European, Burgher, Low-country Sinhalese, Kandyan, Tamil, and Muhammadan communities. The Governor presides over both Councils. The Official Members of the Legislative Council, exclusive of the Governor, therefore number nine, and the Un-official Members eight.

14. The names of candidates for nomination to represent the interests of the Mercantile and Planting communities are submitted to the Governor by the Chamber of Commerce and the Planters' Association, respectively, similar action being taken with regard to the General European representative by a public meeting convened for the purpose. In the past it has often occurred that one name only has been submitted to the Governor, but since my arrival in the Colony I have insisted upon at least two names being sent up by these public bodies, since I consider that the right of selection should continue to be vested, in practice as well as in theory, in the Crown, with whom, by the Constitution, it abides.

15. In the absence of any similar machinery among the native communities, the selection of the native representatives has rested always at the discretion of the Governor.

16. Taking now the propositions maintained by the memorialists in the order in which I have enumerated them in paragraph 6 of this despatch, I am unable to subscribe to the opinion that the Constitution of this Colony as it at present exists has, in fact, proved to be unsatisfactory. The increased wealth and prosperity of the Island, and the moral and intellectual advance of its inhabitants, upon which the memorialists very rightly lay so much stress, appear to me to prove beyond dispute the administration of the affairs of Ceylon has been well and wisely conducted by the aid of the existing form of Government, and that due regard has been paid to the requirements of the native population, who, under British rule, have prospered in so conspicuous a degree. In my opinion, no valid argument can be based upon the contention that the present prosperity of Ceylon, the growth of its revenue, the increase of its trade, and the moral and intellectual advancement made by certain classes of its people, point to a necessity for the alteration of the form of administration under which these highly satisfactory results have been achieved. It is true that certain other Crown Colonies of the Empire have long been ruled by institutions in the constitution of which the election of members has played a part; but in every instance of which I have any knowledge, the population is less heterogeneous and far less numerous than that of Ceylon, their interests far less extensive and diverse than are our own, and the degree of material and moral advancement attained much less conspicuous. From the existence of elective institutions in the Colonies referred to, therefore, I deduce an argument which opposes rather than supports the contentions of the memorialists.

17. On the other hand, I am prepared to admit that the seventy years of progress which have supervened since the Constitution of the Colony was framed, have had the effect, among other things, of bringing into being an important section of the native community, whose members have been trained and educated on European lines, and in many instances have actually gotten their education in Europe. This section, as a natural result of its training, has imbibed a desire to exercise (after the model of European electors) a more individual influence in local affairs. Hitherto a voice in the election of representatives has been accorded to it only in the selection of members to sit upon the Municipal Councils. It now appears the desire exercise similar privileges in connection with the choice of representatives to fill seats on the Legislative Council.

18. This, as I have said, is a natural result of the, to them, exotic training and education to which this class of the native community has been subjected, and, in so far as it is the logical outcome of an educational system for which the Government is responsible, it is, considered, deserving of sympathy. It is when, however, this limited class of the native community puts forward a claim for recognition of its right and ability to speak, not for itself alone, but for "the people of Ceylon," *i.e.*, the bulk of the native population, with which it is by no means to be confounded, that I am unable to accept its assumptions or to admit the soundness of its position,

19. The proposition that the memorialists represent, not the bulk of the Asiatic population of the Colony, but a small section of it, is important: and at the risk of being thought unduly to labour the point, I would insist upon the fact that what is really being asked for is not, as the memorialists doubtless believe, a larger share of direct representation on behalf of the entire native community, but special representation for the small minority of educated Ceylonese, to the exclusion of the vast majority of their fellow-countrymen.



20. I have expressed the opinion that this is a truth of which the memorialists themselves are, at best, only dimly aware, I am none the less prepared to maintain its essential accuracy.

21. Speaking broadly, the native population of the Island (if the small section of Ceylonese who have been educated on European lines be excepted) has undergone small change, save in material prosperity, in a more general acquaintance with reading and writing the vernacular and with arithmetic, an occasional smattering of English, and possibly in a certain increased respect for law and order during the past seventy years. To them, now or then, the *village* is their principal conception of a political entity; the native headman and the Government Agent, with the Governor with his Executive Council in the dim background, are to them the embodiments of administrative authority. Of the Legislative Council they know little, and with its doings they have even less concern. Their desire is to be suffered to till their fields in peace and security and to be saved from exaction and oppression. They would fail, in the vast majority of instances, to understand the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's dictum that good government cannot be regarded as an adequate substitute for self-government; and those of them who could be brought to understand that proposition would unhesitatingly reject it.

22. In a word; the intellectual and political development of the peasantry of Ceylon—and the peasantry form the vast majority of the population—is not such as to enable them in my opinion, wisely or usefully to exercise the power to elect persons to represent them in the Legislative Council, nor have they ever evinced any desire to possess or exercise this privilege.

23. Nominally the Low-country Sinhalese, the Kandyan, and the Tamil peasantry are represented in the Legislative Council by native members selected from the educated classes of these races; but in actual practice I regard their real representatives in the Council as the Government Agents of the Western and Central Provinces and the other experienced Civil Servants, the best part of whose lives has been passed in Ceylon who occupy seats at the Council board. These gentlemen usually have served in many parts of the Island, and their work for years at a time has brought into daily and intimate touch with the peasantry. It will be admitted by all impartial persons that they take a deep interest in the welfare of the Colony with which their lifework has identified them, and that their advocacy of the claims of the native population are at once fearless and disinterested. The Executive looks to these tried and experienced officers, and to the other Civil Servants of standing who have no seats in the Council to give at all times frank and independent advice upon any matters calculated to affect the interests of the inarticulate sections of the native population with whom they are well acquainted, and such advice is always received with the respect which it deserves.

