



THE CEYLON



NATIONAL REVIEW



Edited for the Ceylon Social Reform Society, by
ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY,
F. L. WOODWARD
and
W. A. de SILVA.

Vol. III. No. 8.—JUNE, 1909.

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INDIAN THOUGHT AND WESTERN SCIENCE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.
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BUDDHISM AND HINDUISM.
A WOMAN'S WORK IN THE WEST.
REFORM OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.
NOTES,
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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 Camp-
den, 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 a 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.

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No. 8.

FEBRUARY—JUNE, 1909.

Vol. III.

THE NATION AND THE MOTHER-TONGUE.

WE are often told that the day of small nations is over, and that they must merge in the great peoples which are absorbing the small holdings of the earth; that the time has long gone by when a people like the Irish or the Sinhalese—both of them appendages to a great empire—can preserve its individuality in the grinding mill of the great world-process; that there is no need for such to last any longer. I regard this belief as a great mistake. It is an error founded on an excessive imperialistic view of the future of the world. It is contrary to the workings of nature, wherein we see that infinite variety persists, that infinite divers colours exist to make up the glorious whole, that the humblest flower that blows has its part to play in the weaving of the web.

Keeping this in mind, let us consider briefly what is a nation and what is nationality. It is certainly not a mere collection of individuals following their own purposes and artificially kept in shape by an outwardly imposed mould. Even though in the case of Austria-Hungary we find thirty seven millions existing under one government, these peoples do not constitute a nation in the same sense that the English or, say, the British are a nation, though these also are welded together out of divers substances. There must be something more than mere outward name and form. In the famous answer of Nagasena to King Milinda about the chariot, the fallacy is often overlooked: although the chariot cannot be said to be the wheel or shafts or body, yet the idea of the chariot as a whole is imperishable. So the inner essence of the collection of individuals exists unseen. It is the real force which holds together this aglomeration of seemingly unconnected warring particles. "Nationality is the spirit which makes men citizens, which knits them together for the common weal. The nation is the sum of all the characteristics of all the individuals now existing within it. But it is more than that. It is the heir of all the ages, and it is the resultant of all the generations that lived and worked since the nation began to be. *A common tradition, a common history, a common language, a common literature, common institutions, common sorrows and common joys, common hopes and common aspirations—these things make up a nation, these things shape its destiny,*

these things determine its place in civilisation. If a people grow weak in any of these essentials, it is losing its nationality, it is drifting from its moorings. It may succeed in politics, in manufactures, in commerce, but the nation is passing away."*

It will be seen that all the attributes taken together constitute the nation, that any one failing there is a screw loose in the body politic. These attributes are intensified in certain individuals, who are species of centres or nerve-centres of the whole, differing in appearance and faculties, but one in aim and purpose. 'What constitutes a state?' asks the poet; and replies, not fleets and armies, not a great commerce, not a code of laws, but 'men, high-minded men,' who have a common aim and object, who feel that they are the parts that cause the whole to prosper.

Now of all the fundamental stones on which the nation is built, the main and corner-stone, is the mother-tongue. '*No language, no nation,*' says the proverb of the Dutch—the Dutch, a standing negation of the theory that small nations are out of date. This flourishing and stubborn little people, like their ships and buildings, not shoddy but made to last, kith and kin to their great Teutonic brother, will ever be a distinctive feature in the great kaleidoscope, they will ever be a distinctive colour that adds splendour to the prismatic hues. A nation's soul is its language.

This national tongue, then, is the one guarantee against national dispersion. It is the treasure-house in which are enshrined the dearest memories of the past, the tales of struggle against oppression, the stories of heroic action of legend, myth and superstition, of slow growth to manhood, the true index in which may be found the whole life of the nation. 'Keep your own Breton tongue,' said Pious IX. to the pilgrims of Brittany; should you lose, it, your souls will be in danger.' There is a real danger of the individuality of the Sinhalese fading away. I say 'Sinhalese' and not 'Ceylonese' because the bulk of the population is of this name; their fortunes have long been linked with those of the Tamils and they may yet be brothers. The rising generations who must take the lead in affairs are, to a certain degree, it would seem, ashamed of their native tongue: thinking it waste of time to study it, in most cases unable to read it easily, in many cases only able to understand the colloquial jargon of the daily wants. Nothing but repeated appeals can penetrate ears bound by indifference; hence I make no apology for repeating here words which I wrote in an early number of this magazine on the same subject. "A nation is only a nation by virtue of the links of a common language, a common religion and common customs. If any one of these links be broken, the individual

* "Nationality." T. Davis, *New Ireland Review*, 1898.

† *Ceylon National Review*, July 1906.

so affected is at once out of touch with his fellows. He loses the power of helping on his less advanced countrymen: he looks at things in quite a different light, and, such is the nature of man, he despises what he no longer feels sympathy with. The knowledge of English in Ceylon, *to the exclusion of that of the vernacular*, has become a sort of fetish, and this state of things is owing to several reasons that need not be discussed here, but the chief of these is a lack of knowledge of the nation's past, and ignorance of, and indifference to, its possible future. A subject nation may absorb the language of its conquerors or rulers, and will probably be affected by its laws and discipline, but the East will never be absorbed by the West, because the ideals of life are quite different. The British Empire may impress its practicality, its sense of duty and its discipline upon the East, but it can never imbue it with its way of looking at life. The life of the East is a sacred treasure, stored up in its customs, religions, and languages that have given their imprint to those of younger nations. From Sanskrit they came, and to Sanskrit perhaps after many devious windings they shall return in the future If you cannot read the very language in which your nationality is enshrined, or speak the tongue which reflects its underlying life, you become at once a pariah. You will not be acknowledged as belonging to your adopted nationality, you will be out of touch with your own people, and, thus miserably fallen between two stools, you will be deprived of the advantages which might be derived from the one side or the other."

'The language of the conqueror in the mouth of the conquered is ever the language of the slave.' So wrote Tacitus, the great Roman historian. Yet notice that that very Latin language of which he spoke became the instrument of France and Spain, of Portugal and Italy. Can English become in the same way the mother tongue of the East? It may indeed become a means of communication, as it is already, of many millions all the world over, but it can never, never take the place of the mother tongue of the peoples that it dominates. Neglect your sacred tongue and corruptions creep in; treat it with contempt and your children will never learn it, and if the tongue is no longer used as a storehouse of the thought, the people will decay, *for a people without a language of its own is only half a nation.*

Those who ought to take the lead in this matter sit back indifferent. It is a matter of common remark that the most enlightened Sinhalese, those who have profited to the full by an English education and have raised themselves to a position where they could help and lead if they chose, that these people are careless of the welfare of their less fortunate fellow countrymen. All honour to those few who *have*

stirred a finger. Such persons may say (I mean those who are anglicised) 'see how we have profited by turning all our attention exclusively to English and to Western life.' True, but is it not in the main a material prosperity and profit? I do not for a moment mean that English should be confined to the back ground, but the vernaculars should be in the foreground, and if there should arise an Anglo-Sinhalese literature, it should be supplementary to the native literature. No translation can ever equal the original. By all means let our 'gilded youth' qualify themselves in English. There is no other language in the world so dear to an Englishman—let it be well spoken and read—but remember that never, never can an Eastern fully grasp the essence of our western literature, nor can a Westerner enter fully into the spirit of the East.

Something has been done—a little, but something. A national awakening has always been accompanied or heralded by renewed interest in the native speech. At least one missionary school is basing its teaching of English on the vernacular. Missionaries, unfortunately, have sought to divorce the English education of the people from the vernacular: is it not that they feared the influence of the mother-tongue, so closely intertwined as it is with the national religion and cults? Do they not discourage any such association, to such a degree that their pupils are really ashamed of their 'poor simple parents' and their homely simple ways? "The Celts," wrote Mathew Arnold, "are to be meliorated rather by developing their gifts than by chastening their defects." These words are apt for application here. Base the education on the national instincts. You cannot wrench up the roots and plant an alien tree which has no suckers by which the wealth of the soil may be drawn up into the trunk. Milton and Bunyan and the tongue they used are the household words of the English. Grand and simple as they are, they can never become the household words of the Tamils and Sinhalese. Let me quote a passage* and substitute the word Sinhalese for Irish. "As an Englishman I plead the right of the Irishman to study his native tongue. As the citizen of a free state, I urge that it is the duty of the Government to give every facility for the exercise of that right. As a student of history and literature, I believe humanity would be the poorer by the loss of a distinctive, a delightful mode of utterance."

It may be said, 'are not the majority of schools supported by Government vernacular?' Yes, and rightly so. But it is just the influential class, the class of men who ought to be working for their

* From the pen of Dr. Nutt, President of the Folk-Lore Society.

country, the class that should maintain this bond of social unity, to give rational coherence to the dumb voiceless crowd—it is this class that is pushing the vernacular into the background. In all that I have said I do not for a moment advocate the abolition of English or a mere cursory acquaintance with English. *Sinhalese (or Tamil) first and English second* is the text of my sermon. Let us have bilingual education by all means: if you can afford it, trilingual; if you have the faculty, multilingual: but vernacular for the masses; vernacular plus English for the middle classes; vernacular plus English plus other languages, (and the more the better if not a smattering) for the few who have time and means for the study. Even the much abused Latin I regard as the keystone of vigorous English, bearing in mind that the educational value of a language depends entirely upon the *thoroughness* with which the technicalities of the tongue are mastered. But the above mentioned scheme is, to my mind, the right one. On no other basis can a vigorous nationality be built in these days.

We need patriots. If instead of mere boasting of the ancient glories of the Sinhalese Kings and magnificent ruins, and sitting idly satisfied with this unsubstantial food, a devoted band of men, a few patriots, with unfailing efforts, would devote their lives to the good of their nation, the ancient glory might get revive. What of the future? The future of Ceylon is to be made by its own bards and poets, the real 'makers' of nations. When a *national poet* shall arise and call with trumpet-tones to his dreaming fellows (not in the tongue of Shakspeare or the words of Scott) but in his native tongue, bidding them be up and doing, then there may be a hope that once more the nation will be a reality. This is my hope and dream. *The poets are the makers of the nation.* Perhaps even now 'the coming man' is a child of tender years. 'For the need of the nation calleth the man,' and when the load of sorrow is almost too heavy to bear, the man arises. Do not say, with the lotseaters:—

Let us alone. Time driveth onward fast,
And in a little while our lips are dumb.
Let us alone. What is it that will last?

Nations have their rise and fall, they have their *karma* like men. If they are to be of use, they must develop themselves. There is an individuality in the Sinhalese. They form a strand, faint and indistinct at the present day it is true, in the web of the peoples of the world. I believe that, just as the Irish nation has been in sorrowful travail these hundreds of years, passing through the fiery furnace of trial, for hundreds of years, a mere drop in the ocean of time that fashions the pearl of nationality—just as the Irish of to-day are fashioning a race, a distinctive race that is to qualify itself for a high position by this very training of sorrow,—*nulla crux corona nulla*—so also the Sinhalese

nation, which has descended into the mire of disenchantment, may yet, if there be but a handful of devoted patriots to uphold the ancient ideals of life enshrined in the Sinhalese tongue, stand forth among her sisters in the band of pioneers of a new cycle in the history of the world:—not yet, however, nor immediately, for perhaps the lowest level the darkest hour before the dawn is not yet reached. A great teacher, Swami Vivekananda, spoke true words on this subject here in Ceylon some twelve or thirteen years ago:—‘As individuals have each their own peculiarities, each man has his own method of growth, his own life marked out for him, as we Hindûs would say, by the infinite past life, by all his past *karma*, because into this world, with all the past on him, the infinite past ushers in the present, and the way in which we use the present is going to make the future. *Thus everyone born into this world has a bent, a direction, towards which he must go, through which he must live;* and what is true of the individual is equally true of the race. Each race, similarly, has a peculiar *raison d’être*, each race has a peculiar mission to fulfil in the life of the world. Each race has to make its own result, to fulfil its own mission. Political greatness, or military power, is never, the mission of our race; it never was and, mark my words, it never will be. But there has been the other mission given to us, to conserve, to preserve, to accumulate, as it were, into a dynamo all the spiritual energy of the race, and that concentrated energy is to pour forth in a deluge on the world, whenever circumstances are propitious.”† These words, it is true, were spoken in the main to Hindu natives of Ceylon, to Tamil, Hindus: they apply equally well to Sinhalese Buddhists, and it is more especially of the latter that I am thinking when I speak of Ceylon. I believe the chance is offered—by destiny the old Sibyl woman—not a blind goddess, surely, as some would say—thrice offered and twice refused; and note the penalty of refusing—to be utterly wiped off the slate of the Great Arithmeticians who are working out the sum of our welfare, to be broken once more into sherds and trodden again in the claypit of the making of the nations, postponed to a future incalculably distant.

F. L. WOODWARD.

† Addresses; ‘On returning to Indian Soil,’ at Cclembo.

INDIAN THOUGHT AND WESTERN SCIENCE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

THE following letter written by Mrs. Boole to Professor J. C. Bose a few years ago, is printed by permission :—

“ Nivedita conveyed to me your request that I would explain what I meant by speaking of the unfitness of the English people to undertake the education of such a people as the Hindus. What I said was that the English suffer from a carefully cultivated ignorance of certain essential elements of Psychology; and that European Science could never have reached its present height, had it not been fertilized by successive wafts from the psychic knowledge stored up in the East.

It is commonly said that the great modern advance in physical science is entirely a product of Europe and America. It is true that most of the work of observing, collecting, and classifying phenomena has been done by Europeans and Americans; but the masses of detail brought to light by western observers are reduced to order by means of what is called the Higher Mathematics. Higher Mathematics consists mainly of Psychologic Science evolved in Asia, and brought to Europe by individuals who reduced it to a notation which, while facilitating its use as an organizer of phenomena, withdrew it from the cognizance of an ignorant and meddlesome priesthood. You wish me to explain the statement. If I were younger, I should like to make a fresh study of this interesting topic. But in my seventieth year, my sight and strength are a little failing me; I can no longer enter on fresh studies. The most I can do is to write out my reminiscences of the facts and books which led me to form my opinion. (My kind young friend Miss Cobham promises to make extracts, under my direction, from books formerly read by me.)

As my letter must therefore take a personal and what may seem an egotistic form, I must ask you to let me say at starting that when I shall speak of my husband's work having been *misunderstood*, I do not and cannot possibly mean that he was neglected or undervalued. On the contrary, he received recognition in the shape of medals and honorary degrees, to an extent which he considered far beyond what he either merited or desired. He often spoke warmly to me of the generous assistance given to him in his researches by mathematicians here and abroad; of their over-praise of whatever in his books they were able to understand; and of the more than cordial welcome accorded to him whenever he visited any University. He told me

that he went very little into University society, because he had good reason to know that the cordiality of his admirers would in most cases have been diminished if they had had any clear idea what his books really were about. As he knew of no way in which he could make the academic public understand his real meaning without plunging into theological controversies repugnant to his tastes, he shrank from receiving homage, as it were, on false pretences.

As to my own family, whatever one's opinion may be of the taste displayed by the English in altering the ancient name of your great mountain, there can be no doubt that the choice of my uncle's name in connection with this queer kind of vandalism was meant as a full recognition of the services rendered by him to Engineering Science. If therefore at your request I tell the people of India some facts which I happen to know in the history of modern European Science, I do so not as one appealing to men of another race for recognition denied by her own; but because I venture to hope that, for the sake of my uncle and my husband, what I say may at least gain a thoughtful hearing. When you have read what I have to say I ask no more; I do not wish to convince any one against his instincts; judge for yourselves.

You know that Professor de Morgan caused a Treatise on Maxima and Minima by Ram Chundra,* to be published in England in order to prove to English men of science that the Hindu mind mastered, without the aid of the Differential Calculus, problems which among us had hitherto been solved only with the help of the Calculus. The bearing of this fact has not, it seems to me, received sufficient attention. If we heard about a foreign tribe that it could see, without telescopes, celestial phenomena discovered by us only by the use of telescopes, we should at once ask 'Does this mean that they possess some instrument or equal optical power with the telescope but differently arranged? Or does it seem they can see with the naked eye or by means of some simpler optical assistance, what is invisible to us without a powerful arrangement of lenses? In the former case, we have evidence of vision equal to our own, and of a constructive ingenuity similar to our own, but which accident has directed rather differently. In the latter case we must conclude that the foreign tribe have an organic power of vision such as we have either never developed, or have lost owing to misuse or disuse. Which of these two cases does the Hindu treatment of Maxima and Minima most resemble? Read de Morgan's Preface; I can only give a few extracts.

* A treatise on Problems of Maxima and Minima, solved by Algebra. By Ramchundra, late Teacher of Science, Delhi College. Published in London (Wm. H. Allen & Co. 7 Leadenhall St. 1859) under the superintendence of Augustus de Morgan, from the Calcutta edition (printed by P. S. d'Rosario & Co. Tank Sqre. 1850.)

“On examining this work I saw in it, not merely merit worthy of encouragement, but merit of a peculiar kind, the encouragement of which, as it appears to me, was likely to *Promote Native Effort Towards the Restoration of the Native Mind in India*. “They” (the English) “forget that at this very moment there still exists among the higher castes of the country,.....castes which exercise vast influence over the rest,.....a body of literature and science which might well be the nucleus of a new civilization, though every trace of Christian and Mohammedan civilization were blotted out of existence.”

“Many friends of education have proposed that Hindus should be fully instructed in English ideas and methods, and made the media through which the mass of their countrymen might receive the results in their own languages. Some trial has been given to this plan, but the results have not been very encouraging in any of the higher branches of knowledge.”

“My conviction is that the Hindu mind must work out its own problem; and that all we can do is to *set it to work*: that is, to promote independent speculation on all subjects.”

“That sound judgment which gives men well to know what is best for them, as well as that faculty of invention which leads to the development of resources and to the increase of wealth and comfort, are both materially advanced by, perhaps cannot rapidly be advanced without, a great taste for pure speculation among the general mass of the people, down to the lowest of those who can read and write.”

He also quotes from Sir John Herschel's Historical article *Mathematics* in Brewster's Cyclopaedia:—

“The Brahma Sidd'hanta, the work of Brahmagupta, an Indian astronomer of the seventh century, contains a general method for the resolution of indeterminate problems of the second degree; an investigation which actually baffled the skill of every modern analyst till the time of Lagrange's solution not excepting the all-inventive Euler himself.”

The destruction of natural faculty, which De Morgan deprecated, seems to have been going on in other departments besides that of mathematics. A friend of mine who employs himself in founding in Europe little colonies of peasant artists, and who, for that purpose, has studied good specimens of real old Eastern Art, was invited to inspect some weaving done in India in an institution controlled by Englishmen. “Art” he said to me, “call that art” True Art always expresses some real feeling, personal, or national; *that* stuff is neither English nor Hindu nor anything else. Some boy from Cambridge or Oxford goes out there and thinks he can tell the Hindus what they ought to do!”

And indeed I fear that the "boy from Cambridge or Oxford" or some other cramming-place here, is the *fons et origo* of all the mischief. "We *must* keep a hold on India," say our governing classes; "or else what should we do for careers for our sons?" May the words prove prophetic, though spoken in stupid and cruel ignorance! May England long keep a hold on India as a school where "our sons" may learn the secret of true culture! But how can we expect to retain the loyalty of Hindus if we trample out their normal development and their self-respect? Some one wrote to me lately that Sister Nivedita cares for India but not for this country. I replied that Nivedita seems to me to be doing more than any other woman whom I know of for the peace and stability of the British Empire. I have gone through all this battle before on a small scale, and seen the issue. Seventy years ago, my father, a parish clergyman, started the (then novel) doctrine that the parish pastor is not a priest, either in religion or in art, but a state-"minister", (*i. e.* servant) appointed to organize the culture of the parish in accordance with the desires of the most serious and wise inhabitants. The neighbouring clergy were alarmed and angry: they said that my father was encouraging disloyalty to the hierarchy of social rank and to the proper authority of the state clergy. But, notwithstanding their disapproval of the methods, they envied the results. There was no parish in the country round where the inhabitants were so fond of the parish church, even the non-conformists; no clergyman who had such power as my father to sway the hearts of the people when any feud needed to be healed or any wrong to be righted. Therefore I have no fear of normally developed people; but I do dread human beings who have been mechanicalized and distorted.

