THE CEYLON NATIONAL REVIEW.

No. 6—MAY, 1908.

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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 quarterly for the Ceylon Social Reform Society. 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 Rs. 1·00 locally, and 2/-in England, postage extra. All publications of the Society will, however, be sent free to members paying an annual subscription of not less than Rs. 5.

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.

Organ of the Ceylon Social Reform Society.

No. 6. MAY, 1908. Vol. II.

REFORM OF THE CEYLON LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

THE article reprinted below was written by the late Mr. W. Digby, C.I.E. It appeared originally in the *Calcutta Review* of January, 1877, and was afterwards issued as a pamphlet. He was an English journalist of wide experience, and the senior partner of the London firm of Indian and Colonial Merchants and Agents, Messrs. Hutchinson & Co. His journalistic life in the East began on the staff of the *Ceylon Observer*, and he was afterwards Editor of the *Madras Times*, the *Liverpool and Southport Daily News*, and the *Western Daily Mercury*, Plymouth. In Madras he was selected by the Governor, the Duke of Buckingham, for the office of Hon. Secretary of the South Indian Famine Fund of 1878-9, which was originated by Mr. Digby, and succeeded in raising and administering no less than £800,000 and saving four millions of lives. Mr. Digby was for this service created a Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire. For his successful effort in securing (with the co-operation of Governor Sir Arthur Havelock and Mr. George Wall) the abolition of grain taxes and revenue-farming in Ceylon he was made an Honorary Member of the Cobden Club. His was a career of unflagging public-spirited activity. He was Secretary of the National Liberal Club, London; founder of the Indian Political Agency; editor of the *India*, the organ of the Indian National Congress; author of many works, including the well-known life of Sir Richard Morgan ("Forty Years' Citizen Life in Ceylon"), six volumes of the "Ceylon Hansard," "History of the Newspaper Press of India, Ceylon and the Far East," "Indian Problems for English Consideration," "Famine Campaign in India," "Food Taxes in Ceylon," "Life of Sir Arthur Cotton" (the great Indian engineer), &c. He died in London in the latter part of 1904, prematurely, of disease brought on by his self-denying, philanthropic labours. His memory is cherished with affectionate gratitude by hundreds of thousands in India and Ceylon who benefited by his labours, and by those (not a few) who were privileged to count him as a friend and to benefit by his wise counsel and sympathy, and by the example of a life of high ideals and strenuous beneficence.

The opinions of a man of his experience and insight on the reform of the Ceylon Legislative Council cannot but be of interest and help at this juncture when the subject is occupying the thoughts and deliberations of many. The present generation, accustomed to the Council of the present day, can have but little idea of what it was when Digby was a daily spectator and reported its proceedings in the *Ceylon Hansard*. The unofficial side was then adorned by such men as Sir Coomara Swamy, James Alwis, David Wilson, Sir W. Mitchell, James van Langenberg. The debates compared favourably with those of any legislative assembly and were followed with lively interest throughout the Island. Digby had great belief in the capacity of the Ceylonese, and, under the title of "An Oriental Crown Colony Ripe for Representative Government," he sketched this scheme in which, with other kindred spirits in the Island, he believed down to the end of his days. He was, however, in advance of the times, and on his departure from Ceylon the movement, deprived of his magnetic presence and undaunted energy, died in its infancy.

Thirty years have passed. The Island has progressed marvellously in education and prosperity. Our neighbouring continent of India has received substantial grants of legislative reform. But we stand where we were when our Legislative Council was established in 1833. There is no reason why, if after due deliberation we formulate and make known our wishes and show that we are in earnest, we should not receive boons, if not as substantial as Digby strove for, at least such as India has been granted. A Ceylonese gentleman, who recently pressed the subject on the attention of an official in Downing Street, received the reply: "Why don't you agitate for it? Do you suppose you will get anything without agitation? Do we in England? The political history of England has been one long series of agitations."

His Excellency Sir Henry McCallum has already given an earnest of his wish to secure the co-operation of the people. He has made the unofficial M. L. C.'s permanent members of a Standing Financial Committee and given them a majority of eight to three. This power over the purse is the chief of parliamentary powers. In investing the unofficial members with it, the Governor said: "It is felt that these proposals, if carried into effect, will invest the unofficial members of Council with far more real financial control than they at present possess and will also strengthen the hand of Government by affording to it opportunities of frequent consultation with its unofficial advisers on questions affecting the Financial Administration of the Colony."

A notable and statesmanlike utterance. The Governor knows that in Ceylon by its constitution as a Crown Colony the administration is vested entirely in foreigners who, however able and well intentioned, are liable to error from lack of knowledge and of sympathy with the

people. Many an administrative and legislative blunder in the past was due to this cause. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance to good administration that the rulers should have the fullest opportunities of knowing the wants and sentiments of the people. He is too new to the Island to know that the fulfilment of his wish will be impeded in no small measure by a system under which the unofficial members are chosen by the Governor and not by their constituents. Men who owe their appointment to the Governor and whose continuance in office under the new Five-year Rule depends on his wish, can hardly be expected to be as free in their advice and the expression of their views as elected members, especially when measures are under consideration on which Government, with the best intentions but with imperfect knowledge of the people's needs, conditions and wishes, have set their hearts on. It is a false position from which the members should be relieved in the interests alike of the Government, the public, and of themselves.

Crown Colonies are excellent examples of a benevolent despotism. But it is beginning to be recognised that an efficient administration loses half its power for good without the sympathetic and active co-operation of the ruled. The *Pioneer*, the leading English paper in India, says: "The closer connection of England with India, the growing power and influence of the mercantile community, the growth in India of an educated class, have brought new currents of thought into play. The most perfect system of administration which the world has ever seen" (to wit, administration by the Indian Civil Service), "has come to be regarded by many, and an increasing number, as a top-heavy, bureaucratic hierarchy, Byzantine in method, if not in spirit, hide-bound by precedent and theory, detached from practical conditions, mechanical and doctrinaire. ..... One of the first necessities of the time is to prune off Government action, to let in light and shade. This will not be easy for officials struggling after perfection. They will have to be baptized again: to adore what they have burnt and burn what they have adored."

This idea lies at the root of the recent administrative and legislative reforms of Mr. Morley, the Secretary of State for India. The Prime Minister, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, said in a memorable speech not long ago: "*Good government can never be a substitute for government by the people themselves.*" It will be long before the people of Ceylon are allowed to govern themselves. But they might at least be put gradually in the way of doing so. Can there be said to be a gradual effort in this direction when so long a period as three quarters of a century has been allowed to elapse since the last step—and a small step it was—was taken? Ceylon was then little more than a military station. The marvellous material and moral progress since made is shown at a glance by this Table:—

CEYLON IN 1834 AND 1906.

	Population.	Scholars.	Revenue. Rs.	Expenditure. Rs.	Shipping. Tons.	Imports. Rs.	Exports. Rs.
1834	1,167,700	13,891	3,779,520	3,348,350	153,510	3,727,260	1,458,340
1906	3,984,985	276,691	35,030,660	32,644,214*	13,299,656	123,502,921	112,516,914

The Sinhalese, who number two and a half millions, and the Tamils, who number a million, are allotted three representatives—over a million apiece—and these "representatives" continue to be *nominees of the Governor*. Formerly they held their seats for life, but since 1890 their tenure of office is for five years and they are eligible for re-appointment. A member who showed a sturdy independence and public spirit—Mr. P. Coomara Swamy—was sent about his business on the expiration of his five years, and the lesson was not lost on his colleagues. If the Legislative Council is to be rescued from its inefficiency, it must be made reasonably representative, and the farce of nomination by Government and of one member to a million must cease.

Already by an unwritten law two of the members are selected by their constituents—the Planters' Association and the Chamber of Commerce—and they are usually the most efficient and helpful members on the unofficial side. Why should not this principle be extended to the other Unofficial Members? The good men among them will have no difficulty in securing election. Hon. Mr. Ferguson, M.L.C., has for years urged a modified system of election, and who has greater knowledge of Ceylon and its people than this colonist of half a century? The system of nomination by the Governor and of racial representation, however suitable for the year of grace 1833, is quite out of date now. If it is to be retained, it should only be for the purpose of supplementing the system of election, so that if any particular interest or race, which is of sufficient importance to be represented in the Council, fails to be represented among the elected members, the Government should have the power of nominating a member to represent that race or interest.

Apart from the advantage to good administration from the co-operation of the people, its educative value should not be overlooked. A great English writer, Mr. Bagehot, declared the cause of English originality, whether manifested in thinkers like Locke, Newton, Darwin or in artisan inventors, to be the English habit of discussion. "Government by discussion quickens and enlivens thought all through society, it makes people think no harm can come of thinking. In England this force has long been operating, and so it has developed more of all kinds

* Exclusive of Rs. 1,850,339, for public works extraordinary, chargeable to Loan Fund.

of people ready to use their mental energy in their own way and not ready to use it in any other way, than a despotic Government."

So long, therefore, as a Government majority, which under present circumstances is essential, is secured, the Government would be consulting the interests alike of the rulers and the ruled, and facilitating the realization of Sir Henry McCallum's wish, by measures for securing free discussion and co-operation of the people in public matters. Digby's scheme provided for a Council of 41 members in which every district and important interest was represented, with 13 officials and 28 elected members. A scheme more suitable to the times would perhaps be to reduce the elected members to 18, and to raise the official members (including the unofficials nominated by the Governor) to 23. The qualification for electors might be, in Municipal and Local Board towns, the same as for electors in these towns, and in other towns some similar property or literary qualification. If a restricted qualification is deemed necessary, that of a juror might be adopted. A man who is fit to decide questions of life and death should be fit to say who shall represent him in the Legislative Council. The literary and property qualification for a Councillor might be the same as for a Municipal Councillor.

The elected members might be assigned as follows:—

Chamber of Commerce	1
Planters' Association	1
Western Province.	
City of Colombo	1
The rest of the Province	2
Central Province	2
Southern Province	2
Northern Province	2
Eastern Province	2
N.-W. Province	2
N.-C. Province	1
Uva Province	1
Sabaragamua Province	1
	18

The minimum number of official members might be 15 and of nominated unofficials 3, leaving five to be distributed in either of these classes at the discretion of the Governor. The proportion of elected members to the others would be 18 to 23 and leave the Government majority quite secure. The present proportion is 8 unofficial to 9 official.

With elected members in the Legislative Council, the admission of an unofficial member or two into the Executive Council will be facilitated,—a much needed reform. In May 1903, as the result of an unanimous vote of the Legislative Council, Sir West Ridgeway recommended to the Secretary of State the addition of two unofficial members to the Executive Council as "tending to satisfy the public opinion which is in favour of more effective representation in the Government of the

Colony" and as it "would formally place at the disposal of the Governor advice and information which it is not always possible to obtain from official sources." Mr. Chamberlain would not accept the proposal, because the unofficials were not elected members but nominees of the Government. He mentioned that in Mauritius, where unofficial members are now placed in the Executive Council, "the change followed as a corollary of the admission to the Council of Government of elected representatives of the population," and that in Cyprus and several other Colonies, where unofficials have seats on the Executive Council, "there is an elective element on the Legislature."

Is there any reason why those Colonies should have an elective element in the Legislative Council and unofficials in the Executive Council, and not Ceylon? Is Ceylon inferior to them in education or prosperity? Let the following Table show. Is she not conspicuous for her loyal attachment to the British Throne?

CEYLON COMPARED WITH OTHER CROWN COLONIES.

	Population, 1905.	Revenue. 1905.	Imports. 1905.	Exports. 1905.	Shipping. 1905. (Tonnage entered & cleared.)	Scholars. 1905.	Constitution of Legislative Council.
		£	£	£			
Bahamas	58,175	77,293	308,544	222,905	1,251,379	6,078	2 Houses, of which one consists of **29 elected members** and the other of 9 nominated members.
Barbadoes	199,542	192,291	1,042,563	935,844	1,700,787	25,710	2 Houses, one consisting of **24 elected members** the other of 9 nominated members. [Number of electors 1644]
Bermuda	20,209	53,321	543,222	116,428	671,461	1,801	2 Houses, one containing **36 elected members** and the other nine nominated members. [1,310 electors.]
British Guiana	303,390	522,493	1,662,206	1,994,394	794,440	29,811	2 Houses, one of 7 official and **8 elected members** and the other of the above and **6 additional elected members** elected as financial representatives.
Ceylon ...	3,950,123	2,293,022	7,682,482	6,832,671	11,157,925	263,233	**No elected members,** 8 nominated unofficials, 9 officials.
Cyprus ...	250,887	238,213	482,079	438,241	805,568	25,806	**12 elected,** 7 officials.
Jamaica ...	817,560	1,001,548	1,941,938	1,843,180	2,791,448	48,183	**14 elected,** 10 nominated, 6 ex-officio.
Mauritius	386,128	693,304	1,796,293	2,456,203	740,733	18,194	**10 elected,** 8 ex-officio. and 9 nominated.

A. PADMANABHA.

AN ORIENTAL COLONY RIPE FOR REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.*

BY THE LATE

WM. DIGBY, C.I.E.

AUTHOR OF "FORTY YEARS' CITIZEN LIFE IN CEYLON," SIX VOLUMES OF "CEYLON HANSARD," "HISTORY OF THE NEWSPAPER PRESS OF INDIA, CEYLON AND THE FAR EAST," "INDIAN PROBLEMS FOR ENGLISH CONSIDERATION," "FAMINE CAMPAIGN IN S. INDIA," &c.; HON. MEMBER OF THE COBDEN CLUB FOR SUCCESSFUL EFFORT TO ABOLISH GRAIN TAXES IN CEYLON; HON. SECRETARY, INDIAN FAMINE RELIEF FUNDS 1877-79; SECRETARY, NATIONAL LIBERAL CLUB, LONDON; &c., &c.

I.

AN OPEN LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL: THIRTY-THREE YEARS' WORK.

"There is no more important Institution in the Island than this Council. Whatever be the estimation in which it is held by the official or unofficial community here, I know that it is held in high estimation by English Statesmen, who look to it as the centre of much good. Mr. Bright has referred to it in eulogistic terms.† And on the extension of English liberalism, as involved in the establishment of Colonial Councils, even Lecky, the historian, has many a thrilling period. It will be a disgrace, therefore, that in a British dependency any misunderstanding should prevent the full development of liberal institutions of which Englishmen are so proud that they have conferred them on us; and of which the natives of this country should be equally proud, in that they find in them the nucleus of self-government."

These words were uttered in stentorian tones by a Tamil legislator (Sir, then Mr., Coomara Swamy) in whose voice could not be traced the slightest foreign accent. The occasion was the discussion of a motion impliedly censuring the authorities for curtailing the period of the session, and the remarks were made on a hot, oppressive afternoon in December, 1872; the scene was the Legislative Council Chamber of Ceylon, where, around a large table of a horseshoe pattern, sat sixteen gentlemen, ten

* For the history of this Article see page 171.

† Doubtless this allusion is to the following passage from one of the Right Hon'ble John Bright's speeches on India, delivered in the House of Commons on June 24th, 1858. Alluding to Presidency Councils, the Hon'ble Member said:—"I should propose to do that which has been done with great advantage in Ceylon. I have received a letter from an officer who has been in the service of the East India Company, and who has told me of a fact which has gratified me much. He says:—'At a public dinner at Colombo in 1835, to the Governor, Sir Wilmot Horton, at which I was present, the best speech of the evening was made by a native nobleman of Kandy, and a Member of Council. It was remarkable for its appropriate expression, its sound sense, and the deliberation and ease that marked the utterance of his feelings. There was no repetition or useless phraseology or flattery, and it was admitted by all who heard him to be the soundest and neatest speech of the night.' That was in Ceylon. It is not, of course, always the best man who can make the best speech; but if what I have read could be said of a native of Ceylon, it could be said of thousands in India."—*Speeches of John Bright*, Vol. i., p., 52. W. D.

officials, six unofficial nominees: the assembly was presided over by the Governor of the Colony, *ex-officio*. Over all, pendant from the star-gilt ceiling, swung slowly a heavy punkah, which contributed a little coolness to the fervid atmosphere. The remarks, to a stranger, might seem a little magniloquent, perhaps not incorrectly, so far as the present constituted Council as an aid to liberalism is concerned. Such, however, is not altogether the case. It is true that so apathetic have the inhabitants of the Colony shown themselves about the farce of representation which obtains in that assembly, that only on rare occasions do the public go to hear the speeches or witness the procedure. Yet the institution has a history of its own which is worth telling: a description of the work it has done will show that it has existed to good purpose, and that the time has now come when it should give place to a House more in accordance with the times, and, what is of greater importance, with the improved position of the people and their increased fitness for a measure of self-rule. Ceylon is a Crown Colony, and a Crown Colony is described in an authorised publication, "The Colonial Office List," as a Colony "in which the Crown has the entire control of legislation, while the administration is carried on by public officers under the control of the Home Government."

When, in 1833, Ceylon was entrusted with a deliberative Council to assist the Governor in legislation, the Island bore but little resemblance to the actively commercial and busily intellectual country it now is. The only article of export of commercial importance was cinnamon. This was a monopoly in the hands of Government, and upon good prices being obtained for it depended whether there would be a deficit or surplus when the year's accounts were made up: the authorities were, for the nonce, dry goods' traders, watching every fluctuation in the market with feverish eagerness. Little connection was had with the interior, which was full of mountains covered with dense forest; roads there were practically none, save the great artery formed by Sir Edward Barnes, the aorta of inland communication. The plains outside the mountain zone were inhabited by an ignorant population of agriculturists, ignorant from their isolation; while all over the land, the Buddhist priests were sunk in sloth, and altogether unmindful of conferring "merit" upon the people by calling them together to hear *bana* (the word of Buddha). The finances of the Island were burdened with a heavy military charge, and deficits were chronic, the Island being only saved from almost Turkish bankruptcy by a series of successful pearl fisheries. Taking the year 1834 as the first in which a record of schools appears in the Blue Book, by reference to a few statistical statements an idea of the (then) position of the Colony may be obtained. With a revenue of £377,952 there was a military force of 6,227 men. In 1875, the revenue was £1,354,123, and

the fighting force just overtopped one thousand. [In 1906 the revenue was over two and a third million pounds (Rs. 35,030,660.)] In 1834, thanks to the earnest efforts of the missionaries, there were 1,105 schools (800 were private schools, receiving no Government aid) with 13,891 scholars. Forty years later,—and herein is, perhaps, the greatest lapse of duty on the part of the English rulers of the Island,—there are (1874 returns) only 1,458 schools with 66,385 scholars, while from 1863 to 1871 the number of schools was once as low as 716 and always less than one thousand. [In 1906 there were 4,006 schools and 276,691 scholars.] The annals of forty years ago were undeniably dull, and pall upon the student of contemporary records. Further, of the Governors' speeches, in which one expects to find the largest range as well as the greatest height of the life of the period: during perusal thereof, the supposition grows upon the reader that a merchant's circular, dealing with an article of commerce, *viz.*, cinnamon, and having a few extraneous subjects introduced to give colouring and interest, has been substituted for a vice-regal speech. The redeeming feature of the period was the great activity of European and American missionaries in the pulpit and in education. It does not follow that they were more active,—they were not nearly so many in number—then than now; but, in those days, so few figures passed across the stage, and the scene was so seldom changed, that the missionaries figured more largely in history than they do now, when the boards are crowded and the stage is diversified with a multitude of groups representing many interests. Scarcely anything touching the Ceylonese appears until Mr. Stewart Mackenzie was Governor: the intense sympathies of a man of more than ordinary culture, a ruler in advance of his times, led him to hew at what was left of the structure of domestic slavery, and to hasten its early fall. In 1829, so unsatisfactory was the state of affairs in Ceylon that a commission, consisting of Lieutenant-Colonel Colebrooke and Mr. C. H. Cameron, was appointed by the home authorities. The immediate occasion of the appointment of this commission would seem to have been the financially disastrous position of the Colony, already alluded to. In 1827 the revenue was £264,375 and the expenditure £411,648, while in the previous year the deficit was £115,879, nearly half the income, which would be much as if Sir John Strachey were to state in March or April next that whilst the revenue for the year was £50,000,000, expenditure had run up to nearly £90,000,000! Full and exhaustive reports were made by the Commissioners, and the outcome of their enquiry was the establishment of an improved system of judicature. Amongst other things recommended, was the establishment of a Legislative Council, and a despatch was sent to Sir Robert Wilmot Horton, the Governor, the fourth paragraph of which ran as follows: " . . . .

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. . . . Now we do hereby signify and declare our pleasure to be; that the said Legislative Council of our Island of Ceylon, shall always consist of fifteen persons [exclusive of the Governor], of whom nine shall be at all times persons holding offices within the said Island at our pleasure, and the remaining shall at all times be persons not holding such offices." The constitution of this assembly was confessedly imperfect. At that time even, prior to the passing of the first English Reform Bill, it was felt that such a Council, not elective in any sense, and representative only through nomination, could not last long. Lieutenant-Colonel Colebrooke said it was "imperfect," but very properly remarked that it would "constitute an essential part of any Colonial legislature for which the Island may be prepared at a future period." His fellow Commissioner, in words to be subsequently quoted, was even more emphatic in looking upon the proposed Council as merely tentative, and introductory only to a representative assembly worthy of the name. The time for that assembly to be called into being has now come; but before attempting to show this from present data, it may be interesting to glance briefly at the work done by this, the first "open" Legislative Council in the East, during the forty years in which it has held its sessions.

In the first days of the new Council, dissatisfaction arose; the Governor, Sir Robert Wilmot Horton, not filling up the seats of unofficials till the third session, whilst a memorial from aggrieved British merchants regarding this action was treated with scant justice. This treatment from such a man was the more surprising as Sir Robert Horton had been a member of a Liberal Administration in England, had been a Poor Law Commissioner (his book on Pauperism is useful to the Poor Law Reformer of the present day), and was altogether a man of whom quite the contrary of that which marked his career in Ceylon, would naturally be predicted. The boon of assisting in legislature was given so grudgingly that all grace was taken from the gift, while it was shown in a memorial to the Secretary of State, that had the unofficial seats been filled up* as the memorialists contended they ought to have been, two Ordinances which were passed in the first session, which bore hardly upon the people, would have been shorn of the injustice which marked

* The Sinhalese seat and the Tamil and Muhammadan seat were filled by the appointment of Government Officials who had to be retired on full pension for the purpose. The Sinhalese Member was Mr. Philips Panditaratna, 3rd Maha Mudaliyar and Interpreter of the Supreme Court, uncle of Sir Henry Dias, grandfather of Mr. Peter de Saram, Police Magistrate, and great-grandfather of Sir Solomon Dias Bandaranayaka, Maha Mudaliyar. The Tamil and Muhammadan seat was filled by A. Coomaraswamy, Mudaliyar of the Governor's Gate, Interpreter to the Governor, who has had the rather unique distinction of being followed in Council by five members of his family, his son-in-law Edirmanasinga Mudaliyar of the Governor's Gate, son Sir Coomara Swamy, and grandsons Messrs. P. Ramanathan, K.C., C.M.G., P. Coomara Swamy and P. Arunachalam, C.C.S., Registrar General.

them. Leave to introduce bills was also asked for, but refused—to be granted, however, nearly a score of years later. While there was much in the infant institution to excite ridicule, in some things it commanded admiration. For instance, from the first, the meetings were open to the public, the reason for this being publicly stated, *viz.*, that the inhabitants of the Island and people in England might know what was going on. The House of Commons, in spite of Mr. A. M. Sullivan's efforts to the contrary in 1875, has not yet reached this honestly-avowed stage. Speech-making was early a characteristic of Ceylon M. L. C.'s, and Indian "exchanges," in days when topics were few for Anglo-Indian journalists to descant upon, would complain that there was nothing in the Ceylon papers save reports of Council proceedings.