24. For this reason, therefore, I would submit that the statements contained in the memorials as to relative representation of the various races of which the population of the Colony is composed are inaccurate, in that they ignore the very valuable and quite impartial representation which the Civil Servants upon the Council are able to secure for the inarticulate masses of the people.

25. The durbars of Native Chiefs which I have caused to be held since my arrival in Ceylon—meetings over which I have myself presided, and at which my principal Executive Officers and the Government Agents of the Provinces have been present—also afford to the native population, through their chiefs, an additional means of making their wishes and opinions known to Government.

26. I have already said that I regard the contention that the existing system of Government is unsatisfactory as untenable; but I am prepared to admit that in a sense it may justly be described as antiquated. The present Constitution was drawn up in 1883, and, with but one important modification, has been in force for seventy-six years. These years, as has already been noted, have been years of quite phenomenal progress, and they have synchronized with a period during which great changes have been wrought in Asia. These changes have been naturally due to vastly improved means of locomotion, which have been instrumental in familiarizing a certain section of the native population with Europe, with European methods and ideas, and latterly with European theories of popular government. At the same time, even for many who have not found it possibly personally to visit Europe, education of a purely European type has become more easily accessible and has been sought with eagerness. This has led, in my opinion, not to the working of any marked transformation in the bulk of the native population, but to the creation of, or, at any rate, to a great extension in the matter of numerical strength of a class of natives which formerly was almost a negligible quantity. In so far as this class of natives is a new factor in the political situation, and inasmuch as no special provision for its representation is contemplated by the existing Constitution, in so much, and in no other respect, do I regard as a tenable and admissible proposition the contention that the Constitution is antiquated.

27. Turning next to the contention of the memorialists, which in paragraph 6 above I have marked (b), that the European communities are over-represented, I must say at once that I am unable to subscribe to it. There are in Ceylon three distinct European communities,—the mercantile, the planting, and the professional and resident European population. Each of these has interests of its



own which claim and deserve separate representation. The Civil Servants on the Council hold no brief for planter or for merchant, as I maintain they do for the natives, among whom the greater part of their lives has been spent, and the promotion of whose welfare is their daily occupation. Thus the three European communities are left to take care of their own interests, and this they can only do in each of them is represented in the Council by at least one member. Were more than one member allowed to any of these communities, then, and then only, would it be possible, in my opinion, successfully to sustain the proposition that the European population is over-represented upon the Council.

28. In this connection I conceive that it is hardly necessary for me to emphasize to Your Lordship the importance of the interests which are in the hands of the European sections of the community nor to dwell upon the part which European capacity, enterprise, and energy have played in the development of the resources of the Colony. Ceylon was the possessor of a long and eventful history and its inhabitants had attained to a comparatively high standard of civilization before the beginning of the Christian era, but peace, prosperity, the development of its resources and the material and educational progress of the people date from a period subsequent to the British occupation. It is essential that the race whose sustained efforts have wrought in less than a century changes and improvements, which in all their history the natives of Ceylon had unaided been unable to effect, should be, and should continue to be, ably and adequately represented upon the Legislative Council of this Colony.

29. With regard to (c), the contention that the European communities have a larger share in the selection of their representatives than is accorded to the native population, I am prepared to admit the force of this plea in so far as it affects those sections of the Ceylonese who have been trained and educated upon European lines. To represent the bulk of the native population, however, I am of opinion that the Governor should continue to select native gentlemen of standing and experience, since, for reasons which I have explained above, I do not consider that the masses of the people are in a position to perform this duty wisely or efficiently for themselves;

30. I repeat that the best representation of the masses of the native inhabitants is furnished by the experienced Civil Servants who fill seats at the Council board; but for the rest I maintain that nominated, not elected, members are the more likely to prove effective spokesmen of the people.

31. It is maintained by the memorialists that the nominated Un-official Members do not command the confidence of the community; that they represent no one but themselves; and that members returned under such form of popular franchise would be more truly representative. To none of these propositions do I find myself able to subscribe, and their soundness is even disputed by a certain number of thinking men drawn from the class to which the memorialists belong. It has been the invariable practice to select for appointment to the Council leading men of the communities which they are to represent, and on the whole the selections have been wisely made. The records of the Council show that these nominees have discharged their duties honestly and fearlessly, and that they have manifested an independence of character worthy of all praise. Under an elective system it is probable the services of many of them would have been lost to their fellows, since they hardly belong to the type of professional politicians whom an elective system would bring into existence to stump the country in periodical campaigns, and they would for the most part be reluctant to offer themselves as candidates in competition with such persons.

32. The means whereby I propose to meet the difficulty of the representation of the sections of the native population whose members have been transformed by European training and education will be explained in a later paragraph of this despatch.

33. Turning next to (d), the contention that representatives of the native communities should be selected to sit upon the Legislative Council by appeal to popular franchise, I am unable to recommend the suggestion for Your Lordship's favourable consideration.