My father and De Morgan had drawn wisdom from the same source. What that source was will presently appear. We will now, if you please, go back to the mathematics and the influence of De Morgan.

Of course English youths are *now* being taught to do problems in Maxima and Minima by means of squared paper and other simple devices similar in essence to Ram Chundra's and probably superior in efficiency. The power of the English to do this has been, so to speak, thawed out; largely owing to the influence of De Morgan. We have nothing, now, to learn from India, about that particular branch of actual Geometry. My point is, as De Morgan's was, that we have still much to learn from India about the psychology of mathematical study generally. And there are many other branches of learning in which our powers are still latent: (frozen up—as the power to understand Maxima and Minima was frozen till fifty years ago) under certain influences prevalent in Europe, and waiting the touch of India to

thaw them into life. It is of these frozen dormant faculties of ours that I have to write to you.

What I shall say next will seem to you at first connected with Jewish rather than Hindu thought. Have patience a moment: I hope soon to make you understand its relevance to your own affairs.

My husband told me that when he was a lad of seventeen, a thought struck him suddenly which became the foundation of all his future discoveries. It was a flash of psychological insight into the conditions under which a mind most readily accumulates knowledge. Many young people have similar flashes of revelation as to the nature of their own mental powers: those to whom they occur often become distinguished in some branch of learning, but to no one individual does the revelation come with sufficient clearness to enable him to explain to others the true secret of his success. George Boole, poor and with little leisure for study, became known as a learned and original mathematician at an early age. From the first he connected his scrap of psychologic knowledge with Sacred Literature. For a few years he supposed himself to be convinced of the truth of "the Bible" as a whole; and even intended to take orders as a clergyman of the English Church. But by the help of a learned Jew in Lincoln he found out the true nature of the discovery which had dawned on him. This was that man's mind works by means of some mechanism which "functions normally towards Monism." Besides the information which reaches it from the external world, it receives knowledge direct from The Unseen every time it returns to the thought of *Unity* between any given elements (of fact or thought) after a period of tension on the *contrast* or *antagonism* between those same elements. At this point all possibility of becoming a priest came to an end. George set to work to write a book ("The laws of Thought") in order to give to the world his great discovery. If he had stated it in words, he would have been entangled in an unseemly theological skirmish. He presented the truth to the learned, clothed in a veil so transparent that it is difficult to conceive how any human being could have been blinded by it:— he proved that by the mere device of always writing the symbol 1 for whatever is the "Universe of Thought" for the time being, the whole cumbersome mechanism then known as 'Logic' could be dispensed with. If you are thinking of sheep as divided into white and not-white, put x for 'white' and 1 for 'sheep'; if you are thinking of sheep as a portion of the animal kingdom, write z for 'sheep' and 1 for 'animals', and so on. Using this simple device he proved that the most complicated examples given in any treatise on Logic could be solved, easily and mechanically, by the ordinary

processes of elementary Algebra. He said in the book that this Law was a Law not of facts, or of essential reason; but of the human mind (Laws of Thought p. 6). He also said he wrote the book for two purposes:—

- (1) "To investigate the fundamental laws of those operations of the mind by which reasoning is performed". (p. 3) and
- (2) "To give expression in this treatise to the fundamental laws of reasoning in the symbolical language of a Calculus" (p. 5).

The academic world was enchanted. George visited Cambridge in 1855, a year after its publication and was astonished and at first gratified at the cordiality of his reception. Herbert Spencer said that the book was "the greatest advance in Logic since Aristotle". George Boole said to me that neither Aristotle's Logic nor the Creed of Moses could have been enunciated, unless the formula to which the Universities had now given the name of "Boole's Equation" had been, in some form or other, perfectly well known. George afterwards learned, to his great joy, that the same conception of the basis of Logic was held by Leibniz, the contemporary of Newton. De Morgan of course understood the Formula in its true sense: he was Boole's collaborator all along. Herbert Spencer, Jowett and Leslie Ellis understood, I feel sure, and a few others. But nearly all the logicians and mathematicians ignored the statement that the book was meant to throw light *on the nature of the human mind*: and treated the formula entirely as:—a wonderful new method of reducing to logical order masses of evidence about external fact. Only think of it! The great English mind, which considers itself competent to preach *the Truth*, the only saving Truth, to all mankind; the great Academic educational mind which is to improve Hindu culture off the face of the earth, fell into a trap which I believe would hardly have deceived a savage. My husband said to me that he believed he could never have made his discoveries if he had received a University education (as he at one time much wished to do but was fortunately prevented by poverty). My after experience among men who *had* been subjected to that process, incline me to think he was quite right in so believing. He was, as I said, a quiet student, gentle, timid, very conscientious, and averse to controversy; he could not face the theological animus which would be aroused by any attempt to explain himself in open words, nor did he feel it right to unsettle the superstitions of people evidently too stupid to take in reasonable Truth: he went on to further researches. He had proved the essential rightness, in relation to human progress, of the command to think of the Infinite Unknown as Unity when appealing to Him for light on finite concerns; the question next arose:—What instinct

in man, what fact in human psychology, has given rise to the tendency to think of the Divine as a Trinity?

The Jew could give no further help. The trinitarian tendency was seen by George Boole in connection with the fact that man conceives the physical world in three dimensions. His sonnet to the Number Three gives a clue to his view of this matter. But the great delight of all his later years was the study of the psychology of Incarnation Myths: and I incline to think that the record of it, in "Differential Equations" (Ch. 8. Singular Solutions) will be considered by posterity the crowning achievement of his life. Numa Hartog said to me in a puzzled way that it did not read like a chapter of an ordinary text-book. A student who heard his lectures while he was engaged on it said he looked not like a Professor before a blackboard but like an artist painting from a vision.

Apropos of this book, I must tell you something of my own history. For I think that if you ask any serious student of my husband's work (especially in Germany) he will tell you that there is a marked difference between the work Boole did previous to 1855, the year of our marriage, and the text-books ("Differential Equations" and "Finite Differences") with which I helped him. The latter are considered, I believe, more concrete and more directly useful as a basis for the organising of researches in Physical Science. The psychology was my husband's: the organic arrangement, the concrete usefulness were largely supplied by me. Now I want to explain to you that George Boole married me because I was the person who could best help him in his work; and I married him because he was the person whom I found doing the work which from childhood I had longed to help in. I met him first in 1850, when the Laws of Thought was half done, and I was just eighteen years old. He showed me the MS. Of course there was much in it which I could not then follow (indeed I have never read through some of the more ponderous portions). But, from the first, the main theory never caused me any perplexity; *the* element in the book which so few persons could understand only struck me as a simple way of stating something which I had known wanted saying, ever since I was a child. Now how did it come to pass that the daughter of a country clergyman, not at all studious, and having spent her youth in the isolation of a rural parish, grasped at once the psychological point which University men, when they read the completed work, for the most part missed? I attribute the fact to three causes. First, I had been almost entirely emancipated from the ordinary English educational influences, both religious and secular. Secondly, the very little I had learned of mathematics, I learned

from the best *French* sources (the bearing of that fact I will indicate presently). Thirdly, my life from birth had been greatly dominated by the influence of Hindu Brahmans. My uncle, George Everest, was sent to India in 1806 at the age of sixteen. Things were different in those days from what they are now: there were neither competition Wallahs nor Officers trained in England by 'Army Coaches' the boy went out ignorant, unspoiled and fresh. He made the acquaintance of a learned Brahman who taught him,—not the details of his own ritual, as European Missionaries do, but the essential factor in all true religion, the secret of how man may hold communion with the Infinite Unknown. This my uncle told me long afterwards. Sometime about 1825, he came to England for two or three years; when he confided his ideas to my father (then a young curate) and made a fast and lifelong friendship with Herschell and with Babbage who was then quite young and who was afterwards De Morgan's precursor as Professor of Mathematics at University College. If I were to enter on the question of Charles Babbage (whose influence on Science no one disputes) I should have to write a volume instead of a letter. I would ask any fair-minded mathematician to read Babbage's Bridgewater Treatise and compare it with the works of his contemporaries in England; and then ask himself whence came the peculiar conception of the nature of miracle which underlies Babbage's ideas of Singular Points on Curves (Ch. 8.) from European Theology or Hindu Metaphysic? Oh! how the English clergy of that day hated Babbage's book!

My Uncle returned from India finally in 1844. He never interfered with anyone's religious beliefs or custom. But no one under his influence could continue to believe in anything in the Bible being specially sacred, except the two elements which it has in common with other Sacred Books; the knowledge of our relation to others, and of man's power to hold direct converse with the Unseen Truth. In 1846 my father, uncle's younger brother and pupil, published a paper on the names of God in various languages, in which he attempted to show that Odin, God Theos, &c., were names for *spiritual vitality* imparted to man. When I was preparing for confirmation, I asked him what the Church Prayers meant by calling Jesus 'God'. "He is an Incarnation of God" said my father. "But I don't know what incarnation means; and you told me not to use words the meaning of which I don't understand" "Why can't you understand? You are an Incarnation of God yourself". This from a country clergyman in 1849! You can see that India 'avait passe par la'.

Now you see why 'Boole's Equation' seemed to me at the age of eighteen exactly what it was:—the mere Algebraic expression of

natural psychologic truth, why I was never either puzzled or shocked by my husband's conception of Trinity and incarnation as myths connected with the psychology of the human incarnation and why I was able to help him in his work.

My father used to say to me.—“Few crimes which a man can commit are more wicked than trying to convert Jews to any of our forms of Christianity, because the New Testament is their own book; and the best hope of the world is that they (the Jews) should study it in their own way and tell us what it means” I have found the teaching of Jews about the New Testament very helpful in connection with my husband's psychology. Therefore I never care what Mr. Sinnett or Mrs. Besant or any such persons say about India; I wish to hear what Hindus themselves can tell us about their old literature.

When my husband died I received an enthusiastic welcome as the widow of the mysterious recluse to whom Science owed so much. Scientific men, theologians and publishers, alike, invited me to throw light on some passages in my husband's works, which they felt to be obscure: but every attempt on my part to interpret ‘Boole's Equation’ as a Law of the human mind known in Asia from the earliest recorded ages, met with either violent opposition or blank non-intelligence. My adventures among the learned would fill a volume and very funny reading it would be, though in some parts very sad. I can now only sum them up in a short parable. There was once a steam-hammer, capable of crushing a big iron bar flat at a single blow; the inventor (Dr. Nasmyth) sometimes amused himself by shewing visitors that his control over it was perfect; that he could crack a filbert shell with it without injuring the contents. Now can you imagine a party of squirrels watching this tour de force? “Oh! here is a wonderful man! He has invented a mechanical nut cracker! We need never use our own teeth again! Let us give him medals: and confer on him Honorary Titles as a learned squirrel, doctor of the Science of Nutcracking! but stop, there are parts of this machine not essential (to the cracking of nuts): let us get rid of them: then the apparatus will function more easily. Oh! dear Mrs. Nasmyth! how glad we are that you have come to us! you were in your husband's confidence; you know how his glorious machine was made; help us to improve it.” Imagine Mrs. Nasmyth trying to explain to these amiable beings that the cracking of nuts was an accidental side-issue; that the true purpose of the machine was something entirely different There you have my history during the 36 years that have elapsed since my husband's death.

Mr. Jevons, who made a great name for himself by applying “Booles Method” to questions of Political Economy and by “improving” it as an implement for that purpose, said to his friends:—

“Boole meant something that I have never been able to understand: the world is not yet ready to understand it.” Is that not just what some English people are trying to do in India?—to “improve” out of all recognition methods of culture which they are “not yet ready to understand.” Another improver and exponent of “Boole’s Method,” Mr. Venn, said ‘Mrs. Boole seems interested in the psychological aspect of her husband’s work: I don’t understand anything about that; I don’t *want* to know anything about it.’

As I aspire to remain in possession of such human faculties as the Almighty may have endowed me with, I have declined to be made the mouthpiece and tool of any species of creatures for whom the cracking of nuts and the piling up of hoards is the supreme achievement, the be-all and end-all of effort.

With regard to my husband’s later work I have found myself since his death caught between the cog-wheels of two opposite kinds of superstition:—which seems to be equally childish and unworthy of civilized begins:—Men like Archbishop Thompson, the well-known “logician” (!) who were pledged to a theologic system based on the conception of three individual gods in One God, were afraid to face the simple statement that Trinity is a limitation not of the Divine Essence but of human concrete imagination. On the other hand many “Free-thinkers” proud of their emancipation from the trammels of Idolatrous Trinitarian theology, shrank from all reference to trinitarian metaphysic as if it necessarily involved a step back towards the idolatry from which they had escaped. Those who can treat this subject sanely and reasonably are almost invariably persons who have become familiar with the Hindu conception of Trinity. They have been however until quite lately in a very small minority.

A similar fate has befallen Boole’s investigation into the nature of the psychologic processes by which the Aryan mind arrives at the conception of special incarnations. The theologic party, pledged to the theory that one special incarnation, and one alone had actually happened in Syria 19 centuries ago, and that all others are fabulous, were simply scared and shocked at any psychological treatment of the subject; while those who have emancipated themselves from the notion that “salvation” depends on “belief” in the Syrian Incarnation dread of all reference to the subject as “superstition.” Only those who have studied the Hindu doctrines can be said to be sane on this topic.

I am sometimes told that my experiences and my husband’s are unique. I do not think so. If they were, they would be in no way worth recording. But from what I saw thirty years ago of the resolute determination of religious people to suppress evidence tending to shew the value of other cultures than their own and of other Sacred Books

than the Bible, I am led to suspect that much work similar to my husband's and my own has existed at various times in Europe and been ruthlessly destroyed, often however leaving a fertilizing sediment in the shape of mathematics. Now however the great sinners in this respect are not persons who suppose themselves to be religious, but rather those who profess to be scientific, progressive and above prejudices and superstitions.

I will give you two instances of work somewhat similar to my husband's and mine having been in existence and having been suppressed.

No one doubts the vast influence exerted on French thought, during the last half of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th by the group of men called the Encyclopædists. But one never hears anything of the influence on the Encyclopædists of Nicolas Antoine Boulanger. I have never met anyone who had ever heard of him. I found on a bookstall a little book signed with initials only and dated 1760, "L'Origine du Despotisme Oriental," and asked Mr. Garnett of the British Museum about the author. Mr. Garnett had never heard of him or of his book; but with his kind assistance, I managed to find in the British Museum Library a biographical notice of the author and other works by him.

Nicholas Boulanger, when at school, learned very little: which I think goes to show that the teaching he received must have been very bad: for he afterwards became an eminent engineer and was employed by the French Government in making military roads. He did what was still possible at that day, though alas! no one could do it now. He procured information about the real old ideas of the Indians of America. He studied Eastern thought-modes with great care and wrote the treatise which I have mentioned on Despotism, and another: "L'Antiquité dévoilée par ses Usages" wherein he propounded this thesis:—that, before the invention of writing, man had received a great revelation of the nature of his own mental powers; that some races tried to preserve this by means of ceremonies performed with branches of trees and other natural objects; that other races acquired the Art of writing and registered what they knew in Sacred Books: that the Jewish Festival of Unity (the Sabbath) was originally a festival not of *inaction* but of Renewal: that the Truth about Government and Education would reveal itself when men began to compare Sacred Writings with the rituals of savages; that priests were appointed to lead men into Truth: but in all ages they have feared lest men should find the right road and walk in it; and that no tyrannical Government could keep itself

in existence if it did not keep a staff of priests to trample down natural Truth.

Boulanger never allowed his treatises to be printed during his lifetime: they were circulated in MS. among the Encyclopædists: if they were the fathers of modern French Science, Boulanger may well be called its grandfather. He died in 1759; and in the following year his pupils began to pour edition after edition of his works through the press; in Paris, Amsterdam, London and Geneva. Why then are the books so unknown in Europe now? Ask the college of Jesuits how such work is made to disappear! They will not tell you; but I think they could do so if they would!

The great beauty and clearness of French Mathematics, which in about the time of the Encyclopædists culminated in 1855, in a work on Logic* and on the inspired intellectual Faculties by Gratry, in which he proved that the calculus of Newton and Leibnitz was a supra-logical procedure, and that Geometric Induction is essentially a *process of prayer*, by which he evidently means an appeal from the finite mind to the infinite for light on finite concerns. He said that Logic (as ordinarily conceived in his day) had only feet, whereas treated as he suggested it would acquire wings. My husband had in the previous year called attention (Laws of Thought p. 4) to the distinction between mathematical induction and the kind of induction known to observers of physical fact. My husband did not use the words "Inspiration" and "Prayer" about the former as Gratry did, as I said, he avoided calling the attention of the unlearned to his work by words familiar to them in connection with "religion"; but he described the process of mathematical induction in terms which should have showed to any educated person what he meant. He revelled in Gratry's books. I have never met with any other Englishman who had seen the mathematical portion till it was pointed out to him by me; though as a religious writer Gratry is well known. What has become of Gratry's influence on Science? I have heard that he was threatened with Excommunication. The sentence was not carried out: it would have called attention to his work. The Church did a cleverer thing: Gratry's psychological deductions from his theory of mathematical induction were of the highest order; they were republished in a separate form, without any mention of the mathematical root where they sprang. Thus it was possible to make them appear as the outcome of specially Catholic theology, and to hide their connection with the great psychologic Truth which underlies all religions alike.

* "Logique" 2 Vols. Douniol, Paris.

At one point our reasoning must leave the earth and rise for a moment on its wings. Those who can understand nothing which does not refer either to the hoarding of minerals or the cracking of nuts, will not be able to follow us. Shut your eyes for a moment and turn your gaze within. Think what must have been the effect of the intense Hinduizing of three such men as Babbage, De Morgan, and George Boole, on the mathematical atmosphere of 1830-1865. What share had it in generating the Vector Analysis and the mathematics by which investigations in physical science are now conducted?

Ask Mr. Sinnett to think of this; and then to assert again, if he can, that *Hindu thought has had no influence in developing European physical science.*

I have one more point to notice, the significance of which I think you will easily perceive.

After reading Boulanger it occurred to me to follow up the clues as to early spiritual thought given by ceremonies connected with natural objects such as trees, branches, &c. Following on these lines I made some investigations and came upon some interesting discoveries. Prof. Frazer had just brought out a book called "The Golden Bough" in which he gave an account of ceremonies in honour of the principle of fertilization, performed by means of branches of trees. I read this book with the keenest delight, for surely physical and intellectual fertilization run parallel in the history of the minds of all native peoples, and the one is to them a symbol of the other.

I wrote to Mr. Frazer to try to interest him in my discoveries: but found he had his own conception of the meaning of a "Sacred Bough" and did not wish to know anything about mine. I published a few papers on "Sacred Branches", and received more than one warning,—one in special from a well known leader of religious reform,—that I must be mistaken in supposing that ceremonies connected with branches had ever any reference to spiritual or intellectual fertilization; because—guess why—*because* there is evidence that they had been at various times connected with physical generations!

These be thy intellectual leaders, oh England! These be the wise men who are going to show Hindu women how superstitious it is to offer rice to the Sacred Egg. You would probably still find more than a few ladies in Hindustan capable of pointing out to these prosaic gentlemen that the person who *does* see the connection between physical and spiritual fertilization is more likely to be a true interpreter of any ancient religion than the person that cannot see it. God defend India from having its women 'educated' under the auspices of such men!

Now, dear sir, I have told you the special facts to which I alluded in our short conversation. Will you allow me the privilege of indulging in a few promiscuous suggestions born of my various experiences in the English thought world? They cannot harm you; they may, perchance afford you a little help some time or other. Take them at least as an old woman's blessing on your aims and on Nivedita's undertaking.