The benefits of free trade were early recognised—and that is nearly all, for fiscal arrangements which necessitate the existence of farmers of taxes on locally-grown rice, the exactions and impositions of whom are described in strong language, still flourish in full force [since abolished, 1893] while imported food bears a burden which falls heavily on the poorer classes of the community. An attempt to deal with food taxes in 1839, led to the abolition of the fish tax, a tithe, and the fishermen, mainly Romanists, at once voluntarily set apart this sum for religious purposes.

What cannot fail to strike the reader of the "Governors' speeches"—next to the very ordinary nature of their contents, until Mr. Stewart Mackenzie introduced a practice which once marked the chief orators of the House of Commons, *viz.*, quoting from the ancient classics, and reciting lengthy Latin sentences,—is the erratic dates at which the Council met. Cause for surprise, however, is taken away, when it is observed that the Colony was then so much of a military post, and little else, that the principal measure of one session was an Ordinance providing bullock carts as a means of transport for troops. A sort of controlling power over the public purse was given in 1839, but it was not until ten years later that Earl Grey announced, in a despatch, the truism that none were so well able to properly spend a nation's money as the legislators of that nation; yet, in little more than a decade of years later, the unofficial members resigned in a body, because the vote for military expenditure was controlled in London instead of at Colombo. Jealousy in this respect is very keenly felt; and the session of 1875-76 was marked by a strong expression of public opinion, stormy personal debates and divisions, because the Secretary of State added £400 a year to the pension of the retiring Chief Justice, Sir Edward Creasy, without consulting the Colony. An Ordinance to cover this payment had to be withdrawn, pending the publication of despatches for which permission had to be sought. Under pressure through the Council and otherwise,

avowed Government connection with paganism—(the Kandian Convention of 1815 necessitates some connection still)—in Ceylon came to an end.

Privilege was precious to the budding legislators of Ceylon as it is to, say, the "superior person" of St. Stephen's, Westminster; and when, in 1840, certain members wished to protest against the passing of an Ordinance, when all the forms of the House had been complied with, Governor Stewart Mackenzie said:—"I hold that, in point of fact, in "this as in every other deliberative, which is also a legislative, assembly "(except, perhaps, the House of Lords in Great Britain), the only legiti- "mate protest of any member is his vote against the measure under "discussion, which, as the names and votes are regularly taken down, "forms his recorded protest." Even if it were necessary, the facilities in Ceylon do not permit the writer of this to consult authorities on the moot point, which is now conceded to unofficial members of the Council; but two facts may be mentioned which go to bear out the correctness of the opinion expressed by the Colonial Governor, *viz.*,—(*a*) Professor Thorold Roger's "Protests of the Lords," recently published, and (*b*) Mr. Plimsoll's protest against the abandonment of the Merchant's Shipping Bill in the House of Commons in 1875, which protest was refused acceptance by Mr. Speaker Brand, and only found its way to the public through copies being given to the reporters to the newspapers.

Railway Formation; Military Expenditure—(the conduct of Home authorities in this respect was very ungracious); Tank Restoration; Land Registration; Creation of Municipalities, large (in cities and big towns), lesser (in minor towns), and least (Village Councils); have been the other topics which have most exercised the minds of members of the Island Legislature. Viewed in whatever light one may choose, the railway has been most potent in its influence on the land, a type of the material works which help mental and moral progress in the present time. The Ceylon Railway has greatly opened up the country to Europeans and Ceylonese; it has brought hitherto partially antagonistic races together, and has done much to advance the Colony almost to the level of more progressive, only because entirely Anglo-Saxon, communities, till there are now few countries to which it need yield the *pas*. The extension of railways now in progress and contemplated will add so much to what has been already attained, that the moderate measure of reform sketched further on in this paper, as needed to meet the wants of the present time, will scarcely suffice to satisfy what will be demanded with energy and persistence. Why, for once in a way, should not political wants be met as they arise, and the injustice which leads to great agitation be avoided? In Ceylon the Ceylonese travellers contribute the large railway passenger totals, which it is the pride, annually,

of the Traffic Manager to record: it is the produce of the estates owned and worked by Europeans which contributes its handsome quota to the gratifying result of a large surplus every year.

Consequent upon the strides made in the past few years, equalling what had taken two decades or a generation previously to achieve, a rapid glance at the legislation of the past six years, as recorded in the local *Hansard* volumes may not be inappropriate.

(*a*) Finance.

The custody of the purse, the holding of the purse-strings, is altogether in the hands of Government. Honourable members have the right of closely scrutinizing every item, a right they exercise with much persistency, and often with great good to the public. The theory is that no money shall be spent until the sanction of the legislature has been obtained; but this is not always adhered to, and supplementary votes, to cover expenditure already incurred, are not unknown. The revenue is, all things considered, large. If a similar amount were raised in India, proportionate to the population, hundreds of millions sterling would remain for the disposal of the Finance Minister. In addition to Rs. 15,000,000 now [in 1876] raised as general revenue [in 1906 Rs. 35,000,000], there are Municipal taxes and various local cesses which, in a measure, would correspond with the local expenditure of presidencies and native States. However, it is useless to carry on the comparison between the money-chests of little Ceylon and huge India. Upon some classes of the community, and they among the poorest, taxation falls heavily; in the case of a cooly with a wife and one child living in Colombo, one-twelfth of his year's wages are absorbed in taxation. This is so unjust, and is capable of such facile adjustment, that the anomaly cannot exist long after full light is thrown upon it. Indian publicists, acquainted with the outcry, almost rebellion, which followed in India on the imposition of a direct money tax (on incomes), on visiting Ceylon, generally express almost incredulous surprise on being told that an ordinary cooly, in common with all other able-bodied males save immigrant coolies, annually pays in hard cash the equivalent of six days' labour, for the up-keep of the roads. The author of the measure enacting this was Sir Philip Wodehouse, now Governor of Bombay, and it came into operation in 1849. A great injustice involved is, that the rate is not graduated; the wealthy merchant or high-placed civilian paying exactly the same as his cooly or horse-keeper; no more, no less. During the past few years surpluses of large amounts have over-flowed the treasury, and most has been spent in "public works of acknowledged utility," as the legislative formula runs. The following table shows the main sources of revenue and expenditure.

Estimate of the Revenue and Expenditure of Ceylon for the year 1876.

Revenue.	Rs.	Cts.	Expenditure.	Rs.	Cts.	Rs.	Cts.	Rs.	Cts.
			Charges sanctioned by Ordinances Nos. 1 of 1870 and 8 of 1872.						
			Establishments.						
Arrears of Revenue of former years ...	250,000	0	Civil	1,143,371	75				
Customs	2,800,000	0	Judicial	628,635	0				
Port and Harbour Dues	100,000	0	Ecclesiastical	87,200	0				
Land Sales	760,000	0	Public Instruction	41,750	0				
Land Revenue	1,000,000	0	Medical	104,702	0				
Rents, Exclusive of Land	400,000	0	Police	23,500	0				
Licenses	2,000,000	0	Prisons	10,650	0				
Stamps	1,110,000	0	Convict Establishment	15,705	0				
Taxes	45,000	0	Colonial Store	25,821	25				
Postage	5,000	0				2,081,335	0		
Fines, Forfeitures, and Fees of Court ...	86,000	0	*Sanctioned by Ordinance No. 12 of 1867,* Contribution towards Military Expenditure	.....		1,300,000	0		
Government Vessels	50,000	0							
Sale of Government Property ...	1,350,000	0							
Reimbursements in aid of Expenses incurred by Government ...	300,000	0	*Sanctioned by Ordinances Nos. 9 of 1869 and 6 of 1870.*						
Miscellaneous Receipts	280,000	0	Railway Interest and Sinking Fund ...	.....		618,666	0		
Interest	150,000	0						4,000,001	0
Pearl Fishery	....		Charges voted by the Legislative Council in Appropriation Ordinance for 1876	.....		.....		9,448,608	15
Special Receipts	8,000	0							
Receipts by the Crown Agents in London	5,000	0							
Railway Receipts	2,750,000	0						13,448,609	15
	13,449,000	0	Works charged on Balances ...	.....		.....		1,451,917	73
			Do. Surplus Funds ...	.. ..		.....		58,416	50
			Do. Loan Board Funds...	.....		.....		34,986	53
Draft from Balances ...	1,451,917	73							
Do. Surplus Funds ...	58,416	50							
Do. Loan Board Funds...	34,986	53	Surplus Revenue	.....		.....		390	85
Total ... Rs.	14,994,320	76				Total . Rs.		14,994,320	76

Council Chamber, Colombo, 15th December, 1875.

Arthur N. Birch, *Colonial Secretary.*

[To the figures given by Mr. Digby for 1876 are added for comparison the figures for 1906. Since he wrote, the revenue has increased from fifteen million rupees to thirty-five millions and the expenditure from fifteen millions to thirty-four and a half.

Revenue and Expenditure 1906.

Actual Receipts.

	Rs.	Cts.
Customs	8,358,542	10
Port, Harbour, Wharf	2,086,793	30
Licenses, Excise, &c.	7,602,012	96
Fees of Court, &c.	1,421,061	69
Post and Telegraph	1,237,790	91
Government Railways	10,092,928	31
Interest	580,737	87
Miscellaneous Receipts.	440,019	35
Land Revenue	594,288	48
Land Sales	2,616,485	95
	35,030,660	92

Actual Payments.

Heads of Expenditure.

	Rs.	Cts.
Charges on account of public debt	3,648,732	25
Military expenditure	2,868,478	40
Pensions	1,412,571	91
Exchange	143,267	58
Personal emoluments	8,469,424	41
Other charges	9,406,887	43
Miscellaneous services	777,450	39
Public Works (annually recurrent)	2,325,602	27
Irrigation Works do.	164,268	57
Railway department, new construction ...	964,034	52
Increase of salaries	353,782	66
Public Works, extraordinary (Chargeable to Loan Fund)	1,850,339	12
Charged to revenue pending	—	
Raising of loan	—	
Public Works—extraordinary	1,913,542	62
Irrigation „	196,171	87
	34,494,554	00

The public debt is very small, and is incurred solely for reproductive works, such as railways and a break-water; in each sinking funds are provided. So prosperous has the Island been, that one railway, the extension to Gampola, was constructed out of current revenue, and the debt on a continuation of this line will be redeemed in a very few years, when a hundred miles of one of the best paying railways in the world will be in the hands of Government, perfectly free of liability. [At the time this was written the railway from Colombo to Kandy and Nawalapitiya had been finished, about 92 miles: about 470 miles have been since opened, *viz.* to Matale, Matara, Bandarawela, Jaffna, Yatiyantote, Nuwara Eliya.] During the earlier days of the Council's existence, the proposal was made to raise loans for educational schemes, the loans to be liquidated by a sinking fund added to interest. The proposal, however, was firmly resisted by the (then) Governor, to the lasting detriment of the Colony. Save from food taxes, [since abolished by the efforts of the writer, the late Mr. Geo. Wall and the Governor Sir A. Havelock, 1892] and that on salt, the system on which the revenue is raised is sound: when the Home authorities cease to control the spending of it, there will be cause for congratulation.

(*b*) Legislation for Ceylonese Interests.

Considering that, according to theory, the affairs of Ceylon are administered by the British for the Ceylonese, one cannot repress an exclamation of surprise at the few measures in the statute book which directly concern the Sinhalese, Tamils, Moormen, and Malays. The reason of this, however, is not far to seek. Slavery disappeared soon after the British took possession of the Island. Education was fostered, perfect personal liberty secured to all, without distinction of religion, race, or colour, and an improved system of judicature provided an honest judge: each of these measures was secured with little or no legislation, the Charter having established the superior courts at the time the Council was called into existence, while slavery was finally abolished by an Ordinance of two short clauses, and education became a matter of administration affected by annual votes in the Supply Bill. Much, indeed, has been done, and, in some respects, the position of the people is better than it was under the native monarchs: possibly, greater haste would have led to less solidity, but this is doubtful. Certain foundations have been laid; the time has now come for a superstructure to be erected upon them, and the people introduced to a wider sense of freedom and larger liberty, by which they may exercise the right of free citizens to control themselves rather than to be controlled by others. The very acts which have been passed by the old

Council, now straining from enlarged life to burst its bounds, have made this necessary. Give freedom to a people who have soundness at bottom, remove disabilities from their path, and not only does labour on their behalf cease, but they go on to do similar work for others. Seed has been sown and the time for the harvesting of results has come.

In the early days of the Council the zeal for education was great; the fruit is seen in the fairly well-educated generation of men who are now fit, with European assistance, to legislate for themselves. The conflicting religious interests of the Island, in years gone by, rendered much progress in education extremely difficult; long and stormy were the fights on the subject, until a system of grants-in-aid for purely secular results allayed the storm, and settled the "religious difficulty" which still vexes English statesmen. The energy expended in the struggle, when that struggle came to an end, was not so sedulously turned into the channels of teaching as ought to have been the case; domestic slavery was gone, and the equality of all men, first taught by the Semitic race under the influence of the teaching of Christ, became a part of the inheritance of the Ceylonese individual. The *gamarala* (villager) suffered much from cattle trespass and cattle stealing, and became greatly demoralized thereby. Government stepped in and checked the evil; later on giving the aggrieved party power, in Village Council assembled, to do this for himself. Religious bondage, slavery to the soil, which especially fettered the tenants of Temple lands, as *rajakaria* (enforced labour for the king) had embraced the whole population, certain favoured classes excepted, was made a thing of the past to those who were willing to commute degrading services for a specie payment. Pecuniary aid and scientific assistance were granted to restore the ruined tanks, to repair the retaining bund, to fit in sluices, and once more to cause precious rain-water to lie upon the land and nurture the beautiful green springing blade of the rice-plant. As much was done in a few years as had been completed in a generation of the rule of the old kings, whose deeds, owing to the lapse of years, seem to the strained vision, as it peers across the centuries, fabulously large; this, too, without oppression of the people. Peculiar phases of disease, resulting from bad food and impure water, were specially grappled with, and hospitals erected for the succour of the sick; whilst, in many parts of the land, medical aid, through duly-qualified doctors, was supplied. That the people have not more fully availed themselves of the advantages of European medical treatment, is due mainly to their own prejudices and apathy. When "the skies above are as brass and the land beneath as iron," which, unfortunately, too frequently happens in the East,—in Ceylon, however, thanks to its insular position, less frequently than India,—relief works are opened, and direct assistance

given. It is the boast of England that, bad as are her Poor Laws, no one *need* die of starvation within the four seas of Britain, as sustenance at least is provided for all; yet a writer in the *Contemporary Review* (September, 1875) tells of many authenticated deaths from starvation in one year. So prompt are the authorities of Ceylon, so watchful the officials, and so pertinacious the unofficial members of Council and the newspaper Press, that no death from lack of food need take place in the Island. Very different this to what happened less than a score of years ago, when it was found that several hundred persons had actually died of starvation, and nothing was known of this by the public till the official, who had charge of the district, took his papers from the pigeon-hole of his desk and compiled his Annual Report. The crowning work of the existing Council, above the registration of titles and restriction of entails, so far as purely Ceylonese interests are concerned, was the passing, five years ago (1871), of the Gansabhawa Ordinance; by which Village Municipalities and Village Tribunals have been revived, and, so far as the administration of communal affairs is concerned, they are working with as much perfection as anything human can be expected to attain. One high in authority in Ceylon, in a good position for observing the working of these institutions, says, in a letter: "So far as I can ascertain, everything is working admirably. I once told Sir Hercules Robinson [under whose rule the Gansabhawa Ordinance was passed] by letter, that had he done nothing else it ought hereafter to be inscribed on his tombstone, 'he restored Village Councils to Ceylon.'" Waves of conquest have rolled over India from Central Asian border-lands to the narrow spit of land where the continent dips into a great waste of waters stretching to the Southern Pole, but nowhere did conquest remove or overlay the foundation-stone of the Aryan social fabric. The empire changed, and at court, now one conqueror, now another sat on the imperial throne. But the depths of the social strata, the village system of "home rule," and the inhabitants thereof, were little more disturbed than are the minute *globigerina* which are laying a chalk bed in the mid-Atlantic, discomposed by a terrific storm which the while is swamping a stout ship or straining the stanchions of an iron steamer. Only the British "raj," among conquerors in the East, unwittingly applied a sponge to these ancient institutions, and, to some extent, wiped them out. Fruitless and regretable task—for fuller experience shows that a durable structure of administration by the people for the people, can only be reared on ancient lines. Consequently, in India the *panchâyat* is being revived, and in Ceylon the Gansabhawa has been made once more to serve the many wants of village daily life, and to arouse the local ambition and energy of the people which had been crushed by the despotism of the ancient kings. To repeat, British rule

in Ceylon has been particularly beneficent; true policy and enlightened statesmanship would argue that the trust and confidence aroused should be taken hold of, fostered, and directed to lasting good. "You have "taught me self-government, and have raised high hopes and ambitions "within me," may remark the educated Ceylonese, addressing his present rulers, "now you will surely not deny me the privilege to exercise my "powers? You have made of me a man. Stand just a little aside, (I do "not mean, go away altogether), and permit me to attempt manly things." Can the appeal be rejected? Forty and four years already [now seventy-six years] have the people served an apprenticeship: shall they not now enter the Promised Land of Representative Government, for which they have longed, and to rightly appreciate which, all their political training has been directed?

(*c*) European Interests.

The fact that Ceylon, upon the partial ruin of the West India Colonies when slave emancipation took place, rose into importance as a scene of European labour, which might at first sight seem to be a means of keeping back the Ceylonese from self-rule and self-control, has had an exactly contrary effect. Though it may seem as if the legislation of Ceylon during the past forty years has been, in the majority of cases, apparently for European interests, native interests have been *pari passu* served. This is true of nearly all the distinctively European Ordinances, though it must be confessed the good which has resulted to the people was not in the original programme, and has merely been an illustration of the truth, that more ends are involved in particular acts than are dreamed of by the promoters. Ordinances have been passed in European interests to aid immigration, provide railway extension, medical aid for coolies, the formation of roads by grants-in-aid from the general revenue. Two Ordinances may be specified as specially passed to please the coffee planters, *viz.* (1) Ordinances to exempt manures from tolls, and (2) a bill providing special legislation against coffee stealing. The introduction of the last-named measure caused great commotion, as the well-known maxim of the English common law, "assume every man innocent until he be proved guilty," was altered to making every native who was found on a coffee estate—(estates are un-fenced and are "path-ed" in every direction) explain for what purpose he was there; if necessity arose, making possessors of picked coffee prove that it was honestly obtained, and prohibiting the possession of green (unripe) coffee under a penalty. Being "special legislation," it was stoutly resisted on the unofficial side of the House, and a long debate ensued. The bill was nevertheless read a second

time, but in committee repeated divisions took place. There was much in favour of this measure being passed; it was drawn upon the recommendation of Sir Edward Creasy, Chief Justice, who had found that high prices for coffee had fostered crime, and that the heaviest sentences imposed under the existing law against theft, was inadequate to check the evil. Two years' working of the Ordinance has justified its introduction. District Judges and Police Magistrates are not now much troubled with cases of coffee stealing, though prices have reached, and continue to maintain, an almost unexampled height. What is often asked for in Indian Presidency towns, in the interests of European employers, *viz.*, registration of servants, has been introduced into Ceylon with the best results. The measure was denounced, at its inception, as inquisitorial, but a year's working led to the weeding of bad servants out of the ranks of "helps;" now it is as popular with *employés* as with employers, and its operations are to be extended.

Even with its system of nominated representatives, the Council has been of great service in educating the people in the advantages of deliberative assemblies; and it may now be considered what kind of institution is required to meet the necessities of the case were the present Chamber, its work done, removed from the place it has so long occupied. It was created by a despatch from the Colonial Office; it may be removed by equally facile means. Outside agitation for reform may, and will, be carried on. Nothing can be done inside the Chamber, as certain instructions to the Governor forbid the question of the constitution of the assembly being broached at any of the meetings by any of the members, a most unfair and arbitrary rule.

II

The People as They Are and the Chamber that is Needed.

"The peculiar circumstances of Ceylon, both physical and moral, seem to point it out to the British Government as the fittest spot, in our Eastern dominions, in which to plant the germ of European civilization, whence we may not unreasonably hope that it will hereafter spread over the whole of those vast territories.—*Report on Judicial Establishments and Procedure in Ceylon.* By C. H. Cameron, 1830-31.

Political Franchise.

Nil.