34. The vast majority of the native population have never evinced any desire to vote for their representatives; to many of them a vote would be meaningless; and the power to record a vote is a privilege which very few of them, I am convinced, would be capable of exercising with judgment or intelligence. An objection of even greater moment, if possible, is to be found in the fact that the class of persons who would be likely to present themselves as candidates for election would be in no sense truly representative of the native masses. They would be drawn exclusively from the ranks of those natives who have received a European training and education, and they would be able to speak with authority for that small class alone. Moreover, I am of opinion that the introduction of the elective principle would speedily lead to the creation of a class of professional politicians, to whom self-advertisement and agitation would be essential necessities of existence, whose election campaigns would cause unrest and distraction among the ignorant masses, whose minds are hardly attuned to appraise at its proper value the worth of promises and statements made upon the hustings, and it can certainly not be disputed that their presence on the Council would contribute neither to the despatch of business nor to the tranquillity of the Colony.



35. Your Lordship will note that my main objection to the adoption of the elective principle for the selection of members of the Legislative Council is based upon the conviction that it would lead, not to the more efficient representation of the native population as a whole, but to the exclusive or, at any rate, vast over-representation of a single small class of natives—the Ceylonese who have acquired a training and an education of a purely European type. This, I conceive, would be to inflict upon the bulk of the native population a serious injustice, and would go far to jeopardise their best interests. I hold to this latter opinion, because it is precisely the acquisition of European ideas and the adoption of European in preference to Ceylonese civilization that differentiate this class of the Ceylonese from their countrymen, and while they have bred in them certain political aspirations (of which the present memorials are an expression), they have also caused them to become separated by a wide gulf from the majority of the native inhabitants of the Colony. Their ideas, their aspirations, their interests are distinctively their own, are all moulded upon European models, and are no longer those of the majority of their countrymen. Accordingly any claim which this class of the native population may put forward to a title to speak for those from whom their whole training and education has sought designedly to divorce them is, in my opinion, altogether inadmissible. In other words, the Oriental who had studiously forced himself during all the most malleable years of his life to discard the native tradition in favour of that of the European, who has consciously taught himself to think as Europeans think, to adopt theories of life and government, which are the exclusive product of the European intellect, character, and civilization, has gotten something which may or may not be of profit to him, but it must be recognized that he has at the same time ceased to be in any sense a typical Oriental, and thereby has forfeited his right to speak with authority on behalf of the typical Orientals who form the immense bulk of his fellow-countrymen. This is a point which I venture to think, is in danger of being overlooked when questions such as the present are under discussion, and unless it be kept steadily in mind, the granting of what, on the face of it, might be thought to be more liberal political institutions may, in actual practice, result in giving to a small and peculiar class of the native population, alien in training, education, civilization, and interests to the bulk of the people, rights and privileges which it is fondly imagined are being bestowed upon the natives of the land as a whole.

36. I am, therefore, strongly of opinion that, in the best interests of the Colony, and especially of those of the bulk of the native inhabitants, appointments to seats upon the Legislative Council should continue to be made, as at present, by means of nomination, and not by recourse being had to popular franchise.

37. At the present time, as I have already mentioned, names from which the Governor can select a nominee are submitted when a vacancy on the Council occurs by the various European communities by means of associations which are self-organized by those communities. I am in favour of extending this privilege to the Burgher community, whose members as a whole are well-educated, and propose, with Your Lordship's sanction, to do so as soon as this community has organised to my satisfaction a really representative association.

38. I consider that a new member should be nominated in future to represent upon the Council those Ceylonese other than Burghers who have received a training and education of a European character, this class having greatly increased in importance during the past seventy years, and being, under the present Constitution, without the special representation to which, I consider it is entitled,

39. In view of the attestations of the memorialists (who belong to this class and are entitled to speak for it) to the effect that differences of race, creed, and caste no longer separate its members I consider that the selection of their representative should not be ruled by any of these considerations, the choice falling as far as possible upon the individual who, for the time being, chances to be the most suitable spokesman of this particular class. In this connection I would refer Your Lordship to the opinions which I have expressed in paragraphs 9, 10, and 11 of this despatch.

40. For the present I consider that the member selected to represent this class of the Ceylonese be nominated by the Governor in the usual way; but, at the same time I think it should be made known that whenever the Ceylonese have organized any body or association which the Government is able to recognize as being truly representative of these sections of the population which have received a European training and education, the privilege of submitting names to the Governor, now enjoyed by the Chamber of Commerce and the Planters' Association, will be extended to it. In view of the broad and liberal spirit of Ceylonese nationality by which these memorialists claim to be inspired, there should be no great difficulty in organizing an association for the purpose.

41. I consider that in every case in which names are submitted to the Governor from which to make his selection by any body or association, it should be laid down that not less than two names should be so submitted, and that this rule should be rigidly enforced.

42. I also consider, in view of the great preponderance in numbers of the Low-country Sinhalese over all other nationalities, and the ever-increasing diversity of classes and interests among them,



that the time had come to appoint a second nominated member to represent the Low-country Sinhalese in the Legislative Council.

43. I am, however, of opinion that it is necessary that the existing official majority should be retained, and to this end I would make the Government Agent of the Southern Province, which has a Sinhalese population of over half a million souls, and the Principal Civil Medical Officer, *ex-officio* Members of the Legislative Council. The presence of the Government Agent of the Southern Province would give the Government Agents one additional member, whose work is almost wholly in connection with the native population, while the presence of the Principal Civil Medical Officer would be useful, since matters with which his Department is designed to deal are frequently before the Council. I am aware that these proposals will have the effect of making the Legislative Council somewhat unwieldy, but I am unable to make any other suggestions which, in my opinion, will satisfy all legitimate demands for reform.