The class of literature called Sacred Scriptures, such for instance as the Scandinavian 'Eddas', the Sanscrit 'Vedas' and that collection of Hebrew and Greek writings known in England as 'the Bible' is made of two strands closely interwoven:—One strand consists of the traditions, myths, legends, laws, ethical notions, rituals and customs which constitute the 'religion' of some particular race or nation. The other strand consists of allusions to and hints of the great, world-wide, world-old secret, of the means by which man can maintain and increase his capacity for directly receiving into himself fresh force from cosmic sources and fresh knowledge direct from that store-house of the As-Yet-Unknown which remains always Infinite however much we may learn. I call this latter strand 'secret' not because those who most truly know it are unwilling to communicate it to any one who wishes to know it, but because of the unwillingness of men in general either to know it, or to let it be known. The majority both dislike for themselves the stern self discipline which the knowledge of it imposes, and dread the mental power given to others by its possession.

Europe for the last fifteen centuries has been subject to an influence peculiarly favourable to trampling out the true secret of power to draw knowledge direct from the Infinite Unknown. As long as a Race is familiar with its own Sacred Literature, the more earnest and thoughtful of each generation will understand the Literature in spite of the dislike of the majority to their doing so. No opposition can prevent an intelligent Hindu from catching the secret from the Vedas, or a spiritually-minded Hebrew from knowing how Moses, Isaiah and Jesus held converse with the Inconceivable Unity. But we in north Europe were robbed of our Eddas and our Druidic lore, by Roman priests mad of that lust for religious uniformity which is a spiritual perversion of the brute lust for conquest and self-assertion. These Southern invaders did (what missionaries still try to do in Asia); they robbed us of our legends and old customs which, however perverted by the masses, would always have been transparent and shown the Great Secret of culture to all who wished to see; and they imposed on us a "religion" and a Sacred Literature, doubly unintelligible to us Western Aryans, as being Eastern and as being of Semitic origin. Had they left North Europe its native legends, and

given us the Bible in addition, as interpreter and purifier of our own rituals and customs, they would have bestowed on us a boon indeed: But they insisted on our accepting their ritual and legends *instead* of our own. Thus in Europe even the intelligent lost for the most part the knowledge of the organic psychologic method of communion with Unseen Truth; and accepted, instead a 'religion,' the one commonly miscalled Christianity. It seems hardly credible, but it is a historic and indisputable fact that for 15 centuries not only the ignorant and thoughtless but the large majority of intelligent and spiritual Europeans believed it to be their duty to allow themselves to be robbed of their natural birthright of spontaneous communion with Unseen Truth, and to accept instead the special doctrines of an alien 'Bible,' the allusions in which they could by no possibility understand aright. Every now and then of course some man in Europe caught a glimpse of the Laws of man's natural relation to the Unknown. This has happened, sometimes spontaneously, often by contact with some enlightened Jew, who interpreted the Hebrew Scriptures for his Gentile friend; but during the last two centuries with very great effect, by contact with the Hindu Sacred Writings *As Interpreted By the Living Hindu Mind*. Those who received such illumination, if they spoke in words, were in the middle ages burned or tortured to death. In modern times they have only been worried or starved to death. But many of them,—my husband for one and many another besides,—have found the way to state the Laws of human approach to and acquisition of the Unknown in a convenient notation, which, as I said, both withdraws what they have to say from the notice of the so-called "religious" world, and facilitates its use in organizing physical science by making its application compact and rapid. This science of the Laws according to which "finite man can appeal to the Infinite for Light on finite concerns" reduced to a compact notation, is what is known in Europe as *the Higher Mathematics* or *Calculus of (Mental) Operations*.

Ram Chundra could do without the Calculus what Europeans at that time did only by the aid of the Calculus, because the Calculus was a mechanical invention intended for the purpose of bringing within the reach of the deadened European mind certain things which the Hindu mind saw spontaneously.

When we Europeans boast of our science, one point remains always ignored: it is this:—No amount of mere observation and experiment can prove a Law of Nature, in any sense which makes it available for purposes of real Science. (Babbage, Ninth Bridgewater Treatise 1837 1st edition Ch. 2. and 2nd edition 1838) showed that however long or carefully man may have observed a sequence of

events, if they try to state the Law which governs the sequence, the chances are still as Infinitely to One that they have misstated it, that events predicted by them will fail to happen as observation had led them to expect. Wherever we find the element of prophetic certainty, *i.e.*, of such certain knowledge of a Law as shall enable us to say beforehand what consequences will flow from given causes, there must have come in a touch of that other kind of induction:—the one called in the West “Mathematical.” Now the notation, the manipulation of Mathematical Induction is entirely European; but the Mathematical Induction itself *comes from the East*:—Men like Mr. Sinnett, and indeed the majority of Englishmen of all kinds, when they speak on this topic speak in what I have called the elsewhere a condition of “serene omniscience” of the whole subject.* No amount of skill in *using* a Mathematical notation throws any light on the conditions under which it was generated; a man may use a scientific notation with consummate skill, and yet know no more of the mode in which it was generated than the boy who turned the handle of Babbage’s machine probably knew of the nature of the investigations which presided over its construction. Many so-called Mathematicians are so unawake to the true nature of the machine which they are manipulating that they are hardly aware that there is anything to learn. I who lived nine years with George Boole while he was collaborating with De Morgan, know—that I do not know. I do as George Boole and De Morgan did:—I bow my head in reverent thankfulness to that mysterious East, whence come to us wafts of some transcendent power the nature of which we ourselves can hardly state in words. Believe me, I do not wish to dogmatize about things which are beyond my province or my capacity; if anyone had really anything to tell me about psychologic science, either of the East or of the West, I hope I shall always listen with due respect. But when Materialists on one side and Theosophists [Theosophists will deny this Ed. C.N.R.] on the other agree in assuring the public that the great structure of European Science has been created *without reference to psychic lore*, I feel that I owe it to the cause of truth to say that I differ from these persons not as to the truth or value or originality of this or that idea or statement, but as to the contents of books which they have apparently never read and some of which I helped to write, about the genesis of notations which they can only use mechanically (if they can even do that much) whereas I have discussed the details of some of them with the originator, before their form was finally fixed.

* “Saturday Talks.” Colchester 1900, p.35.

Believe me, this question goes to the root of all ethics and all the well-being of people in every country and every class.

The "improvement" made by Jevons in my husband's method increased its utility for dealing with mere finance at the cost of all other uses. One proof of the utter ignorance of the English on questions of psychology is that when one speaks of a *mathematical* treatment of a subject, they almost always suppose one means something like statistics, something which deals with the *numbers* of things, not with the things themselves. Mr. John Hobson, whom I consider one of the few people here who retain the faculty of using a mind to grasp the true meaning of facts,—told me, not long ago, that he always believed mathematics could have nothing to do with the *quality* of anything, that it must always refer to quantity only. He had no conception that the true function of mathematics is to test the *quality of our* thinking; that it is a Calculus of Mental Operation. Mr. Hobson had got his ideas of the meaning of mathematics mainly from Jevons; and being a true thinker had refused to acknowledge mathematics as a guide. The difference between mathematics and statistics is shown in this:—the statistician deals only with averages, he rejects all that seems to him unusual, as outside of his problem. Boole's notation enables us to deal with ultimate types of fact and to bring out their significance. This is the genesis and meaning of the Science of Singular Incarnations or Solutions. The true test of the validity of any theory of biology, psychology, or social science is:—How does it answer when applied to *ultimate types*? Impatience of those apparent "exceptions" which in reality "test the rule" is a sign of a feeble thought-mode whose apparent strength is due to the delirium of fever. Long ago I said that "English thought is now so rotten that it gives way at a touch." I think that recent public events prove that I was not far wrong. Let me quote a few passages from a letter of mine printed in 1885. "I never in my life experienced from anybody anything like ill-usage or unkind neglect. Quite the contrary. My difficulties are of a very different order from that. When a man finds that he has made a mistake, he likes to get out of the matter without being obliged to own that he made it."

"An Editor will tell you in the coolest manner that one's ideas" are highly original, interesting, and valuable; but one must manage to express them without showing that one heard them in a Synagogue, or readers will take offence." (They would do the same if one said one had heard them from a Brahman). "This same edifying system is carried on in detail, at the expense of whatever individual discoveries, ancient or modern, happen to be out of favour with the

special clique for whom one is writing Women who have cultivated the art of "making lenses of themselves," (*i.e.*, bringing to a common focus thought-rays of different orders), are always made tools of in this way, unless they are very careful to prevent it." "Many women, under inducements similar to those which have been brought to bear on me, succumb morally, and allow themselves to be set up as illuminate, and traded on for dishonestly-pious purposes. And many a woman who would not consent to be false to her own instincts of fidelity has gone mad under the horrible pressure."

"Dr. Maudsley considers that the present condition of the atmosphere of religious and educational circles in England is bad for the health of patients who have any hereditary tendency to delicacy of conscience."

"English thought is now so rotten that it gives way under any firm grasp.

It lacks cohesion because the members of one group are afraid to own their obligations to some other group."

My experience is that Jews, whatever their faults may be, have at least some perception of the meaning of *fidelity to ancestry*, (racial and intellectual); and they never attempt to make one disloyal in the way that Gentiles do. Therefore Jewish thought is more vitalized and pure than ours."

Instead of trampling out the Hindu methods of Culture we had better improve on our own. Medical men have often expressed to me their regret that their preliminary education has been so one-sided and futile as to put needless difficulties in the way of their understanding the Laws of thought as Algebraically expressed.

Assistant teachers in schools, after a short period of study of "Boole's Law" (*i.e.* the Law of mental) usually come to the conclusion that many of the methods taught to them in the training schools are radically bad, destructive of nerve-health and of intellectual power; they are puzzled and pained at the impossibility of carrying out what they see to be the dicta of sound psychology in connection with any school system at present in existence. Children are often brought to me with the request that I will "try to find why they cannot get on with mathematics": and what is wrong with the methods in use at their school. Usually I find that the mathematical text books in use in the school are very good in their way; but the whole system and discipline of the school are contrary to the most elementary principles of mathematical psychology; the children have acquired radically bad mental habits, and have no idea how such a thing as mind ought to be used.

India no doubt sorely needs the vitalizing touch of Europe, she needs both our physical Science for practical use and our mathematical notation to interpret to her consciousness the treasures of her own subconscious experience. But do we not also need her touch perpetually? Those who think that the little scraps of Indian lore already in our possession comprise all that there is to know are, I fear, leading us sadly astray. Mr. Sinnett, having brought home from India one or two golden eggs is now telling us that it never sent us any before his time and never will again; he is trying to persuade you to kill the bird that laid them. I hope for all our sakes that you will not be persuaded to do anything so foolish.

A woman once spoke to me about "The Art of sheathing the mind to prevent the shedding of force"; and added:—"My mother was an American Indian: we are taught those things in our cradles, we are born knowing them." What would it be to England and America, in these feverish neurotic days, to have in every school a competent teacher of "the Art of sheathing the mind to prevent the shedding of force"? Alas! what has become of those with whom it was a hereditary tradition? As for the *Art* itself, we have here mean, foolish degenerated scraps of it in the shape of "faith healing" and similar quackery of "American" origin. Something similar has happened in the matter of at least one valuable American footplant. Having got the potato under cultivation, the Anglo-Saxon race were foolish enough to allow the wild stock to be killed off as a "weed." Now, we would give a good deal to renew our degenerated over-cultivated Europeanized stock by fresh importation of the true native growth, but alas! the native tuber is now hard to find. Let us all pray that a similar fate may not overtake the mental foodstuff which we have imported from India. Your country may be, if dealt with wisely, a practically exhaustless store of psychological knowledge.

I wish you Hindus would tell yourselves that European civilization is a very young child: who has a paper uniform which he calls "Education" and a toy trumpet which he calls the "Press"; and a tinsel crown which he calls "Morals," which I believe he sometimes almost fancies grown people will take for gold: and an electric battery which he calls "Science" which you helped him to make or he couldn't have made it, and which he does not understand much about beyond the fact that he can give his elders shocks with it; and a dangerous ill-made weapon which he made himself but does not know how to handle and which he calls a "Military System" (!); it will presently explode in his hands and do more harm than

he intends to himself and others. He is a nice boy but noisy and troublesome, as are all healthy children.

A wise teacher once explained to an old Race which was being dominated over by a young one, the principles on which the relationship should be adjusted:—"Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's and unto God the things which are God's". Leave the dear child his material "properties," they suit his stage of development. Never strike him; never grow angry. Play at formal obedience as long as he likes, provided it be understood to be only formal play-acting; if he attempts to meddle with Sacred things, such as your reverence for your Sacred Past you can surely make him ashamed of his childish impertinence by a few judicious words. The battle which you have to fight has been fought out already on a smaller scale, in the matter of Hebrew culture and faculties. For centuries everyone has been trying to unjudaize Jews; the religious party wished to missionize and "convert" them to Christianity; the secularizing party of late has wished to prove that the Jew could do nothing better than accept bodily our own materialistic, unphilosophical anti-psychological modes of learning. This pressure has produced that hideous monstrosity known as "the Jewish Difficulty." Surely that ought to be a sufficient warning of the consequences of trying to prevent gigantic psychologic forces of whose nature we are ignorant, from developing along the paths that are normal and safe for them. There have fortunately been always a certain proportion of Jews too wise* to be caught in the mischievous man-traps set by us for the destruction of their higher faculties. This select minority has accepted our Science for what it might be worth, but refused to let us flat-iron out their own old methods of domestic discipline. Now a quiet but strong current of religio-philosophic influence has set in, which originating among such Jews as Claude Monte fiore, Israel Abrahams and Lily Montagu† is sweeping many harmful delusions from our Gentile homes. What such Jews are doing I hope you Hindus will also do in your turn, and on a larger scale.

The treasures which these people have to guard are different from yours. No Jew that ever I met seemed to have the slightest conception of the nature of the special faculties which you Hindus

* See an able article signed G. K. C. in "Speaker" March 2nd 1901 on this subject. The writer refers to the habit of Gentiles of bestowing honours on precisely those lines of conduct in Jews which the Jewish Community would have been too wise to reward.

† I. Abrahams. Jewish Quarterly Review.

C. C. Montefiore. The Bible for Home Reading. Macmillan L. H. Montagu Naomi's Exodus. T. Fisher Unwin, 1991.

inherit and can help to develop in us European Aryans. But the struggle which you have before you is essentially the same as that which such Jews as those to whom I refer have successfully carried through. Subjects of the English government who wish to receive and give full development to their own racial potentialities, (whatever those may be) while sharing to the full in the opportunities for European culture, and who wish also to avoid entangling themselves and their race in political turmoil, would do well to study as a model the movement which is now represented by Montefiore, Abrahams and Lily Montague. It is a marvel of tact, good taste, concentrated power and effective management.

A propose of this Hebrew revival let me tell you a story which you may find it useful to narrate to any missionaries with whom you may be troubled. Somewhere about fifty years ago, two philosophic and ethical reforms somewhat similar in kind were started in London, one in the English Church, the other among the Jews. De Morgan and my husband watched both these movements with keen interest. On personal investigation I found the whole subject of modern Judaism treated by the Christian reformer and his followers with patronizing carelessness, whereas the Jew Reform Leader had been shrewd enough to make himself well acquainted with all the writings of the leader in the English Church. I worked under both leaders at different times. Both were perfectly sincere, and as human beings worthy of respect. But I noticed one curious difference, which for me completely settle the question which was the greater as a Leader. The Christian had been himself a "convert" from the Unitarian Church; and cordially welcomed converts who came to him to be received into that which he had joined. The Jew, David Woolf Marks, had all his life been a student of the Christian Philosophy; but had remained in the Church of his fathers. And when Gentiles came to him (as many did) to be received into the Jewish Church, he spoke in this wise:—Why do you wish to be received? You want to join us in prayer? The doors of our place of worship are open come in whenever you like. You wish to read our Scriptures? No one hinders you. You wish to keep our moral laws? Do so by all means: you will be all the better citizen. You want to conform to our ritual? What good will that do you? it is the traditional discipline of a race; unsuited to you and a useless burden for you. You wish to be descended from Abraham? Ah! I cannot give you that. You say that I have taught you what is good? Well, if I have done so, go away and practise it and teach it in your own Church; and do not come here flattering me." I heard this long ago. Last week I said to the old Hebrew Reformer,

now nearly 90 years old, and asked him if the above is a correct account of his mode of treating would-be "converts." He gave his emphatic assent, and his cordial blessing on my present attempt to encourage your aspirations. He was a friend and colleague of Babbage, De Morgan and Kingdom Clifford.

What we need is not that English visitors to India should tell us little scraps that they happened to learn there, but that Hindus should learn to speak our language and teach us what they know. And by "our language" I do not mean the English of the market and the Mission Church, the Law Court and cramming school: I do not mean any of the dialects in which people who cannot think for themselves repeat like parrots what they suppose other people to have thought. I mean the language in which the real thinking is done here by real thinkers. Tell learned Hindus that Boole's notation was invented by De Morgan and himself for the purpose of expressing *psychological* truth; that it is an extension and development of that international Short-Law in which Moses and Odin and the Brahmans of old, talk across time, and space to such men as Leibnitz and Newton, Boulanger, Gratry and De Morgan over the heads of politicians and plutocrats, of pedagogues and priests. If Hindus will study the notation of Boole's calculus so as to know how to express themselves in it freely, they may then help Europeans to found something like a truly human civilization, a truly intelligent education.

I end as I began. Tell Hindus to read De Morgan's Preface to Ram Chundra. Tell them that it is the voice of Mount Everest calling to India to awake, and arise and recover the treasures of its Past. Arise! Shine! for Light has come: and the Glory of the Lord shall be revealed.

You invited me to send a message of encouragement and hope to the learned men of India. Better for that purpose than any words of mine are some that were spoken to me long ago by a medical friend (Dr. Wiltshire) who was dying in early manhood of the results of an over brilliant career in youth. He said to me:—"The way to do good work is to live to be old: if you have genius, keep it fresh till you have also experience." This applies I think to nations as well as to individuals.

With heartfelt gratitude to the memory of the Brahman who taught my dear Uncle (not his special religion, but) the underlying principles of true progress.

MARY EVEREST BOOLE.

MEDICAL SCIENCE AMONG THE SINHALESE.

SMALL-POX AND ITS TREATMENT.

At a time when this country is suffering from this pestilential disease and a large proportion of its inhabitants have had the experience of having their friends or acquaintances taken away, in the interests of the public, to segregation camps or small-pox hospitals for treatment, it will perhaps be of interest to the public in general and to those presiding over the Medical Department in particular to be enabled to get an idea of the science of this disease as known to the Vederalas of this country.

If by what I am about to write I succeed in kindling in the Government and in the public a desire to further the knowledge and practice of native medical science in this country I shall have attained my object.

As for the history of small-pox:—It appears that the Chinese as well as the Hindus were familiar with small-pox many centuries before the Arabian physicians described it. It was probably carried westward by the Persian conquerors of Hindustan; which seems to be a further confirmation of the country from which it came, and the manner in which it gradually approached and eventually reached Europe. The distance and the hot deserts through which the only intercourse for so long a period was held must have prevented for a time its progress westward; but, as navigation extended, ships from India would frequently touch at the Arabian ports of the Persian Gulf and Red Sea where it seems first to have appeared in A. D. 900.

The description of small-pox by the distinguished Arabian physician Rhazes, first drew the attention of the European physicians who till then found themselves powerless to grapple with the dread disease and called it "plague" or "consuming fire," inscrutable in its nature and only to be prevented by humiliation and prayers.

Some say it was introduced into Arabia in A. D. 572, the year that gave birth to Mohammad, other testimonies seem to accord with the statement that it was at the siege of Mecca (A. D. 569) by Abraham that the Arabians were first affected with the disease.

The conquests of the followers of Mohammad conveyed the disease to Persia, Syria, and Egypt; and the successful stand made by the inhabitants of Constantinople, for some time prevented the spread of the disease beyond the Helkspout. So completely does this appear to have been the case, that Honus, a resident physician

in that city in the tenth century states that neither the small-pox nor the measles were known in his time at Constantinople.