The two immediately foregoing lines appear in the centre of a page of the annual Blue Book, and, unlike other title-pages in the volume, has no section of details following. There being no political franchise, the question is prompted, in spite of what has already been written: "Is

the inhabitant of Ceylon worthy of the franchise, and capable of rightly exercising such a trust?" The late Rev. Spence Hardy, a missionary of long standing in Ceylon, has described its climate by the experience of two individuals, the one reciting all the disadvantages and drawbacks of an Oriental clime, the other summarising the many undoubted benefits. If a stranger were not informed that the descriptions referred to one and the same place, he would never of himself infer that they did so. Similarly, two Englishmen resident in Ceylon may be taken, and if questioned with reference to the people, may give diverse answers. One will assuredly say that they are indolent, untrustworthy, unveracious, pretending to be attached to the British, whilst all the time they bitterly hate them, and so on, until there is not an offence against the decalogue, or sin against society, which they are not held to be guilty of. Another Englishman, one who has mixed much with the people, will remark that undoubtedly the people have some bad qualities,—in short, are human, —that some of them have not the regard and love for truth which Englishmen are reputed to possess, but that they should not be unreasonably blamed on this account, as their antecedents have not been such as to cause them to be devoted to veracity. Subject races, the world over, slaves and others habitually oppressed, have never been notorious for truthfulness. That goes along with freedom. Further, he will say that the Burghers have many intellectual and kindred gifts, particularly those of a kindly nature; that the Tamils are honest in business, energetic and pushing; the Moorman and Malay very good behind the counter, on the bungalow verandah with a pedlar's pack, or as masons; whilst the Sinhalese, given fair opportunities, are not one whit behind any of their co-temporaries of other races in the Island: whilst it is as true of the Sinhalese and Tamils as it is of the Burghers, that, with moderate facilities, they exhibit intellectual gifts and acquirements which make them the equals, in this respect at least, of Englishmen resident in the Colony. It should never be lost sight of in dealing with Eastern races, those in Ceylon in particular, that the manner in which they were ruled in the past was such as to stifle all energy, all personal effort, and to make them mere puppets in the hands of a dissolute monarch, surrounded generally with courtiers who fooled their master's whims to the top of their bent. All things considered, the inhabitants of Ceylon, those of Dravidian or Malayan race, as well as those of Aryan extraction, have developed a faculty for self-government, and have progressed as rapidly as any race of people could do, with the consequence that they are now fitted to occupy a higher position in the scale of nations than that they have hitherto filled. Perhaps, of the half-dozen nationalities represented in the population of Ceylon, the true "sons of the soil," the Sinhalese, are least thought of by Europeans as possessing abilities which should

entitle them to a position of equality with the alien rulers; yet, known as individuals, they are learned and industrious, and as communities, not without a deal of energy. This latter characteristic has been especially displayed in the working of the Village Communities' Ordinance; and the Administration Reports of the Government Agents contain many facts which might be cited in proof of the assertion. Fruit of the richest and ripest kind is being garnered from the agriculturists, a class wanting the active life of the town. If this is so in the hidden recesses of the jungle and among paddy-fields, what may not be expected of those in whose minds the leaven of the century is working, who would be the main body of electors in a scheme of reform, by whose suffrages the members of the representative institution for which the Colony is now ripe, would be sent to legislate? The success of the Village Communities' Ordinance has been turned against it; and some who are not disposed that their Ceylonese fellow-citizens should have equal rights with themselves object to it, because there have not been rowdy violence and keenly contested elections when Village Councils have been formed. That there has been neither bribery nor rowdyism, one would think was rather a proof in favour of the institution than an argument to show that it has failed. It only needs that the Tamils, who have their own governing bodies, meeting weekly for the transaction of business concerning the community, should turn a similar amount of attention to public matters, to place them on a level with the Sinhalese in this respect, and both races combined, with a good infusion of Burghers and Europeans, would make as active and intelligent a community as could almost be desired. It is not argued that there would at once be the smoothness of procedure and facility of working which marks institutions of ancient growth and long continued practice; it would be a pity if there were. Better that there should be mistakes and something of awkwardness at starting, with the chance of further attaining unto perfection, than that success in such matters, which has been gained at great cost by others, should be too easily acquired. If the object were obtained with little or no trouble, it would not be rightly valued.

Spite of the instances before their eyes in the present able Ceylonese members of the local legislature, Europeans in Ceylon often find it difficult to imagine that dark-skinned gentlemen, habited somewhat differently from themselves, should possess statesmanlike ability, or be able by power of speech to take a good grasp of a subject, and reason logically upon it. As though facility of utterance and a logical mind were matters of dress! It doth not appear in *Hansard*, nor hath it ever been recorded in contemporary history, that the country members of the House of Commons, who second the reply to the Queen's speech, are more eloquent than other members of Parliament, although they

rise to address the speaker in all the bravery of a Deputy-Lieutenant's uniform, gorgeous and unique as that was before an order of court changed the tapering swallow-tails into the more decorous lappets of a surtout coat! Strong sticklers for the rights and privileges granted to them, Ceylonese legislators would in all probability become; the pages of the *Ceylon Hansard*, for the past two years, give ample evidence of this. Sturdy patriotism and not subservient time-serving would, it may safely be predicted, be the prevailing characteristic of the Ceylon House of Representatives.

The material interests of the Island, alike of European and Ceylonese, demand that legislative power, to a greater extent than is now possessed, and a machinery which will work more smoothly and rapidly than the present, should be provided. Proof of this is seen in the backward state of many of the Provinces exclusively Ceylonese, and one of the most important parts of the Island, the Jaffna Peninsula in the north, being so completely shut out from the Capital and the more progressive parts of the Island as to seem almost a foreign land. It is a Tamil who suggests, in the newspapers, the placing of a mail cart on a road just completed, which would bring Jaffna within twenty-four hours' journey of Colombo, and it is a European Government which peremptorily refuses to do this. The consequence of Jaffna being thus shut off from the rest of the Island is that a great part of her active people, the keenest in the community, go across the "silver streak," and the Madras Presidency and the Straits Settlements have the benefit of their talents. [The railway has since been opened, 1905]. To the European a reform is most urgently required. A remarkable illustration is afforded in the feeble and dilatory manner with which the Home Colonial authorities have dealt with the subject of railway extension, while "some one should be hanged" for criminal waste of time in regard to water works for Colombo. It is impossible to fairly rule Ceylon from Downing Street, six thousand miles distant, and it is little short of a crime to attempt it. Materially this is true. Socially and politically it is equally patent. After nearly eighty years' occupation of the Island, only a miserably small sum is expended for educational purposes, and the system of education is not an iota ahead of what was taught in English grammar and day schools in the early part of the century. This would not have been the case had the inhabitants been given more power in Council: proof that this is no mere assertion, made at random, may be found in one fact. As soon as the Gansabhawa Ordinance gave the people control over education they established schools with great rapidity *for girls* as well as for boys; made attendance compulsory on pain of fine, with the further punishment that if the parent continued contumacious, he should be deprived of his vote for the Village Council,

and declared ineligible to sit as an assessor in the tribunal to try breaches of communal law. On-lookers, struck by the advanced position Ceylon has attained, compared, say with one of the Indian Presidencies, think that there is great cause for gratulation. But when all the circumstances are taken into consideration, the feeling should be one of shame that so little has been done. Twelve years under a Representative Government, might be trusted to do as much as a generation of the present system has accomplished.

It may be not inappropriate here to sketch the kind of assembly for which the Colony is now ripe, placing as a porch to the edifice to be described, an abstract of the population of the various divisions of the land. In the distribution of seats, numbers have been kept in view to some extent, though the proportion of existing schools has been considered.

POPULATION OF CEYLON 1871.

WESTERN PROVINCE.			
Colombo District	... 578,721		
Sabaragamua District	... 92,277		
Kegalla District	... 105,287		
			776,285
CENTRAL PROVINCE			
Kandy District	... 258,432		
Matale District	... 71,724		
Nuwara Eliya District	... 36,184		
Badulla District	... 129,000		
			495,340
SOUTHERN PROVINCE.			
Galle District	... 195,416		
Matara District	... 143,379		
Hambantota District	... 60,960		
			399,755
NORTHERN PROVINCE.			
Jaffna District	... 246,185		
Manaar District	... 25,545		
Mullaitivu District	... 10,058		
			281,788
NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCE.			
Kurunegala District	... 207,885		
Puttalam District	... 61,199		
			269,084
EASTERN PROVINCE.			
Batticaloa District	... 93,220		
Trincomalee District	... 20,070		
			113,290

NORTH-CENTRAL PROVINCE.

Nuwara Kalawiya District	58,972	
Tamankaduwa	4,768	
Demala Pattuwa	6,980	
		70,720

[The figures given above are those of the Census of 1871. Those of the 1901 Census are given below for comparison :

POPULATION OF CEYLON, 1901.

Western Province		920,683
Colombo Municipality...	154,691	
Colombo District (exclusive of the Municipality) ...	387,886	
Negombo District	148,249	
Kalutara District	229,857	
Central Province		622,832
Kandy District	377,591	
Matale District	92,203	
Nuwara Eliya District	153,038	
Northern Province		340,936
Jaffna District	300,851	
Manaar District	24,926	
Mullaittivu District	15,159	
Southern Province		566,736
Galle District	258,116	
Matara District	203,750	
Hambantota District	104,870	
Eastern Province		173,602
Batticaloa District	145,161	
Trincomalee District	28,441	
North-Western Province		353,626
Kurunegala District	249,429	
Puttalam District	29,779	
Chilaw District	74,418	
North-Central Province		79,110
Anuradhapura District	79,110	
Province of Uva		186,674
Badulla District	186,674	
Province of Sabaragamuwa		321,755
Ratnapura District	132,964	
Kegalla District	188,791	]

Proposed House of Representatives.

13 Officials, Heads of Departments, *viz.*, the Major-General, the Colonial Secretary, Queen's Advocate, Auditor-General, Government Agents—Western, Central, Southern, Northern, Eastern, North-Western, and North-Central Provinces ; Surveyor-General, and Collector of Customs.
1 European, elected by Chamber of Commerce (Colombo and Galle).
5 Colombo,—(elected by people) representing European, Burgher, Tamil, Sinhalese, Moor and Malay communities.
1 Kandy (race indifferent).
1 Galle ditto.
1 Jaffna ditto.
1 Dimbula, Dickoya and Maskeliya (coffee districts).
1 Uva ditto.
1 Districts north of Kandy, including Kadugannawa and Kurunegala on the west.
1 Districts east of Kandy, including Hantane, Nilambe, Pussellawa, Ramboda, &c.

Western Province.

3 Colombo District.
1 Sabaragamuwa District.
1 Kegalla ditto.

Central Province.

1 Kandy District.
1 Matale ditto.
1 Nuwara Eliya and Badulla.

Southern Province.

1 Galle District.
1 Matara ditto.

Northern Province.

1 Jaffna District, including Manaar.
1 Mullaittivu ditto.

North-Western Province.

1 Kurunegalla District.

Eastern Province.

1 Batticaloa and Trincomalee.

North-Central Province.

1 Anuradhapura District.

41 in all, including Speaker to be nominated from amongst the members.

The qualification for the franchise might be,—in Municipalities the contribution to municipal taxes; in planting districts, the managing or assisting in the management of an estate, such manager or assistant to be over twenty-one years of age; while in outlying districts, possession of property of a certain value, or payment of rates levied by local

improvement boards, or having a vote for Village Councils, should constitute qualifications for a vote for the legislature. A clause in the Charter granting some such scheme as has been shadowed forth, might permit the House year by year to add to the voting power of a district by permitting newly constituted Gansabhawa voters to be added to the register. The union between town and village life and national affairs, could not fail to be in the best degree stimulating and healthily beneficial to the people. A veto upon legislation might be placed in the hands of the Governor, who, in his turn, would be responsible to the Home authorities, to whom he would send full minutes of proceedings. The present Executive Council, consisting of four chief officials, should be enlarged, having as many elected members as officials: these members should hold office for three years only, and, if Europeans, should have been in the Island at least three years. The Governor should not have a seat in the assembly,* but a Speaker should be selected. Salaries should be given to the "unofficial" members of the Executive, who should hold portfolios of agriculture, and similar matters. Elections might be triennial, and the sense of responsibility could then be brought prominently before the people, who also could not fail to benefit by the frequent communications which would take place between members and their constituents. The representative of "gay wisdom" in the House of Commons, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, addressing his constituents recently, reminded them that when members of the Lower House were dismissed from Westminster, the Queen sent them "to their duties in the country." He confessed he was puzzled to know what these duties were: in his own case, for instance, as a County Magistrate the principal duty seemed to be to license one set of people to make another set drunk. The phrase quoted might be a reality in Ceylon, if only members of the right stamp were elected, and this would certainly be the case if the reform were initiated *con amore*. A member's duty so far as the purely Ceylonese constituencies were concerned, would be only half-fulfilled by three or four month's legislation in the year. Properly carried out a member would only fully perform his duty when he made frequent visits to the people he represented, and thereby bring them into contact with the civilization and progress of the age, in the

* It is lowering to the dignity of the Queen's Representative to take part in the often rough give-and-take style of oratory of such institutions. Mixing in petty matters the vice-regal office is not raised in esteem. Governors are but men, and they naturally take much interest in measures which have emanated from a conclave of which they form a part, *viz.*, the Executive, which initiates all Ordinances. Amongst the traditions of the present House is one which tells of a Governor highly offended at persistent opposition to a Government bill, deliberately turning his chair round and sitting with his back to an Hon. Member during the whole time he was speaking. Further, the President became very wroth, broke the rules of the House in regard to the bill, and was only restored to his wonted composure by the Senior Member temporarily occupying the Chair, whilst His Excellency went to one of the open windows and watched some military athletic sports being carried out on a *maidan* near! W.D.

active life of which, he would show, they were taking a part. Given arrangements of the nature indicated, there would be provided, what is now greatly needed, *viz.*, scope for the ambition of able men among the Ceylonese who, if they find their lawful aspirations checked, may thwart rather than aid in the solution of social and political problems which England in the East has to meet. At present the way for advancement is not made plain in the manner indicated.

The cry is often uttered that, in matters of legislation, India wants rest. Perhaps so; rest at least from ill-considered, injudicious interference with the people, but it is, on the face of the remark, monstrous to insinuate that English rule has been so beneficent from Cashmere to Comorin that her rulers may henceforth "rest from their labours" for their "works will follow them." Nothing is farther from the truth in India, and nothing is less in accordance with fact in Ceylon. The last-named land has mineral resources to develop, but they are few: its wealth consists in its broad acres, and apart from the uppermost slopes of the highest hills there is, perhaps, not more than a hundred thousand acres which could not be made annually to yield produce. There are tracts of cultivable lands, supplied with tanks repaired and fit for use, or needing only very slight additions to make them available for storage of water, waiting to be colonised: this will never be done under the present system of rule. Under a popular Government what is desiderated might be accomplished; it is as certain as anything actually unattained can be that it would be done. This is not the only way in which rich results would be sure to follow from more generous and enlightened policy of rule. With things remaining as they are, while there is some cause for congratulation at what has been done, there is more occasion for regret and shame that so much lies unattempted.

III.

Recapitulation and Conclusion.

The whole case, from a material point of view, for the establishment of wider and more popular institutions, may be shown in a double row of figures. The present Council was established in 1834: if suitable for the state of things existing then, it is unsuitable now. Every single item in the "Statistical Review of the Progress of Ceylon," appended to the Blue Book shows this, as will appear from comparing the following returns:—

Population.	Military.	Births.	Marriages.	Deaths.	Schools.	Scholars.	Revenue.	Expenditure.	Shipping.	Imports.	Exports.
1834.							£	£	Tons.	£	£
*1,167,700	6,227	21,930	7,527	17,486	1,105	13,891	377,952	344,835	153,510	372,726	145,834
1875.											
2,459,542	1,716	67,285	13,837	53,363	1,570	73,020	1,354,123	1,220,180	2,216,403	5,361,240	5,375,410
1906.											
†[3,984,985	1,468	141,847	18,005	136,271	4,006	276,691	2,335,377	2,176,281	13,299,656	8,233,528	7,501,127]

This marvellous development, as great for an Asiatic Colony as the rise of Chicago or Melbourne in American or Anglo-Saxon communities, demands better treatment than it at present receives from the Colonial Office. Nothing more nor less than the measure of freedom which fathers give their sons when the latter are too old to be kept at home. Not that Ceylon, as a consequence of greater freedom, is likely to desire to break away altogether from England: rather would the bonds which connect her with the British dominions be riveted. The diverse races in the Island, instead of seeking to acquire dominance one over the other, are being drawn together and to think and act as one people: distinctive race-names are giving place to the comprehensive and descriptive appellation of Ceylonese. It is not possible to conceive of a time when British agricultural interest in Ceylon will cease. It is too profitable to be given up by those engaged in it, as is sometimes urged would be the case, were justice done to the people in the manner indicated in this paper. An English Governor will necessarily rule whilst connection with Great Britain is kept up. Compensation may be found probably in Ceylonese attaining high honours in the Imperial Parliament, or even in being sent to rule distant Provinces of the federated constitution of the future. Experience proves that it is not wise to make local magnates supreme local rulers.

To sum up, the contentions of this paper may be formulated in the following propositions, which, it is hoped, have to some extent been proved, and which show the desirability for those who have the power to grant reform, not to be slack in well-doing, but by just and generous dealing to stave off agitation and bring affairs as they exist in concert with institutions which have yet to be created. It is maintained—

(*a*) That the interests of the Island suffer grievously from the necessity for referring everything to Downing Street, London, for decision;

* Estimated for 1834.
† Figures for 1906 added for comparison.

(*b*) That full justice is not done to the Island, because those most acquainted with its wants are denied a proportionate share in its government;

(*c*) That, with almost unexampled opportunities, all progress save that which is material, has been comparatively slow and intermittent: much has been done, vastly much more might have been accomplished;

(*d*) That the people of the land have displayed an astonishing fitness for self-government, and that, therefore, the duty of the English rulers is to recognise the manhood it has developed, and to give fair play to the qualities it has been the means of bringing forth;

(*e*) That the experiment of ruling the East through the people of Eastern lands will, of necessity, have to be made; and that a better theatre than Ceylon for the inception of the new rule, cannot be conceived, the action of the people themselves having already taken the proposal out of the region of experiment; and

(*f*) Opportunity calls for action.

WM. DIGBY.

SINHALESE BLACK MAGIC.

A TRANSLATION of a small work written in Sinhalese verse is given in this paper as a contribution towards a study of the system of black magic which was prevalent in Ceylon. The study of folklore and ceremonial magic is essential to a proper understanding of the development of a nation. These customs, for the most part, have died out, but *yantras*, *mantras* and ceremonies are still very common. There is a large number of books extant in all parts of the Island dealing with magic and ceremonies. There are dances and charms which are resorted to for curing ailments. There are others that are used for causing ailments. It is very probable that the accurate knowledge necessary to bring about these effects has been lost. This is not to be lamented. Dealing with the curative treatment, there is the appeal to gods or *devas* who are supposed to influence different districts in the Island. For instance, *Vishnu* is believed to be in special charge of the whole Island, *Skanda* or the god of Kataragama influences the southern division of the Island, *Nata* the west and *Saman* the Sabaragamuwa district. Then there are the local gods, such as *Ayanayka*, *Kalu Kambili* in the Wanni districts, *Galabandara*, *Dolaha devi*, &c., in the Kandyan districts, *Devol*, *Dedimunda*, *Pattini*, &c., in the low-country. Next comes the yakshas, as *Sanni*, *Riri*, *Kalu*, *Oddi*, *Mahason*, *Sunian*, *Gara*, *Tota*, *Madana*, &c. Then the pretas, as *Abimana*, *Gevala*, &c. There is another class dealing with the planetary gods. Ailments are brought about by binding charms, *yantras* (diagrams) *sunian* (contrivances, images, &c.), *angam* (blowing), *pilli* (dead bodies of human and animal) and by the observance of astrological hours. It is stated there are, in short, four thousand four hundred and forty different methods of causing ill to others! Among methods connected with astrological observations, there are several systems of black magic, such as *Yama kala* (Yama god's time) *Pancha paksi* (five birds), *Indra gurulu* (Indra's bird), held in high esteem by those who practice magic. There is also mention of other works such as *Maheswara kala*, *Vishnu kala* and *Brahma kala*. I give below a literal translation of *Yama kala*. This is written in Sinhalese verse and the original consists of 165 four-line verses. The book is apparently derived from the Tamils, as several Tamil words occur in the Sinhalese verses. *Yama devi* is the regent of hell and is believed to be a very powerful god. The method is based on the times of his alleged movements, on each day of the week. The time, direction of the journey,

dress, food and the method of journey are all carefully described. There are hours for obtaining success in a variety of conditions, destruction of one's enemies, winning of cases, obtaining of royal favours, winning the love of fair maids, for wars and fights, for building tanks and blasting rocks and even for thieving.

YAMA KALA.

On Sunday, two *peya** after sunrise, *Yama devi*† goes towards the south. Start at that hour. Take a meal of golden coloured rice,‡ dress in red-coloured garments, imagine that you are riding a horse and proceed facing the south. Take a walking stick of *karanda*§ wood and put on a bluish head-dress. Then go to see the great, and you will be welcome and obtain all you desire.

On Sunday, five *peya* after sunrise, *Yama devi* goes towards the north-west. Start at that hour. Take a fresh turmeric|| root, write on it the name of your rival, place it on a tray of flowers, fumigate it with dummala** powder after repeating the charm†† a hundred and eight times, tie up a folded white cloth round your waist, and keep the root secured in the waist. When you meet the person who has a quarrel with you, take the charmed root in your hand, look intently at the rival's face and break the root. In three days he will die, and according to the words of the *Rishis*‡‡, before the lapse of three months, six others of his relatives will meet with death.

On Sunday, eleven *peya* after sunrise, *Yama devi* goes to the west. Start at this hour. Take a meal of bluish rice, dress in red-coloured garments, imagine that you are riding a peacock, and start towards the west. Take a root of ginger§§ at the time of the zodiac of Aries, write on it the name of your rival, charm it a hundred and eight times, wrap it up in a golden coloured cloth and place it in your waist. When you meet your rival on the road, look straight into his face and break the root in your hand. Within nine *peya* he will be killed by an elephant, when seven months elapse another six persons of his family will meet with death.

On Sunday, sixteen and a quarter *peya* after sunrise, *Yama devi* goes to the north. Start at this hour. Take a gourd||| rind, cut into it the image of your rival and write on the middle of it his name and charm as before. Take an *udella* (hoe) in your left, take a vessel containing live cinders in your right, start with these at the hour named, go straight on to the disputed field without looking sideways and in the middle of the field cut away three sods, place the broken gourd and the sods in the fire-vessel and scorch them on the

* *Peya*—According to Sinhalese calculations a day starts from sunrise and consists of sixty *peya*. A *peya* is equal to 24 English minutes.

† *Yama devi* is held in great terror by the Hindus, as the god of death and judgement, and is represented as a green or blue man, clothed in yellow and red and seated on a blue buffaloe. He is guardian of the South Quarter (*Birdwood Indian Arts* pp. 66-69).

‡ Coloured rice—In preparing coloured rice, the juice of various herbs, flowers, &c. are used to give the colouring to the boiled rice. The root of turmeric (*curcuma longa*) is used for yellow, shoeflower (*hibiscus rosa sinensis*) for red, charred rice powder for black, juice of capsicum leaves for blue, &c.

§ *Pongamia glabra.*

|| *Curcuma longa.*

** Resin dug out from the earth and found in marshy lands; when powdered and sprinkled over red hot cinders, it gives a strong smelling fume.

†† See page 207,

‡‡ *Rishis*—are the reputed authors of *Vedic* hymns—men of traditional fame among the early Aryans.

§§ Ginger—*Zingiber officinalis.*

||| Gourd.—*Lagenaria vulgaris.*

cinders. Three days after, your rival will be killed by an elephant and there will be no necessity for going before the king to prove your claims to the land.

On Sunday, at sunset, thirty *peya* after sunrise, *Yama devi* goes to the west, decked in a black head-dress, on the shoulders and waist white clothes, in the right hand he bears a golden sword, and rides a leopard, after partaking of a meal of blue coloured rice with his attendants. Start at this hour in this manner to subdue those hard-hearted men who without compunction injure the poor. Go to the men who raise disputes on lands, their house will take fire in three days. Go to his village and meet him there; he will fall from a tree and die within seven days; and before the lapse of nine days nine of his family will die.

On Monday, one *peya* after sunrise, *Yama devi* goes to the south-west. Start at that hour. Partake of yellow coloured rice, dress up in yellowish garments, think that you are riding a man and proceed facing the south-west. When thus you go to the great, you meet with success in your petitions.