44. I have said that I regard the retention of an official majority upon the Council as advisable, my reason being that in the event of questions affecting Imperial policy being under discussion the necessity for its use may possibly arise, and the lack of an official majority might be the occasion of considerable embarrassment. As regards local questions, I attach to the possession of an official majority by Government a much smaller importance. I have never had occasion to make use of it, and were any question to arise concerning which official and un-official opinion were so sharply divided that the vote of the Un-official Members was given unanimously against any Government proposal, I should hesitate greatly before deciding to pursue the policy proposed in the face of such united disapproval. Even a measure that was wise and good in itself should, I consider be dropped, if possible in such circumstances, the united opposition of the Non-official Members being, at any rate, a clear indication that the collective opinion of the local public was not yet ripe for its reception.

45. Finally, referring to (*e.g.* the proposal that an Un-official Member should be added to the Executive Council, I am strongly of opinion that no such appointment should be made, at any rate at the present time. The races inhabiting this Island are numerous and diverse; the interests and the industries of the Colony are manifold, and are governed by widely different conditions. No single Un-official Member could be supposed to be qualified to speak for all races and for all interests. It would therefore be necessary to appoint not one but several Un-official Members to seats upon the Executive Council if the principle of un-official representation thereon were to be conceded and to be carried into logical and effective practice. Moreover, even if such un-official representation were desirable in theory, I question whether it would prove to be practical. The Members of the Executive Council in this Colony have a great number of official papers, many of them of a highly important character, sent to them almost daily for perusal and for the preparation of considered written opinions. The person who would here be available to act as Un-official Members of the Executive Council are busy men, who could ill spare from their own private concern the time which would be required if their duties as Councillors were to be efficiently and punctually performed, and this consideration alone appears to me in the light of an insuperable objection to the proposal. I am aware of course, that in Hong Kong, for example, Unofficial Members have seats upon the Executive Council, but this, I believe, is found necessary because the town of Hong Kong, which is practically the whole of the colony, has no Municipality. It must be remembered, however, that the work of the Executive Council must of necessity be less heavy than that of Ceylon, where the population and area to be administered are much larger, and where also for instance, an appeal lies to the Executive Council from the decisions of every Village Tribunal.

46. A further objection which I entertain to the proposal is that many matters are discussed in Executive Council long before any hint of proposed action is given to the public. Such action may not infrequently have an effect upon commercial enterprises, and I do not think that it would be wise or proper that some individual members of the public, who, though they chanced to be upon the Executive Council would primarily, since there is no leisured class in Ceylon, be concerned in commercial or industrial avocation, should be placed in possession of exclusive information which might quite conceivably have a money value. Moreover, the Governor and the Members of the Executive Council are always able to procure information and advice of a special or technical nature should the need for such advice arise, and I do not therefore think that the presence of Unofficial Members on the Council would sensibly add to its strength, while for the reasons which I have given, I regard the proposal as one that is open to grave objection. I should add that since the proposal to appoint an Unofficial Member to the Executive Council was supported by Sir West Ridgeway, the power of Unofficial Members of the Legislative Council has been considerably increased by the creation of the Standing Finance Committee, which scrutinizes all items of expenditure for which supplementary provision is proposed.

47. Before concluding this despatch, for the length of which I ask Your Lordship's indulgence, I desire to direct your attention to statements contained in the memorials to the effect that there is at the present time "widespread dissatisfaction," "seething discontent," &c., among the people of this Colony with the existing form of Government. I am in a position to state that, as regards the bulk of the popu-



lation, these statements are to the last degree inaccurate and misleading. The people of the Colony as a whole, I am glad to be able unhesitatingly to declare, are profoundly contented. On the other hand, I am prepared freely to admit that the small class of Ceylonese whose members have conducted the present agitation and have appended the signatures to those memorials are not contented with the existing Constitution. That they, in abrupt contrast to the immense majority of the people, should declare themselves to be the victims of a "seething discontent" illustrates once more, if further illustrations were needed, the truth of the contention which, as I fear at somewhat inordinate length, I have maintained in this despatch—the contention that the natives of Ceylon who have received a training and an education of a European type constitute a distinct class by themselves, can speak with authority for themselves alone, and neither understand nor can faithfully interpret the opinions, aspirations, or feelings of the bulk of their fellow-countrymen from whom that training and education have served completely to divorce them.

48. If the proposals which I have submitted for Your Lordship's consideration meet with approval this educated class will henceforth be specially and adequately represented upon the Legislative Council, while the Low-country Sinhalese will obtain additional representation through the appointment of a second member, additional representations to which, in my opinion, their numbers entitle them. I am of opinion that by this means all legitimate claims and aspirations will be satisfied, while the bulk of the native population will be saved from the injustice of having their interests entrusted to a small class with which they have increasingly little in common.

HENRY MCCALLUM.



DESPATCH FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES to Governor  
Sir H. E. MacCALLUM G.C.M.G.

Ceylon.—No. 684.

Downing Street December, 24. 1909.

SIR,—In your despatch No. 347 of May 26, you forwarded to me memorials from a number of the inhabitants of Ceylon praying for reforms in the constitution of the Legislative and Executive Councils of the Colony, I have also had the advantage of discussing the matter with you personally while you were in this country, and Colonel Seely, has received on my behalf a deputation of Ceylonese gentlemen, whose views were in general accordance with those expressed in the memorials.

2. I regret that I have not been able to reply to your despatch at an earlier date, but, as the memorialists will readily understand, a matter of so much importance to the Colony has required prolonged and careful consideration. I am now in a position to inform you of the conclusions at which I have arrived, after carefully weighing the suggestions that have been put before me.