The whole of the southern coast of the Mediterranean sea had been subdued by the Arabians; but, it was not till the commencement of the 8th century that the disease was introduced into Spain by the Moors. The victorious Saraceus over-ran Spain, crossed the Pyrenese mountains, and inundated the southern provinces of France. They were driven back by Charles Martel; but they left the small-pox and measles with the conquerors! From this source the disease quickly spread over Europe.

The Spaniards in their invasion of Hispaniola and Mexico conveyed the same diseases to these countries, where it committed the most extensive ravages.

It would thus appear that small-pox commenced in Asia and thence extended to Africa, Europe and America.

As for the *causes* of small-pox (or Sinhalese Masuriya from Sanskrit Masurika resembling a pill or lentil):—Stimulating and heating substances produce this disease; also pungent, acid or saline substances and improper mixtures of food; eating before the former meal has been digested; unwholesome meats, and certain roots or fruits; bad air or water; and the influence of a bad planet. These causes derange air, bile and phlegm etc., which with the bad blood produces the eruption called small-pox.

As for the *symptoms* of small-pox:—Before the eruption appears fever occurs, with pain over the body but particularly in the back; and itching, lassitude, stretching, restlessness, redness of the face and eyes, with cough. The skin swells slightly and is of an unusually red colour. When air is much deranged in this disease the pustules are of a dark-green and red colour; or dull hard and rough, and are accompanied by severe pain. This variety ripens slowly.

When bile is deranged, in this disease, severe pain is felt in the large and small joints, with cough, shaking, listlessness and languor; the palate lips and tongue, are dry with thirst and appetite vanishes. The pustules are red, yellow, and white, and they are accompanied by burning pain. This form soon ripens.

When produced by decessed phlegm the pustules are large, white, and shining, with much itching, and less pain than the former kind. This form ripens slowly. In this form, some of the general symptoms of small-pox are aggravated. There is catarrh with chilliness, headache, fever, heaviness of the body, nausea a loss of the appetite, languor, drowsiness, and the patient sleeps much.

When blood is deranged diarrhoæ, lassitude, and stretching occur; with thirst laziness, want of appetite, burning over the surface and the mouth becomes ulcerated. The eyes get red, strong fever is present with the symptoms already enumerated under deranged bile.

When air, bile and phlegm are deranged in this disease the body assumes a blue colour and the skin seems studded with rice. The pustules become black and flat, are depressed in the centre, with much pain. They ripen slowly, and the discharge is copious and very foetid. The patient is always dozing, has no appetite, breathes with difficulty and is drowsy, restless and delirious. This form is cured with much difficulty and is called *Charmo* or fatal form.

The following are other varieties of small-pox:—

1. Measles is produced by vitiated phlegm and bile, and the symptoms are fever followed by an eruption of small red papellae, like the roots of bairs; these appear over the body, accompanied by loss of appetite and cough.

Water-pox in which disease the pustules are large and full of water. In this form the skin is alone affected.

When the *blood* is particularly affected in small-pox, the pustules are of a redder colour, have a thinner cuticle than usual, and quickly ripen. They may generally be cured, but on being opened, should blood be discharged, the disease is incurable.

When the pustules proceed from *flesh* they are hard and shining and ripen slowly the skin covering the part being thick. The pain over the body is severe, with listlessness, itchiness of the skin, thirst and fever. When the disease is produced by diseased *fat*, the pustules are large, soft round and slightly elevated, with severe fever and pain. This form is very dangerous and is accompanied with loss of sense, laziness and stupor. Some strong persons may be cured of this disease.

When the *marrow* is particularly diseased, the pustules are very small, flat, slightly elevated and dry. The person is insensible, with severe pain of a gnawing kind in the vital parts. This form is invariably fatal.

When the *bones* are particularly affected in this disease, they feel pained as if bored by an insect. The pustules appear as if ripe, small, shining and very tender. The person feels chilly, restless and determine occurs with a burning feeling.

When *semen* is affected, the symptoms are the same as when the bones are affected, and this form is so fatal that as soon as a person is affected with it he dies, so that there is no time for the pustules to appear.

When small-pox is caused by derangements in the skin, blood, bile or phlegm; or phlegm and bile, it will be quickly cured. When air or bile; or phlegm and air; and the air, bile and phlegm are deranged the disease is incurable. Of the latter kind the eruptions are sometimes like coral or like rose-apple (Jam Sanskrit), oval, like the iron weight of a fishing net, or like a grain of linseed. The colour of this dangerous form of small-pox varies according to the strength of the individual. The other bad symptoms are cough, hic-cough, coma, fever of a severe kind delirium listlessness and thirst. The body remains very hot, blood flows from the mouth eyes and nose, and there is a gurgling noise in the throat with difficult and sonorous respiration. Such cases are incurable; also those in which great thirst is accompanied by difficulty in breathing, which is performed through the mouth.

Should the elbow wrists or axilla swell after the small-pox, the disease will be cured with difficulty.

As for the treatment of Small-pox:—The treatment, in *general*, commences with rubbing ghee made hot or warm water over the body before the eruption appears; an emetic should also be given.

When the eruption makes its appearance the pustules are rubbed over with tumerick mixed with ghee. Cooling food is recommended, particularly the powder of fried rice and gram, boiled with sugar and water. Broth made of birds which pick with their bills e.g. pigeons are to be used towards the termination of the disease. Few people should visit the patient, dirty people should be particularly excluded. No one should touch the patient. The patient should be kept in an open airy place.

The treatment of small-pox is varied according to the humour particularly deranged.

The air pox (Bayu Masuriya) is to be treated by exhibiting decoction of the powder helamochee (Sanskrit) with red sandal-wood. In other cases a decoction of

Sanskrit.		Sinhalese.	
1. Gulaucha	=	Olinda root	= Abrues Precatorius
2.	=	Kotthamalli	= Coriander Seed
3. Pauchamulí	=	Batu Roots	= root of the egg fruit plant (Solanum)
4. Rásucé	=	Arattha bulbs	= —
5. Ràtri	=	Nelli fruit	= —
6. Ushira	=	Savandera roots	= Andropogon Muricatus
7. Duràlabhà	=	Kahambiliya roots	= —

Two tolá (= a Sinhalese Kalanda = 20 madatiya seeds in weight) of each medicine is boiled in a pint of water till it is reduced to $\frac{1}{4}$ pint, this is given for a dose. The body is rubbed with ghee, mixed with a paste made of the bark of

Sanskrit.	Sinhalese.	
1. Manjista	= Val madhata	= Madder
2. Bata	= Domba	= Calophyllum-Inophyllum
3. Shirisha	= Mara bark	= Adanathera Pavonia
4. Urumborroh	—	

mixed together. Also Kodeeco (the leaves of Cakekim) and the leaves of Nim (= Kohomba), are to be mixed formed into a paste, and rubbed over the body.

When the small-pox is situated in the mouth and throat, gargles made of Subarnamaákshyik and Dátrifala = myrobalam = Nelli-fruit are formed into a decoction and taken with honey.

When affecting the eye, the vapour of a decoction of wheat and liquorice is to be used.

When pustules are broken and drying up, the powder of the ashes of cow-dung, and the ashes of astringent barks such as catechu and domba are applied.

The diet in this variety of small-pox should consist of sweet articles of food with rice, and broth made of a decoction of peas.

Small-pox produced by bile (Pitta Masuria) is treated at the commencement by giving the patient a decoction of

Sanskrit.	Sinhalese.	
1. Nim-bark	= Kohomba bark	
2. Porpotoka	= Pota leaves	
2. Páta, Patol	= Dhumella (අඹුල්ල) leaves	
4.		The red and white sandal-wood
5. Ushiria	= Savandra roots	= Andropogon Muricatus
6. Bássà, Durálabhaâ	= Kahambiliya roots	

two tolàs (kalandas) of each medicine, to two pints of water, which are to be boiled down to one pint. The decoction is to be taken in small quantities sweetened.

In small-pox produced by deranged blood (Raktaja Masuria) blood-letting and the above decoction are required.

Small-pox produced by deranged phlegm (Kapha Masuria) is treated by a decoction of bitter-plants and the body is to be rubbed with the bark of

Sanskrit.	Sinhalese.	
1. Shiriska	=	Mara
2. Urumborroh		

The preventive means to be employed in small-pox are administering the powder of tamarind seeds with the powder of turmeric daily in cold water, by which means the person will not be attacked. The juice of the plantain-tree with white sandal-wood and water, or the juice of Passo with liquorice will have the same effect. These are to be given likewise when the fever comes, to check, or diminish the violence of the disease.

DONALD OBEYESEKERE.

II.

THE USE AND ABUSE OF SMOKING.

AS at the present time much energy is being devoted to the suppression of juvenile smoking, I shall endeavour to give here a translation of some interesting notes on the subject from Susruta. The author of Susruta, Dhanwanthari is said to have lived about 3,200 B. C. in Kasidesa in days when Medical Science had attained a high standard of excellence in India.

In Susruta Lesson 40 Chikithsasthanaya the method of preparation of smoking mixtures for medicinal purposes is clearly explained, as well as the evils resulting from the general habit of smoking. There are five kinds of smokes prepared in India; they were and they are still used for five different purposes but only when prescribed by learned physicians.

These are—1. Cigars (*Weti*) used for smoking to act as a medicine internally for diseases in the chest, stomach, and throat etc., are known as *Prayokika*. 2. Cigars made with a mixture of fruits, inner bark, honey, gum resins, mixed with gingelly-oil or other kinds of oil for diseases in the throat, stomach, chest, known as. *Sneyhana*. 3. Cigars made with saffron and other allied roots and ghee mixed together as an inhalent in diseases of the brain, eyes, or head known as *Viraykana*. 4. Cigars made with a species of solanum used in cough, tuberculosis and allied diseases known as *Kasaggna*. 5. Cigars made with the sinews of animals, hoofs, hides and skins, horns, shells of crabs used as emetic for weak and unhealthy subjects known as *Vamaneeya*. The above smokes have to be prepared by a competent medical man and then administered to the patient, under his directions.

Whilst smoking of any sort is strictly prohibited for healthy human subjects, the Susruta emphasises the fact that it acts injuriously

on the system and tends to cause sickness. The method of smoking now usually practised in Ceylon is totally forbidden. The swallowing of smoke and emitting it through the nostrils is considered to be extremely dangerous and among other evil effects to cause weakness. In a person with a bulky fleshy and unhealthy constitution smoking is prescribed as a diaphoretic.

Forty instances are given when smoking of any kind is prohibited.

These should not smoke.—A down-hearted and depressed tired and weary person, a timid and nervous quick-tempered and hasty person, one who works in the sun or near a fire, a person who is bitten by a venomous animal or has taken poison, biliousness, and for sicknesses which lead to tuberculosis, a person who is possessed with an excessive carnal appetite, one who is subject to hysteria, one whose body is heated, one who is inclined to be always thirsty, an anæmic person, for dryness of the mouth, one who vomits, whose head is injured, who dislikes food, who has worked in the sun, who is shortsighted, a diabetic person, a person suffering with dropsy, from stomach disorders, a person who belches; infants, old people the weak and debilitated, famished and famine-stricken, people who suffer from insomnia, pregnant women, weak-bodied persons, lean persons, persons who suffer pain and agony from the results of or the after-effects of a beating or a severe handling or persons suffering from tuberculosis, those having pains in the chest, lungs, breast or suffering from diseases in those regions, after eating honey, after eating ghee either alone or mixed with some other food, those who have eaten curdled milk junket or curd, after drinking fresh unboiled milk, after partaking of fish, after taking alcoholic liquor, after drinking gruel or cunjee, to all possessing healthy constitutions.

It is for the common good of human subjects that these precautionary measures suggested by the great medical writers should be observed. I may quote another instance in Susruta viz., Lesson 52 "Uththa-rathnaththraya" where smoking is indicated as a direct cause of disease. The wasting and fatal disease of tuberculoses is stated to be brought about by constant and incessant smoking which tend to a dryness in the larynx and prepares the throat for asthma, hiccough leading finally to tuberculosis.

L. W. A. DE SOYSA.

BUDDHISM AND HINDUISM.

MANY writers on Oriental Religions have made the statement that Buddhism is a mere modification of Hinduism, but, as a matter of fact, *Buddhism* started from a fresh basis sweeping away all the theories—theistic and materialistic—that were in vogue then; and even to-day, it can be safely said that Buddhism is the only religion that stands between theism and materialism in opposition to both. Those whose knowledge of the principal teachings of Buddhism is superficial and immature are often led to believe that Buddhism is an off-shoot of Hinduism noticing the affinity in words used. Out of the many, a few terms in common between Buddhism and Hinduism are: Moksha, Nirvâna, Karma, Atma, Uposatha, Dharma, Saddhâ (Pâli) and Sraddhâ (Sanskrit) signifying Mataka Dâna, Deva, Svarga, Kusala, Akusala, Loka, Sila, Apaya, Vruta, Samâdhi, Samyak-drusti, &c. Of these, the Nirvana of the Buddhists is quite opposed to the Nirvana of the Hindus, whose *summum bonum* is, according to the theistic aspect, eternal happiness in heaven replete with sensuous pleasures, or eternal bliss in a spirit world, and according to the pantheistic aspect, living in the same world, with god (Salokya), approximation to god (Samipya), assimilation to the likeness of god (Sarupya), and complete union with god (Sayujya). Atma of the Hindus signifies an undying principle called "Soul" that is said to exist in sentient beings, whereas Atma (Sanskrit) or Attâ (Pâli), according to Buddhism, signifies "self." So are Uposatha, Karma, Sila, Samâdhi, &c. When Buddhism began to shed its light on the borders of the Ganges, Hinduism was in a flourishing state, and the Buddha, while adopting most of the words current then, gave them quite a different meaning. Hence arose the erroneous impression that Buddhism is an off-shoot of Hinduism.

From the hymns of the Rig Veda, the earliest religious work of the Indo-Aryans, it appears that the creed of the primitive Aryans was monotheism and polytheism, though some verses of the Purusha Sukta (Rig Veda, Mandala X. 90), believed by several scholars to have been recently added, illustrate the gradual sliding of monotheism into pantheism; the Yajur Vêda or Sacrificial Vêda gives hymns and texts for the use at sacrifices; the Sâmâ Veda is a reproduction of parts of the Rig Veda, arranged for Soma ceremonies; and the Atharva Vêda contains verses and hymns as magical spells

and incantations for averting evils caused by evil spirits. In coming to post-Vêdic literature, the second portion of the Vêda known as Brahmana contains ritualistic precepts and illustrations; and the third division of the Vêda is called Upanishad, or the mystical doctrine, and in the Isâ and Chândogya Upanishads the pantheistic doctrine of Brahmanism is given. In short, Hinduism is ritualistic and sacrificial, and it is monotheistic, tri-theistic, polytheistic, animistic, and eternalistic; and nomistic and philosophical Brahmanism is pantheistic, animistic, and eternalistic. Hence any attempt to reconcile Hinduism with non-ritualistic, atheistic, positivistic, semi-materialistic and stoical Buddhism is as futile as trying to extract sunbeams out of cucumber.

The Buddhism of the Southern Church is diametrically opposed to all the known religions of the world, and following are some of its leading characteristics:—Buddhism is the only religion

1. That discards as idle speculations the god-theory, creation-theory, soul-theory, sin-theory, prophet-theory, immaculate conception-theory, incarnation-theory, saviour-theory, eternal heaven and hell-theory, and the theory of the union with Universal Spirit;

2. That rejects the efficacy of prayers, penances, hymns, songs, charms, incantations and invocations; of sacrifice, burnt offerings, and oblations of butter, ghee, rice, bread and wines; of holy waters, relics, and sacred thread, dresses and ornaments; of suppers, feasts, and fasting; and of austerities and asceticism or self-mortification, as well as the dependence on rites, ceremonies, priests, saviours, prophets, saints, virgin-mothers and intercessory deities;

3. That discards the observance of lucky hours, mysticism, occultism, supernaturalism, and the belief in omens, miracles, dreams, &c.;

4. That does not meddle with cosmogony, cosmography, origin of sentient beings, a first cause, &c., but, taking things as they are, enjoins the liberation from suffering and attaining higher life by walking on the Noble Eightfold Path;

5. That teaches not to believe anything because it is believed by parents, teachers, learned men, men of high position, or by the majority of people; or because it is alleged to be a divine inspiration, or because it is said that it came down for generations as a tradition, or because it is said to be an oracle, or because it appears in books, or because a certain individual emphatically says it is the truth, but to believe a thing if it agrees with one's reason, investigation, and consciousness;

6. That teaches that its followers should not be displeased, be angry, or be excited when any person speaks against the

Buddha, against the Dhamma (Buddhist Law), or against the Sangha (Buddhist Order); and also they should not be pleased, be gratified, or be elated when one speaks in praise of the Buddha, the Dhamma, or the Sangha; because, when thus prejudiced they are unable to judge properly whether what is spoken for or against is true or false;

7. That teaches that the three-fold Tanha or Thirst called (1) the craving for the enjoyment of sensuous pleasures, (2) the craving for a future existence in an eternal heaven, either with or without a material body, and (3) the craving for success, for luxurious living, and for renown in this life only, is the cause of all suffering and misery;

8. That propounds a practical and positive philosophy teaching self-culture, self-control, self-conquest, and self-enlightenment; and inculcates the science of moral and intellectual culture;

9. That declares that good results, visible to self and others, are produced when one, avoiding the two extremes known as Sensualism and Asceticism, to which all other religions belong, walks on the Middle Path called the Noble Eight-fold Path of (1) Right Knowledge, (2) Right Intention, (3) Right Speech, (4) Right Action, (5) Right Livelihood, (6) Right Energy, (7) Right Investigative Recollection, and (8) Right Concentration of Thoughts;

10. That enforces the cultivation of peace and good-will towards all living beings denouncing the distinctions of caste, creed, colour, race, and species;

11. That teaches that man is not a sinner or a depraved being, but that a man, who is morally and intellectually developed, is superior to the so-called divine beings, and that to be born as a human being is a rare occurrence;

12. That gives the liberty of thought and action;

13. That exhorts the cultivation of universal Love, universal Pity, universal Sympathy, and universal Neutrality or Impartiality;

14. That teaches that the following good results are produced by cherishing universal Love constantly. They are:—(1.) He who cherishes unselfish Love sleeps well, (2.) wakes well, (3.) is not troubled by frightful dreams, (4.) becomes agreeable to human beings, (5.) becomes agreeable to non-human beings, (6.) is protected by Devatas, (7.) is not hurt by fire, poison, or weapons, (8.) his thoughts are easily and rapidly concentrated, (9.) his countenance becomes inviting, (10.) he will be conscious in his dying moment, and (11.) if he be one who did not enter into one of the four Paths of purity, he will be born in an abode of the Noble Ones.