On Monday, five *peya* after sunrise, *Yama devi* goes to the south. Start at that hour, partake of black coloured rice, dress in blue, think you are riding a *garunda* and proceed facing the south. Take nine twigs from trees of the orange tribe, tie them up into a bundle with a stem of *narawela*,* take a *burulla*† stick, plant it on the disputed land and tie upon it the bundle of twigs. Within seven days collect the villagers and tell them they shall not dispute your land in the future.

On Monday, ten *peya* after sunrise, *Yama devi* goes to the north-east. Start at that hour. Take a meal of white rice, dress in white and think that you are riding a horse and proceed facing the north-east. If your wife has deserted you and if you desire her return, go as described above to see her, and gaze at her with half turned eyes, her heart will melt like the ghee that has seen the fire. She will accompany her husband on his return. As a stone thrown up returns to the earth, she will return without delay. She will be constant during her life, and for her wantonness she will be without children.

On Monday, eighteen *peya* after sunrise, *Yama devi* goes to the north. Start at this hour. Dress in red and partake of a meal of red coloured rice, think you are riding an elephant and proceed facing the north. If you have been disappointed in collecting a debt, start towards the north at this hour; when the debtor sees you, he will even sell his dwelling house and pay your debt within thirty *peya*.

With a red head-dress, a black cloth over the shoulders and a white dress on the waist with a golden sword in the right hand, *Yama devi* starts riding a peacock. Red coloured food with ghee is taken. In this manner *Yama devi* will start at sunset towards the east. Where a king's officer illtreats the people, brings false charges against them, and creates disputes, treats them unjustly, abuses his power by robbing the poor of their lands, *Yama devi* in this manner showed the method of destroying them. At the hour described above, take a present and proceed and face him from the east and turn back from the north-west. Within nine *peya* after the receiving of the present, the officer will become insane and before the tenth *peya* will drown himself.

On Tuesday, one *peya* after sunrise, *Yama devi* starts towards the north-west. Start at this hour. Take a meal of white rice, dress in white, think you are riding a horse and proceed facing the north-west. If you are unable to win the heart of the maid you love, start at this hour and she will come to you without delay.

On Tuesday, three *peya* after sunrise, *Yama devi* goes to the north. Start at this hour, dress in vari-coloured clothes, partake of a meal of black coloured rice, take opium and bhang and proceed facing the north. If there is anyone who in his envy intends evil towards you and if you desire to destroy him, start at this hour without delay. Take presents in both your hands, give them to him and salute him and tell him your needs

* *Naravelia zelanyca.*
† Lea staphlya.

and return home by turning to the left. Within nine *peya* after taking your presents he will purge blood for nine days and die on the tenth day.

On Tuesday, nine *peya* after sunrise, *Yama devi* goes to the south. Start at this hour. Partake of a meal of blue coloured rice, dress in blue, think you are riding a man, and proceed facing the south. When you thus go to engage in commercial pursuits, you will prosper and even on the first day after leaving home you will get rich rewards.

On Tuesday, fifteen *peya* after sunrise, *Yama devi* goes to the south. Start at that hour. When you go to steal, you will succeed. Like a stone thrown into the sea, the robbery will be difficult of detection.

Yama devi remains thirty *peya* after sunset in the south-west with a black head-dress, black over the shoulders and dressed in black, with a golden elephant-hook in the right hand, seated on a peacock, a meal consisting of red coloured rice, parched rice and gingelly being partaken of. If there are enemies who intend evil to you and when you desire to destroy them follow directions as above. In this manner *Yama devi* gave directions for destroying those men who lead wicked lives. If you go at this hour before the great, they will take compassion on you and grant your requests.

On Wednesday, one *peya* after sunrise, *Yama devi* goes to the north. Start at this hour. Take a meal of rice and ghee, wear a garland round your neck, anoint yourself with gingelly oil and proceed facing the north. When you thus go on love affairs, you will meet with success.

On Wednesday, nine *peya* after sunrise, *Yama devi* goes to the west. Start at this hour. Take a meal of red coloured rice, dress in red, think that you are riding a lion and proceed facing the west. When you thus go in search of office you will succeed in obtaining your wishes without resort to bribes and presents.

On Wednesday, eleven *peya* after sunrise, *Yama devi* goes to the north-west. Start at that hour. Take a meal of red coloured rice, dress in red, think that you are riding a horse, and proceed facing the north-west. Take a piece of brick, write on it your enemy's name and the names of those living with him. After charming it nineteen times, bury it on the south side of his compound. Within nine days he will die of the wrath of gods, and within thirty days his house will be deserted.

Yama devi proceeds thirty *peya* after sunrise, with a black head-dress, clothed in white, with a golden *trisula* in the right hand, and seated on a *garunda*. The food partaken of is of blue colour and is dressed with flowers and scents. When evil spirits oppress men and women and make them mad, *Yama devi* gave these directions for the destruction of such spirits. Start at the hour mentioned, and face the patient with a steady gaze. When thus looked at, the evil spirit departs frightened never to return and make the patient mad.

On Thursday, one *peya* after sunrise, *Yama devi* goes to the north. Start at that hour. Partake of a meal of red coloured rice, dress in yellow coloured clothes, think you are riding a leopard and proceed towards the north. When you go before the king on a land dispute bow down to him at his feet and there will be no more trouble for you.

On Thursday, three *peya* after sunrise, *Yama devi* goes to the north. Start at that hour. Dress in silk and proceed facing the north with a light heart and without taking any food. Wherever you go you will be well received and treated with food as if you had been to your own village.

On Thursday, nine *peya* after sunrise, *Yama devi* goes to the south. Start at that hour. Take a meal of white rice, dress in white, think that you are riding a *kindura** and proceed facing the south. Go to a smithy, take a piece of dross, bury it in the forge without the knowledge of the smith. In that forge there will be no more malleable iron. When beaten, the iron will go to pieces in all directions, as declared by *Yama devi*.

On Thursday, thirteen *peya* after sunrise, *Yama devi* goes to the west. Start at that hour. Partake of black coloured rice, dress in a silk cloth, think that you are riding a

* *Kindura*—Mythic half-bird and half-maid. (The Greek Harpy.)

gurula,* proceed facing the west. Take an elephant-hook in your right and a *narawela*† stem in your left, fold the stem with nine folds and place a tight knot in it; at the hour above named, close your fist and you will subdue every one.

On Thursday, ten *peya* after sunrise, *Yama devi* goes to the south. Start at that hour. Take a meal of bluish coloured rice, dress in blue cloth, think that you are riding a man and proceed facing the south. In one hand take a piece of fresh meat, in the other take a lighted torch. When you proceed in this manner on a land dispute, your rival will be bitten by a cobra and die within three days.

On Thursday, twenty *peya* after sunrise, *Yama devi* goes to the north-west. Start at this hour. Partake of a meal of red coloured rice, dress in red, think that you are riding a man and proceed facing the north-west. In the right hand take a white chank, in the left a golden sword. When you go to war in this manner, you will win; within three months thirteen thousand of your enemies will be killed, in four months you will conquer your enemy's land and your enemy will submit to you.

On Thursday, twenty *peya* after sunrise, *Yama devi* goes to the south-west. Start at that hour. Take a meal of white rice, dress in white, think that you are riding a horse and proceed facing the south-west. When you thus go hunting, you will meet with success and within a short time cause the destruction of three male animals.

Yama devi passes the thirty *peya* after sunset with head-dress white, body and shoulders dressed in white, in the right hand he bears the five kinds of weapons, seated on a *hansa*.‡ A meal of a red colour is partaken of with five kinds of syrup.§ If you have a wicked enemy who desires to harm you, show a friendly disposition towards him and wrestle with him. Three days after the wrestling, he will get a pain in his eye and his limbs will be crippled and he will become paralysed.

On Friday, four *peya* after sunrise, *Yama devi* goes to the north. Start at that hour. Partake of a meal of white rice, dress in black, think you are riding a peacock and proceed facing the north. Take a turmeric root, write on it the letter (Hrin), charm it with *agnisera*,‖ proceed on your journey with the root in your hand. When you meet your rival in land disputes on the road, face him and break the turmeric root in your palm. If your enemy had observed proper hours to destroy you, they will turn on him through the power of the *agnisera* charm.

On Friday, five *peya* after sunrise, *Yama devi* goes to the south. Start at that hour. Partake of a meal of golden coloured rice, dress in yellow, think that you are riding a lion and proceed facing the south. To obtain office, start to see the king. When he sees you he will take a liking to you.

On Friday, eleven *peya* after sunrise, *Yama devi* goes to the west. Start at that hour. Partake of a meal of black coloured rice, dress in black, put a sacred thread round your neck, start facing the west. When you are opening a new land, after defining the four boundaries, place a corner boundary post at this hour. While this earth lasts no elephant will come in that direction. While that post lasts no elephant will face it.

On Friday, fifteen *peya* after sunrise, *Yama devi* goes to the north. Start at that hour. When you go to fish in the sea at that hour, you will succeed and your nets when hauled will bring eleven thousand fish.

After the fifteenth *peya*, *Yama devi* sleeps on the bed like a sick man, so do not observe any hours at that time.

On Saturday, one *peya* after sunrise, *Yama devi* goes to the north-west. Start at that hour. Partake of a meal of white rice, dress yourself in blue, think you are riding

* *Gurula*—Mythic half-man and half-vulture.

† *Naravelia zelanyca.*

‡ *Hansa*—Swan.

§ Five kinds of syrup—Honey from bees, *bambara* bees, *dandawela* bees, *kanaweya* fly and sugar-cane juice.

‖ *Agnisera*—A *mantra*—*Om kran kris bahu des sera gini Vishnu Narayane gini, &c.*

a horse and proceed facing the north-west. When you go to the king's palace, all there will be civil to you and you will get what you desire.

On Saturday, three *peya* after sunrise, *Yama devi* goes to the west. Start at that hour. Partake of a meal of red coloured rice, dress in red, think you are riding a leopard, proceed facing the west. In your right take a golden pot, in your left the *trisula*.* To the wicked man who uses his wealth and power to rob the poor, start as mentioned above, go to the boundary of his village, turn to the left and return home. Within three days two members of the family of your enemy will be killed by a falling tree. This is the power of *Yama devi* who can break down even the biggest rocks and no other has such powers.

On Saturday, nine *peya* after sunrise, *Yama devi* goes to the north. Start at that hour. Partake of a meal of black coloured rice, dress in black, think you are riding a man, proceed facing the north. In the right hand take a golden arrow, in the left take a golden banner. When you thus go to see the great, you will succeed and get the king's favour at once.

On Saturday, twelve *peya* after sunrise, *Yama devi* goes to the south. Start at that hour. Partake of a meal of white coloured rice, dress in red, think you are riding a peacock, proceed facing the south. If you desire to obtain the heart of the maid you love, go at this hour to the place where she is and look at her face with the corners of your eyes. Like the ghee that has seen the fire, her heart will melt and she will shed tears when you leave.

On Saturday, fifteen *peya* after sunrise, *Yama devi* goes to the south. Start at that hour. In the left hand take the golden bow, in the right take the golden arrow, think that you are riding a horse, proceed facing the south. When workers in stones desire to break rocks, at this hour mark the rocks for them with a line. Within seven *peya* the rock will split into pieces and fall to the south. But do not do this indiscriminately.

On Saturday, seventeen *peya* after sunrise, *Yama devi* goes to the north. Start at that hour. Partake of a meal of blue coloured rice, dress in blue and think that you are riding a *garunda*,† proceed facing the north. Go to a wicked and treacherous man and face him as above. Within seven *peya* he will go mad, in another day his destruction will begin. He will starve and die within nine days.

On Saturday, twenty-four *peya* after sunrise, *Yama devi* goes to the west. Start at that hour. Partake of a meal of white rice, dress in white, think you are riding a man, take a walking stick of banyan‡ root, tie on a blue head-dress, proceed facing the west, go to the maid you love and look at her with a smiling face. Like the ghee that has seen a fire, her heart will melt, her heart will ache, and she will follow you to any country and marry you within a *peya*.

On Saturday, twenty-three *peya* after sunrise, *Yama devi* goes to the north. Start at that hour. Partake of a meal of yellow coloured rice, dress in yellow, think that you are riding a cobra, proceed facing the north. Go in this manner to start the earthwork in building the bunds of great tanks. While this earth last, the bund will remain strong.

On Saturday, thirty *peya* after sunrise, *Yama devi* goes to the south. Start at that hour. Take a meal of black coloured rice, dress yourself in white, think you are riding a horse, proceed facing the south, take a piece of a brick, hold it over incense, charm one hundred and eight times with *yama sera*,§ let eight persons stand on the eight corners of the land and exactly after two *peyas* place simultaneously pieces of brick as above and cover them up with earth, and disperse in different directions. This is the method of protecting land from the evil spirits.

* *Trisula*—Trident.
† *Garunda, Gurulu*—Half-man and half-vulture.
‡ *Ficus indicus*.
§ *Yama séra*—A mantra.

On Saturday, thirty *peya* after sunset, *Yama devi* goes to the assembly of devas to sit as a judge, and leaves three *peya* after sunrise on Sunday.

On Sunday, thirty *peya* after sunset he goes to the *Naga* kingdom,* and marries there, and leaves one *peya* after sunrise on Monday.

On Monday, thirty *peya* after sunset, goes to the kingdom of *Asuras*,† marries there and leaves after the first *peya* on Tuesday.

On Tuesday, thirty *peya* after sunset, goes to *Wibraja*‡ kingdom, marries there and leaves within the first *peya* on Wednesday.

On Wednesday, thirty *peya* after sunset, goes to the *Sakra*§ (Indras) kingdom, marries there and leaves within the first *peya* on Thursday.

On Thursday, goes to the kingdom of Brahma, marries there and leaves within four *peya* on Friday.

On Friday, thirty *peya* after sunset, goes to the *Garunda* kingdom, marries there and leaves within three *peya* on Saturday.

Before starting at the hours mentioned above, the person proceeding should fumigate himself with resin charmed one hundred and eight times with the following charm:—

Om sun sun mara deva Visnu avatara Yama kala disti disti diri.

W. A. DE SILVA.

* *Naga*.—World of mythical gods cobras.
† *Asura*.—The enemies of gods.
‡ *Wibraja*—Vaikunthe the heaven of Vishnu.
§ *Sakra—Indra*, the king of the heavens.

SINHALESE LITERATURE.

Continued from the last number.

Translated from the German of Wilhelm Geiger.

3. From the 15th to the 17th Centuries.

7. With the 15th century we enter upon the golden age of Sinhalese poetry. As a star of the first magnitude in the galaxy of Sinhalese poets, stands Śrī Rāhula Thera, who lived in the reign of King Parākrama-bāhu VI. (1st half of the 15th century). He is generally named Toṭagamuva, after a place situated in the Southern Province from whence he came. He is indebted for his fame to the elegance with which he manipulated the forms of poetry which were already fixed before him; he has not struck fresh paths. The rhymed strophe, introduced by the Mayūrasandeśa, had become by this time the rule for Sinhalese poets.

The best known of all Sandeśa poems originates from Toṭagamuva, the Seḷalihiṇi-sandeśaya*; this poem consists of 107 verses with the following contents: The minister Nallūrutunaya sends his Maina bird (*gracula religiosa*) from Jayavardhana (*i. e.* Koṭṭē, south-east from Colombo) to Keḷaṇiya to the temple of the god Vibhīṣaṇa, from whom he prayed for a son for the king's daughter Ulakuḍa, presumably the wife of the minister. In the introductory verses the Maina bird is first of all extolled; then follows, exactly according to the model of the Meghadūta, the description of the road by which he went and then the message which he has to carry to the god.

Some verses from the poem will best illustrate Toṭagamuva's style and manner of description:

42. සල් සපු කින දෙඹ රැ රඟ නා මිදෙ ලී
පුල් එරකැඳි කෝපලු මී අඹ පළෝ ලී
පොල්පුවකිහු රඹ මලබුලති සලිම ලී
නිල්ගනඟා සෙවනලු දෙතෙර මනක ලී

* Sella Lihini Sandese...by Sri Rahula of Totagamua...ed. and transl. by W. Ch. Macready, London, 1865 (with paraphrase and glossary in prose).

† Verses 42—44 form one sentence. The principal verb is the imperative *sanaheva* in 44d. Verse 42 forms an attribute to Kelani and is a Bahuvrihi-compound "which has two delightful banks;" *lu* in 42d is the participle *lanava*. The absolute *kana-heve* is then joined to the principal verb and the participle *isina* belongs to *meneviyan* with which again the absolutes *gavasa, salasa, sisila-kere* in 43 are co-ordinated, while *gena* and *mede* in 44 are to be taken with *kiyana*.

43. ගවසා සුපුල් කඩුපුල් මල් නිල්වර ළ
සලසා උකුළවට රසුදුල මිණිමෙවු ළ
සකසා දෙනත හරසදුනෙන් කරැසිසි ළ
දෙපසා ඉසින නිල්පැහැනෙත් දිගු පුලු ළ

44. මනහරනා මෙනෙවි ඇනිදැලවැලි පි ව
ඉනමිණි වෙණනත් නියඟින් මැදරුව ව
කණහෙවැඟයන බුදුගුණ ගී මියුරු කොා ව
ඇනහෙව කැලණි ගඟබඩ මදකලක් සි ව

45. සපුමල් යොහොඹු ලාබැද වරල මන ර ඟ
පැහැදුල් දෙඹ කැකුළු ඔරකරලා නන ඟ
රොණවුල් නාකුසුම් කනලා කොඩොල් ර ඟ
දහවල් උයන් කෙළිකෙළ සලලුන් සම ඟ

46 නුවනින් නිල්උපුල් මදහසිනි හෙලැඹු ළ
උවනින් කමල් පැලවනතිනි රතු පු ළ
පවනින් අඹුල රණලියවන් ලියන්කැ ළ
රැවනින් ලකළඟඳිඟ කෙළැනි මුඹුක ළ

47. ව දි මි න් සවස නලහැසිරෙණ දිගතුව ළ
ඉඹමන් සුනිල් මිණිනිල්නුඹ තුරැ විපු ළ
ප ත ඝ න් අවර ගිරතැවියෙන් වැවෙනඝ ෂ
වී ලි කුන් සුරත් පලවැනි වේරිවි මඩ ළ

" By the side of the Kelaṇi river, whose twin banks are beautiful by reason of the shadows cast by the deep green branches of the sala and campaka trees, of the kina, domba, ṛeranga, nā and midella trees, of the blossoming erahendis, of asoka trees, sweet mangos and patalis, of coconut and areka palms, of sugarcane, plantain and cotton trees, with the flowering betel,—(by this river) take rest, sitting for a while as thou listenest to the wonderful virtues of the Buddha, being chanted so beautifully by the charming Nāga maidens as they sit on the cool sands, taking their jewelled lutes in their hands and delicately touching the strings with the tips of their finger-nails,—(to the maidens), who, decorating their dark hair with the blossoming lotus flowers, winding around their hips girdles glittering with jewels, and pleasantly cooling their breasts with the sandalwood ointment of strings of pearls, they scatter the blue colour (of their glance) on each side from their long and wide eyes. When the troop of women decorated with jewels, swaying in the wind like vines, stopped their play, who, with their blue eyes and with their light laughter are like unto white lotus blooms, with their faces as kamal flowers and their lips red water-lilies,—(the women) who twine into their beautiful hair campaka and yohomba flowers, making glittering dombu buds into strings of pearls for their breasts and

* Verses 45—47 are again one sentence. The principal verb is *ve* in 47d. The first clause ends with *nimunu-kàla*; the previous absolute belongs to *liyan* in 46c. Note particularly that *helembula* in 46a stands for *hela-embula*, *ambala* in 46c is participle from *ambavana-va*, and *pat-asan* is transposition of *asanpat=asanna—prapta* " reached its setting" (*asan*=" end, termination" acc. to Clough).

fastening into their ears the full-blown flowers of the nā tree as earrings, play in the garden with the youths all the day: (at this time) the sun becomes like unto a deep red ripe fruit, as it, setting, falls from its stalk on to the western mountains from the spreading tree of the blue heavens like unto a shining sapphire, whose boughs, the four quarters, are shaken when the evening zephyr move them."

Paravi-sandeṣaya, "the dove message," is another poem written by Toṭagamuva. The message is addressed to the god Viṣṇu at Dondra just as in the Mayūra-sandeṣa, to whom the dove is sent from Jayavardhana, in order to implore a blessing on Parākrama-bāhu and his brother, as well as for the king's daughter Candravatī.*

Toṭagamuva has dipped deeply into the material of the jātakas in the Kāvyaṣekharaya,† a comprehensive poem in 14 songs describing in verse the history of the Bodhisattva as Senakapaṇḍita (Senaka jātaka). The work was completed, according to a statement occurring in it, in the 34th year of the reign of Peṛakum-bā (VI.) The Peṛakumbā-siritā‡ a panegyric poem on King Parākrama-bāhu VI. is also ascribed to this author. It is not quite certain if it actually originated from him but it doubtless dates from the time of that king. I do not know of any edition of this work. Two younger contemporaries of Toṭagamuva are Vīdāgama Thera and Vettēva. The former is the author of the Buduguṇālaṇkāraya,§ a eulogy of the Buddha and his teaching, containing 612 verses. The poem was, according to a note in verse 609, completed in the year 2015 A.B. and in the 3rd year of the reign of Bhuvaneka-bāhu VI. (1472 A.D.) Veṭṭēva, a priest in the Kurunēgala district, and a pupil of Toṭagamuva is the author of the Guttila-kāvya,‖ which is reckoned as one of the standard works of Eḷu literature. It consists of 511 rhymed verses and is a poetic version of the Guttila-jātaka.

I mention finally some poems, belonging to this period, whose authors are not known with certainty, or are quite unknown. The Loveḍasaṇgarāva,¶ a poem of 135 verses, written in the popular language, counsels the reader to live in conformity with the teachings of Buddha; it was written by a monk in the Vīdāgama monastery; it is not however possible to be quite sure if the poet Vīdāgama, mentioned in it, is really the one of this name: if so, the author of the Buduguṇālaṇkāraya and

* One edition (with Sinhalese title only) appeared in 1873, Colombo (with paraphrase). Cf. also L. De Zoysa, Catalogue, p. 31.

† The Kavyasekhara by...Sri Rahula Swami of Totagamuve, paraphrased by...H. Sumangala, ed. by Batuwantudave and...Sumangala, 2nd ed., Colombo, 1887. The date of the poem is given, 14, 71.

‡ L. De Zoysa, Catalogue p. 31.

§ Published (with Sinhalese title) by Jayatilaka, Mahanuvara (Kandy) 1894. Without paraphrase but with gețāpadavivaraṇaya, *i. e.* a short commentary over the more difficult expressions.

‖ The Guttila Kavya by...Wettewe, paraphrased and edited by the Pandit Batuvantudave, 2nd ed., Colombo, 1886.