3. I will deal first with the question of the constitution of the Executive Council. In four of the memorials it is suggested that one or more Unofficial Members should be added to this Council. On this point I regret that I cannot see my way to meet the wishes the memorialists. The objections set but in paragraphs 45 and 46 of your despatch are, in my opinion, insuperable.

4. I turn now to the question of the constitution of the Legislative Council, which is the principal subject of the memorials. The memorialists agree in asking for the introduction of an elective element into the Council, and in advocating the abolition of the present system of racial representation in favour of representation by districts. After full consideration I have come to the conclusion that the latter change would not be to the advantage of the community.

5. No doubt, if it were possible to introduce adult suffrage or some other very wide franchise, the system of local representation would be satisfactory, but it will scarcely be contended that Ceylon is yet ripe for so radical a reform.

With a restricted franchise, based on an educational qualification, the power of election would necessarily fall into the hands of a very small section of the community—a section composed of men who by the very education which qualified them to vote would have acquired views divergent from, or even antagonistic to, those held by the great majority of their fellow countrymen. It seems obvious also that the qualified electors would be found mostly among the professional and trading classes, who can have little in common with the agriculturists, who form two-thirds of the population.

Members of Council elected in such circumstances would have no claim to voice the popular opinion, and would, in my opinion, be less representative than the unofficial Members nominated under the present system, which secures that every race in the Island should be represented in the Legislature.

6. I consider, therefore, that the principle of racial representation should be maintained, but it does not follow that the introduction of an elected element into the Council is impossible. In present circumstances I do not think that (even with the safeguard that there shall be representatives of every race on the present lines) it is possible to devise any satisfactory system by which the Kandyan, Low-country Sinhalese, Tamil, and Muhommedan Members could be elected by the different sections of the population belonging to their respective races.

For the reasons which I have suggested above, the members of these races who would be qualified as electors, under any system of franchise which could conceivably be adopted at present, must necessarily be few in number and not representative of their fellow-countrymen, and I consider therefore that the members who are to represent these communities must continue to be nominated until Ceylon is ripe for a wide extension of the franchise on democratic lines. I am, however, prepared to agree, in view of the considerations put forward in the 42nd paragraph of your despatch, to the appointment of an additional representative of the Low-country Sinhalese.

7. The objections which I have suggested do not apply to the representation of the European and Burgher communities, and I consider that the system of election might be introduced with advantage in these cases. At present the European community, which at the



last Census numbered only 6,300 persons, including a considerable number of Government servants, have three representatives in the Legislative Council, and it is difficult to find sufficient justification for such an arrangement. I consider that the present system by which members are nominated to represent the Planters' Association, the Chamber of Commerce, and the General European community should be abolished, and that, instead, two representatives should be elected by the European community as a whole, The Burgher community should also be allowed in future to elect their own member.

8. These arrangements will provide for the adequate representation of the various native races and of the European and Burgher communities, but they will not provide for special representation of the class of Ceylonese whose education has to a considerable extent dissociated them from their fellow-countrymen, and has at the same time enabled them to take an intelligent interest in political affairs. In paragraph 38 of your despatch you have expressed the opinion that this class of the community is entitled to separate representation in the Legislative Council, and I concur in your view, I consider, however, that their representative should not be nominated, as you suggest, but should be elected. The best method of deciding who should have a right to a vote in the election of such a member would seem to be to lay down that any person who possesses certain educational qualifications, and who is on account of his nationality not entitled to be placed on the register of European or Burgher voters, should be placed in the roll of electors for this post in the Council.

9. The effect of adopting these proposals would be to increase to nine the number of the Unofficial Members of the Council, and thus if no further change were made, to abolish the present official majority, I agree in your view that the official majority must be retained.

In ordinary circumstances, as you point out in the 44th paragraph of your despatch, the existence of an official majority is a matter of very little practical importance for the Government would not persist in a proposal which was unanimously opposed by the Unofficial Members, unless the question was one affecting Imperial policy, or unless, in the opinion of the Government, the proposed measure was essential to the efficient administration of the Colony. In such cases the Government must have the means of carrying out the policy upon which it has decided, and on that account the present balance of the power must in the public interests be maintained.

10. I propose therefore that, when the changes suggested in this despatch have been effected, another official member should be added to the Legislative Council. In view of the great importance to a tropical community of matters of sanitation and medical administration, I consider that the new member should be the person for the time being discharging the duties of Principal Civil Medical Officer.

11. I fear that these proposals will not fully satisfy the memorialists, and that section of the community for which they speak, but, for the present at any rate, I do not consider that it is possible to introduce any more far reaching reforms. It now remains to consider the detailed arrangements which are necessary in order to give effect to my suggestions.

These are matters which must be dealt with locally, and I have therefore to request that you will at an early date appoint a Commission to consider in what manner provision is to be made for the election of the European and Burgher members and the new member who is to represent those Ceylonese who have been educated on European lines.

12. The Commission should consider, among other matters, the qualifications to be required for membership of the Council, the basis on which the franchise is to be given, and the arrangements which should be made for the registration of voters and for recording their votes. When these matters have been settled, I will advise His Majesty the King to amend the Royal Instructions so as to permit of the election of members and of the proposed increase in the numbers of the Council. It will probably be most convenient to deal with details such as the qualifications of members and electors by an Ordinance of the Legislative Council.

13. Pending the receipt of the report of the Commission, I will express no views as to the basis on which the franchise should be given, but I think it well to state that I am strongly of opinion that no person in the employment of the Government should be allowed a vote, as I consider that Government servants are adequately represented in the Council by the Official Members.