15. That sets the highest value on life, teaching that the destruction of life of any sentient being is a very grave crime, as life is dear to others as it is to oneself;

16. That elevates one's position by enjoining to cultivate the Ten Paramitas or "Natures or Actions of Noble Ones," known as (1) Charity, (2) Observance of moral precepts, (3) Renunciation, (4) Knowledge or Science, (5) Energy, (6) Forbearance, (7) Truth, (8) Will-power, (9) Unselfish Love, and (10) Impartiality;

17. That enjoins the acquisition of wealth by righteous means, and its proper and liberal use;

18. That prohibits its votaries the five trades known as (a) sale of human beings, (b) sale of weapons used for depriving life, (c) sale of birds, animals, &c. for slaughter, (d) sale of poison for killing purposes, and (e) sale of intoxicating liquors and drugs except for medicinal purposes and flavouring food;

19. That regards (1) reliance, (2) moral purity, (3) conscientiousness, (4) sense of one's guilt, (5) a good retentive memory, (6) charity, and (7) science or knowledge as the seven-fold wealth that a noble person should possess;

20. That inculcates charity, observance of moral precepts, and mental development as the basis of every virtue, and the source of every happiness;

21. That enjoins that it is the duty of parents

(a) To restrain their children from vice,

(b) To train them in virtue,

(c) To have them taught arts and sciences,

(d) To get them suitably married, and

(e) To give them their inheritance;

22. That proclaims woman's independence, teaches that she can, like man, attain the highest stage of moral and intellectual development, and lays down that it is the duty of the husband to cherish her

(a) By treating her with respect and attention,

(b) By using kind and affectionate speech,

(c) By being faithful to her having no attachment to other women,

(d) By causing her to be respected and honoured by others, and

(e) By giving her necessary ornaments and dresses;

23. That makes people independent, progressive, and responsible for their deeds by teaching that self is the lord and saviour of self, that each one is capable of attaining the highest stage of development, and that each one makes his heaven and hell here and elsewhere according to his thoughts, words, and deeds;

24. That stands as a stimulant to activity and manliness by teaching that each action, whether mental or physical, produces its results without the aid of gods or any other metaphysical beings, and thereby gives liberty to mould one's destiny by one's own hands according to one's own wishes without throwing him under the mercy of a second being, on whose whims and caprice he has to depend for his future, either in this life, or in a life beyond the grave;

25. That teaches that in all the worlds there is nothing more useful and valuable, more efficacious and powerful, more sublime and supreme than a well trained, well cultured, well developed and well tranquilized Mind;

26. That stands in opposition to theism, deism, spiritualism, materialism, (implying the materialistic creed denying a future existence), agnosticism, eternalism, nihilism, fatalism, and all theories that ignore the Laws of Causation and Mutation;

27. That teaches that every state of existence here or anywhere else is finite, conscious, material, and individual, that each existence in this or in any other world is mixed with pleasure, pain, and indifference, that pleasure alone without pain exists nowhere, and as pleasure and pain are caused, both are transitory and transient.

28. That teaches that the Law of Mutation pervades everything in the organic and inorganic worlds, and that the mental and the material undergo constant changes momentarily;

29. That teaches that all sentient beings are composed of Nama and Rupa (name and form or the mental and the material); that there are no spiritual beings as taught in theistic creeds; and the invisible beings known as Devas &c., are composed of rarefied matter, and are endowed with the power of assuming various forms and making themselves visible whenever they desire to do so;

30. That teaches that the material that composes the physical body of sentient beings is a product of matter that existed, and likewise, the mental is a result of a mental activity of one that existed previously;

31. That teaches that life and the physical body, its pleasures and pains, its decay and dissolution, as well as re-birth, are the results of the Law of Causation;

32. That upholds that sentient beings come into existence in four ways known as oviparous, viviparous, engendered from the cohesion of humid or gelatinous matter as insects, &c., of many species, and by spontaneous generation caused by the aggregation of rarefied matter, as in the case of most of the invisible beings called Devas, Devatas, Pisacas, Pretas, &c.

33. That teaches that each sentient being is a result of his own thoughts;

34. That teaches a purely autonomous ethical code;

35. That discards dogmas and metaphysical speculations;

36. That propounds a state of happiness without an objective heaven, a salvation without a saviour, and a redemption without a redeemer;

37. That infuses cosmopolitan spirit against national exclusiveness;

38. That teaches that invisible beings known as Devas, Devatas, Asuras, Kumbhandas, Petas, Pisacas, &c., of various grades are all subject to the Law of Mutation, and, like man, they also are dazed with lust, pride, hatred, and vanity, and embracing various creeds indulge in such idle speculations as to the existence of a soul, creator, &c.;

39. That teaches that human beings are intellectually superior to all other beings—including invisible beings called Devas. &c.;

40. That upholds that life in this world or in other worlds is constantly undergoing change, and is not identical in two consecutive moments;

41. That teaches that all sentient beings are subject to the laws of nature of the world or region in which they are born;

42. That teaches the existence of the *aura*, and the emanation of rays at times from the physical body of persons morally and intellectually developed;

43. That upholds that just as the Physical Laws pervade everything in the material world, likewise the Mental Laws called Karma pervade every being in the sentient world;

44. That propounds the Law of Heredity by teaching that each individual inherits the character of his previous existence, and that of the parents of his new existence;

45. That advocates natural evolution, natural development, and natural dissolution of worlds and sentient beings;

46. That teaches the existence of a countless number of worlds and innumerable species of sentient beings;

47. That enjoins the conservation and right application of Energy, and the development of Will-power and the powers of Recollection and Concentration of thoughts;

48. That enjoins the development of Vipassanâ or Special Knowledge that eradicates cravings, dispels doubts, subdues passions, dissipates speculations, curbs the pursuit after vanities, and leads in this life to a state of purity, serenity, and tranquility.

49. That teaches that *the mental forces* called Karma (mental activity), Sankhâra (aggregating mental powers), Tanhâ (thirst or craving producing Will to Live and Enjoy), and Upâdâna (forcible

mental grasp) are indestructible, and that they cause the continuation of individuality in this or in any other world according to the power, nature, and tendencies of thought;

50. That combines the Ethical with the Physical Law, and places sentient beings under the nature of each locality and world for their happiness and misery; and better than all,

51. That teaches a *summum bonum* attainable only by moral and intellectual development, in this life and in this world, or in the future, in this or in any other world.

Without entering into the higher Dhamma (teachings) this much will suffice to show that Buddhism is not only antagonistic to theistic and pantheistic Hinduism of the Veda, but also that it is radically opposed to modern theistic schools known as the non-dualism (*Advaita*) of Vyâsa and Sankara, dualism (*Dvaita*) of Ananda Tirtha, pure non-dualism (*Suddhâdvaita*) of Vallabha, transcendental non-dualism (*Vasistâdvaita*) of Ramânuja, and dualistic non-dualism (*Dvaitâdvaita*) of Nimbarka and Caitanya, as well as to the theistic sects founded by Swamy Narayana, Kabir, Nanak, Ram Mohun Roy and several others.

It is stated by some oriental scholars that the *summum bonum* of the Buddhists and that of the Vedanta Philosophy are similar. This is a misconception. The final goal of Bâdarâyana's pantheism, which has much in common with the idealism of Plato, is a state of unconscious immateriality produced by the re-establishment of the identity of the Jivâtma or the Individual Soul with the Paramâtma or the Supreme Soul. The one universal Essence called Brahma, who is both creator and creation, the existence of a thing called Soul having five coats, like those of an onion, called Vijnâna-maya, Mano-maya, Pranamaya, Anna-maya, and Ananda-maya, and the separation of the individual soul from the Supreme Soul and again a complete absorption into the supreme, having three essences called *Sat*, *Cit*, and *Ananda*, and the impersonal Spirit called Brahma assuming consciousness by the power of Mâyâ (Illusion) investing itself with three corporeal envelopes known as Kârana-sarira, Linga-sarira, and Sthula-sarira, are subjects quite foreign to the teachings of the Buddha. In Nirvana exist Dhuva, Subha, and Sukha, but the existence of an *Attâ*, either individual or supreme, is denied. Moreover, Nirvana is Asankhata (un-caused), Anidassana (incomparable), and Avvyâkata (inexplicable), and Nirvana is described as "*Vinnanan anidassanan anantan sabbato pabhan.*" Hence, the dissimilarity is obvious. It is noteworthy that the following words of the Buddha appearing in the Alagaddupama Sutta of the Majjhima Nikaya distinctly show that Nirvana is not blank annihilation as represented by some

oriental scholars. The passage runs thus: "I, who declare and speak thus (on Nirvana), am reviled falsely, baselessly, vainly, and speculatively by some Samanas and Brahmanas (Hindu recluses and priests), saying that the nihilistic recluse Gotama teaches the the annihilation, the destruction, and the non-existence of existing sentient beings."

The belief that Buddhism borrowed the doctrine of transmigration from Hinduism is also unfounded. The doctrine of the transmigration of souls, which forms one of the principal teachings of Brahmanism, is unknown to Buddhism. The Buddha emphatically denies the existence of an entity called "Soul" in sentient beings, and teaches that this "I am I consciousness" is a product of the aggregation of the mental and the material, and at the death of a sentient being nothing goes out of his body to another place, *but his mental forces cause the production of a new vitality—inheriting character in a place agreeable to the tendencies of his thoughts.*

Of the six Darśanas (Six Schools of Philosophy) that grew out of the Upanishad, it is believed by some that Buddhism "has more in common with the Sankhya Philosophy than with any of the other systems." This is also a misconception. The theories of the primordial Producer (Prakriti) and of the Soul (Purusha) which form the basis of the Sankhya, are radically opposed to Buddhism, which, by ignoring a first cause and soul-theory, teaches that both the mental and the material constantly revolve in the circle of cause and effect, without a beginning and without an end, and without either peace or pause.

It is not out of place to mention here that some of the Hindu ceremonies performed in the Dêvalas (residences or houses of gods), as well as the introduction of the images of some Hindu deities to the Buddhist temples in Ceylon, is a work of some Sinhalese Kings who embraced Hinduism; and under this influence, superstition, to use a Buddhist simile, began to grow luxuriantly like the Virana weed warmed by the vernal sun.

J. WETTHA SINHA.

A WOMAN'S WORK IN THE WEST.

EIGHTEEN years ago a Negro woman went to live in a side street at Hampton, a small city in the State of Virginia, United States of America. She was young, but she knew how to live decently. Both she and her husband were graduates of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute. At the school Mrs. Harris Barrett had been taught how to keep house, sew, cook and take care of children. What she had learned at the Institute soon enabled her to elegantly furnish the small wooden house which her husband had built, and to make a cosy home.

The tastefully furnished house, with its many modern appointments, would have satisfied the heart of many a young wife: but Mrs. Barrett felt within her a deep desire to teach the Negro women living around her the art of making a house look neat and clean, snug and comfortable. She saw that in the neighbourhood in which she had settled there were mothers who had never been taught and did not know how to care for their children. She found that her neighbours were ignorant of the simplest laws of life and decency, and were, therefore, not getting an infinitesimal portion of the pleasure and profit they should reap from life. The children of the locality were growing up like weeds, going to the bad because there was no intelligent person to superintend their play and work, and teach them to live life worthily. This Mrs. Barrett saw. This she took to her heart—which, like her head, had been trained at Hampton, and had been educated to feel for the needy. This sad state of affairs led her to inaugurate a work of great beneficence.

The only effective manner to teach a person to live decently is to show him the life-worth-living in operation, and then to give him a chance to participate in it. Mere sermonizing never availed, nor will it ever be of much practical utility. In fact, moralizing alienates the rank and file of men and women—especially preaching from a pedestal, since it invariably reminds the lowly ones of their inferiority and makes them feel hurt, for in the breast of everyone there has been planted self-love and self-respect which smarts and stings when “holier-than-thou” shafts are levelled at the individual. While an appeal to self-help, self-interest, seldom fails in raising a person from the deepest sloughs of degeneracy and despondency, an attack—even an unmeant attack—directed against one's respect for

one's self, rarely, if ever, conduces to the uplifting of a man or woman.

These thoughts surged in Mrs. Barrett's brain when she decided to do all in her power to help the evolution of her neighbours who were in a depressed, ignorant state. She did not go to her neighbours to preach to them—to teach them how to live more usefully and economically. She did not organize meetings to which she invited the Negro women living within a few blocks of her home and there tell them how to do things with more modern, time conserving and money-saving methods. She busied herself with beautifying her own home, adding touches to it which refinement and culture suggested. Then she sent a message to all who resided in her neighbourhood that her home was theirs, and that they were perfectly welcome there at any time they might choose to come.

A few girls came to the Barrett home in response to the invitation. No matter what day of the week it was—whether it was "blue Monday" and the mistress of the house was busy washing clothes, or whether it was Saturday and the housewife had the house turned upside down, all torn to pieces, engaged in general house cleaning: no matter what time of the day it was—whether Mrs. Barrett was sewing or cooking, reading or writing—the girls and women were welcome in the "Home," as they soon learned to call the place. Mrs. Barrett did not show one set of teeth and use another for eating; that is to say she did not lead a double life. She never resorted to "dirty tricks" in doing her housework which she carefully hid from outsiders. On the contrary, she always did her work as well as she could and she did not have any change to effect in the household routine when strangers were about. All went on as if no outsider were present in the house, as if no critical eyes were watching the hands that were doing the work. Everything worked smoothly and without a hitch or discord.

"We learn by seeing and doing," says Mrs. Barrett, and the girls who came to her home saw the various household duties done on approved and economical plans and did them as nearly like Mrs. Barrett as possible. First by seeing: then by doing: that is how these young women learned to cut and fit and sew garments, cook and serve, buy and sell, scrub and mop floors, dust and clean furniture, grow vegetables and flowers in the garden and adorn the house. Some teaching was done—a few words were uttered. This, however, was merely incidental and was done unobtrusively, even without the knowledge of the girls. It was "seeing" and "doing" that played the most prominent part in their practical education. The girls gathered around Mrs. Barrett while she performed her various household duties. From watching her do things properly, they were

inspired to do things well themselves. Mrs. Barrett let them help her do her household work and in course of time the girls began to perform the labour every bit as well as she did or could. Mrs. Barrett has three children. Helping to take care of them afforded an opportunity for the girls to learn to take care of children—a training which they will be able to use to good advantage some day.

Mrs. Barrett's home is located in Locust Street, Hampton. Its vine-and-foliage-covered exterior presents a handsome appearance; and so does the artistic interior. For many years this home alone formed the nucleus of the Locust Street Settlement: but some time ago the husband of the settlement-worker built another house on the adjoining lot, which is used for club meetings. An explanation is needed for the word "club." It does not denote, in connection with Mrs. Barrett's work, what it does in the East—a place where drinking is indulged in, where crazy luxury runs riot and where card parties hold their sessions. It merely means a place where people gather for innocent recreation and for the sake of learning things that will hasten their evolution.

The Club started eighteen years ago with 10 members and has now over 100. In the Club-house, three days a week, gather large classes where the girls learn plain sewing, hem stitching, shirt-making, basketry and cooking. A kindergarten is held in a little upper room in the shed. A boy's club has been organized and is in full swing. The young folks learn gardening in summer. Sundays are devoted to religious study and a song service. Mrs. Barrett does the teaching and supervising, with the assistance of a few intelligent, willing associates who volunteer their service without pay.

At the settlement, boys and girls of all ages and grown up women and men learn to live a nobler, more industrious, more useful life. Mrs. Barrett has organized clubs for juveniles and grown-up people. These clubs meet on different days and have different kinds of work to study. Sewing, cooking, knitting, beadwork, crocheting, fancy work, quilt-making, chair-caning and gardening are a few of the things taught in these clubs. In a uplifting work of this nature, there are a thousand and one things cropping up all the time that act as educators, but cannot be catalogued in a list of activities. A kindergarten was established and the teacher from the Hampton Institute kindergarten came three afternoons a week to take charge of this branch of the work, giving her services free of charge. Next a kindergarten Mother's Club was organized and other womens' clubs were formed. The old Negro grandmothers belong to the quilting club. Grown-up people belong to the "flower-lover's club," while the "Home Garden Club," is composed of children. The Woman's

Club consists of mothers and helpers, for the most part. Its meetings are held once a week and the members discuss current events and criticise magazine articles and books. Boys are especially welcome at the Locust Street Settlement. They are taught gardening and are expected to keep the lawns mowed. The boys are taught that they can be and do in the world anything they decide to be and do. A number of indoor-games, books and magazines, and various out-door attractions such as swings, a horizontal bar and a see-saw spring board provide healthy and innocent amusement for the boys. A vacant lot near by is used by the boys for their outdoor games. The little fellows are required to be clean and good. They are not allowed to fight, quarrel or use bad language and are required to play fair. If they fail to meet these requirements, the privileges of the club are taken away from them until they apologise and promise to try to be good. Mrs. Barrett contends that the boy who learns to doff his hat and not sit while a girl stands, never forgets these little courtesies when he grows to be a man. The whole effort is to make good, honest men and women, who can fill the lower the lower ranks of life as successfully as the higher. The Boys' and Young Men's Clubs and the Women's Quilting Circle meet in the evening.

The most important event of the year is the annual picnic, which is known as "Baby Day." This was started in order that the little friends of the settlement might have a day's outing. The picnic is always given under the auspices of the King's Daughters, a religious society of young people. Each older girl invites ten children and their parents, while Mrs. Barrett reserves the right to invite 100 guests. The old and infirm people who are never able to enjoy an outing at any other time are included in her list. The various clubs sell everything saleable that they have produced during the year and this money is used to buy light refreshments. The amount realised in this manner is never sufficient and the balance is raised by soliciting aid from friends of the settlement. Another happy event for the children is the annual Easter hunt.

The religious feature of the work has always been most prominent. The first united effort of the settlement was made to help a struggling church by holding a "fair." The Circle includes members from all the different denominations and whenever a church entertainment is given, the workers from the Locust Street Settlement are permitted to help. One of the first things done when the movement was started was to organize a King's Daughters Circle.

Thus, day after day, month after month, for eighteen years Mrs. Barrett has carried on this great uplifting work in her own home.

The influence of her teaching is shown in the homes of her pupils. She has always made the people among whom she is working look upon her as a friend *rather than a teacher*. It was in the rôle of friends they first came to her home. As friends they helped her do her housework and learned while helping. As friends, they were invited to dine with her and in this way were taught how a table should be properly spread, how a meal should be served, and how to behave at the table. She made no change in her everyday system of work, but acted exactly as she would have done if she were not being watched by eager eyes. Year after year she has carried on the work of perfecting Negro girls as home-makers. Several years ago the activities of the Club grew so great that Mrs. Barrett's home could no longer accommodate the meetings. When the Club-house was erected on the adjoining lot, Mrs. Collis P. Huntington furnished it. Helpers gave their assistance. Teachers from Hampton Institute aided in the work and others contributed their mite; but the settlement has continued to grow until now the necessity has arisen of hiring a paid assistant and a fund is being raised for that purpose. But Mrs. Barrett has always been the heart of the settlement, the directing force in the wonderful work that is being done in such a quiet manner for the uplifting of the Negro race.

There is a moral in all this for women of our own country. This humble Negro woman could not go out into the world as a reformer. She had home duties that demanded her attention. She had married and accepted the responsibilities of a wife and she felt that her first duty was to her husband and her home. But the fact that she was tied down did not deter her from doing all in her power to uplift her race. Since she could not leave her home, she drew to her home those whom she wanted to help, and the results of her efforts are so great that no pen could dare to attempt to chronicle them, for they have been reproductive. She has been wise in choosing those whom she has helped. They have ever been girls and boys and women and men capable of teaching others. They have passed along the knowledge gleaned from her example, and thus the results achieved by the Locust Street Settlement have been like fruitful seeds, which, when sowed, have produced a bountiful harvest.

The fruitfulness of Mrs. Barrett's work reminds the writer of a story told to him some time ago of the American patriot, Benjamin Franklin. Mr. Franklin, as is well-known, was a self-made man, and during his early years had to struggle hard for his living. Once, sore pressed for funds, he burrowed a five-dollar gold piece from a friend of his. The necessity over, Mr. Franklin took the money back to his friend, who refused to take it back. Pressed by Franklin, the man

said: "I never intended, when I gave you the money, to have you return it. Keep it, and when you come across someone who needs a five-dollar gold piece as badly as you did at the time of borrowing, give the coin to him. If this man desires to pay it back to you, tell him to keep it in circulation for the betterment of humanity."

There is not one amongst us who has not received favours and courtesies from others. This fact ought to be borne in mind and favours received ought to be returned—not to the same individual alone, but to others as well. Mrs. Barrett's history shows what one woman—and a woman who has three children—takes care of her own home and raises her own vegetables, without the assistance of a servant—can do to help evolve others, and this lesson ought to inspire every woman in our country to add her mite to national uplifting and glory.

SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

REFORM OF THE CEYLON LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

I.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CHILAW ASSOCIATION.