¶ Printed (with Sinhalese title) by S. A. Z. Siriwardene, Galle, 1885.

the Loveḍasaṇgarāva were one and the same person. There are three other "sandeṣas" which should be mentioned here. The Tisara-sandeṇaya, "the swan message," a work not yet published, does not enjoy much popularity. The Girā-sandeṣaya, "the parrot message,"* is addressed to Śrī-rāhula in the Toṭagamu monastery and entreats him to ask a blessing for the King Parākrama-bāhu and his house from the god Nātha, the patron of this monastery. The poem, which is presumably written by a pupil and imitator of Toṭagamuva, contains an interesting description of the way from Jayavardhana, where the author stayed, to Śrī-rāhula's monastery.† Finally there is the Kovul-sandeṣaya, "the cuckoo message"‡ which until now has only been accessible in manuscript; it is addressed to the Prince Sapumalkumaru the son of Parākrama-bāhu VI. by a priest of the Devinuvara monastery (Dondra), congratulating him on the conquest of Yāpāpaṭuna (Jaffna), it gives a graphic description of the capture of this town, and also describes the journey through the whole of Ceylon from Dondra to Jaffna.

8. Among the prose works of the first "golden age" of Sinhalese literature should be first of all mentioned a treatise on Buddhism named Saddharma-ratnākaraya or Sarasaṇgraha§ which was written during the reign of Parākrama-bahu VI. (1410—1462). Three Eḷu dictionaries were written about the same time: Piyummala, Ruvanmala and Nāmāvaliya.‖ The latter is generally called Purāṇa—Nāmāvaliya to distinguish it from the later Nava-Nāmāvaliya. Ruvanmala is generally ascribed to King Parākrama-bāhu VI. and Nāmāvaliya is said to have been written by his minister Nallurutunaya, the supposed husband of Princess Ulakuda mentioned so often in the poems of that period. Finally, amongst grammatical literature Moggallāyana-pañcikā-pradīpaya should be mentioned. Moggallāyana is the author of a Pāli grammar, differing in its system from Kaccāyana. He is said to have lived in the 2nd half of the 12th century. He added to his grammar which bore the title Moggallāyana-vutti or M. vyākaraṇa, a glossary named Moggallayana-pañcikā. The work edited above is written partly in Pāli, partly in Sinhalese, and forms a commentary to the grammar of Moggallāyana. It is thought to be one of the most learned and exhaustive works on the Pāli language.

* Girasandesa, with a paraphrase by Hendrik Jayatilaka, Colombo, 1883.

† L. De Zoysa, Catalogue, p. 30.

‡ The same.

§ Published (with Sinhalese title) by Sarananda. The first volume only has as yet appeared (to p. 80), Colombo, 1891.

‖ The Ruvanmala by King Parakrama Bahu Sirisanghabodhi and the Piyummala by an unknown author, edited...by Pandit Batuvantudave, Colombo, 1892. Vol. I. has appeared, containing Ruvanmala to verse 712. L. De Zoysa, Catalogue, pp. 25, 26, remarks in both glossaries, "an ancient and a standard work." The Namavaliya is edited by H. Jayatilaka, Colombo, 1883. It was published by C. Alwis, with English translation and Index, Colombo, 1858. H. Jayatilaka's "Glossary of Sinhalese Classical words," Colombo, 1895, is based on the three dictionaries just named.

By way of appendix I should mention two tracts, of which I know nothing further, Butsaraṇaya and Dahamsaraṇaya, the former treating, as the title shows, of the Buddha, the latter of his teaching.

9. The end of the 16th century was for Sinhalese literature of portentous significance; King Rājasīha I. turned towards Brahmanism and persecuted Buddhist teaching and its followers. All Buddhist books which he could get possession of, he had burned and to this circumstance undoubtedly is ascribed the loss of numerous books of earlier date.

But on these distressing times a second "golden age" followed with the revival of Buddhism at the beginning of the 17th century, a revival with which may be especially connected the name of the poet Alagiyavanna Mohoṭṭāla or Mukaveti. His masterpiece is the Kusajātaka,* a versification of the jātaka so named, which has for its subject the history of the Bodhisattva in his then existence as King Kusa. The language is elegant, the style elaborate but not excessively artificial. A closer dependence on Toṭagamuva appears to me unmistakable. In the closing verse of the poem (687) the date of its completion is given as the Saka year 1532=A.D. 1610. According to the introduction it was written at the suggestion of Meṇiksāmi, the wife of Attanāyaka, a minister of King Rājasīha.

At the beginning of the poem the city of Seṿeṭ (Srāvastī) is described in the following verses:

22. ලොවැ සියලුම් සැප ත්
සැපත් කැන්මෙන් සිරිග ත්
දඹදිව්තල මහ ත්
සැවැත් නම්වී පුරෙක් යහප ත්

23. සවිසිරි පිරි එපු ර
වටකරා රැදි ඇඹුරන ර
අගල පිලිම්ණී වූ ර
සිවිත්නා සුර දෙපුරහිම්ක ර

* Kusajātaka Kāvyaya, by...Alagiyavanna Mohottala, revised and edited...by A.Mendis Gunasekara, Colombo, 1897 (with introduction, paraphrase and notes, with the Sinhalese prose text of the Kusajātaka and its Tibetan and Nepalese versions in extract, as well as a glossary). Kusa jātakaya, a Buddhistic legend, rendered for the first time into English verses from the Sinhalese poem of Alagiyavanna Mohottala, by Th. Steele, London, 1871.

† The first *sepat* in 22=skt. *sanpatti*, the second=*sanprapta*. 23) *minivura=miniavura*. See Clough and the words *aura*, "ramparts;" *tara* is "gross." 25) Divide *surangana avut*. 26) re="having taken." (Gunasekara), cf. *ara-gannava*, to take; *peyi=dekvi*, to *hanava*. 29) *naliya* signifies "female elephant" as well as "betel;" *vanaliya* to *vana-lanava*. 30) *kalbanda*=woman. 32) *kiranave*=skt. *ksirarnava*; *Sunera* is north of the Meru mountain. 33) *negu* to *naganava*, to raise, to lift up; the *ata* at the end of *dig-ata* is a post-position with locative import and replaces here as often the simple locative.

24. එකි පඟමුදුන බ ද
ලෙලෙන රන්දද නලවැ ද
නිමවූ කුළුගිස සො ද
කෙළිනවැනි සිදඟනෝ කැමැස ද

25. මිනිබිතුවැව දිගැ ස
රඟන පිළිබිඹු දිසිලෙ ස
සුරඟනවුත් නිද ස
පුරුදුකරනෙව් රැගුන් එකලෙ ස

26. පඟගකොන් මිණිරැ ස
වැදුරත් තරිදු මැද ස
බෝසත් සස දව ස
රැපැති ගිනිරැස්මැදව පැනිලෙ ස

27. ගණබ නිලුපුල් ස ර
රණකුස මුතු පබළකු ර
සක්රණ දම් නිස ර
ලකල් රණලිය සරනි එනුව ර

28. වතතෙත කමලු පු ල
දුවන් වැලිතල පැගැදු ල
එපුර ලිය තුනුවි ල
සරනි සලෙලුන් නුවන් මිනි ලො ල

29. රනදරිණි නාලිය
ගමනින් සදිසි නාලිය
එපුර සර ණාලිය
කවුරුනම් කැකෙවෙනි ව ණාලිය

30. ගසතනිදුවර නෙ නි
බමර බැමපුල් සරව නි
නිල්සෙවෙල් වර ලැ නි
එපුර විල්කල් බදුන් එකයු නි

31. උදුලදල කොකවැ ල
ගණරන් පොරොදු විදුලෙ ල
මදවැසි පොදව න ල
සරණ ගණකුළු වැන්න ගජර ළ

32. නරවර සුනෙරදු ල
ඇමනි ගණකුල ගිරිපෙ ළ
පුරකිරණ වැනැ බ ල
විසුළ රළපෙළ වැන්න ගයර ළ

33. සුදු සිදු යොදන ල ද
රන්දද නැගූ මහන ද
එපුරරිය සක්න ද
පැනිරැ පවනී දිගත විනි වි ද

34. ජයගත් අසුර සෙ න්
විකුමෙන් සදිසි මහසෙ න්
දිනාතෙක රූපුසෙ න්
එපුර හැසිරෙනි තුමුල බළසෙ න්

22. On the broad plain of Jambudvīpa, which is blessed like a place which has attained every happiness, lies a beautiful city named Śrāvastī. 23. In this city, filled with all riches, is seen the moat, deep and broad, continuing round, also the wall of crystal and jewels, forming the boundary between the two towns of the Nāgas and the Suras. 24. The fluttering golden flags, waving above the palaces, stirred by the wind, are like unto the women of the Siddha, who ever sport above the summits of the Himālayas. 25. The semblance of the dancing, long-eyed women near by the jewelled walls is as if the thirty women of the gods had come down and carried on the dance in such wise. 26. The hare in the red moon which is reflected in the glitter* of the jewels of the finials on the palaces, shows the fashion of the Bodhisattva, who in his then existence as a hare, sprang into the midst of the flame of fire. 27. In this city walk golden vines adorned with dark clouds, with flowers of the blue lotus and water lilies, with golden clasps, pearls and coral branches, with shells, gold chains and swans.† 28. In this city fly those bees, the glances of the youths, towards those tanks which are the forms of the women, decked with kamal and blue lotus flowers that are their eyes and cheeks, and with sandy banks that are their hips. 29. Who is able to describe the women walking in this city, whose lips are like unto the tendrils of the betel and whose gait is like she-elephants. 30. In this city the women may be likened unto tanks, because they possess swans that are their breasts, blue lotus flowers that are their eyes, bees that are their eyebrows, blossoming water-lilies that are their cheeks, dark saivala flowers that are their hair. 31. The troops of elephants are like mountains of wandering cloud, with rows of cranes that are their glistening teeth and flaring lightening flashes that are the massive golden ornaments upon their backs and shed drops of rain that are the must. 32. The rows of wains are like a multitude of surging waves spreading into the great ocean of milk, which is this city illumined by the Sunora summits that are the famous men, having rows of rocky pinnacles that are the crowds of ministers. 33. From this city spreads to the ends of the earth the noise of the wheels of the glorious wains drawn by white horses and on which golden banners are set. 34. In this city the powerful army moves along, the conqueror of many a host of foes, likened in bravery to Mahasen‡ when he had overcome the army of the Asuras."

* Literally " which has penetrated into the glitter...."

† The golden vines are women. The dark clouds signify, according to the current simile, the hair; the blue lotus flowers, the eyes; the " sara" the cheeks; the golden clasp, the nose; the pearls and coral, the teeth and lips; the shells, the neck; the swans, the breasts. Cf. *e.g.* verses 28 and 30.

‡ *i. e.* the war god, Skanda.

The poem Subhāṣita,* a collection of parables and poetical maxims also originates from Mohoṭṭāla. The Seṿul-sandeṣaya,† "the cock message," is ascribed to him, as well as a number of other works not accessible to us: the Dahamsoṇḍa-jātaka, the poetic version of a jātaka, Nītisāraya, a collection of moral maxims, Muniguṇa-ratnamālaya, in praise of the virtues of Buddha, and Dussīlavata, on the wicked conduct of Buddhist monks.

Maha-haṭṭana‡ and Paraṇgi-haṭṭana are not written by Mohottāla as some suppose; the former is a poetical description of the victorious wars of King Rājasīha II. with the Portuguese, the latter treats of the wars between the Dutch and the Sinhalese. With reference to these two warlike songs I should mention a third, Kostantinu-haṭṭana§ which was composed at the beginning of the 17th century. The author is a native Christian, as can be gathered from the evidence in the introductory verses in which Christ (as in other cases Buddha) is invoked. He describes the expedition of the Portuguese General Constantino de Sā against the mutinous Prince Māyadunna who is defeated near Leltopiṭiya. The style is elegant and quite unmistakably influenced by Mohoṭṭāla, whose works the author must have made a subject of special study.

Of the prose works of this period, Saddharmādāsa should be mentioned first, a Sinhalese version of Milinda-pañha of which numerous manuscripts exist but whose author is unknown. Two historical works arise at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th centuries, the Rājāvaliya and the Rājaratnākaraya.‖ They are based, for the main part, on the Mahāvaṇsa and have little value as separate sources of history; still they bring forward incidental facts which are derived from other sources and are worth critical investigation.¶

4. 18th and 19th Centuries.

10. Literary activity in Ceylon lasted on into modern times, and then as formerly the Eḷu language was exclusively used for poetical productions. But it would lead us too far, were we to investigate closely the productions of the last two centuries. It will suffice

* Subhāsita by Alagiyavanna Mohottala paraphrased by R. W. Dias, ed. by W. P. Ranasingha, Colombo, 1893.

† Edited by Samaradiwakara (with Sinhalese title) Colombo (?) 1889.

‡ I possess a native edition of the poem consisting of 155 verses (1896).

§ Cf. F. W. de Silva, J.R.A.S. C. B. XIII. No. 45, 1894, pp. 135—141 where the poem is analysed. There is no printed edition, mss. of it are also rare.

‖ I possess a modern copy of the Rājāvaliya made for me from mss. in the library of the Colombo Museum. An edition is said to have appeared by B. Gunasekara, 1899, but I have not yet seen it. A translation by the same author was published in 1900 (Translator's note). Rajaratnakaraya was edited by Saddhānanda (Colombo, 1887).

¶ A late 17th century Buddhist poem is the "Alavakadamanaya" published by the Social Reform Society in 1907, edited by P. Paṇḍitaguṇawardhana and with a summary in English by A. K. Coomaraswamy; Sinhalese title. (Translator's note).

therefore to give the titles and names of the authors of the more important works, to which L. de Zoysa's Catalogue will serve as guide. The philologist and historian will find little of interest in this latest period of Sinhalese literature.

It became very popular to treat the jātakas poetically following the types of Toṭagamuva, Veṭṭeva, and Mohoṭṭāla. Thus in 1714 Paṇḍitakulatuṇga wrote a Manicora-jātakaya, King Rājādhirājasiha a Asadisa-jātakaya (1780—1798). Kavmiṇikoṇḍala of Samarajīva Pattāyame Liyana Aracci (1771) is a poetic version of the Alinacitta-jātaka Kavminimaldama of Samarasekara Disānāyaka (1773) a version of the Sonaka-jātaka, Kavmutuhara of Sāliellē Maṇiratana Terunnānse (1784) a version of the Dasaratha-jātaka. From this century (19th) dates Kavsilumiṇa* of Talarambē Dhammakkhandha Terunnānse (1826), a poetical treatment of the Andhabhūta-jātaka and Kavmiṇi-randama of Maḍihē Srī Sumitta Dhammakkhandha Terunnānse (1832), and again in the year 1856 a poet named Siṇhabā wrote a Telapattajātakaya based upon one of the same name.

The Sandeṣa poetry was also further enriched. The poet, Barana Gaṇitayā, who flourished under King Kitti-siri-Rājasīha (1747—1780), composed a Nīlakobō-sandeṣaya, "message of the blue pigeon." The author despatches the bird to the Kataragama deity, in order to beg a blessing from him for himself. The Suvasandeṣaya, "the parrot message," of Atthadassi Terunnānse dates from the year 1806; the message is sent from Bedigama Vihāra, where the author lived, to Mulgirigala Vihāra.

There are certain late poems of an erotic character of which in the older Sinhalese literature I know no example: *viz.* Viyovagaratnamālaya by the above-mentioned Pattāyamē Liyana Aracci, and Ratiratnālankāraya by Dunuvila Gajanāyaka Nilame (1811). I note that the erotic motive in the older poetry, is by no means conspicuous and never sinks into that licentiousness which characterises so many examples of Sanskrit literature. The poem Tiratnamātāva by Sumana Thera which dates from the end of the previous century and is in praise of "the three jewels" of the Buddhist church (Buddha, Dhamma, Saṇgha), as well as the poem of Veligala Dāṭhāgotpadīpaya (1819) on the relics of Buddha, move on the contrary in the conventional paths of Buddhist thought. To the domain of old Sinhalese-race-history belongs lastly Kirama Terunnānse of Mātara (1820) with his Siyabasmaldama in which the history of Sīhabāhu, Vijaya's father is treated of.

ETHEL M. COOMARASWAMY. *(Translator.)*

* This should not be confused with the poem already spoken of in para. 6. Kusadavata, which also bears this title.

THE SCHOOL OF NATURE.

I ONCE attempted to interest a well-known educator of youths—famed for his ability in getting candidates through examinations—in the subject of Nature study, but with ill-success.

"School of Nature, indeed," said he, "in these high pressure times of competitive examinations and educational gorging! Do you want to take us back to the days of Adam? Your school might have done for primitive man when he was really in a state of Nature, but seeing that the human race is what it is to-day, where is the necessity for such education as Dame Nature can give us?"

Where is the necessity? None, if there is no need to keep the race from becoming a mere excrescence on the face of the earth, out of harmony with all around it. "The world is too much with us" sang Wordsworth, "little we see in Nature that is ours..... for everything we are out of tune" and the sentiment is if anything truer to-day than it was in the poet's age.

Our modern schoolboy glibly recites Shakespeare's well-known lines about "tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, sermons in stones," but what profiteth he by these sayings?

I am not here to denounce as useless the educational systems of our schools and colleges—so necessary to the times—but to plead for the recognition of Nature study as an essential element in the thorough training of the young. What is this Nature study?

Broadly stated, it is "the acquirement of sympathy with Nature, and a knowledge of the natural objects around us, by which life is made fuller and richer."

Some imagine, from its having to do with natural objects, that Nature-teaching requires a study of scientific text-books. That is not so, for it has nothing to do with books and aims at finding out things at first-hand. The study lies not in the printed page but in Nature's book. The first essential is to see what one is looking at. A great many people cannot do this. Objects are pictured in their retinas as they are reflected in a mirror, and no impressions or ideas of them are conveyed to the mind. Observation is then the first essential. With observation comes a clear idea of the object, which is fixed in the mind for future identification, and a clear understanding of its significance in Nature, and its relation to its surroundings. The final result is "a keen personal interest in all natural objects, and a living sympathy with all that *is*, and everyone will

some day need all the solace and rest that Nature-love can give." It will thus be seen that Nature study is " something wholly informal and has nothing to do with rules and definitions. The old idea of setting up a model is a false one, because the model does not exist in Nature. Ideas should be suggested by things, not the things by the ideas."

The object lessons of Nature study may deal with inanimate or animate things. Among the former will of course fall all things that do not exhibit the phenomena of life. Animate Nature comprises the two large groups of plants and animals.

Let us for a moment consider one or two objects in the inanimate world around us. To many, a stream is no more than what the geographical definition makes it, but to the student of Nature what a train of interesting thought does it not give rise to? First a cloud of vapour, it comes to earth as rain, and after flowing over and through the land, it reappears as freshets or springs, which combine their energies to form a moving force on the face of the earth, flowing silently in calm weather or rushing headlong when swollen by torrential rains, carrying a burden of solid matter along its course.

And so it " goes on for ever," year in and year out pursuing its work of denudation, of transport and deposition: and though the result of each day's labour may be small, the added toil of centuries is great. In the steeper slopes the moving rocks and pebbles strike one against the other, filing down the bed of the stream and wearing away its banks, and so adding to the material which it transports. It is by this process of cutting and filing and grinding that we have such marvels as the falls of Niagara, and the Grand Canyon of Colorado over a mile in depth.

But what becomes of the burden of the stream? The larger rock fragments, gathered along its steeper slopes, are deposited where its progress has been checked by a reduction in the gradients, while the finer particles are conveyed still further on its course, even till it mingles its waters and loses itself in "the brimming river," which after all is only a larger edition of the streams that contribute to its bulk and carries on a more stupendous work in denudation and transport and construction: all the solid material brought down by stream and river going to build up new areas and so equalising the distribution of land and water. There is a great deal more to observe and learn in this Nature lesson, but to-day it must suffice, that we recognise in the stream a busy agent, the main purpose of which is to catch up and convey the excess of water that falls upon or issues out of the earth, while at the same time it wears away the land surfaces over and through which it flows, utilising the *debris* to build new areas of land. It represents, so to speak, two forces, one destructive, the other constructive—so simultaneously reducing and adding to the earth's solid crust, and in this way

maintaining a tolerably constant land area, though considerably altering its disposal.

And so whether it be a lump of coal, a fragment of granite or pumice-stone, a drop of dew, or a flash of lightning, the story each has to tell is full of a fascinating interest, which is unknown to, and unknowable by, those who have not been to Nature's school and learnt of her. The ignorance of such things as these is, sad to say, made a boast of by a certain class of people—so great has been the divorce of man from his natural environment—and though this is far from being a laughing matter, we cannot on occasions help feeling amused at the stupendous ignorance of those who are sometimes confronted with questions about natural objects, and one could only wish that at every examination test a general knowledge of them is insisted upon, as a requisite qualification for a pass.

It was probably in a paper or oral examination of this kind that the question: "State what you know about oxygen and hydrogen?" occurred, to which report—with what truth I will not stay to discuss—says that a deeply-learned young lady, hailing from a classical seat of learning, gave reply thus:—"Oxygen is pure gin, hydrogen is gin and water mixed."

This was the blue stocking's profound knowledge of the life-giving gas she breathed with every breath, and of the two elements which in partnership composed the water she drank every day.

To such as she the common things of the world are beneath notice, much less worthy of study, but to the true student of Nature, there is nothing too trifling for observation, and few things that do not give rise to noble sentiments; and would that there were more of us who could exclaim with the poet.—

"My heart leaps up when I behold
A rainbow in the sky,
So was it when my life began,
So is it now I am a man,
So be it when I shall grow old
Or let me die."

Again let us consider for a minute a piece of chalk such as we use for writing upon our black-boards. To the ordinary observer it is no more than a fragment of a stony substance dug out of the earth, but the student of Nature recognises in it the product of the ages, a substance formed by millions of tiny sea organisms that have contributed their skeletons towards the deposits of this form of carbonate of lime at the bottom of the deepest seas. At these great ocean-depths the decomposed shells have by the action of sea water become consolidated with rock material which by slow earth movements has been raised above sea level.

Though it does not occur as chalk, carbonate of lime is familiar in Ceylon in the forms of limestone and coral, and the mention of coral may conveniently serve as a stepping stone from the mineral to the animal kingdom, for though coral, as we know it, is a stony substance—whether in its beautiful pink form, found in the Mediterranean, or the coarser but more varied mimic forms found in the Indian Ocean, the agent which constructs it, that is the coral builder, is a minute creature known as a "polyp." These coral polypes live in community, and construct what may be termed a compound exo-skeleton or corallum, in which they live and work together, secreting the building material which they extract from the sea water. And so we get our barrier reefs along this very coast and "atolls" or coral islands—(such as compose our dependency, the Maldives) the results of the life work of these minute organisms.