I have &c.,

CREWE.



## NOTES.

### **The Reform of the Ceylon Legis- lative Council.**

The Secretary of State for the Colonies has now given his decision on the question of the reform of the Ceylon Legislative Council which engaged public attention for months past. The Memorials submitted to the Colonial Secretary by the various bodies in Ceylon interested in the subject and the proceedings of the discussions at public meetings bearing on the question were published in June, 1909, (No. 8), issue of this Review. We publish in the present issue the Despatch written by the Governor of Ceylon placing before the Minister in England the views of the local executive on the subject and the final reply of the Secretary of State.

The local officials have taken a strong stand against any material change in the constitution of the Island. The Governor recommended the nomination of an additional member for the Sinhalese and another to represent the interests of those "educated on Western lines."

The officials, it seems, foresee many difficulties in their way were more power given to the people to question acts of administration or criticize measures inaugurated by them. Their responsibilities will be increased and more care and tact will be needed by them if the present powers possessed by the Executive are in any way weakened. The Governor of the Island does not say this in so many words, but has in his despatch argued the question without touching directly on this issue. The despatch appears to be in the nature of an argument designed to convince an audience for the time being. The main issues are partly avoided and such arguments as can be effectively used from the writer's standpoint are marshalled forth and given prominence to; facts and figures that may in any way tell against the position of the writer seem to have been ignored.

A state paper being a document studied at leisure and examined critically by those who are affected by it, a judicial rather than a controversial spirit in such a document always tends to enhance its value.

The main contentions put forward in the Governor's despatch are :—

- (1) That those who memorialized the Secretary of State are not in touch with the rural population of the Island.



- (2) That Ceylonese who have obtained an education and training of a distinctively European character would, for administrative purposes, form a separate portion of the population and may have a nominated representative.
- (3) The country has advanced under the present Constitution, and therefore no change of the present system is necessary, except that of nominating two additional members, one in the interests of the Ceylonese who have obtained a European education and the other in the interest of the low-country Sinhalese population who form a very large section of the people inhabiting the country.
- (4) That the introduction of the elective principle is undesirable, as the vast majority of the people will not be able to exercise the privilege of franchise with judgement or intelligence and that it may lead to the creation of a class of professional politicians.
- (5) That it is undesirable to add an unofficial member to the Executive Council, as the interests and industries of the Colony are manifold and no single member could be supposed to be qualified to speak for all interests, and that persons who will be available to act as unofficial members are busy men who will not be able to spare their time for efficient and punctual discharge of their duties, and that it is not advisable that secret information which may effect commerce and industries should be in the hands of unofficial members, who are more or less engaged in business enterprises.

The despatch discloses one or two misapprehensions in regard to conditions prevailing in the Island. In the first place, the functions of the Legislative Council are such that any change in its membership cannot materially alter the course of administration, except that elected representatives will take a greater interest than at present in criticizing and advising the Executive. Criticism and advice should always be welcomed rather than resented, particularly where the critics have no powers of initiating or altering a policy except through persuasion. The improvement of the rural population depends on the interest taken in them by the educated classes. Education does not in any way alienate the natural bonds of fellowship of different classes. If the Governor had studied carefully the question of the relationship between the European educated Sinhalese and Tamils on the one hand and that of the rest of the population on the other hand, he would have found that the



vast majority, over ninety-nine per cent of the educated Sinhalese and Tamils, are still in touch with their rural countrymen; most of them have their kith and kin in the villages where they own land and are in constant relation with them. There is no doubt that there was a fear in recent times that the European educated Sinhalese and Tamils may eventually come to a state of getting denationalized, if the exigencies of the times and defective methods of education make them neglect the study of their own language and history. However at the present time there is not one per cent of the "European Educated" Sinhalese and Tamils who are ignorant of the language and history of the country, and the tendency now is for them to take an increasing interest in these matters. Their sympathies and feelings have not changed in any way. If once the natural leaders are alienated and are made politically to feel that they have no common interests with their own people, then the rural population of the country will suffer greatly. The one great object in the reforms that were asked for was to create a more general interest among the educated classes, European, Burgher, Tamil, Sinhalese, Moors in the people of the country. Where the people are possessed of the privilege of a vote, they thereby obtain a power to get the intelligent and the educated to take an interest in them.

The Secretary of State, in view of the strong representations made by the Governor, has decided to make a compromise. He gives the right of election of representatives, to the European, Burgher and the educated Ceylonese communities and leaves the representation of others to nomination. We should like to see this modified and the elective principle given to the others as well. Such a procedure will not embarrass the administration, neither will it prejudicially affect any class, for however restricted the franchise may be, representatives elected will do their work efficiently, and those who really desire to have the honour of representing the masses will naturally take an interest in them. The tendency, if there be any such, of the educated classes to lose touch with the people will be effectually checked and a growing feeling of community of interests between the educated and non-educated will tend to a vast improvement in the condition of the people. There is no possibility of creating a class of professional politicians in a country where a seat in the Legislative Council does not lead to any office or emolument, such a state is possible only where parliamentary Government is given and where the Legislators become paid administrators.

Provincial representation as suggested by the memorialists would still further tend to bring all classes, European, Burgher and the indigenous population together to their mutual advantage and to the



advantage of the country in general. This and the addition of an unofficial member to the Executive Council should be kept in view by all lovers of progress. The old Constitution has worked well, the new proposals just now sanctioned will also work well, but there is no reason why further advancement should not be aimed at.