A meeting of the Chilaw Association was held on the 29th July, lasting from 5 to 8 p.m. There were present Mr. C. E. Corea (Chairman), Mudaliyar I. C. H. Senewiratne, the Rev. Mr. Benjamin Perera, Dr. Corea, Messrs. Albert Abeyratne, John Amerasekera, Peter Amerasekera, Simon Amerasekera, E. Eeven, Henry Beven (Proctor), C. E. V. Corea (Advocate), J. A. Corea (Proctor), P. A. Corea, J. A. C. Corea, C. Munasinha (Proctor), L. Munasinha, F. Munasinha, V. Panditasekera (Proctor), B. C. Perera, J. W. Seneviratna and Colin de Silva.

With reference to Mr. Padmarabha's article it was resolved, on the motion of Mr. Munasinha, seconded by Mr. C. V. M. Pandittasekere, as follows:—

“That this Association do endeavour by every constitutional means to further the legitimate aspirations of the people for self-government.”

Mr. MUNASINHA said that in that resolution the Association was not committing itself to take the initiative in this matter: they were only to state that they would be ready to support or promote constitutional agitation for a change which, there was no doubt, united public opinion in the country desired. When they spoke of a change in the form of Government it might be said in some quarters that their views were too radical. But the change that the people asked for was in no sense revolutionary or unreasonable. It was agreed on all hands that the present form of government was unsatisfactory; it was a constitution which was intended to be provisional and not permanent; it was allowed to go on so long through the callousness and apathy of the country. But the people were now at that stage of civilization, which made them no longer satisfied with what was originally intended to be merely tentative. The speaker referred to the primitive conditions which the present makeshift constitution was intended to meet temporarily. The country had made rapid progress since. It was a prevalent idea that Oriental nations were only fit for despotic government. They found at the present time Eastern countries universally demanding constitutional Government; from the Ottoman Empire to Far East Japan. Europe was in jubilation not long ago because a constitution was given to Russia. The people of Turkey were at that moment thanking their Sovereign for constitutional reform; and Persia had her Parliament. But above all Japan had demonstrated to the world what an Oriental people can achieve under a free constitution. Japan proved that representative government was not something alien to an Oriental people, or for which they were unfitted. Constitutional rule worked smoothly and without friction in Japan. The conditions were more favourable in Ceylon than they ever were even in Japan. It was indubitable that in ancient times, under her native sovereigns, Ceylon enjoyed a very enlightened and liberal form of Government. It may be that they had fallen from that state of civilization in which they were before they went under the foreign yoke. It may be granted that national advancement was interrupted by foreign invasions. But could it be said that they had made no progress since British rule was established? Have all the efforts of the British Government, during more than a century, towards civilization and education been a failure—were they in no better state than they were when the English first came to the Islands? If on the contrary the establishment of educational institutions in the country, and other means adopted by a good and well-intentioned Government for the amelioration of the people have borne any fruit, then it must be admitted that the people of Ceylon were that day under

the blessings of British rule fitted for a more liberal form of Government than that provided for them in the fallen and degenerate state in which the English found them.

Mr. MUNASINGHA then proceeded to state the conditions under which the present form of the Legislative Council, with its minority of unofficials nominated by the Governor, was brought into existence in 1833, and shewed that it was altogether a tentative measure and never intended to be permanent. The term unofficial as applied to members appointed by the Governor was altogether misleading, so far as the members supposed to represent native communities were concerned. As for the European members they knew that their appointment followed the nomination made by their respective communities. The natives were never given a choice. The Governor never consulted their wishes in the appointment of a member nor could they expect him to do so: for how were their wishes to be made known to the Government? It was true that when a place in Council became vacant, the newspapers were flooded with irresponsible suggestions. The Governor was right in paying no attention to them, for it was quite possible that one man who had nothing better to do may write a 100 letters to the papers under various pseudonyms in favour of a particular candidate. But it by no means followed that, that candidate was the choice of the people. So, a native member of Council had very little of the unofficial; being appointed by the Government, irrespective of the wishes of the people, he could not be deemed to be not an official. It could not be said of such members that they were in the confidence of the people: much less were they responsible to the people. They could not but be obsessed with the feeling that as they owed their appointment to the Governor, they were in a measure bound to consult his wishes, if not to do his bidding. That was a very natural feeling. Now in England the term unofficial as applied to a person holding in effect a Government appointment would be unknown. That the Imperial Government had but very hazy ideas of the conditions existing in this far away dependency became every day more apparent. When they were told that in Ceylon there was a Council with 8 unofficial members, they would at once conclude that these members were elected by the people. It was in that respect that the term "unofficial" was not only misleading but was positively a danger. For when any appeal was made against any legislation they were liable to be met with the view that the law was passed with the advice and consent of the representatives of the people. It would of course be absurd for the constituents of the legislative assembly to protest against laws passed by their chosen representatives. That was the view the Imperial Government took of unofficial representation. They did not know that the people of Ceylon repudiated the idea of the so called unofficial members of Council being their representatives in any sense. Against every protest and every appeal on the part of the people it was now open to the Government to take shelter behind the Council; the responsibility for every act of Government was laid on the Council, although the Council itself was responsible only to the Government. So that it was far better for the country if there were no Council at all than one which exists merely to relieve the Government of much of its responsibility. If they were not to be given a more liberal constitution, they would far rather revert to the original state of things before 1833 when the Governor was held responsible for the good government of the country. Let them sweep away the present sham of a Council; and let them be governed by a Governor who would be held solely responsible. That would be a far more satisfactory state of affairs: for then the Imperial authorities would be constrained to look closely into things, and every mischievous act in the administration would be liable to strict scrutiny and exposure by that means. But was there any reasonable cause or ground upon which representative Government should be denied? How were they less entitled to a liberal Government than other British dependencies that had been given elective Councils?

The speaker proceeded to show that in Ceylon there was a very progressive community. He showed what rapid and large advances Ceylon had made in every direction, since the establishment of the Legislative Council and said that not merely by their state of development and civilization, but by the staunch and consistent loyalty which the people of Ceylon had towards their Government, they had earned the right to have a sufficient voice in the government of the people. Now their aspirations

were not extravagant, the people of the country were always moderate in their views and aspirations. All that they asked was that those members of Council, who were to represent their interests should be elected by themselves. The speaker did not think it necessary to formulate schemes for the formation of an Elective Council, but he thought the sort of racial representation such as is at present held should not be continued. He said the people did not at all desire racial representation. The natives of the country were far from being narrow-minded; they would welcome territorial representation, which would allow the best man to be chosen without respect to caste, colour, or creed. In fact the people did not like the idea of racial representation at all. There was such a variety of races and nationalities living side by side in the Island that no scheme could be devised to embrace them all and Government would be constantly troubled by such of them as were left out. But if members were chosen for different divisions of the country, such as the Provinces, they would represent all the inhabitants and it would not matter of what nationality they were. The best man and the man who was most trusted would be chosen, and castes and race differences would be forgotten.

With reference to the official side of the Council, Mr. Munasinha deprecated what was called the "official vote" where members were debarred from voting on any particular question according to their convictions. The danger of the official majority was in the circumstance of the officials voting to order. That they were required to do so shewed that the Government itself knew that officials may sometimes be convinced of the injustice of any Government measure. If officials were allowed to vote according to their conscience, Mr. Munasinha thought there might be an equal number of official and unofficial members. But whatever the proportions of the two elements in Council, the people could never be satisfied until they were represented in Council by members chosen by themselves. Government would never have the confidence of the people until they had their own representatives to express their views and necessities in Council. And the Government could never keep in touch with the people and could never be in possession of the real facts of their requirements.

Mr. MUNASINHA hoped they would not be alarmed if he made mention of the Waste Lands Ordinance; he was not going to lead them into a discussion on that Ordinance, but he would make reference to it to show how utterly powerless the people now were to make their voice heard. That Ordinance was represented by Government to be a popular measure! The people made effort after effort to protest against that statement as not being true. Every appeal, every endeavour to reach the conscience of the imperial Government was thwarted by official misstatements against which they were powerless. Whatever form their agitation took, whether through public meetings or by means of memorials, the official report damned it as not representing the voice of the people. If, as it rarely occurred, an Unofficial member was found to stand up in Council to state the views of the people, he would at once be silenced by the Governor declaring that official information to him was quite different. He would tell the member that the Agents of the Governor were better authority than he could be and that the Government preferred to accept their testimony.

As for the local press, the Government, they were told, did not read the newspapers. How then was the voice of the people to make itself heard? The people of Ceylon had no hope for the future unless they succeeded by a strenuous effort in securing a liberal constitution. At present the public mind is agitated and waked to a sense of the necessity for reform. And their aspirations have been roused to activity by the fact that a Liberal Government is at the head of Imperial Affairs. There was no doubt that the present was a most opportune moment to give emphatic utterance to the hopes and aspirations of the nation. It was true that their Association was of not sufficient importance to take front rank in the agitation. But they might be sure that public opinion would before long find means to assert itself in some effective form. The Sections of the Press which represent popular views have already voiced the sentiments of the people in no uncertain terms and they had reason to hope that more Central Associations than theirs would be taking the initiative before long. There are signs that the people are at last awakening to recognize the gravity of the situation. The people of Ceylon have been a peaceful and loyal community, and whatever they desired they asked for in a constitutional manner, unlike other communities. Their patience, their loyalty, and the advanced state of their civilization, which had hitherto kept them and the speaker hopeful would always

keep them from riot and violence, all that entitled them to consideration. Countries and dependencies less progressive and less deserving have been more favoured than they. The treatment meted out to Ceylon has been disgraceful. The speaker repeated that the so-called Legislative Council of Ceylon was merely a desire to shirk responsibility and they would have had better Government if the Governor stood alone to answer for his administrative acts. Honest and undisguised absolutism was not quite so bad a form of Government as was generally supposed. With one responsible ruler to govern them, the people had a better chance than when a so-called Council, which was a mockery and delusion, which was not responsible to the country, or amenable to public opinion, intervened. The Legislative Council of Ceylon was a sham let them no more be fooled by a sham Government.

Mr. PANDITASEKERE in seconding the resolution said that he welcomed the opportunity to express his views on the subject, because he thought that what was chiefly required at this juncture was that the authorities should know what were the opinions held on this question by the people themselves. If the community in Ceylon wanted representative Government he thought England was ready to grant it. One of his friends, who had recently returned from a visit to England, on being congratulated by the speaker by letter, for having had the opportunity of pressing the claims of Ceylon for representative Government, wrote to him in reply that he found enlightened Englishmen had no doubts whatever about it. They were, at this particular time, all for representative Government, not only for so important a British possession as Ceylon, but all over the world: and all that the people of Ceylon had to do was to constitutionally agitate for it. The Liberal Government was bound to acknowledge that for Ceylon an elective Council was an absolute necessity. For that which had hitherto tended to obscure the necessity for a representation in native communities under British Rule namely, the "man on the spot" theory, by which he understood the principle that the opinions of the officials were the most reliable authority in all questions concerning any distant dependency—that theory had now, as far as the Liberals were concerned, quite exploded. Their faith in that theory was effectually shattered in the case of Lord Milner. The speaker said he endorsed everything said by Mr. Munasingha and had only to draw their attention to a few aspects of the question which had struck him particularly. They wanted some national aspirations: they wanted something to be proud of in belonging to a great Empire: they wanted to be the sons of the Empire, not its helots. Under present conditions the people of the soil could not hold up their heads: they were not allowed to say "this is our own, our native land." In Australia, Natal, and the Transvaal they were allowed to keep out the competition of strangers. The Ceylonese would not be allowed to go there: they were asked to keep out; because the colonists could not compete with them. But what happened to them in their own country. The Government actually imported outsiders and not merely kept down the wages of the people, but paid the outsider higher rates. Instead of protecting the people of the soil from foreign competition, the Government actually encouraged and facilitated the influx of outsiders. That was because the people of the country were considered as the helots of the Empire not its members. They aspired to be something more than mere helots and their aspirations were both natural and legitimate, and should not be thwarted. They could not be thwarted without danger to the well-being of the community. National aspirations were like a flowing current. A stream may be dammed, but the current will only gain greater force by the obstruction. Sooner or later the accumulated waters would burst the bounds and rush forth unrestrained. It was so with the longings of a nation. They saw the result in India. They did not want unrest, disloyalty, and sedition in their country. They did not want the introduction of Western abominations into their peaceful land, mobs and bombs. It would be no comfort for them that after such things came into existence, members of Parliament would say that they were the result of delaying much needed reforms. They wanted the reforms a century before their country could dream of sedition and bombs. They wanted them now as a reward for their loyalty and as the first and most needed of such reforms, they wanted representative Government. And that they had it not, now, went without question.

A recent incident which had been reported—he did not vouch for it—was possible under the present state of things. A member of Council supposed to represent a certain community was reported to have replied to a protest against having expressed views directly opposed to those held in the community, that he was aware and they were all aware that he was appointed to Council altogether against the wishes

of that community. How then, he was said to have asked, did they presume to consider themselves his constituents? he had no constituents but the Governor. Now it had been said, not merely by Europeans, but even many of their own countrymen held the ideas, that Representative Government was something quite foreign to Ceylon: that it was altogether a Western conception unknown to the East. That idea was altogether erroneous as regards this country at any rate would be apparent to every student of Ceylon History. Long before constitutional Government was thought of in the West, the people of Lanka had it. Of course popular representation in ancient Ceylon had not attained the full development that the free Parliament of England now possessed: but they had it in a measure proportionate to the times. Their Kings were in the first place not hereditary, but had to seek election at the hands of the people. Now the country did not pass to foreigners by conquest: it was their proud boast that Ceylon had never been conquered. The Portuguese had a portion of the Low-country bequeathed them by the last will of a Native Sovereign. But the Portuguese authorities did not deem that of sufficient authority to assume rule. They had to obtain the consent of the people formally recorded by their representatives. Now why did the Portuguese think that necessary, or how could it have been done, if the people of Ceylon had not been accustomed to declare their will through their credited agent. It was certainly not a Portuguese custom: for Portugal was a hereditary monarchy and knew no reason, why a Sovereign should not nominate his successor by will. Then when the Dutch succeeded they had to renew the compact by a treaty in which the representatives of the people took part. The English took over the Low-country from the Dutch and obtained no larger prerogatives than the latter possessed: and further both in their treaty with the Dutch, when the Low-country was ceded, and in the Kandyan convention, the British Sovereign agreed to save to the people their civil rights. Very recently the Supreme Court held that as the British Crown succeeded to the rights of the Dutch Company, that the latter was not liable to be sued for tort, the Crown could not be proceeded against for a tort in Ceylon. If the Crown thus claimed the rights of the Dutch Government, it was both legally and morally bound by its limitations also. The people of Ceylon had a share in the Government under the Dutch and the Portuguese, as well as under their native sovereigns. Representative Government was therefore claimed by them as a right they had under their own Kings, as a right conserved to them by the treaties under which the country was ceded to the present sovereign power. They claimed it both as a right and as a reward for their loyalty. More than 400 years ago when Europeans first landed in Ceylon, Portuguese historians said that they found the people the most enlightened in the East. That in itself was a proof that they were under an enlightened Government. At that remote date Japan was almost unknown. Since then three Western Governments had held the destinies of the nation. Those Governments had superior knowledge than that of the Japanese Government, and better material to deal with than the Japanese people. Could it be said that during four centuries three European nations had failed to preserve the people in a condition fit for representative Government, when Japan, in a much shorter period and with far worse material and possessed of less knowledge had succeeded in bringing into existence a popular Parliament, which can not only manage internal affairs but deal successfully with international complications of astounding magnitude.

Mr. ADVOCATE VICTOR COREA had not the slightest hesitation in agreeing that the present so-called Council was a sham. The unofficial members were no doubt mere puppets and expected to be puppets, as was clearly indicated on a recent occasion when the youngest member was snubbed and set upon with a lack of mere courtesy, not to speak of due generosity, because he presumed to consider himself as entitled to voice the sentiments of the people whom he was supposed to represent. The speaker deprecated racial representation, as now held, to have the distinct tendency to create differences and keep alive the spirit of disunion in the community. He did not by any means favour the suggestion that recently found vent in the local papers that the various races, tribes, castes should amalgamate by intermarriage to form a hybrid stock: but he did maintain that in all public matters the people should offer a common front. It was antagonistic to such unity that the Government should differentiate between nationalities in the formation of the Legislative Assembly for the Island. He also thought the classification adopted illogical. The most obvious as well as the most practicable scheme and one which commended itself to everyone, was territorial representation, just as

in the Municipalities, members represented different wards. The speaker thought the Municipalities had afforded a test which had amply succeeded as to the fitness of the people to exercise the franchise. It was absurd to suggest that the people of Ceylon was at any time unfit to have the elective principle extended to them. If after more than a hundred years of British Government, the people of Ceylon could now be said to be not sufficiently educated to appreciate and intelligently exercise the franchise, then British Rule stood a confessed failure: it must be said of it that it had been weighed in the balance and found wanting. As had been pointed out the British sovereign did not acquire Ceylon by Conquest, any more than the Portuguese or the Dutch. In 1815, the Kandyan people dissatisfied with the Government of their King nominated the King of England in his stead. They all knew that very recently and on a memorable occasion it was admitted by the authorities that the Government of Ceylon did not profess to have larger powers than the Sinhalese Kings. That being the case, the native Kings having derived their authority from the will of the people, it could not be said that they had no voice in the Government of the country. Their history proved that the Kings of Ceylon had no absolute powers; and laws were not enacted without consulting the people. The fact that the last King of Kandy, in drunk sodden moments was guilty of unconstitutional acts gave no ground for the supposition that they had no responsible Government. The country was proved by the circumstance that the people deprived him of his authority, and transferred the sovereign to the British Crown. The fundamental principle of constitutional Government was that the Government should be of the people, for the people and by the people. Viewed in that light the Government of Ceylon was a pure despotism. The present was an age of freedom in which such Government ought not to find place. A wave of reform was passing over the face of the world: especially the Eastern world; and had reached and agitated even the sluggish sensibilities of the Indian people. It was therefore a proper time in which the hopes and aspirations of a loyal and well ordered community as theirs should find realization.

Mr. HENRY BEVEN (Proctor) said very little was left for him to say after the able speeches that had preceded. He was in full accord with the opinion, that the term unofficial as applied to members of Council nominated by the Governor was very misleading. It was quite true that people in England would be misled by it to suppose that they had a representative Council. It was only those who came to the Island and had the opportunity of seeing things as they were, who would understand what the term unofficial in this connection really meant. As long as the Governor had the power to appoint the members, they must naturally try to order their conduct to please him: it was practically impossible for them to serve the country as they ought. Membership in Council was sought more as a dignified rank than with a sense of legislative responsibility. The term "Honorable" attached to the names of members was no doubt very attractive. Then as regards official majority recent doings in the Colombo Municipal Council illustrated how the principle worked in Ceylon. They would be aware how the elected members had to resort to a rule to thwart certain very unpopular measures from being passed by means of the official majority. The possibility of defeating the wishes of the community by the exercise of the casting vote should be removed. Mr. Beven fully agreed that if the official members were allowed to vote according to their conscience they would be found quite competent to save the interests of the people as well as of the Government.