To pass on to another apparently insignificant member of the animal kingdom. Most of you must have noticed after a shower of rain, particularly after a dry spell, little mounds of dark earth scattered over the surface of the soil or upon the grass. These are the "casts" of the common earth-worm, the harmless creature we generally come upon while re-potting plants. Some people are apt to look upon the earth-worm as a pest, and often put an end to its existence, others deem it a useless object on the face of the earth; but few credit it with any good purpose in life. But the truth is that this insignificant creature is of the greatest utility in rural economy, inasmuch as it is an important agent in increasing the fertility of land. To get its nutriment the earth-worm swallows particles of soil, and grinds them into a marvellously fine state of division by an extraordinary apparatus which forms part of its digestive machinery, and after extracting for its own sustenance the organic particles intermixed with the mineral matter, it discards the balance in the form of the casts already referred to. But in this process the earth, which passes through the alimentary system of the worm, acquires by contact with the secretions of its body, an element of fertility which it did not possess before. Darwin estimates that about ten tons of fine earth per acre, per annum, are treated in this way on cultivated land where earth-worms exist—a truly wonderful record of work for these insignificant little creatures. To those who have not already made the acquaintance of that charming book: "The Tribes of my Frontier," I would say:—"Do not fail to read it at the first opportunity." It is the style of book which young people should peruse in lieu of sensational works of fiction, as calculated to give them a foretaste of the pleasure to be derived from communing with animated Nature, whether bird, beast or insect. Referring to the simple pastime of butterfly-hunting, the author in his charming style thus introduces us

to the fascination of the pursuit: "When the sun has just risen, and the cool delicious morning air waves the scented grass and the birds sing, and you hear them sing because there is no babel of worldly noises to drown their music, at such times, to wander aimlessly along, and simply drink in the enjoyment which seems to be poured out upon the face of Nature, makes a man feel that his capacity for animal happiness is too limited. He cannot take it all in. Much seems to overflow and run to waste. Then the sun grows warmer and the freshness of the morning jades a little; but the man who can handle a butterfly-net need not go home and mope. His time is just beginning, for the butterflies are just awaking, as the genial glow of the sun puts warmth into their fragile little bodies. Many silly people think butterfly-hunting a puerile amusement, and so it would be if they pursued it: for the profit which anyone extracts from it is pretty much in accordance with the measure of his own capacity. It is curious to notice how exactly in the face of the fact this old notion of childishness is. All children take an interest in animals, and may with very little encouragement be developed into naturalists—while the observing faculties are still active and they have not yet learned the art of going blindfold through the world. The pursuit of butterflies has the peculiar advantage that it is a recreation as well as a study. In fact it has all elements which go to make up a first-class hobby. It furnishes hours of recreation without encroaching on hours of business. It doubles the pleasure of an excursion, turns a holiday to the best account, and gives a purpose to the morning constitutional. And it is at all times and everywhere within reach. The charge of cruelty against this pursuit is even more groundless. Nothing is more unfeeling than ignorance, and nothing makes one more compassionate towards his fellow-creatures than a close acquaintance with them. Butterfly-hunting is a means, not an end. The end is to know them, to become intimate with them, so that as you move about your garden, or lie dreaming, each gay pleasure-hunter that flits by you may be an acquaintance, with a character and an individuality of its own. Every day thousands of them are born and perish, for like the bouquet on your table, these little decorations are constantly being renewed, so that they may ever be bright." And in this delicious strain does the writer reveal his own love of Nature, and teach us to begin betimes to look at her creatures with an interest and sympathy that will surely bring their reward in brightening our otherwise sombre and often bitter lives, which the artificial pleasures of the world can never do. The true poet—not the rhymster—is not only a student and lover of Nature, but he can see even in the humblest form what is shut out from the vision of other men. He finds in the story of their little lives noble truths, and lessons for the lords of creation.

That most sympathetic of the minor poets, Oliver Wendall Holmes, has written many a beautiful poem which illustrates this fact, and his "Chambered Nautilus" is one of the most charming examples. The chambered nautilus is a calcareous sea organism that lives in an involuted or spiral shell composed of carbonate of lime, in the beautiful opalescent and iridescent form which in the pearl oyster is called "mother of pearl." The ancient Greeks entertained a pretty but erroneous belief which is embodied in its name that the nautilus used its shell as a boat in which to sail over the sea, with its membranous tentacles spread out to catch the breeze. The shell of this creature, zoologists tell us, consists first of a single chamber, just large enough to contain the organism, but, as it develops, it builds successive chambers of larger size to meet its growing requirements, closing up the last-occupied one with a thin septum or wall of carbonate of lime. When at last the nautilus has developed to its fullest extent, it is said to desert its shell, and venture naked upon the world of water. I will now give you the story and its lesson in the words of the poet, who, we may imagine, has found, cast up on the seashore, an empty broken shell of the chambered nautilus, and apostrophises it thus:

"This is the ship of pearl which poets feign
Sails the unshadowed main,
The vent'rous bark that flings
On the sweet summer wind its purple wings
In gulfs enchanted where the syren sings
And coral reefs lie bare,
Where the cold sea maids sun their streaming hair.

Its webs of living gauze no more unfurl.
Wrecked is the ship of pearl!
And every chamber'd cell
Where its dim dreary life was wont to dwell,
As the frail tenant shaped his growing cell,
Before thee lies revealed,
Its irised ceiling rent, its sunless crypt unsealed.

Year after year beheld the silent toil
That spread his lustrous coil;
Still as the spiral grew,
He left the past year's dwelling for the new,
Stole with soft step its shining archway thro',
Built up its idle door,
Stretched in his last found home, and knew the old no more.

Thanks for the heavenly message brought by thee,
Child of the wandering sea,
Cast from her lap forlorn!
From thy dead lips a clearer note is born
Than ever Triton blew from wreathed horn
While on my ear it rings,
Through the deep caves of thought I hear a voice that sings,—

"Build thee more stately mansions, O my soul!
As the swift seasons roll!
Leave this low-vaulted past!
Let each new temple, nobler than the last,
Shut thee from heaven into a dome more vast,
Till thou at length art free,
Leaving thine out-grown shell by life's unresting sea."

Let us now turn for a moment to the vegetable kingdom. Under the term "Plant life" are included all forms of vegetation, from the lowest cryptogams or flowerless plants to the highest phanerogams or flowering plants, from microscopic bacteria to the giant trees of the forest. The study of the first in their varied forms as ferns, sea weeds, moss or fungi, presents many difficulties in spite of their low organization and apparently simple structure, but how little does the average girl or boy know, or care to know, about even the commonest flowering plants in field and garden? First we have the seed or plant—egg which contains the germ that produces the future plant, and with it a store of nutriment to nourish the germ during the early stages of its development. It is this store of nutriment which in many cases furnishes us with food materials whether as cereals, legumes, or other edible seeds. Placed in the soil under favourable conditions of warmth and moisture, the little germ begins to wake from its dormant condition, and drawing upon its store of nutriment its vital energies result in what is called germination, emerging from the soil as a baby plant which, before long becomes capable of providing its own sustenance, and growing up into the adult form which blossoms and perfects fruit that supplies seed for another generation. Such, shortly, is the life-history of an ordinary flowering plant, but the point which the average observer fails to fully grasp is that the plant is really a living organism.

Not long ago a gentleman of apparently considerable experience as a horticulturist, remarked in the course of conversation: "I cannot but think sometimes that plants are really living things." Now, incredible as it may appear that such an observation should come from one intimately associated with plant life, there are, I fear, a large number of people similarly situated as regards their opportunities and their ignorance.

The fact is that the plant is as much a living thing as you or I. It exhibits the same fundamental vital phenomena inasmuch as

Firstly.—It grows, passing through a definite life cycle and reproduces its kind.

Secondly.—It breathes.

Thirdly.—It nourishes itself—all characteristics common to animals of the highest orders.

From the moment the little embryo wakes up at germination, and begins to develop root and stem and leaf-structures, and later on flower and fruit, it *grows* in the real sense of the term, that is, it increases in bulk as the result of cell formation or cell multiplication, whereby new cells are produced and new hives formed through the vital activity of the plant, which passes through the various phases of life—youth, middle age, old age, and dissolution—following the order of all living things: and before passing away it perpetuates its species. The method of propagation is not the same in all plants, but in the higher orders of flowering plants it is by means of seeds. Hidden away in the recesses of the flower are to be found one or more minute bodies, the seed-buds or ovules, aggregations of similar cells, which are, at this stage, part of the plant economy; but, as the result of their fertilisation, some of the cells of the ovules become active, grow and multiply and produce the differentiated structures which characterise seeds. Thus it is that the important alteration of ovule into seed is brought about, the fundamental difference being in the evolution of the living germ or embryo which did not exist before—something capable of starting an independent existence, of giving rise to a new individual.

As I have already stated plants breathe, the process of respiration is carried on in the same way as in animals, that is to say they take in oxygen from the air and give out carbonic acid gas. Lastly, plants nourish themselves. Their nutriment is obtained from both soil and atmosphere. From the soil they derive the bulk of their food, which is taken up in solution through the minute roothairs. From the atmosphere the chief element of food obtained is carbon, which is largely employed for the building up of vegetable tissues. In the atmosphere there is always present a certain proportion of carbonic acid gas, as the result of all the respiration, combustion and decomposition going on in the world, and if there were no means of preventing the accumulation of this gas in the atmosphere beyond a certain limit, the air would become vitiated and rendered unfit for human respiration, in other words, the atmosphere would become incapable of supporting human life. But in obtaining its carbon, the plant helps to preserve an atmosphere of tolerably uniform composition, fit for animal respiration, for it takes in carbonic acid gas through its leaves, retains the carbon for its own use, and liberates the oxygen. In this way it tends to exhaust the air of the poisonous carbonic acid gas and restore the life-giving oxygen withdrawn by respiration of both plants and animals, as well as by combustion and other forms of oxidization. We have thus two opposite forces, one tending to exhaust oxygen and vitiate the air with carbonic acid gas, the other to withdraw carbonic acid and restore oxygen. In a word, plants help to

keep the atmosphere pure for animals and are therefore indispensable to human life. The materials which furnish plants with their food consist of inorganic matter which, from a nutritive point of view, is useless to animals, but this inorganic matter is elaborated by the plant into organic vegetable matter, and it is vegetable matter that supplies animals, directly or indirectly, with all their food, while in the animal body there is the further elaboration of vegetable into animal matter. Lastly, by the dissolution and decay of animal bodies the substances composing them are once more resolved into their inorganic elements. And thus is completed the great mysterious cycle in the transmutation of matter through the mineral, vegetable and animal kingdoms back to its mineral ingredients: and in following these wonderful transformations in Nature we can better understand the force of the all too familiar words—"dust to dust." What endless speculation may not the consideration of these marvellous changes give rise to? For here we come face to face with the fact that the same ultimate elements may take part in the constitution of members of the mineral, vegetable and animal kingdoms. One cannot but recall the half serious half comic speech which Shakespeare puts into the mouth of Hamlet:

"To what bare uses we may return, Horatio! Why may not imagination trace the noble dust of Alexander till it find him stopping up a bunghole? .....As thus: Alexander died, Alexander was buried, Alexander returned to dust, the dust is earth, of earth we make loam, and why of that loam whereto he was converted, might they not stop a beer-barrel?

> Imperious Cæsar dead and turned to clay
> Might stop a hole to keep the wind away,
> O that *that* earth which kept the world in awe
> Should patch a wall to expel the winter's flaw?"

Plants perhaps appeal to us more than any other natural objects because we are in such close companionship with them, whether in the country, in our gardens, or in the pots and boxes that adorn our houses. They are always so near that we have opportunities for knowing them as we should, not merely as natural ornaments, but as living things with a story to tell in every detail of structure and in every phase of life.

Some people have a notion that the capacity for rolling out long botanical names is necessary to those who would lay claims to a knowledge of plants, but this is all nonsense. In saying this, however, I do not mean that the Linnæan system of naming plants serves no useful purpose, and has only been invented, as some think, to confound ordinary folk. On the contrary the nomenclature adopted in Botany is of the greatest utility, inasmuch as it serves to secure the recognition of a plant in any part of the world. The common names of plants are only

useful in a particular locality, and differ in different countries, often in different parts of the same country. Sometimes these common names are so ridiculous that they are no better than nicknames, but still they stick on, as nicknames generally do. I have seen strangers to these shores look incredulous and shocked when—while admiring the gay flowered Hibiscus called rosa-sinensis, a name which likens it to the queen of flowers—they are told that its beautiful blossom is commonly known as the "shoe flower." And this truly awful appellation, which has stuck to it so long will, it is to be feared, never be shaken off, and one of the brightest of our Eastern flora, which has been called by some one "the garden fop"—flaunting its gaudy blossoms among the more modest and delicate blooms of the garden—will go down to posterity as the "shoe-black" among the flowering plants of the East, because forsooth some genius, with very little poetry in his composition, discovered that its bright petals afford an excellent boot-polish. Such are the associations in the minds of many, in this hard utilitarian age. How different the working of the imagination of the man who wrote:

"I wandered lonely as a cloud
That floated high o'er vales and hills,
When all at once I saw a crowd—
A host of golden daffodills.

Continuous as the stars that shine
And twinkle on the milky way,
They stretched in never ending line
Along the margin of the bay.
Ten thousand saw I at a glance,
Tossing their heads in sprightly dance.
The waves beside them danced, but they
Outdid the dancing waves in glee,
A poet could not but be gay
In such a jocund company.
I gazed and gazed, but little thought,
What wealth to me the show had brought.

For oft, when on my couch I lie—
In vacant or in pensive mood,
They flash upon that inward eye
Which is the bliss of solitude.
And then my heart with pleasure fills,
And dances with the daffodils."

"To me," said Wordsworth, "the meanest flower that blows can give thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears." But alas! under present conditions of life, I fear there are few—very few—that reflect in their hearts and minds the matchless beauties of Nature, who in this tropical

home of ours showers her gifts with a lavish hand, and *we* have only to accept them. But many of us pass them by without a thought, for we fail to recognise the mutual sensibility between man and Nature, and hence do not lay ourselves open to the subtle influence which natural objects and phenomena should exercise over our hearts and minds.

But there is, in every one of us however matter of fact we may be, submerged somewhere an instinct which at times draws us to Nature in spite of the artificiality of modern life in which we have been, so to speak, soaked. In the young this instinct is very marked, and the spontaneous joy of children, when brought face to face with Nature, is striking and beautiful to see: and yet many of these little folks are condemned to live year in, year out, in school or at home, denied the pleasure which green fields and fresh air, and birds, and flowers can give, to gladden their little hearts. It is the cry of such as these that we hear in Holme's sad strains:

"O for a spot of living green
One little spot where leaves will grow—
To love unblamed, to live unseen,
To dream above, to sleep below."

I have lately been reading the opinions of such well-known authorities on education as Lord Avebury (better known as Sir John Lubbock), Henry Hobson, Prof. Geddes, Mr. Hanbury, Prof. Thompson, Lord Strathcona, Prof. Lloyd Morgan, Lord Balfour, Prof. Bickmore, Sir George Kekewich (Ka-wik), Prof. Mial, Sir William Hart Dyke, Prof. Cole, and others on the various aspects of the educational system, to which I have been referring. The fact of all these men bearing testimony to the value of Nature teaching, and helping to elaborate schemes for organising and encouraging it, is surely a significant coincidence, and those who are still sceptical should make a point of reading their contributions to the literature of the subject.

It is only in the light of larger and more permanent considerations that we can ever hope to see the small details of life and education in their true perspective and proportions: and those who are seeking to know the best methods of Nature study for the young, may find it helpful to project their thoughts forward and ask what ought to be the ultimate influence of such study, when the scholar becomes the citizen, the thinker and worker, the master or mistress of an intelligent and happy home?

Blessed indeed are they who in their later years can say—

For I have learned
To look on Nature, not as in the hour
Of thoughtless youth: But hearing often times
The still, sad music of humanity,
Nor harsh nor grating, though of ample power

To chasten and subdue. And I have felt
A presence that disturbs me with the joy
Of elevated thoughts, a sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean, and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man,
A motion and a spirit that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
And rolls through all things. Therefore, am I still
A lover of the meadows and the woods
And mountains, and of all that we behold
From this green earth : of all the mighty world
Of eye and ear—both what they half create
And what perceive : *well pleased* to recognise
In Nature and the language of the sense
The anchor of my purest thoughts, the nurse,
The guide, the guardian of my heart, and soul
* Of all my moral being."

C. DRIEBERG.

* Wordsworth. Tintern Abbey

ART OF THE EAST AND OF THE WEST.*

IT is impossible to understand Indian art without understanding the whole culture and historical tradition of which it is the direct expression. It is useless to treat art as an isolated phenomenon apart from the life of the people who made it. Neither can Indian art and culture be really comprehended without sympathy; and sympathy for Indian culture is a rare thing. The orthodox Christian, the Materialist, and the Imperialist are all, in so far as they are what I have called them, constitutionally unable to sympathise with the ideals of Indian civilisation. Add to this the strong temperamental difference between Oriental and European, and it is easy to understand that lovers of Indian art have been few.

I give a typical example of the ordinary attitude, a quotation from Mr. Maskell's book on "Ivories;" "There is a sameness, a repetition, an overloading, a crowding and elaboration of detail which become wearisome before we have gone very far. We are spoken to of things, and in a language of which we are ignorant. We regard them with a listless kind of attention. In a word, we are not interested. We feel that the artist has ever been bound and enslaved by the traditions of Hindoo mythology. We are met at every turn by the interminable processions of monstrous gods and goddesses, these Buddhas and Krishnas, Vishnus and Ramas, these hideous deities with animals' heads and innumerable arms, these dancing women with expressionless faces and strange garments.....In his figures the Hindoo artist seems absolutely incapable—it may be reluctant—to reproduce the human form; he ignores anatomy, he appears to have no idea of giving any expression to the features. There is no distinction between the work of one man and another. Is the name of a single artist familiar? The reproduction of type is literal: one divinity resembles another, and we can only distinguish them by their attributes, or by the more or less hideous occupations in which they may be supposed to be engaged."

I quote this ignorant and childish rhodomontade only because it is so typical. Perhaps the easiest way to show its true value would be to ask you to imagine similar words spoken by an Oriental, who should substitute the word "Christian" for the word "Hindu." "Enslaved by

* Extract from a lecture delivered to the Art Workers Guild in Clifford's Inn Hall, London, January 10th, 1908.—(From the New Age, March, 1908.)

the traditions of Christian mythology, interminable processions of crucifixes and Madonnas"—would not this be an idle criticism of mediæval European art? The one true word of Mr. Maskell's is his confession of his ignorance. The one thing strange is that he does not, nor do his like, hesitate to criticise and to condemn, often in violent language, what they do not understand at all, and in saner moments would hardly pretend to understand.

I take another instance. Professor Nelson Fraser, an English teacher in India, and a student of Indian art and religious ideas, tells us that one day he had a young lady visitor from England, something of an artist, and she was examining his treasures gathered from the East and West and of all periods. She flitted lightly over the Hindu brasses and settled down on a case of Greek coins. I remonstrated against this, he says, and pointed out that she might see the Greek coins any day at the British Museum, whereas she might never see the bronzes again at all. "I don't care for grotesques," she answered, "I don't understand these things."

And so we come to one serious difficulty: the Indian ideal of beauty is not the Greek to which the Western artist is accustomed; nor does it appear to us that art, to be great, need necessarily be beautiful at all. There is a higher quality in art than that of beauty. There is something in great ideal art that transcends the limited conceptions of beauty and ugliness, and makes a criticism founded on such a basis seem but idle words. In art, as in life, we pray for deliverance from the bondage of the pairs of opposites, the "Delusion of the Pairs."

And even when the representation of physical human beauty is the immediate aim, we find that the ideal of the human form is different in East and West. The robust muscularity and activity of the Greek athletic statue, or of Michael Angelo, is repugnant to the lover of the repose and the smooth and slender, refinement of the bodies and limbs of Orientals. It is the same with the features and the colour. For example, the perfect colour in our eyes, which we call fair, is a light golden brown, and not at all the snow-white paleness of the European ideal. But the real division lies deeper still. The absence of mystery, the altogether limited ideal of Greek art, its satisfaction with the expression of merely physical beauty, conceived as an end in itself; the dead mechanical perfection of its decorative details; the intellectual rather than imaginative aims—all these things make it possible for us to look upon the great classic art which has so profoundly influenced the aims of later Western art, as having striven for, and perhaps attained, a goal to which we do not ourselves aspire.* The Venus of Milo, for

* "Greek work, as known to us," says Prof. Gardner, "is restrained on the emotional side; nor has it any touch of mysticism." I may say that in these remarks I refer to Pheidian and later art only, not to such beautiful archaic art as the Antenor of the Acropolis.

example, is only a very beautiful figure, a combination of perfections, intellectually selected and skilfully combined. It is limited by the idea of beauty and that physical beauty. This is perhaps an indication of the point at which the Eastern and Western views of art part company. The Western artist sees nature with his eyes and judges art by intellectual and æsthetic standards. The Indian seeks truth in his inner consciousness, and judges of its expression by metaphysical and imaginative standards. Art is not to please, but to manifest. We are told, for example, that Zeuxis, when commissioned to paint a figure of Helen for the people of Croton, stipulated to be allowed to use, as models, five of the most beautiful virgins of the city. The Indian artist, on the other hand, would have demanded opportunity for meditation and mental concentration, in order that he might visualise the idea of Helen in his inner consciousness, aiming rather at discovery than creation, desiring rather to draw back the veil from the face of superwoman than to combine visible perfections by a process of intellectual selection. The result would be a work suggesting, more or less perfectly in accordance with his keenness of inner vision and technical capacity for its material embodiment, the real Helen as she lived in the national consciousness, a Helen more real than she who in the flesh brought death and sorrow to the Greek and Trojan heroes.

The Greek, indeed, was above the "æsthetic nihilism" (to borrow a phrase from Professor Gardner) which sees the aim of art in the faithful reproduction of nature; but he made an intellectual selection from natural forms, instead of seeking the highest truth where alone it is to be found, in one's inner consciousness. It is true that Greek art was to an extent religious; but it failed in the greatest qualities because the religion expressed in it was in no sense transcendental, and this is the explanation of the humanism, almost the bourgeois character I might say, of the Greek gods.*

The great cat-gods of Egypt, the sublime Buddhas of Java, the four-handed gods of India, even the great Chinese dragon, seem to me to be greater imaginative art, more to belong to the divine in man, than do the Hermes of Praxiteles or the Venus of Milo.† The ideal of the last is limited, and the very fact and possibility of its attainment show it. Once the spell of this limited ideal is broken, you can never again be satisfied by it, but seek in art for that which has often been suggested but never can, and never will, be perfectly expressed—the portrayal not

* There are, for instance, many Apollos, of which it is said that there are equally good grounds for regarding them as representations or even portraits of athletes. (Walters, "The Art of the Greeks," p. 73.)