**Opium in Ceylon.** The question of the restriction of the consumption of opium in Ceylon received attention during the past few years and the efforts of those who desired and called for this restriction met with partial success last year by their being enabled to convince the Secretary of State for the Colonies of the reasonableness of the demand. The local Government was about to take measures for carrying out the instructions of the Secretary of State, but the contemplated legislation was unexpectedly postponed, as the Executive found some difficulty in devising means to issue the drug to practitioners of Sinhalese medicine. On the instructions of the Secretary of State for the Colonies a Commission was appointed to go into the question and make their suggestions. The Commission submitted a very interesting report and we are glad to learn that the Secretary of State has accepted the recommendations of the Commission and has now ordered legislation accordingly. The new law is expected to come into operation by July this year or from the beginning of 1911. We congratulate all those who interested themselves in the matter on these favourable results, and are gratified to find that the way has been paved for a very essential social reform in Ceylon. In this connection the Sinhalese and the Tamils owe a deep debt of gratitude to Mr. John Ferguson C.M.G. who has worked for the welfare of the country for so many years and whose interest in its inhabitants has always been an effectual instrument in the promotion of the prosperity of the Island. We quote below the recommendations of the Commission:—

(a) The registration of vedaralas should be entrusted to provincial Boards consisting of the Government Agents as Chairmen and such other members as the Governor may appoint.

(b) Only such vedaralas should be registered as in the judgment of the Board have gone through a sufficient course of training, are of good character, and have an extensive and more than merely local practice.

(c) Similar Boards, if thought desirable, might be appointed in revenue districts with the Assistant Government Agents as Chairman.

(d) in order to secure uniformity the Governor should fix the maximum number of registered vedaralas to be allowed for each Province or revenue district. To enable the Governor to do this in the first instance each Government Agent, after the Board has received and considered applications for registration as vedaralas, should submit a report on the applications to the Governor.

(e) On the registration of a vedarala, the maximum amount of opium which he will be entitled to obtain annually, and the depôt from which the opium will be obtainable, should be recorded, no vedarala being entitled to obtain opium from any source except the depôt in



connection with which he is registered. Precautions must, of course, be taken that no vedarala shall be registered at more than one dépôt.

(f) With regard to the quantity of opium for which a vedarala should be registered, we think that the maximum should be fixed by the Governor from time to time. We believe that 8 oz. a year would be sufficient if the Government Agent were empowered to authorize the issue of larger amounts for limited periods in special cases or in seasons when there is an outbreak of any sickness for the treatment of which opium is necessary.

(g) Opium should be issued only to the registered vedarala in person.

(h) The vedarala, when registered, should be required to pay a registration fee to cover the cost of administration, and to enter into security to issue opium only for medical purposes.

(i) The Government Agents should have power to cancel registrations subject to an appeal to the Governor.

(j) The price at which opium will be issued from the Government dépôt should be fixed from time to time by the Governor, and opium should be issued only against cash payment.

(k) Subordinate provisions would be required as regards the issue of certificates of registration, notification of change of residence, the books to be kept, and other matters of detail.

**Romesh Chunder Dutt.** We have to record with regret the death of Romesh Chunder Dutt, the Indian retired Civil Servant, the distinguished author and politician who held the post of Prime Minister of the Baroda State at the time of his death. Mr. Dutt was one of the Honorary Members of the Ceylon Social Reform Society. A writer in the "Modern Review" concludes a very appreciative notice of his career with the following apt remarks "Romesh Chunder Dutt was a man of his own people. The object of all he ever did was not his fame but the uplifting of India."

**Medieval Sinhalese Art.**

The following reference to Dr. Coomaraswamy's "Medieval Sinhalese Art," is taken from an article by Roger Fry in the January number of the Quarterly Review.

"Mr. Havell has done a much-needed work in putting before English readers the serious claims of Indian Art; the fact that he puts them in a rather needlessly provocative manner may perhaps delay their acceptance, but such righteous indignation is doubtless excusable in one who has watched close at hand the substitution of European commercial products for those of an ancient and respectable craftsmanship.

It is entirely from this point of view indeed that Dr. Coomaraswamy's book is conceived.....he writes in a far more restrained tone than Mr. Havell, but his criticism of English influence on Sinhalese Art is quite as severe. For he is not concerned with the history of the great masterpieces; his work is almost as much sociological as aesthetic; he seeks to investigate and explain the methods of Sinhalese craftsmen, to fix the outlines of an artistic industry and education before it finally disappears. The interest of such an attempt is great, for the



tradition of craftsmanship which survived in full force until the English occupation, and vestiges of which still linger in remoter districts, was closely akin to that which obtained in Europe in the middle ages.

We ourselves, ever more and more disgusted with the effects upon art and life of machinery under commercial competition, have, since Ruskin pointed the way, turned with eager curiosity to the study of mediaeval craftsmanship and organisation of labour. In this direction Dr. Coomaraswamy's record is likely to be of great value, for although, as he himself admits, the works which he discusses are not masterpieces, are in fact the ordinary utensils of daily life, still they bear upon them the stamp of individual care and sound craftsmanship."

**Dhamma Hadaya  
Vibhanga Sutta.\***

This is the translation into English of one of the Sutta of the Abhidhamma Pitaka. The translator gives the original Pali Sutta to which he appends the translation and a few notes. The Sutta describes the different regions of happy states into which beings are born through the results of good actions of charity and conduct.