The Rev. Mr. BENJAMIN felt that so much had been already said on the subject and so well said, and so effectively, that he should not attempt to add any new matter. He would therefore state what was working in his mind as he listened to those speeches. It seemed to him that Government was still under the impression that the people of Ceylon were yet in the dark ages. It did not seem to recognize the progress made by the community in all departments of life, it appeared to him that it shut its eyes to the fact that men of Ceylon had proved themselves capable of holding their own intellectually against any nation; it apparently ignored the fact that men of Ceylon had been tried in high posts and had not been found incompetent: that when entrusted with great administrative powers and high responsibilities they had been found to discharge their duties not only satisfactorily but often even more satisfactorily than some of the imported officials were

capable of doing. The Government was disposed to treat them as if they were yet in their infancy and had to be still kept in leading strings. Their fathers and grandfathers had perhaps been satisfied to be so treated: but unfortunately for them they had learned a great deal since they had acquired knowledge and experiences: they had enlarged their view of the history of the world: they had become conversant with various forms of Government and were able to discern the good from the bad. They had now arrived at a certain conclusion: and it was not a hasty one: it had taken them long to arrive at the decision that representative Government should no longer be withheld from them. As regards racial representation he had no doubt that it tended to keep the people disunited, even to a greater extent than what were so often denounced as the evils of caste distinction. He illustrated the maxim that unity was strength by relating how Buddha replied to a question put to him as to the invincibility of the Letchiman Princes. As the present Council, was constituted different nationalities and different interests were recognised: that tended to keep alive in the public mind that they were a divided community. They now wanted all that removed. They asked that they be now granted a more liberal and a more equitable constitution. They wanted to see in Council men who were not willing to hide their conscience under the title of 'honourable,' and they did not want that it should be open to members of Council to say to the people, that it was an impertinence on their part to question their proceedings as they did not owe their place in Council to their wish, having other means of gaining admission. They as a nation who had never been conquered and who had successfully failed every attempt to enslave them, were free men: and they should ask the Government to recognize their freedom. If they did not do so, they would be untrue to their most sacred duty, and their children and grandchildren would execrate their memory. Let them therefore approach the Government in a proper manner and in a loyal spirit and their request would surely be granted nor would the Government ever have cause to regret it but rather to rejoice.

Mr. C. E. COREA congratulated the meeting on the discussion which was worthy of that Association. In summarizing the arguments used by the speakers, Mr. Corea chiefly enlarged upon the statement that the elective principle of Government was not alien or unfamiliar to the people of Ceylon. He fully agreed with Mr. Munasinha that they would be far better governed if the Governor was unable to take shelter behind a Council which appeared to have no further function than just to provide that shelter. If administrative acts had no other supposed sanctity than the Governor's sole responsibility, the voice of the people would receive in Downing-street a more attentive hearing. If the country was agreed that the present Council was no longer desirable nothing was easier than that natives should refuse to accept appointment to membership at the hands of the Governor. It was true that the Ceylon League failed to bring out such a result. But many years have passed since: might they not hope that the people were now more alive to the danger, and more educated in the responsibilities of citizenship, so as to be able to place the freedom of the country above the personal gratification of being called an "Honorable?"

Mr. Corea, however, did not think that their patriotism would be called to stand such a test. He did not anticipate failure for a well organized agitation for a liberal constitution for Ceylon; Mr. Munasinha said that the country had always held moderate views: that their demands were ever moderate. He (Mr. Corea) thought moderation was carried to excess in Ceylon. It often, as in this matter, was easily mistaken for apathy. It was, perhaps what they intended to be mere holding of moderate views that made the authorities believe that there really was not much eagerness on the part of the people for the reform which they had that day said was so important. The authorities had reason for holding that view: for strange as it might appear it was nevertheless true that there had never been a single direct appeal from the people for representative Government. And then whenever the question was approached it was with a degree of timidity which was altogether surprising to him. For instance nothing was clearer than that there was not one, who in his heart thought an official majority in council either desirable or necessary. Their honest conviction was that the people of Ceylon could be trusted with self-government, and that to limit and cripple their rights by an official majority was not

merited by them. Yet whatever Ceylonese dealt with the subject and in all Press utterances, the greatest anxiety was displayed to make it appear that the people had no quarrel with the official majority. Let them take up Mr. Padmanabha's paper which was before them. They found that 30 years ago, Mr. Digby, a European gentleman, did not think a council of 41 members with 13 officials to 28 elected members by any means an extravagant claim for Ceylon. And 30 years later they had Mr. Padmanabha a native, stating "a scheme more suitable to the times would perhaps be to *reduce* the elected members to 18 and to *raise* the official members to 23." What had happened during the past 30 years to place the community on a lower level than when Mr. Digby found them capable of governing themselves with an elected majority in council? Surely there was something not quite ingenuous in the lukewarmness that was affected. It showed a timidity which looked much like utter lack of faith in British Justice, a want of trust in the good intention of British Rule. Mr. Corea thought there was no justification for fearing to speak out openly what they really thought, without dissimulating their real feelings. The true feeling in the country was that inasmuch as they had waited patiently and waited long for representative Government—which alone was good Government—they deserved, and it was their right that it should be granted to them, if at all and whenever the authorities thought, fit, in full measure, and no makeshift substitute, or counterfeit would ever satisfy them.

Nor was there the slightest ground for fearing that their just claims in this connection would be met in a grudging spirit. He was firm in his opinion that Great Britain was and always would be ready and even eager to grant constitutional Government to all the peoples under her rule: and Ceylon had herself alone to blame for having been overlooked. As regards the absurd notion that a Government in which the people had part was an idea quite foreign to the people of Ceylon, Mr. Corea said that on a former occasion, when the question of the reform of the constitution was discussed by them in 1903, he dealt exhaustively with the evidence, which the history of the country contained, that they were from the most ancient times a free people, who had no small part in the Government of the country. Without going over all that ground he would mention some clear indication of a "constitution" in the Government under native sovereigns. The convention of 1815, which had been referred to, contained an important admission. It was there stated that the English occupied the Kandyan territory "at the invitation of the people." That was itself sufficient evidence that the people had then a very articulate voice. The invitation offered by the people to the British Crown was in the exercise of their well-established right to elect their own sovereign. There was abundant evidence that the principle that Sinhalese Kings were elected by the people was not a mere theory. Mr. Corea quoted the following instance from the Rajawallia. The King Dharmaparakrama Bahu, who was reigning when the Portuguese arrived, left at his death a brother Vijayabahu and a step-brother (or cousin Sakalakalawalla.) Upon the death of the King, it was stated that "the common people deliberated with the Ministers in Council" (ලසාවිකරණය) and elected the younger prince to succeed to the throne, and invited him to a final discussion in the matter, at which he persuaded them that the election ought to fall not on him, but on Vijayabahu.

Mr. Corea said he chose that case as shewing distinctly that it was the common people, "the commons," who took the initiative: and that could not happen unless they had an organized political institution of their own. Even in England, as in all countries, Government by the people was originally exercised by entire communities. The conception of delegating authority from the many to a chosen few was of slow growth; and Government by representation was the last stage of constitutional development. Ceylon appeared to have arrived at the advanced stage at least as early as the 16th century, for the confirmation of the bequest of the Kingdom to Portugal was passed by a Council composed of two delegates from each korale, chosen by the inhabitants. In the treaty with the Dutch by which certain routine districts were ceded to them, (to which Mr. Corea had made full reference on the previous occasion) the "Chief Council" of Ministers had to sign the articles as a party to the treaty, along with the King. Articles like those which created a transference of sovereignty formed the highest legislative act of which a Government was cap-

able. And the fact that the people were considered an essential party to the treaties mentioned proved that the Sinhalese Government was founded on a constitutional basis.

Going further back into history. Mr. Corea shewed how King Dutugemunu, whose patriotic ardour carried him away to the length of revolting against his father for refusing to allow him to lead an army against the Tamil invaders, found that the attainment of sovereignty by no means invested him with authority to do as he pleased. It was stated that he had to "obtain permission" from the Great Ecclesiastical Council to declare war against Elala. The same Council settled the question of succession, which was contested between Gemunu and his brother Tissa. This was in the second century before Christ. The *Witanagemot* which had been described as the true beginning of the English Parliament was conceived centuries after the Ecclesiastical Council of Ceylon. Just as the *Witanagemot* and the Anglo-Saxon "moots" in process of time developed into a free Parliament, the same result would have inevitably evolved from the *Sanghasaba*, *Ratasaba*, and *Gansaba*, which were essential elements in the Sinhalese Government from the earliest times. A thousand years after Dutugemunu's Privy Council of Priests ordered war to be declared against Elala, the Muhamadan Chroniclers Abu Zaid and Soleyman (A. D. 859) described the Government of the country as follows:—"The King had frequent conventions of the learned doctors to arrange and write down the precepts of the law." And Pliny in (A. D. 44) upon the information received from Sinhalese Ambassadors at Rome, wrote:—

"For King they chose among the people one who was venerable for his years and humanity. The Sovereign had Council of 30 persons *assigned by the people.*"

The Sinhalese Kings, Mr. Corea said, had no power to alter laws or enact new ones. In a Buddhist Monarchy the laws were incorporated in the Holy Scriptures and referred to the direct authority of Buddha himself. Legislations therefore consisted of the expositions of ancient precepts and their elaboration to meet agencies by means of commentaries passed in Ecclesiastical Convocations. And taxation depended on the will of the people, as the ancient law of Buddha had limited taxation to the obligation of fulfilling the promise made by the people at the inauguration of a King that they should give him a certain share of the produce of their lands. And *Dr. Oyley* correctly stated that "He who openly abandons his land is no longer called upon to pay duties." (Sir Budd Phear, in "The Aryan Village" referring to the share of of produce paid to the King says "no other tax or obligation towards the Governing Power is noticed"). *Ribeiro* speaks of how the King of Portugal had to content himself with these customary dues for his revenue in Ceylon. "From all these territories not a coin was obtained by way of tribute or taxes because from the earliest times the land was all partitioned among the various ranks and classes of the people.....properly speaking it is not the man who serves, but the lands, which rendered service.....every man knows what can be required of him" and the French translator of *Ribeiro* (Abbé Le Grand) adds in a note. "It appears from what Capt. Ribeiro wrotethat the taxes are never increased or decreased." Upon this evidence Mr. Corea criticized the statement made in an Editorial in the *Morning Leader* (July 25th) that "the forms of Government which the East enjoyed had in them no seed capable of fructifying into the freer principles of representative Government. The element was infused into our idea by the West." If it were true that the germs of representative Government were found nowhere else in the East, Mr. Corea would claim for Ceylon the high honour of having taught the world the use of free institutions. But he had no doubt that those germs out of which free parliaments sprang originated in the East. Therefore they claimed Constitutional Government, not merely because Western education had given impetus to their national aspirations, but because it was their birthright, as a nation whose foundations rested on centuries of freedom.

II.

MEMORIAL OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

The following is a copy of a memorial sent to Secretary of State for the Colonies for the reform of the Ceylon Legislative Council:—

To the Right Honourable The Earl of Crewe, K. G., His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies. The Humble Memorial of the Undersigned Inhabitants of the Island of Ceylon respectfully Sheweth:—

1. Your memorialists beg leave to submit for your Lordship's favourable consideration the following facts with respect to the constitution of the Legislative and Executive Councils of Ceylon.

2. The constitution was granted to the Colony in 1833 on the recommendation of a Royal Commission appointed to report upon the administration of the Island. The Legislative Council was to consist of a certain number of official members and of unofficial members nominated by the Crown. The proposal was expressly put forward by the Commission as an imperfect one to be replaced in time by a more liberal constitution. "Such a council is not proposed as an institution calculated in itself to provide effectually for the legislation of the Island at a more advanced stage of its progressit would eventually constitute an essential part of any colonial legislature for which the Island may be prepared at a future period" (Report of the Royal Commission, printed in Ramathan's Law Reports, 1820—33, (p. 220.)

3. At the time the Council was established Ceylon was little more than a military station. In the three-quarter century that has since elapsed the Island has made phenomenal progress in every direction, as may be seen at a glance from this table:—

CEYLON IN 1834 & 1907.

	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	27,260	1,458,340
1907 ...	3,998,064	275,492	36,573,824	32,591,521	13,302,950	129,316,757	129,570,001

4. The figures indicate that the time contemplated by the Royal Commission for a more liberal constitution has long since arrived. But the only change that has been made in the constitution of the Council since its establishment has been the addition of two nominated unofficial members in 1889. In all essential particulars the Council is constituted as it was seventy five years ago.

5. The Council now consists of ten official and eight unofficial members. Of the latter, one is assigned to the Planters' Association of Ceylon (European Planters), one to the Chamber of Commerce (European Merchants), one to the General European Community, one to the Burghers, one to the Sinhalese of the Low Country, one to the Kandyan Sinhalese, one to the Tamils one to the Mohammedans.

6. From the point of view of population the distribution of the unofficial members is as follows:

For the Europeans	(6,500)	Three members
For the Burghers	(24,780)	One member
For the Sinhalese	(2,551,090)	Two members
For the Tamils	(1,127,000)	One member
For the Mohammedans	(350,000)	One member

7. The unofficial members are appointed by the Governor. The communities which the unofficial members are supposed to "represent" have no voice in their selection, except the European planters and merchants who are allowed by the Governor to select their representatives through the Planters' Association and the Chamber of Commerce respectively. The tenure of office is limited to five years, and the members are eligible for re-appointment at the pleasure of the Governor.

8. It will thus be seen that the official element of the Council is in a majority, and that the unofficial members are, in the case of the principal Ceylonese races, in the proportion of less than one member to a million persons. It is impossible for any member, however able, to do justice to such a large constituency, while the fact that the members owe their appointment and their continuance in office to the Governor is fatal to their efficiency and usefulness. In the Executive Council itself there is not a single Ceylonese or unofficial member. Measures are decided upon in that Council before their introduction into the Legislative Council, which owing to the weakness of the unofficials does little more than register the wishes of the Executive.

9. In a recent speech in the House of Lords, the Secretary of State for India, Lord Morley, in announcing the intention of the Imperial Government in regard to the reform of the Indian Legislative Councils, gave as his reason for increasing the number of the elected members and abolishing the official majority, that "an official majority directly, palpably and injuriously tended to deaden the interest and responsibility of unofficial members." If this be the case with the Indian Councils which contain elected members, how much more injurious must be the effect in Ceylon where the unofficial members are dependent for their existence on official favour? Lord Morley has also provided for the inclusion of Indian members in the Executive Council. These reforms have been carried out, because it is the declared policy of the British Government "to associate the people of India with the Government in the work of actual day-to-day administration," and "to adjust the machinery of Government so that their Indian fellow-subjects might be allowed parts which a self-respecting people could fill."

10. The Royal Commission referred to in para 2 reported in 1832 that "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 unnaturally hope that it will hereafter spread over the whole of these vast territories" (Ramanathan, 1820-33, p. 274). In 1833, when the Legislative Council was established in Ceylon, there was no similar institution in India, where they did not come into existence till 1861. But while the Legislative Council of Ceylon remains what it was in 1833, a close body of the Governor's nominees, the Indian Councils were liberalized in 1892 to admit of elected members, and have now been given a fresh and extensive lease of life and vigour by the increase of elected members and the abolition of the official majority.

11. The hope expressed by the Royal Commission has thus been falsified, and Ceylon instead of being a model to India has been allowed to lag far behind. And this for no fault of the inhabitants of this Island. The Table given in para 3 is an eloquent commentary on the moral and material progress of the people and of their ripeness for the liberal constitution granted to India. In all the qualifications of good citizenship the population of Ceylon is incomparably ahead of that of India. As to education, the last Census showed that literate males numbered in Ceylon 350 per 1000 of the population as against 93 in India, and literate females 70 per 1000 as against 7 in India. The loyal attachment of the people of Ceylon to the Throne and their peaceful and law-abiding character have been acknowledged by successive Governors and Secretaries of State,—a striking contrast to the conditions that prevail in India.

12. Your memorialists, therefore, humbly beg that your Lordship will be pleased to take such measures as may be necessary to place the Legislative Council of Ceylon on an elective basis, and to include in the Executive Council Ceylonese members. In May 1903, as the result of a unanimous vote of the Legislative Council, the Governor Sir West Ridgeway recommended to your Lordship's predecessor, Mr. Chamberlain, 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 Government advice and information which it is not always possible to obtain from official sources." Mr. Chamberlain was unable to accept the proposal, as the unofficial members were not elected members but nominees of Government, and mentioned that in other Crown Colonies where unofficials were placed in the Executive Council "this change followed as a corollary of the admission to the Council of Government of elected representatives of the people."

13. The memorialists submit as a tentative scheme for your Lordship's consideration the appointment of elected members to the Ceylon Legislative Council as follows:—

The Chamber of Commerce	...	1
The Planters' Association	...	1
Western Province, City of Colombo	...	1
The rest of the Western Province	...	2
Central Province	...	2
Southern Province	...	2
Northern Province	...	2
Eastern Province	...	2
North Western Province	...	2
North Central Province	...	1
Uva Province	...	1
Sabaragamuwa Province	...	1

18

Or, in all, 18 elected members, with such safeguards as your Lordship may deem expedient (by the addition of nominated members or otherwise) for the due representation of minorities.

14. A public agitation has been demanded by many in order to give voice to the widespread dissatisfaction with the present political system and the strong desire for a more liberal constitution. But the memorialists have used their influence to discourage such agitation as tending to produce an excitement, and unrest undesirable in view of recent events in India and likely to embarrass the Government. The risk of it will be averted by a gracious concession of your Lordship in accordance with those traditional principles of well-ordered freedom, to which the British Government has just given its unfaltering adherence in India under conditions which would have daunted a Government less strong in the consciousness of its justice and power.

15. The memorialists are firmly convinced that the concession of similar privileges to this colony will be appreciated by the people as a just recognition of their deep and abiding loyalty to the Throne and of their advance in education and prosperity, will promote the efficiency of the administration, increase the happiness and contentment of the people and strengthen the foundations of British rule.

And your Lordship's memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

III.

CEYLON DINNER IN LONDON.

THE tenth annual Ceylon dinner in London took place at the Trocadero Restaurant, Piccadilly Circus, on December 19th. It is believed to have been the most numerously attended of the series which, it will be remembered, was inaugurated by the function organised by Mr. Advocate A. C. G. Wijeyekoon and presided over by Mr. A. E. Thompson Shorde, M.P., ex-C.C.S. At the tenth dinner the innovation was made of inviting ladies and the success achieved promises well for the future. Mr. Advocate James Peiris presided and amongst those present, apart from the speakers were:—Lady Cotton, Mr. Harold Cox, Mrs. Sproule, Mrs. H. E. A. Cotton, Mrs. Wijeyesekere, Mrs. F. H. M. Corbet, Mrs. Spencer-Meerwald, Sir Henry Dalziel, M.P., Mr. Bruce Joy (the famous sculptor), Mr. T. E. de Sampayo, K.C., the Rev. B. Baring Gould, Mr. Samuel Digby, C.I.E., Mr. Justin T. Labrooy (Chief Assistant, Royal Ordnance Factories, Woolwich), Don Martino de Zilva Wickremesinhe (University Lecturer in Tamil and Telugu, Oxford), Drs. Alles, Weeraperumal, Cooray, Meerwald, Wijesekere, Spittel, Brohier and Messers. V. Fabini, Munasinhe, Pillai, Cassim, Asserappa, Crevalo, Wijewardene, Carl Fernando, John VanTwest, Saravanamuttu, W. A. Fernando, Alwis, Mahadeva, de Fonseka.

In proposing "The King," the CHAIRMAN said: "I would remind you that His Majesty is the first British sovereign who has visited his dominions over the seas and that we had the honour of receiving him in Ceylon." (Cheer.)

The Chairman next proposed "Queen Alexandra, the Prince and Princess of Wales, and the other members of the Royal Family." He said: "The Queen's kindness of heart and solicitude for the poor are known not only to the inhabitants of these islands but are known and appreciated by all people who are resident in the vast dominions over which his Majesty reigns. (Hear, hear.) The other members of the Royal Family have followed her example. As for the Prince of Wales, I think, you will remember the noble words which he spoke when he came back from India and the interest he has shown in Eastern nations," (Hear, hear.)