† I do not mean, of course, that Greek art could be spared from the world, or that it is not one of the great achievements of humanity; only that it was in certain respects definitely limited, and does not necessarily stand on a pinnacle by itself as the greatest of all art the world has seen.

merely of perfect men, but of perfect and entire divinity. You seek for an art which, however imperfectly, seeks to represent neither particular things nor merely physical or human grandeur, but which aims at an intimation of the universe, and that universe conceived not as an empirical phenomenon, but as noumenon within yourself.

And if it is thus possible for us to feel unsatisfied with even the refined, and in a large degree idealistic, art of Greece, you will understand how much less the naturalism of modern European art appeals to us—the pictures of Poynter, the portraits of Sargent, the landscapes on the exhibition walls, the jewellery of Lalique, or to go farther back, the wood-carving of Grinling Gibbons or the naturalistic borders of the later mediæval manuscripts. All these are pictorial, reminiscent, or anecdotal in their character. But when we come back to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, with the glorious work of the images at Chartres, the sweet ivory Madonnas, the crisp and prickly borders of the manuscripts, and the Gothic rose bequeathed to later times as the symbol of the idealism of the Middle Ages, then at last we find an art that expresses or endeavours to express something of that which we too desire to say. I have repeatedly been struck by the "Gothicness" and, in Ruskin's sense, the "Christianity" of Oriental art. From this point of view, indeed, I should like to classify Gothic, Egyptian, Indian, and Chinese art as Christian, and Greek, Roman, Renaissance, and modern European as pagan, or to use more general terms, as religious and materialistic respectively. To speak again of the present day, I do not say that there is no art in the West which, from our point of view, is great. There has been such art, but it has come only from men fighting desperately against the spirit of the age, living in another world of theirs and ours. Of these, Burne-Jones and William Morris are the greatest; the former in that his work possesses something of that impersonality and aloofness which we seek for, and because he uses form less for its own sake than as a manifestation of something more changeless and eternal, because, too, he was made wise by love to paint not the beauty of the passing hour or the transient emotion, but the changeless might and glory of the gods and heroes; and Morris was great because he proved again that all art is one, the distinction between art and craft illusory, and that this single art craft is not merely a trivial pastime, but essential to humanity and civilisation.

It appears to me that in the immediate future we may, both in England and in India, have less and less art. English art appears to me to flourish at present mainly as an exotic, a luxury for those who can afford it. It appeals to a special class, and is not a spontaneous expression of the national life as a whole. Its appeal, like that of most of the later Japanese art which finds acceptance in the West, is trivial, not funda-

mental; it must be pretty and pleasing; its aim is primarily æsthetic, where it should be prophetic. This divergence between art and life and art and religion appears to me to be increasing. It is a sign of the times. I cannot think it possible for great art to flourish again in England, or in India either, till we have all once more civilised ourselves and learnt to believe in something more real and more eternal than the external face of nature. Till then great art can only be an inevitable fruit of an abundant life. The signs of the awakening of this life in England and India respectively are the movements called Socialism and Nationalism. But their ideal at present is one of a very material prosperity, and not till the pressure of the economic factor is, at any rate, partially relieved will serenity and beauty be restored to life itself, and make possible again great national art. That is why we must expect less and less of art in the near future, but not without hope of change beyond change.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.

NOTES.

The unrest in India and some of its causes.

In the last number of "The East and the West" the Bishop of Southampton, a former bishop of Bombay, writes an interesting article under this heading. He says: "Mr. Morley believes that the unrest is due to racial causes. I venture to think that other causes have been more influential. But certainly racial passions have been greatly excited by much that has taken place, and not least by the fatal display of intolerance and race annoyance exhibited by our own countrymen in South Africa and in other parts of the world. Our imperial statesmanship and all our best qualities for government are in danger of being outweighed and neutralized by the selfish and insolent conduct of merchants and traders in the Transvaal. There can be no doubt that the treatment of Indians there has put a powerful weapon in the hands of seditious agitators and has excited the deepest resentment in the minds of the people of India." He goes on to trace the prevailing unrest to several other causes, which he divides into two classes, those which are transient and those which are deeply rooted and due to our own misconduct.

(*a*) Plague, famine, earthquake, locusts, have been ascribed to British rule. But the poverty of Indian agriculturists is, he says, due rather to their inveterate habits of borrowing than to over-taxation. "The people borrow, not to supply their wants, but to defray the extravagant expenses connected with family occasions, such as marriages, and the debts so contracted are transmitted from father to son through many generations." Again, with reference to famines, the people think that the gods are angry because they tolerate the impious foreigners.

(*b*) The same reasons are given as the causes of plague, and regulations in this connexion are looked upon with suspicion. Such sinister constructions are spread abroad mainly by the lower class vernacular literature.

(*c*) The partition of Bengal was said to be a skilful plot on the part of the Viceroy to get rid of a certain portion of the educated friends of the people, promoters of national aims and aspirations, by swamping them in the backward and unintelligent population of Assam.

(*d*) He thinks the educated classes are the authors of the unrest, to whom the ignorance of the masses gives a place of exaggerated importance.

(*e*) The reverses of Great Britain in the earlier stages of the Boer war exercised a damaging influence on Indian loyalty. This was noticeable in the attitude of the educated and merchant classes.

(*f*) The successes of the Japanese in the war with Russia have fermented the unrest, and, by showing that an Oriental people may throw back a mighty Western power, have increased the self-respect of the Asiatics.

(*g*) The Congress has become more extreme of late. It is eventually one-sided, and contains no Mohammedans nor Hindus of the highest rank.

The Bishop hopes for much good to result from the spread of elementary education and for reform in the University education—which is "not practical or up-to-date. It represents a culture which is of little avail in a country like India. If the undergraduates were taught more about the condition of countries as they are at the present time, about the intelligence of different peoples, about economic facts and principles, and the foundations of political institutions, it would be more profitable than the study of ancient history, and English literature and poetry, which, to a great extent is devoid of practical utility. They should also be taught a great deal more about the resources of their own country, and receive on a large scale the technical instruction which would enable them to turn them to better account."

He goes on to examine " what chief faults there are in ourselves which occasion disaffection and alienate from us the goodwill and esteem of the natives of India." He thinks we have not allowed ourselves to think that India has a future and that it may be our duty to lead them to it. How many Government officials ask themselves this question? Is India always to remain a subject country—or have we visions of an Indian nation as a far-off possibility and are such visions the inspiration of our work? Hardly. Our aims and theirs are diametrically opposed. We are merely exploiting the country—and the aim of our officials is, in the main, to " have a good time" in India.

Again, to turn to personal impressions. " *We do not give the best impression of our nation to the Indian people in the life we live among them.* It is not a life, in many cases, that can be called disciplined, refined or religious. The European community keeps to itself. There is far too keen an appetite for excitement and amusements in various forms—many of our ladies in particular seem to live for little else. The impression of our social life as a whole is not favourable; Indians whom

I respect have called it gross. I prefer to call it gay, thoughtless, worldly and superficial. The sense of duty is not so strong as it should be..... The life is not religious." To sum up, the Bishop thinks that what is chiefly needed for the peace and well-being of our Indian Empire is a greater unity of ideals between British and Indians, and on the part of the Europeans, more seriousness and godliness of life.

The national movement in India and Ceylon.

We have already quoted, in our last number, from Mr. A. G. Fraser's article on this subject in the above-mentioned number of *The East and the West*; but the following paragraph is worth notice.

"This national movement is the expression of the growing self-consciousness of the peoples. They are conscious of a mighty past, and a great tradition, and they feel they have the capacity to give an original contribution to the life of the nations. Whilst we think proudly of England as the mistress of the seas and of the world's commerce, thousands of India's and Ceylon's sons look forward to the day when India shall be the spiritual mistress of all races. But they feel that they are to-day being bereft of this their birthright, and that all that is truly characteristic of their national life and thought and ideals is being crushed out and replaced by a dominant Western materialism. The old culture and art is dying out. The schools are revolutionized. The personal touch between pupil and teacher, so characteristic of India, has largely disappeared with the advance of the machine-like education of Government. And to-day parents feel that character is lost sight of in the curriculum, and they must choose for their sons either the material prosperity and position which may follow in the train of a Western education with its accompanying atheism, materialism, and denationalization, or, remaining Indian, choose ignorance and idleness, for the ancient schools are almost gone."

What shall I eat?

"Copernicus gave the death-blow to meat-eating when he discovered that the earth is an insignificant planet whirling round the sun. Think that your little world is the centre of the Universe, that you are the apex and meaning of all creation, and you may defend your right to eat a rabbit. Realize that your earth is only a minor luminous blot in space, that you are an organism which happens to grind out syllogisms, as the cow happens to chew the cud, and you will end by doubting your right to arrest your mastery over your fellow-creatures in the extreme

form of eating them. In the days when our fathers wrote sermons about man's place in Nature, and concluded that the Universe was nothing but his kitchen-garden, it was possible to justify corpse-eating on the loftiest moral principles."—*The Animal's Guardian.* August, 1907.

What to eat, drink and avoid

Is the title of an interesting symposium in the *Review of Reviews.* The chief men "before the public" in literature, art or religion here describe their methods of life—chiefly in respect of food, drink and tobacco. As might be expected, one man's meat appears to be another man's poison—but it is interesting to note that there is an increasing tendency among public men to give up flesh-eating and alcohol, while nearly all those who replied to the invitation of Mr. Stead appear to be non-smokers. Moderation in all things is the keynote of the reply of the majority of these notables. It is worth while quoting the words of Mr. Bernard Shaw who says: "I find modern customs in eating among the unwholesomely rich people horribly monotonous. One would imagine that the more meals people eat the more care they should take to make each meal as different from the other as possible. Yet at present dinner and lunch are really two dinners, and breakfast is rapidly becoming a third dinner. The old system of breakfast, dinner and tea, in which dinner was the only meal at which meat was eaten, will probably be re-established when people realize the need of variety not only in food, but in meals." He says: "I have not eaten meat for twenty-seven years." He thinks alcohol mischievous to literary work. Similar is the case of the notable Frenchmen M. Berttelet, Jules Clarelie, the late M. Zola, Sardon, Mistral and Paul Bourget. These writers regard alcohol as a narcotic, which deadens the critical faculties of the writer, and makes him very pleased with what he has written.

Opium in Ceylon.

The opium habit is steadily gaining ground among the Sinhalese villagers. Its spread can mainly be attributed to the system of opium rents, by which Government sells a license for the sale of the drug, in any locality, to the highest bidder. The renter is interested in promoting his sales by getting as many adherents to the opium habit as possible. Each licensed shop becomes a centre through which a whole country-side is effected, for in every village a habitual opium eater becomes a distributing agent. He sells the drug to his neighbours in very tiny quantities, perhaps a few cents worth at a time. Thus the pernicious habit is gaining converts rapidly, and a time may come when

this geometrical progression of the illicit sale of the drug will assume such proportions, as to defy remedial measures. Those who have the control of the destinies of the people of this country are running a terrible responsibility, if they neglect to recognize the great calamity that may overtake a once prosperous and happy peasantry, through their want of an appreciation of the situation. The evil has only just begun and can be easily removed by measures not involving any drastic changes in legislation, or much sacrifice of revenue.

Since writing the above we have the very welcome news that Government has decided to effectually control the opium traffic in Ceylon from next year. All licenses are to be given up and the present adult habitual opium eaters are to be registered and supplied with the drug from Government dispensaries. We offer our hearty congratulations to those who persistently urged this reform for so many years on the successful issue of their representations, and we cannot let this opportunity pass without acknowledging the great service which our old Colonist, the Hon. Mr. John Ferguson, has rendered the people of this country—a service which the Sinhalese nation should never forget.

Sinhalese labour for estates.

We are glad to find that Government has refused to fall in with the impractical views placed before them in connection with a proposal to recruit Sinhalese villagers for work in estates. The following extract from a letter from the Colonial Secretary communicated to the Ceylon Planters' Association disposes of the subject in a satisfactory manner. "Whilst the Government is desirous of doing all in its power to assist the Planting community in their labour difficulties, the particular scheme put forward by your Association of organising an official labour bureau does not commend itself to the Government.

"It appears to His Excellency that such a bureau should be a private undertaking organised by the Planters' Association themselves; but if such a private bureau were established, the Government would be prepared to assist the bureau to come into touch with such sections of the Sinhalese as may be desirous of obtaining work on estates either temporarily or permanently."

Land settlement and villagers.

The land settlement policy, under the Waste Lands Ordinance, was forced on the Government by the unscrupulous manner in which, in certain instances, village communal lands were sold to speculators at almost nominal prices. The Sinhalese villagers, in many districts,

enjoyed certain rights over village lands and were enabled to put such land into use in growing chena and other crops, and for keeping and grazing their cattle. We, however, think that the working of the Ordinance, has in many instances, resulted in much hardship to the village population. The villager's idea of law and legal rights, is the expenditure of all his available money and his time in search of legal advice, and as such the procedure in land settlement cases (as the settlement was never meant to deprive the villager of his rights) should have been of the simplest nature, and the claimants to lands should receive every help to prove their claims. This, we are afraid, is denied to him in many instances. We are aware that it is not usual for parties at law to help their opponents to win their cases, but when a Government has stepped in not as a rival claimant, but as the guardian of the public property, to prevent fraudulent misappropriation, they should act as impartial judges rather than rival claimants. We have before us a petition forwarded to Government by a large number of villagers of the Uva Province, and their prayer deserves every consideration, particularly as regards the following paragraph: "They further beg to submit that Government is the custodian of all public documents. It was so even in the times of the Sinhalese kings. If the archives of the Court of Kandy are examined now, amongst them will be found the Maha lekam mityas and Heen lekam mityas of the country. It is not fair to expect the people of this country, who are mostly illiterate and poverty-stricken, to preserve their documents, so in dealing with them, strictly legal methods of modern times should not be adopted .."

Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy writes :—

A note on the number of craftsmen in the Kandyan population.

I have been interested in enquiring as to what proportion of the Sinhalese population (Kandyan) in the eighteenth century consisted of craftsmen. According to the last census report, out of a thousand persons in the Central Province, nine hundred and six subsist by agriculture, thirty-two by the preparation and supply of material substances, eighteen by personal service, ten by some profession and nine by trade. In this list craftsmen are included partly in the thirty-two who live by the supply of material substances and partly in the ten professional, forming thus together less than 4·2 per cent. of the whole population; the proportion was probably higher in the eighteenth century when artistic and literary production were more appreciated. Unfortunately the Census Report takes no account of caste, as it would be most interesting to know the exact number of persons belonging to

the craft castes ; but we may be sure that this number now considerably exceeds those actually living by their craft, and perhaps, on the basis of these figures, we should not be wrong in suggesting that the craftsmen of all kinds with their dependents, formed in the eighteenth century a tenth or a twelfth of the whole population.

Some other figures may be gathered from the report of the Service Tenures Commission of 1873. In a purely agricultural district, Nurakalawiya, we find that out of 117 villages, four are village of blacksmiths and five of potters, together $\frac{1}{13}$ of the whole number of villages, and representing $\frac{1}{9}$ of the total area. In the Nivitigala Nindagama, in the more advanced district of Sabaragamuva we find that out of 51 tenants of this manor, three were blacksmiths, three silversmiths and four potters, together $\frac{1}{5}$ of the whole number and holding $\frac{1}{12}$ of the total area. We are therefore justified in supposing that the total proportion of craftsmen including smiths, potters, weavers, etc., normal to Kandyan society may have been about a tenth of the population. No doubt a detailed study of the papers of the Service Tenure Commission would make possible much more exact and detailed estimates.

The Ceylon Social Reform Society.

The Annual General Meeting was held at the Masonic Hall, Colombo, on Saturday, 2nd May, Mr. Donald Obeyasekera presiding, at which the report of the work of the past year was adopted and a resolution, proposed by Mr. W. A. de Silva, "That it is desirable that steps should be taken to control the spread of the opium habit in the villages of Ceylon," was passed. A full report of the proceedings and the presidential address will appear in our next issue.

REVIEWS.

A Primer of Tamil Literature, by M. S. Purnalingam Pillai,

Ananda Press, Madras, price Rs. 1 (1904.)

This praiseworthy introduction, in English, to the history of Tamil literature has not previously come under our notice. The writer is Professor of English at the St. Michael's College, Coimbatore, and is also the author of an extraordinarily large number of works mainly of an educational character. He has in progress a larger work in two volumes on the history of Tamil literature, to which we look forward with interest, and in the meanwhile recommend the primer to our readers.

The periods of Tamil literature are divided as follows:—

I. The Age of the Sangams—up to A.D. 100.
II. The Age of the Buddhists and Jains—A.D. 100 to 600.
III. The Age of Religious Revival—A.D. 600 to 1100.
IV. The Age of Literary Revival—A.D. 1100 to 1400.
V. The Age of the Mutts—A.D. 1400 to 1700.
VI. The Age of European Culture—A.D. 1700 to 1900.

We must comment upon the unsatisfactory character of the transliteration, no recognized or evident system being employed, so that we find such spellings as "Thirucheeralai-voi" (p. 27), and "Anthathi" and "Pramana-Theepika" (p. 167). We lament also the absence of an English Index.

Netra Mangalya or ceremony of painting the eyes of images, as performed by craftsmen in Ceylon, by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, D. Sc.,

Essex House Press, Norman Chapel, Broad Campden.

This is an extract from Dr. Coomaraswamy's *Magnum opus* "Medieval Sinhalese Art," (now in course of preparation), which we hope will appear shortly, and with its fine type and large paper gives promise of a sumptuous volume. Additional interest is added to this and other works brought out by Dr. Coomaraswamy at the Essex House Press by the fact that they are printed on the press used by the late William Morris, ever to be revered by lovers of arts and crafts, of whom Dr. Coomaraswamy is a devoted follower.

The extract describes in detail the ceremony of the dedication of temples, or rather the image therein, and the connexion between the Patron and the builder. He quotes from Knox: "Some being devoutly disposed, will make the Image of this God (Buddha) at their own charge. For the making whereof they must bountifully reward the Founder. Before the eyes are made, it is not accounted a God, but a lump of ordinary metal, and thrown about the shop with no more regard than anything else. But when the Eyes are to be made, the artificer is to have a good qualification, besides the first agreed—upon reward. The Eyes being formed, it is thenceforward a God. And then being brought with honour from the workman's shop, it is dedicated by solemnities and sacrifices, and carried with great state into its shrine or little house, which is before built and prepared for it."

The Deeper meaning of the Struggle, by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy,

The Essex House Press in the Norman Chapel at Broad Campden, Gloucestershire.

This pamphlet deals with the present unrest in India. Dr. Coomaraswamy thinks the struggle is part of a wider one, the conflict between the ideals of Imperialism and those of Nationalism. "It is not yet an ingrained and ineradicable hatred of England that inspires our efforts. There is not yet in us the bitterness that is in Ireland. If England would help and trust us, there might yet be time for us to love and reverence her name, both now and in the days to come, when we and she are truly free to love and reverence each other: free alike for the domination of others, and from dominating others. We have to learn that nations, no less than men, are ends in themselves: we have yet to fully realize that a nation can no more ultimately justify the ownership of other nations, than a man can justify the ownership of other men.

"There is yet work for India to do among the nations—work that is to show that socialism is possible without making the world a group of State-owned factories, that wisdom is greater than knowledge, that art is more than mere manual dexterity. It will fall to India to spiritualize the religious conceptions of the West, to regard all religions, as facets of one diamond, each one reflecting an aspect of the Eternal Truth—and when the shape wakes, who shall say what may come of it?"

Then follows an allegory—Mata Bharata—of which the end is yet to be written—of the fair woman with many suitors—who bare a child to a foreign lord—but in secret the mother taught her the ancient wisdom—and her heart was turned away from her father and his people and his teaching—and the mother left the foreign lord and lived apart.

The third part is entitled *India—a Nation*—and sets forth the constituents of nationality—of which the chief are geographical unity and a common historic evolution or culture:—Ceylon is cited as the necessary appendage of India without which she would be incomplete—united to her by the joint possession of the love-story of Rama and Sita. England is to be reproached for her absentee land—lordship—and the dictum of J. S. Mill on alien rule is quoted, "The government of one people by another does not and cannot exist." The paper ends with the Indian Credo and a beautiful translation of Bande Mataram.

Ceylon, the Paradise of Adam, by Caroline Corner,

John Lane, 1908, price 10/6.

We are surprised that anyone should have thought it worth while to publish a book of this degree of ineptitude. The book may most fairly be described as the gossipy impressions of an Anglo-Indian lady resident for some years in Colombo. These impressions are gathered from her experiences of low-country servants and quack fakirs.

The authoress spells as wildly as she guesses; of the spelling, we quote some examples: Nuraliya, Veddho, Mahavillagango, Nanouya, Vedana, Ramanayana, Kelaiyni.

Amongst the really funny things in the book are some of the descriptions of the plates. One represents "A group of Veddho (aboriginees of Ceylon) with bows and arrows in the jungle. Only some thirty now are extant. They have never been known to smile." Another picture, of a well-known water-fall, is described as "with Adam's Peak in the distance. The footprint can be seen upon the side of the mountain." As the mountain shown is at least ten miles distant, and not Adam's Peak, and as the footmark is not half a mile across and not on the side of Adam's Peak, the full value of this typical extract from the book may be appreciated. The authoress also (p. 78) appears to believe that the mountain is capable of throwing a well-defined shadow of the footprint on to the estates below.

The book has one merit; some evidence of real imagination. In the closing pages we find the following: "The European of reflective tendency is speedily caught in the mental magnetism of the East. And then comes the fascination. Then, inner eyes seem to open, hidden faculties awaken, psychical senses unfold, and another life—a life within this life—is discovered or revealed.....Even for those who live what may be termed the ordinary, if not vulgar, life out in Ceylon, in the midst of the pretentiousness there runs a *fugue* throughout the "loud pedal" music of their existence, a *fugue* the most sensuous and least witted are conscious of, although they may not be possessed of the higher sensibility to comprehend."

A. K. C.

Waridat-ul-Habib Li Tanwin-il-Labib (The Revelations of Habib for the enlightenment of the wise), by Hanan Chevky Hassib.

Translated from the original Turkish by Muhammad Aly Chevky. Luzac, 5/—.

This book professes to be a revelation of the deeper meaning of certain passages of the Ku'rān. It is one of a series, a former number of which was reviewed in these pages. This one deals with the Universe which is the soul of man, and is in particular devoted to such points as the origin and development of the human soul, of sex and heredity, of Divine decree and predestination, and of the ascent of the soul to God. It is in short a compendium of Esoteric Islam and contains hints to the proper finding of the Noble Path preached by the Prophet. It is a book which will be of great interest to students of occultism. The translator says; "As for the students of physiological psychology, I am confident that the day shall come when they shall find the labours and experiments, during centuries, of innumerable *savants*, anticipated by the intuition and revelation of a single disciple of the unlettered Prophet of Arabia, and thus be compelled to recognise the truth of the message of Muhammad. In the meantime I conclude with the wise dictum of a sufi: "Those who have these spiritual intuitions do not need demonstrations, and to those who have them not, all demonstrations are useless"

All atoms of all creatures existed originally: all human, animal, vegetable and mineral atoms were present in the world of atoms and from these the species were formed. Each body has a single or *chief* atom as a nucleus round which it is built up. In the human atoms there is a *chief male* and *chief female* atom, which, coalescing, *form* either a man or a woman, according as the power of the one or the other *chief* atom preponderates. This atom has its seat in the heart and is called *Nafs*. The physiological process of the spermatozoa is then described. The chief atom, as has been said, does not grow, but attracts other similar ones. The abnormalties of mannish women and effeminate men are explained by the fact that a female child formed by a man's *female chief* atom will have a man's nature and *vice versâ*.