**Buddhism as  
Religion.†**

THIS is a translation from the German edition published in 1905, and has been revised and enlarged since that date. As the author remarks in the preface, there are no books "representing Buddhism as a present-day religion, comprising all the countries under its sway." The scope of this volume is to fill this want and to inform a general reading public, without display of scholarship. The author has studied Buddhism in Buddhist countries for ten years and has travelled widely in China, Korea, Japan, Tibet, Burma and Ceylon; "living in the monasteries, watching the monks and the lay devotees, inquiring about rituals and institutions, he learnt thoroughly what Buddhism, as a practical religion of the present-day, really is."

The work is divided into three parts (a) The life and doctrine of the Buddha, (b) The rise in India and spread of the *dhamma* to Ceylon and other countries, (c) Modern Buddhism, with remarks on "Southern" and "Northern" Buddhism, and special chapters on the conditions of the *dhamma* in Ceylon, Burma and Siam: on Lamaism, Chinese, Japanese and Korean Buddhism: this last book being the largest. There is also a valuable bibliography of Buddhism.

\* Translated into English by N. P. Nimalasuriya revised by M. Sri Nanissara Thera.—*Examiner Press, Colombo, 1910.*

† H. Hackmann, Probsthain & Co., London.



The body of the book contains statements by an impartial student of the rise, growth and spread of the *dhamma*, but, in the conclusion, the author points out what are, to his mind, the failings of it as a religion, and says that its defects can never be remedied without giving up its fundamental principles.

The book is excellently got up, with good type and paper like that of the other books of Messrs. Probsthain which we have seen.

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This fine volume is the second of the works of Rev. **Ceylon Buddhism.\*** Gogerly, the first having been issued in 1908. It contains an appreciative foreward by Professor Rhys-David's and a valuable essay on "Transmigration," originally printed in *The Ceylon Friend*, 1876-7: also 255 stanzas of *Dhammapada*; an extract from *Cariyà Pitaka* of Kahuddakka Nikaya; an article on *Pirit* as practised in Ceylon; a translation of *Brahmajàla Sutta*; the discourse about *Ratthapàla*; *Culla Kamma Vibhanga Sutta*; *Patta Kammam*; *Veranjakasuttan*; *Sigalo Vāda*; Selections from the *Jātakas*; also *Maha Satipatthāna*; an appendix on *Saccavibhanga Sutta* and an index and glossary. The book is printed in *quarto* and has good clear type, and excellent paper and is certainly a valuable contribution to the rapidly increasing library of English works on *Buddhadhamma*.

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**Stories from the History of Ceylon for Children. †** This book, which has a foreword by the Director of Public Instruction, recommending it for use in schools, has been written by one who has for many years worked for the children of Ceylon and who has entered into the spirit of the East as few has been able to do. A kinswoman of Hans Musaeus, writer of the famous Fairy Tales, she has inherited from the same stock something of the charm of that great story-teller, and has, in drawing the essence of these stories from the Ramayana and Mahabharata, added the golden thread which unites the whole into a flower-garland which will delight the young mind and be far more tasteful to it than lists of dates of English Kings, battles of the Civil War and famous Acts of the English Parliaments, with the dry husks of which, with the abnormal blindness habitual to the pedagogic forcing-machine, the hungry mouths of the children of Ceylon in most English schools have long

\* By Marie Musaeus Higgins. Capper and Sons, Colombo. Rs. 1'25.

† Being Vol. II. of the Collected writings of Daniel John Gogerly, Ed. A. Stanley Bishop Wesleyan Methodist Book Room, Colombo; and Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.



been crammed. The illustrations in sepia by Mr. Ernest VanDort, are on sympathetic and harmonize with the text. There is a marvellous flying-machine on p. 23, and King Elala, staggering in amazement at the cow pulling the royal bell, particularly takes our fancy. There are some excellent photographs of the historic scenes in Ceylon. We hope the book will have a wide sale and that Mrs. Higgins may be tempted to give us a second series of these enjoyable first-steps in history.

**Essays in National Idealism.**

Dr. Coomarswamy's New Book *Essays in National Idealism* [Colombo Apothecaries' Co., Rs. 2-50, pp. 206, 6 plates] arrives too late for Review. It is well got up and printed and contains some excellent plates illustrative of Indian Art. Some of these essays have appeared before in different guise and all of them "represent an endeavour towards an explanation of the true significance of the national movement in India," which can only be interpreted as an idealistic movement. The chapters are on:—The deeper Meaning of the Struggle: Indian Nationality: Maha Bharata: The Aims and Method of Indian Art: Art and Yoga in India: The Influence of Modern Europe on Indian Art: Art of the East and of the West: The Influence of Greek on Indian Art: Education in India: Memory in Education: Christian Mission in India: Swadeshi: Indian Music: Music and Education in India: Gramophones—and why not?

We have to acknowledge the receipt of the following Journals:—*The Hibbert Journal*, (London); *The Modern Review*, (Calcutta); *The Hindustan Review*, (Allahabad); *The Indian Review*, (Madras); *The Indian World*, (Calcutta); *Theosophist*, (Madras); *The Open Court*, (Chicago); *The Journal of the Ceylon University Association*, (Colombo); *The Dawn*, (Calcutta); *Siddantadipika* and *The Public*, (Chicago). *The Mahabodhi Journal* (several copies.)

[The article appearing in this issue "Portuguese in Ceylon" is an Extract from a paper published in the *Ceylon Independent* under the title "The tender mercies of the Portuguese in Ceylon."]



*The Ceylon National Review—Supplement.*

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