At death the *Nafs* passes to Berzākh or the intermediate sphere—to await rebirth in the next cycle. There seems here a distinct reference to re-incarnation—and it is probable that the Christian "resurrection" simply has this meaning. A quotation supports the dictum:

"Out of it [the earth] have We created you and to the same will We cause you to return and We will bring you forth thence once more." *Sarat-u-Faha*. 75.

The human being is fourfold, composed of the soul, the *Nafs*, the *Kayyumiyah* (that whereby a thing is? Prāna) and the physical body, which last is divided into four elements: man is therefore a septenary. The seat of the "soul" is slightly to the right of the median line, one inch below the level of the nipples. In the soul is some of the light of the world of light and in this lies the secret or the I. If in the progress of a man's evolution certain steps are taken, the soul will advance to such a state of knowledge

as to communicate with pure spirits: the final stage of the perfect ego is communion with the Soul of souls *Anaiyat-i-Kubra*, (absorbtion in God? Moksha.)

There are different grades of souls: a soul of an initiate may, even in this life, communicate with the different grades. There are many interesting parallels throughout with Hinduism and Buddhism as well as Christianity, in the virtues to be obtained necessary for liberation.

At death a man recollects all his deeds, good or evil: while his body is in the grave he is "judged"—*i.e.* gets rewards or evils according to his merits, and once more, at the "resurrection" (rebirth?). In the intermediary world he gradually forgets the state of *this* world. At the resurrection he will get his reward according to his Kama (as a Hindu or Buddhist would say) "a pleasant life: good food and easy digestion, in a lofty garden because of your good works in the past." But the bad man is tortured and is bound with a chain of seventy cubits.

An explanation is also given of the way in which the Prophet "ascended" to the heavens; the "ascension" is shown to have been not physical, but a matter of sympathetic vibration to the matter of a higher plane: it is thus the consciousness which is raised to a higher rate of vibration, and not a "flying through the air." This explanation may perhaps be applied to the so-called "miraculous" flights of other great teachers, for

"The body of the Prophet was not missed in his bed." The book will well repay study in the case of those who are interested in the comparative study of religions and the underlying meanings of symbols and parables in all religions systems.

"*The Inward Light*," by H. Fielding Hall.

Macmillan & Co., London, 1908, price 10/-.

We confess to some disappointment in reading this last work of Mr. Fielding Hall. We are continually in sympathy with his point of view; but his style is annoying it is vague and wordy; he seems always to be on the point of revealing some inward secret, of which in the end we do get some inkling, but always to fail to clearly express the thing he is trying to say. He often uses phrases which are not even sentences, as our quotations show, constantly repeats himself, and so forth. What he wishes to say is mainly this, and it might have been said in a much smaller book: that religion is not in the East, as it is in the West, a formula or a doctrine, but a way of looking at life, and includes all life, so that there is no division into sacred and profane: that it cannot be understood in any effective way by an unsympathetic study, or even by sympathetic study if of a purely intellectual or scholarly character. "There is no ignorance so deep as that of the schooled European."

"Man's soul, his life is not a kernel made fresh at birth, which in death is liberated and banished from the world. It has existed always and has won its way upwards. It is not an inherent quality of certain forms of matter as science would seem to tell us, it is a force that comes from God, and manifests itself in matter.

"We are the products of an evolution. Yes. Not our bodies only but our souls. As our bodies grew fitter to incarnate the higher life, so the life was added from above... That is what the East believes and always has believed. It expresses it in its own dim way, but it understood always what it meant. The evolution of the scientific man which staggered the churches of the West means only to the East that by great work and great research, through infinite weariness and trouble, the wise men of the West have learnt a little of what the East has always known." And so on. For our part we agree, but think that the East has expressed it clearly enough in the more philosophical and intellectual way that the author disparages. We find more said, and more clearly said in Deussen's writings upon the Vedanta, than in vague generalisation like this.

Much better is the destructive criticism of the Western point of view, an easier task indeed. He tells the story of a Western man who grew to understand the East. He felt that the West was always in a hurry. The East was more leisured, and led a happier life. "They wanted many things we have; they had something we have never possessed. They failed where we are strong, but they were strong where we are weak. They saw life more clearly and more whole. They had to learn from us, but that lesson was an obvious one, and could be seen and followed. For it was a lesson of externals—those things which pass. What we had to learn of them was of the inner life; the hidden, real, valuable things of life, that which endures—ourselves."

"'We do not fear'" said the East. "'It is you who fear. You live always in fear. You dare not live from day to day. You must make piles of wealth, for fear, for *fear*. You always look forward at a fear that lives on your horizon. We do not fear...Think you that with all your science you are healthier than we are? Our sickly ones die quickly and their souls are freed. You keep yours chained. You answer that you save from death. No one can save from death, all that you can do is to postpone it...You are always struggling. You think you master fate, you cannot...Your view ends at death but ours goes on. You want to be certain of earthly matters. Yet in such things there is no certainty. That which endures is Will. You wish to control your bodies, we try to control our souls. You cultivate fear, we hope. Famines come and go, and so does pestilence and war and conquerors. Only the soul lasts on. Your souls grow weaker the more you shield them. You become more and more afraid. Your vision grows narrower and shorter day by day. You want to be certain. Unless you think that you can see the future very far ahead, that it is safe, you fear. You will not have children now, because you fear for them and for yourselves. You say: 'The world is hard, and they may sink. Our wealth is small and they will want of it. We dare not face a lesser comfort'...You are afraid, we are not. You do not think that to do right will bring reward, we do. You are the real fatalists, not we. You think that man is the sport of outward things, of wealth, prosperity and strength. But we think that men rise above such things."

This much was of Indian religion before the Buddha came; to it he added the ideal of self renunciation and self-denial. "His disciples and his followers have found it true—a facet of the truth....When it was first taught and men accepted it in millions they were wise and free and strong. Their ability to understand was based upon high civilisation, upon knowledge, upon freedom. Never in the history of the world have there been communities who in relation to their time have done so well with life; who had such broad and sound understanding, who were so varied in their abilities. Nature they understood, though not in detail, yet in principle. They had a subtle sympathy with it. They knew of evolution. In all the main things of life, two thousand five hundred years have added nothing except in detail. Therefore when Buddha taught, they understood. His teaching came as but a continuation of what they knew. He was to them no prophet, but a Darwin of the soul, and they could follow what he said, and still more what he meant." Only in later times "this simple faith which is founded upon a view of the whole of life was supposed to be apart from life, was supposed to contradict life and deny it." No questions are more vexed than those of personality, immortality, nirvana; perhaps they are made needlessly obscure. This is what Mr. Hall says of them: "When men die everything passes but the effect of that which they have done. That is a Buddhist saying. It does not mean, as it is understood to mean, that when men die they disappear utterly, and that all that is left is the effect of their deeds upon the outer world. ...When a man dies, his life may survive, his soul persists. In children may his life continue; and they in their bodies inherit the effect of some of their parents deeds. The soul survives, and that in itself is greater or less as it has been cultivated in this life. But the soul in its further journeys does not carry with it attributes of the bodily life. It has no memory—why should it treasure up remembrance of the past? It has within itself the effects, and that is more than any memory. It leaves behind the loves and hates and

hopes and fears of life. In any future phase allied again to life it will assume with them these attributes. But they will be new ones, not brought with the soul. At death the duality of that body and that soul is divorced for ever. Each takes its burden forward, but with new companions. Each will reap what it has sown.....

"There are no material images in which to picture our hopes of heaven....Heaven is the broader life. It is the gathering of the rays of our souls, ourselves, that which is good in us, that which endures. Evil is temporary. Hell is but for time, but heaven is eternal. Hell is of the little personality in changing form, heaven is of the spirit that is in all the worlds. It is the meeting of our little souls with others, with all that is best, most true, most beautiful in them. To be one with them as we can never be where shells of earth divide us. It is to be one with all the beauty of the world, with the sunshine on the hills, the majesty of the night, the laughter of the waters; with the nobility of noble deeds; the souls of all whom we have loved; with the great Power which is all life. Such is Nirvana." Truly, Nirvana, or Moksha, is not annihilation; it is not a state in which Being is destroyed, for that is indestructible and eternal; but it is a state in which personality is transcended, the consciousness so enlarged that all is within and nothing any longer without.

With certain statements made up on p. 172 we find ourselves in disagreement; the fundamental Hindu doctrine of "non-attachment to the fruits of works" seems to us to be ignored by Mr. Hall when he says that to the West alone could it seem fit to say, "do right for right's sake, indifferent to what the result may be."

We have said enough, and quoted enough to show what Mr. Hall's book is like. It contains much that is true and beautiful and well said and newly said; but much also that is vague and much that is very far from well expressed.

A. K. C.

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*The Guttila Kávya Varnaná.**

The above is the title of a commentary on the well-known Sinhalese classic, "The Guttila Kávya" by Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana of the Department of Public Instruction. The Guttila Kávya was composed by a learned priest of the name of Véttéwe in the reign of King Parakramabáhu VI., who reigned at Kotte, 1410—1467 of the Christian era. It is a metrical version of the biography of Buddha in one of his previous existences. Once upon a time the Buddha that was to be was born in the city of Benares, in a family of *artistes*, and became famous as the musician laureate Guttila. His fame spread to Ujein where Musila, the great musician of that place was fired with a desire to visit the great master and learn his art from him. Musila was convinced that there must be something extraordinary in Guttila's music; for he happened to be playing to a party of merchants from Benares, and though he produced his best pieces on his violin, he found that the merchants who were accustomed to hear Guttila's music at home, were all the while under the impression that he was merely tuning. Musila lost no time in going to Benares and placing himself under the tuition of the Pandit Guttila. He was an apt pupil of considerable talent, and the Pandit taught him all his art, and afterwards recommended him to the king for a post on the royal musical staff. "Of course," said the king, "let him have a salary equal to half of yours." The ingratitude of Musila now shewed itself in an appalling manner. "Why half-pay, sire?" said he, "when we two are the greatest musicians of the day, and are equal? If Your Majesty wishes to see our equality, I shall not refuse a musical contest." The king considered this an atrocious speech, but allowed the contest since the Pandit had to say he was willing. A date was

* Wahid Brothers, Book-sellers, and W. E. Bastian, Paper Merchant, Colombo, 1907. Demy quarto, 1—co, I—XLV, 275.

fixed, and a minister was ordered to make the arrangements. The Pandit however was in despair. He betook himself to a forest to ponder over the situation, and was sitting under a tree in great trouble of mind, when the support of the afflicted righteous, the god Indra, appeared before him. After mutual introductions, he explained to the god his trouble, and the god promised to befriend him. "When your music has reached the highest point of excellence on both sides," said Indra, "snap the first string of your lute. The broken string will give rise to heavenly strains. Break the second string; the strains will be doubled. And so on, break string after string, until when the seventh is snapped, heavenly music will be everywhere. Your opponent if he imitates your example, will find himself without any music at all." After thus instructing the Pandit, Indra handed to him three small dice, and asked him when his heavenly music was at its highest, to throw the dice one after another into the sky, when he could expect three hundred goddesses of superb beauty to come down for each die, and enliven the music hall with their graceful dancing.

The contest which created a great deal of sensational interest in the kingdom of Benares and the neighbouring kingdoms, came on before an immense concourse of crowned heads, notables, and citizens, with their wives and daughters, and was further witnessed by Indra and a host of celestials in the sky. As may be expected, Guttila availed himself of the aid promised him, and not only beat his opponent by long odds, but treated the world to such music and such sights of loveliness as had never been witnessed on earth before.

The story, however, does not end here. On Indra's return to heaven, his goddesses expressed a desire to hear the soul-stirring music of the stringless lute which he and the other celestials had enjoyed, and a heavenly chariot was thereupon dispatched to fetch the Pandit from Benares. In this car, the Pandit travelled to heaven, and there regaled the goddesses with the peerless music of his lute. On his return to earth, he preached to the people the beauties and the joys of heaven, and taught them to walk in the path of virtue, which was the only path that led to these joys.

This story, which in itself is calculated so much to appeal to the imagination, is told by Véttéwe with a profusion of detail and a wealth of imagery which keep the mind fascinated from start to finish. Where he treats of mundane things, we find each scene painted by him, the perfection of a picture which deceives the imagination into the belief that the very scene is unfolded before it; and where he begins to treat of heaven, his skill itself seems to reach ethereal heights; for we no more feel ourselves to be treading this earth of stone and clay, but seem for the moment to be walking high above, among familiar scenes and familiar faces in paradise, viewing all its gods and goddesses, its palatial buildings of crystal and gems, its groves and orchards of ever-blossoming trees, its clear streams, pellucid ponds—we seem to be viewing all these, not with the wonder born of novelty, but with the admiration evoked by the sublime. Where he deals with sentiment, Véttéwe is equally clever, and equally happy. He can depress us, he can elate us according as is required by the character of the situation; and even in gay scenes of frivolity and enjoyment, he makes us feel as if we were ourselves not mere spectators, but actual actors. In short Véttéwe's art is a sort of psychic hypnotism. Once we get into his story, it imperceptibly casts a spell over our imagination, which is only removed, and that too to our great regret, when we have got to the end.

But the insinuating art of the poet is only one of the excellences which give to the Guttila Kávya so high a place in Sinhalese literature. The chasteness of its language, the beauty of its diction, the simplicity of its style, the excellence of its figures and imagery, the tone of refinement pervading it throughout—all these give it a charm which marks it out as a beautiful production in language and a classic.

It is needless to say that a work occupying such a high position in the language, requires as editor or commentator no ordinary scholar to do it full justice; and we are glad to see that in Mudaliyar Gunawardhana, the proper scholar for the work has been found. The Kávya was first revised and published, with a word-for-word-glossary,

by one of the most eminent of our scholars, the late Pandit Batuwantudâwe. Two others have also since brought out editions. But none of these explain the allusions, an intelligent knowledge of which alone goes to unfold the real beauties of the work. An explanation of those allusions is the main task to which the learned Mudaliyar now sets himself. We must confess that this is a gigantic task, since the allusions extend to the whole circle of Buddhist scriptures and to the whole circle of Hindoo mythology. But the Mudaliyar has surmounted all difficulties, and, as far as we can see, has furnished explanations of all points which required elucidation. The allusions, however, do not stand alone in having received his attention. He has also explained all such linguistic, grammatical, and rhetorical points as are likely to interest the student.

The Mudaliyar's commentary is accompanied by two Introductions, one in English, one in Sinhalese. These form among themselves a book of respectable size, containing between the two some fifty-five pages out of the volume. They treat of a variety of matter literary and historical, and are full of interest both to the student and to the historian. The history of Sinhalese literature from the time of Parakramabahu VI., up to date is given in neat outline, as also the connected political history of the country to the end of the Sinhalese dynasty of kings. In treating of Sinhalese chronology, Mudaliyar Gunawardhana has shewn how his predecessors have floundered with regard to dates, and he has established a theory (page 7 of the English Introduction), which, from the illustrations given, appears to be sound.

Mudaliyar Gunawardhana's commentary marks a new era in the editing and annotating of our Sinhalese works. Its educational value in our eyes is twofold: it teaches by precept, it teaches by example; and valuable as the work now is, its full value can only be realized after it has had time to educate others to follow its model.

We congratulate Mudaliyar Gunawardhana on the success of his work, and we welcome the work as a valuable addition to our standard literature.

S.

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THE

CEYLON SOCIAL REFORM SOCIETY.

MANIFESTO.

THE CEYLON SOCIAL REFORM SOCIETY has been formed, in order to encourage and initiate reform in social customs amongst the Ceylonese, and to discourage the thoughtless imitation of unsuitable European habits and customs.

It is felt that many Eastern nations are fast losing their individuality and with it their value as independent expressions of the possibilities of human development. An imitative habit, based perhaps on admiration for the command of natural forces which Western nations have attained, has unfortunately involved the adoption of a veneer of Western habits and customs, while the real elements of superiority in Western culture have been almost entirely neglected; at the same time this straining after the Western point of view has equally led to the neglect of the elements of superiority in the culture and civilisation of the East. These points are illustrated by the caricature of Western culture so often presented by Eastern men and women who have broken with all natural traditions of their own and who do not realise that it is not only undesirable, but impossible for them consistently to adopt the outlook on life of Western nations, suited to quite another climate and to other races of men; so that the thoughtless imitation of foreign manners involves the suppression rather than the development of "every real betterness." An endeavour will therefore be made to educate public opinion amongst the Eastern races of Ceylon, with a view to encouraging their development on the lines of Eastern culture, and in the hope of leading them to study the best features of Western culture rather than its superficial peculiarities. Although it is considered by the Society that in such matters as language, diet, and dress, we have to deal rather with the symptoms than the causes of the decadence of Eastern nations, efforts will be made to restore a natural pride in such expressions of national individuality.

The Society desires to promote sympathy and mutual respect between men of different nationalities, and in particular to emphasize the natural bonds of fellowship uniting the various Eastern races in Ceylon.

Men and women sharing these views are invited to become members, and to assist the work of the Society. Members will not be found to adopt any definite course with regard to the particular reforms advocated by the Society from time to time, but it is essential that they should be in sympathy with the general principles laid down above.

The work at present contemplated by the Society includes the encouragement of temperance and vegetarianism, the retention or readoption of national dress (especially on formal occasions) and of national social customs connected with weddings, funerals and so forth. In connection with the latter, the Society is strongly in favour of cremation, as at once the most sensible and sanitary method of disposing of the dead, and, speaking generally, the traditional method in the East. Vegetarianism is advocated as being the most natural and healthy diet and also in keeping with the traditions of the East. The ethical and religious aspects of the question will be emphasized by the members to whom these points of view especially appeal.

With respect to language and education, an attempt will be made to influence public opinion; it is felt by the Society that the education of children at schools where their own language is not taught, or not taught efficiently, is much to be regretted, and it is hoped that parents will insist upon the proper teaching of their own language in any school to which they may be inclined to send their own children. The Society is also anxious to

encourage the study of Pali and Sanskrit literature, and of Tamil and Sinhalese, and would desire to combine a general education on the lines of Eastern culture with the elements of Western culture (particularly science) best suited to the needs of the time.

The Society is anxious to encourage the revival of native arts and sciences, and in respect of the former especially to re-create a local demand for wares locally made, as being in every respect more fitted to local needs than any mechanical Western-manufactured goods are likely to become. The Society also desires to assist in the protection of ancient buildings and works of art, and to check the destruction of works of art which goes on under the name of re-decoration and repair. The establishment of schools of native arts and sciences will be considered.

In religious matters the Society is in favour of the greatest possible freedom.

THE

CEYLON SOCIAL REFORM SOCIETY.

RULES AND REGULATIONS.

1. This Society shall be known as the Ceylon Social Reform Society.
2. The aims of the Society shall be :—
   (*a*) To encourage and initiate reforms in Social customs amongst the Ceylonese and to discourage the thoughtless imitation of unsuitable European habits and customs.
   (*b*) To promote sympathy and mutual respect between men of different nationalities and in particular to emphasize the natural bonds of fellowship uniting the various Eastern Races in Ceylon.
   (*c*) To encourage the study of Pali and Sanskrit literature and of Sinhalese and Tamil literature.
   (*d*) To encourage the revival of Native Arts and Sciences.
   (*e*) To assist in the protection of ancient buildings and works of art.
3. The Society shall consist of Ordinary and Honorary Members.
4. The Ordinary Members shall pay at admission one rupee and afterwards annually one rupee. Honorary Members shall not be subjected to any contribution.
5. Any person who is in sympathy with the aims of the Society may, on application, be elected by the Executive Committee as an Ordinary Member.
6. The Executive Committee of the Society shall have power to elect Honorary Members.
7. The Society shall annually choose out of the Ordinary Members a President, two or more vice-Presidents, a Treasurer and two or more Secretaries who shall be Honorary Officers.
8. The Executive Committee of the Society shall consist of Honorary Officers and not more than fourteen other Ordinary Members and of these not less than four shall retire annually, either by seniority or least attendance, and shall not be eligible for re-election until one year has elapsed.
9. The General Advisory Council shall consist of the members of the Executive Committee and not more than thirty-five Ordinary Members elected annually at a general meeting of the Society.

10. Any vacancies among Honorary Officers or members of the Executive Committee or of the General Advisory Council during the interval between two annual general meetings may be filled up by the Executive Committee.

11. Twenty-one members shall form a quorum at general meetings, fourteen at meetings of the General Advisory Council, and five at meetings of the Executive Committee.

12. At meetings, the chair shall be taken by the President; in his absence by one of the vice-Presidents; in the absence of President and vice-Presidents, by a member of the General Advisory Council, who shall be elected by the members present.

13. The business of the Society shall be managed by the Executive Committee, subject to the control of the Society.

14. The Executive Committee shall have the power to appoint committees for special purposes and shall also have the power to appoint paid officers to execute any special duties in connection with the working of the Society.

15. The Honorary Treasurer shall keep an account of all moneys received and paid by him on account of the Society and submit a statement thereof to the Executive Committee, the accounts shall be audited annually by an Auditor appointed by the Executive Committee, and such accounts passed by the Auditor shall be submitted at the annual general meeting of the Society.

16. The annual general meeting of the Society shall be held in April each year, to receive and consider a report of the Executive Committee on the state of the Society, to receive the accounts of the Honorary Treasurer, to elect the Honorary Officers, Executive Committee and the General Advisory Council for the ensuing year, and to deliberate on such other questions as may relate to the regulation and management of the affairs of the Society.

17. The course of business at general meetings shall be as follows:—

(*a*) The minutes of the last annual meeting shall be read by one of the Honorary Secretaries and on being accepted as accurate shall be signed by the Chairman.

(*b*) Any special business which the Executive Committee may have reserved or appointed for the determination or consideration of the meeting shall be discussed.

(*c*) Any motion relating to the regulation or management of the affairs of the Society of which 14 days' notice in writing shall have been given to the Honorary Secretaries.

(*d*) Any papers approved by the Executive Committee may be read.

18. General meetings shall be convened by the Executive Committee at its discretion, or upon the written requisition of 14 members of the Society.

19. Notice shall be given of general meetings 14 days before the date of meeting.

20. The Secretaries shall have the custody of the records and papers of the Society, subject to the inspection of any member of the General Advisory Council.

21. The Society shall have in their power to enact new and alter old rules at their general meetings after due notice, provided such intended new rules and alterations are passed by a majority of two thirds of those members present at such general meeting.