Professor R. W. LEE, in proposing "Prosperity to Ceylon," said he must introduce himself as a person called upon at short notice to fill an hiatus, a duty which was never a gratifying one. He was going to speak on a subject which was dear to all their hearts—the prosperity of Ceylon. (Loud applause.) It was many years now since he stood upon the steamer of the Peninsular and Oriental Company which carried him to the spicy island, and he remembered how the wags on board invited one to have a very keen scent, "because," they said, "in a moment or two you will feel, if not hear, the spicy breeze blowing in your direction." (Laughter.) Though he was very young and innocent in those days he was not innocent enough for that. But he found that after landing in the island this youthful innocence was exposed to a number of new experiences; and he felt that he owed this to Ceylon, that during the all-too-brief years which he spent there it gave him an experience of life and of practical work in the world which those of them who were condemned, or whose privilege it was, to spend the remainder of their years in a university looked to with feelings of very great gratitude. (Hear, hear.) Looking back upon his sojourn in the island of Ceylon he thought of many happy days passed there in spite of the somewhat exacting nature of duties—"oh!" and laughter—and the somewhat trying nature of the climate. He heard someone say "Oh!" and he was inclined to "name" him, but on second thoughts he would let him off. (Laughter.) All he would say was that if that gentleman had said "Oh!" when they had met in the Court in Ceylon he would never have said "Oh!" again. (Loud laughter.) Well, he was shot on the Island as a very young man. He had had no training in law or in practical life, and in a very short time he found himself charged with the duty of administering what he supposed was justice. (Laughter.) He would say for himself and for the Civil servants who were his contemporaries that he believed he and they discharged their duties to the best of

their abilities. They had to gain their experience as they went. (Laughter.) A somewhat cynical member of the planting community said to him. "You're gaining your experience—at the expense of the Island!" (Laughter.) He supposed he was, and it was to him a source of great gratitude that the Island bore the infliction with an indulgence which passed description. He had made many friends out there among planters, civil servants and gentlemen native to the Island. He had met some among the Buddhist priests who had instructed him [in the mysteries of their system and one of his happiest recollections he could look back to was when he induced one of them to go in a boat with him on the Kandy lake. (Laughter.) It was a great pleasure to him to be able to pay a small tribute of praise and thanks to the Island in which he had spent some of the happiest years. (Hear, hear.) Had he found time he would have got up statistics about the rubber industry (oh!) or immigration, or how chunam or *other* vegetable produce was going on. (Laughter; and a voice, "That line!") Well weren't limes in the vegetable kingdom? (Laughter.) But he must leave statistics to others. He would conclude with a sentiment which he was sure would find a responsive note in the hearts of everyone present—Lankawa sriyen war-dana wewa! (Loud applause.)

The CHAIRMAN was cordially received when he rose to respond. He said he felt it a great privilege to be called upon to respond to the toast, which had been proposed in such an amusing and eloquent manner. Proposing "prosperity to Ceylon" had fallen to an ex-civil servant of the Colony. (Hear, hear.) They had expected a member of Parliament, Mr. T. Hart Davies, to propose the toast of the evening. They would have been very glad to hear Mr. Hart Davies, and they were very sorry he was prevented by illness of being present, but all the same he was glad the toast had fallen into the hands of Professor Lee, who kept up his connection with the Colony as lecturer in Roman and Dutch law; and he hoped Mr. Lee would be a sort of legal adviser to those who were prosecuting their studies in this country. In the name of his (the Chairman's) fellow-country-men, he thanked Mr. Lee for the kind way in which he had referred to his stay in Ceylon, for the sympathetic way in which he had spoken of the people of the country, and for his good wishes in regard to their future. He would like in their name to welcome the large number of ladies and gentlemen who had honoured them that evening with their presence. (Applause.) He thought this was the first occasion on which ladies had been present at a Ceylonese dinner. They welcomed the innovation and hoped it would be a precedent and that they would see ladies present in larger number at future gatherings. (Hear, hear.) He also wished to extend a welcome to those Members of Parliament who had done them the honour of joining them. (Applause.) They had just got through a very heavy session, and had now given them their one free day to honour them with their presence at this annual dinner. Most of them were gentlemen acquainted with the East, and gentlemen who had great sympathy with Eastern nations. They looked to them for help now and again, and he was sure they would always be pleased to assist them in an emergency. (Hear, hear.) They had even tempted Diogenes to come out of his tub and favour them with his presence. (Laughter.) With regard to the toast, he was sure he voiced the sentiments of them all when he said that they all, Sinhalese, Tamils and Burghers—were united in loyalty to the land of their birth. (Loud cheers.) They were all very proud of Ceylon. (Hear, hear.) They had every reason to be proud of it. He did not think there was any country which within so small a compass possessed such an amount of beautiful and varied scenery, or such a variety of climate or such attractions for the traveller. It offered attractions for everybody, even for the political student. It was, he thought, a country where experiments could be easily tried in the governing of Eastern nations, and tried without much harm. He thought most of them were familiar with the Island. They had only to take the railway journey from Colombo to Bandarawella. He thought they would see as many varied scenes of grandeur as they could over a similar distance in any country in the world. The more he went to other countries and saw what were called their "show places." The more he was convinced what a beautiful place Ceylon really was. (Hear, hear.) He had just had the advantage of talking to the lady who was seated on his right, who had spent a long time in India and knew India very well, and she told him that Ceylon attracted her very much more than India did.

Ceylon, she said, was "simply lovely." He did not think there was in Ceylon a spot which they could call ugly. There were beautiful places in other countries, but there were no ugly places in Ceylon. (Hear, hear.) There was something refreshing to the eye wherever they went in the Island. But it was not only on account of its beauty that they loved Ceylon. Ceylon had had a great history; it had had a great civilization; and its present condition was one upon which they could all congratulate themselves. They had been able to keep out not only the bubonic plague, (laughter) but the far greater and far worse pestilence which was taking hold of the neighbouring continent of India. They had now been over a century under British rule, and the progress which Ceylon had made during that time, the history of those hundred years, read like a fairy tale. He did not want to tire them, especially the ladies, with statistics, which were never very welcome at gatherings of that kind. But he had jotted down a few figures which he would venture to give them. He had had occasion lately to look up statistics connected with the last 75 years, and he been struck with the remarkable progress they had made in that time. The population 75 years ago was 1,000,000; it was now 4,000,000. Pupils in the schools were then 13,000; now they number 267,000. The revenue had increased from R4,000,000 to R40,000,000; imports from R3,000,000 to R112,000,000; exports from R1,000,000 to R126,000,000 (Applause). Truly it was all like a fairy tale. (Hear, hear.) They had made wonderful progress under British rule, but there were certain circumstances or tendencies connected with this progress which they should note and which he would like to refer to in the presence of those gentlemen who, as he had said, would be useful to them whenever they wanted assistance. One circumstance was this. While they had made this great progress in Ceylon, while the upper class, the middle class and what he might call the lower middle class, have improved socially and morally and had accumulated a great deal of capital, it was a misfortune that the lower classes had not made the same progress. (Hear, hear.) He thought this was a circumstance a tendency which they would see in all countries which were making any progress. It was due to number of things into which he could not go that evening. But it was a fact which they must face. They were not at present troubled in Ceylon with suffragettes and, the unemployed, (laughter) but the time might come when they would have to face the same question of unemployment which was troubling Great Britain. (Hear, hear.) It was the duty not only of the Government but of all who took an interest in their common country to see that this state of things did not continue. He was pleased to see that the present Governor of the Colony had, with the approval of the Secretary of State, set aside a large sum of money for loans for the small agriculturists of the Island, who were to a large extent in the hands of usurers, (Hear, hear.) This was a step in the right direction. He did not know what his friend, Mr. Harold Cox, M.P., thought of this—he saw him taking a note. (Laughter.) This financial help was not a present, but a loan to be paid back with interest at a reasonable rate. But this was only one step. He thought there were other measures which might be taken to better the condition of these people, who were bearing a larger proportion of taxation than the rich—although the taxation was not very heavy. Something should be done to get them to take up settlements in the neighbourhood of the irrigation works which had been carried out. (Hear, hear.) He hoped the young students present would take the idea into their heads when they had the opportunity they would do something for those who were divorced from the land. The peasant proprietors who had been the mainstay of Ceylon should be kept in possession of their lands. One thing which demanded their attention in this connection was the way in which the Waste Lands Ordinance had been enforced. There should be new officers, with a knowledge of the Sinhalese language, and of the manners and customs and habits of the people. He hoped the Government would select men who knew the traditions and circumstances of the people to settle the lands in the various districts. (Hear, hear.) There was another point in their progress that was connected with the planting industry. They were all agreed that they owed a great debt to the British planters who had made Ceylon a temporary home and introduced much capital. They had done a great service to Ceylon and had fostered a great many industries there, but there was one circumstance to be remembered in the progress of the planting industry. At one time the British planting interest was supreme, but it was not so now. The Ceylon capitalists had followed in the wake of

the British planters. They had taken up planting and had planted a very large acreage in the Island, and now when they compared the tea plantations and the rubber plantations they would find they were not greater than the other plantations in the hands of the natives. Some people seem to derive their knowledge of Ceylon from Lipton's tea map (laughter) and sometimes, too from Bishop Heber's hymn. (Laughter.) Two little children of his own had been accosted as "cannibals" in England; (laughter) Ceylon should not be looked upon as a big tea plantation in which Sir Thomas Lipton had a big share, nor should the people of Ceylon be regarded as savages "bowing down to wood and stone" (Laughter.) They had made good progress in all directions, and nowhere so much as in education. Every year they had a large number of students coming over to this country; many were present that evening—Sinhalese, Tamils and Burghers. Their record in England was a good one. (Hear, hear.) In addition to that there were numbers who were being given a most excellent education in Ceylon itself. It was too late in the day to regard Ceylon as a huge tea plantation and a land of savages. (Hear, hear.) They would be astonished to hear that although they had made great progress under British rule in every other direction their legislature was in the same condition as 75 years ago. (A voice: "Shame!" and laughter.) He thought it was time now that something was done to bring that legislature more in touch with the people and the progressive nature of the colony. (Loud cheers.) He was glad to hear that response to his words; it showed that they were all of opinion, to whatever nationality they belonged, that something must be done in the near future to reform a legislature which was a blot upon the administration of Ceylon. (Hear, hear.) He had said, there were no "suffragettes" in Ceylon, but in a sense there were suffragettes, and one day—may be very active suffragettes. They had read lately a great pronouncement by Lord Morley with regard to India. He was not going to discuss that pronouncement at all that evening or to suggest how far it would be acceptable to the Indian people or whether Lord Morley was judicious in saying that Eastern nations were not fitted for Parliamentary Government. But taking the proposals in the pronouncement, he would like to say that the loyal people of Ceylon would welcome the concessions which had been made to turbulent India. (Hear, hear.) These concessions would serve to instil into the minds of the people of Ceylon the feeling that they could get justice from the British government. He thought he was not committing any breach of confidence in saying that he had had the pleasure of meeting Col. Seely, the Under-Secretary of State, lately, and of having a talk with him on his question. Col. Seely was very sympathetic towards the reforms which they desired, and showed that he had an open mind and was willing to consider a scheme of reform. (Applause.) Col. Seely was good enough to ask him to submit a memorandum, and he had the pleasure of doing so and of receiving a letter from the Under-Secretary saying that it would have his best attention. (Hear, hear.) In the present Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies they had a man who would go thoroughly into this question and would do his best to give them reform in Ceylon. That was not all they wanted. Many Ceylonese were perplexed by the fact that there was not that desire to admit Ceylonese into the public service that there should be. ("Shame.") There were present that evening a number of gentlemen who had qualified themselves to take positions in the Engineering Department of the Ceylon Services. Three of them had come all the way from Glasgow to attend the dinner, (Applause.) They were fully qualified and had been anxious to enter the Public Service of the Colony, but somehow they were left in England and numbers of people had been imported from England into Ceylon to fill posts. In this connection he would also like to say that a very important pronouncement was made by Col. Seely in the House of Commons some time ago in answer to Sir Henry Cotton. (Applause.) It was to the effect that, other things being equal, preference would be given to natives of the Colony in making appointments. (Hear, hear.) They were satisfied with the assurance. They did not want to go in by the back door; they wanted to enter the services on equal terms, and that was a thing which they could justly ask from their rulers. (Hear, hear.) Another rather delicate subject was the relations between rulers and subjects. Whatever view they might take of Indian affairs at the present time, whatever were the causes which had led up to the present disastrous state of things, they could all be agreed that there had been faults both on the part of rulers and of the governed. (Hear, hear.) There had always been a want of sympathy

between rulers and ruled in India. The same causes did not operate in Ceylon. The relations between the native population and members of the services and even the British planters and commercial men were very much better than India. He would like to see the relations still further improved and that distrust which sometimes seemed to exist between the two classes removed. (Hear, hear.) They were not savages; they had a great civilization behind them. They had been educated in Western ideas for a long time; there were not all those elements of disunion which existed elsewhere, and there was in Ceylon the opportunity for sympathy and mutual understanding. There were faults on both sides. Both sides were apt to exaggerate each others faults. He thought it was for them, especially for those students who came to this country and had the advantage of residence in England, Scotland or Ireland, to cement the cordial relations, between the British residents and the the Ceylonese. (Hear, hear.) They had a great opportunity before them. They must have noticed the large number of conferences and congresses which had been held in London during the past year. These indicated a great awakening in this country. England was not only the commercial exchange of the world: it was the literary and political exchange too. There they had the advantage of seeing all sides of a question, of studying the trend of political opinion, of studying people who cast aside the reserve which the Englishman abroad sometimes put on. There they could study public opinion and observe the sympathy which the English people extended to oppressed natives. (Hear, hear.) It was to persons like those present that evening, especially to the Ceylonese students in England, that they must look to guide and help Ceylon to attain a greater prosperity than it had had in the past. They had great advantages: everything was in their favour. Ceylon was, as had been said, the Clapham Junction of the East. If each one of them would make up his mind to do what he could to increase the prosperity of Ceylon there could be no doubt the Colony would continue to be one of the most prosperous as well as one of the most contented units of the British Empire. (Loud cheers.)

Mr J. H. C. SPROULE proposed "The Guests." He said that taking up the sumptuous menu card everybody's attention must have been arrested by the gorgeous device on the obverse—the lion with a tendency to adiposity and great exuberance of tail. He wished to explain that this was a reproduction of the old Sinhalese flag—the banner of the King of Kandy. They were indebted to the keen antiquarian, Mr. E. W. Perera, who has unearthed this at the Chelsea Hospital and to Mr. D. R. Wijewardene who had generously placed at their disposal the die he had had made of a water colour sketch prepared by an artist who was sent to Christ's Hospital for the purpose. Now if they looked into the menu card and turned it over to examine the reverse and compared the names in the toast list with the names of the Committee they would find many names in common. He would hasten to remove any unjust impression which may have been unduly favourable in the selection of its own members for the making of speeches. (Laughter.) The Committee were moved by no desire for self-aggrandisement but only by a stern sense of duty. They might ask why he should have been chosen to propose this toast. It was the question which he himself put to the Committee. They took an unfair advantage of him. They cast in his teeth words he was said to have uttered in that room some years ago when he claimed to have spent thirty or more of the best and happiest years of his life in Ceylon. Well, he would like to repeat that statement—or, rather, he would qualify it, for he had just received a menacing look from his wife. (Laughter.) The very happiest years of his life were, of course, spent after that. The Committee also referred to his maturity, and said that by virtue of his ripeness, and his long acquaintance with Ceylon, he ought to propose the toast. (Oh and laughter.) He would like to say that there were two classes of guests whom they missed that evening, and had missed for years. He was going to speak seriously, because the speeches at their dinners were always reported in the Ceylon papers, and he knew they were read with care by people in the Colony, by Governors and Colonial Secretaries. He hoped they would read what he was going to say now. At these functions he thought they were not wrong in expecting to meet some members of the large class of ex-Civil Servants and big commercial and planting men who had spent many profitable and happy years in the Island. These men were kept informed of their doings, they were bombarded with notices of the annual dinner, but they did not come. It was a great pity (Hear, hear.) There was an-

other class whom he missed and he wanted to say it nicely. He missed some representatives of the Unionist Party in Parliament in this country. They owed much to the various Liberal Members of Parliament, and he did not wish to wean his friends from them, but he thought they were making a mistake in restricting their appeals for assistance and help to one side of the House of Commons. The affairs of their beautiful and loyal island ought not to be and never would be a party question but they must not allow to grow up the feeling that they must go to only one side of the House for help; (Hear, hear.) He might be allowed to say for his side the House (laughter) that they would meet from that quarter with as much support and sympathy and encouragement as they had received from the Liberal side of Parliament and that was saying a great deal, as to the personal of the guests who were with them. First there was Mr. Baring Gould. (Applause.) He wanted to be perfectly frank with him, and he would ask him why was he here to-night? (Laughter.) Because they had designs upon him. If he had not discovered what those designs were he would do so in the near future. (Laughter.) In the artistic world they had with them Mr. Bruce Joy, (Applause.) He was there not merely on the strength of his own undoubted distinction in the department in which he had specialised, but because of his unfailing and unwavering friendship towards the students who had come in contact with him in this country (Applause.) Next they had members of Parliament and journalists and others experienced in public affairs, men like Sir Henry Cotton and Sir Henry Dalziel, (Applause.) They felt a lively gratitude to them as well as a sense of favours yet to come. Words were idle to express to the full their thanks. He was reminded in mentioning Sir Henry Cotton's name of a matter which was now, unfortunately, a thing of the past, which had often, and rightly, been called a shameful blot on the administration of Ceylon—he referred to the Pearl Fishery scandal, (Hear, hear.) A minister of the Crown in this country and a Governor of the Colony, both no doubt full of the best intentions, but the latter of limited capacity, and an exceedingly able Colonial Secretary of the Island were unfortunately duped into bringing about the biggest job he had known in his thirty years' experience of the island, (Loud cheers.) His complaint was that, having been duped, not one of them had the courage to come forward and say "We have been duped and we mean to upset the arrangement." (Hear, hear.) In the circumstances attending the attempts they made to upset the arrangement they wanted to express their gratitude to Sir Henry Cotton and Sir H. Dalziel, who had given them much of their time, had allowed themselves to be lobbied, and had given them a gracious and willing ear all through the affair and had done all they could to encourage and help them. (Hear, hear.) He must speak in criticism of the Press in any part of the world with bated breath. But he accused the Press of Ceylon with not having treated Sir Henry Cotton with ordinary justice and fairness in this matter. (Applause.) To the eternal honour of Sir Henry Cotton, with a large, broad mind he brushed aside criticisms of that sort and went on unswervingly, regardless of the fact that he did not receive support and encouragement from the very quarter in which he had a right to expect it—from the Press of Ceylon. (Applause.) They were deeply and sincerely grateful to these guests who had done so much for them in the past (applause) and from whom they hoped for so much in the future. He would couple with the toast the names of Sir Henry Cotton and Mr. Harold Cox, M. P. They were indeed honoured in having Mr. Cox with them that evening. He had to separate Mr. Cox from the Liberal Member. It was difficult to say if Mr. Cox could be called a Liberal. (Laughter.) But eminent as they all thought Mr. Cox to be, the speaker was in a position to give them an idea of the high opinion held of him by still greater folk. Not long ago in conversation with a prominent member of the Front Opposition Bench he referred to a speech by Mr. Cox on what Liberals called Protection. This old Parliamentary hand not only said it was the best speech he had ever listened to in the House, but that on its conclusion Mr. Balfour himself said to him, "That is the man we shall have to fear when our time comes" and Mr. Cox would be the first to admit that Mr. Balfour's praise was worth having.

Mr. HAROLD COX, M.P., in response to the toast, said he was present on the invitation of his old college friend, the Chairman. He would like to remind them that their Chairman had not only taken a Double First at Cambridge, but had been unanimously elected President of the

Cambridge Union. (Applause.) A position in which he showed strict impartiality and breadth of view. Might he venture to ask all who spoke about Ceylon never to use the simile, the Clapham Junction of the East—(laughter)—for to those of them who knew Clapham Junction the simile was not one which would tempt anybody to go out to Ceylon. (Laughter.) He had not been in Ceylon, but he had spent two years in India and had learned to love and appreciate its people. The Chairman had referred to the decision of the Government of Ceylon to grant loans to small cultivators. Under the circumstances it might be an extremely good thing to do. But might he give a little word of warning? In France the Government had adopted a system of agricultural loans at a very low rate of interest. The French peasant proprietor highly appreciated that. He took the Government loan at a low rate and then lent his own money at a higher rate of interest. (Laughter.) Well, he had no doubt that the Government of Ceylon would lend the money at a commercial rate of interest, and if they did that it might be entirely economical and entirely beneficial. The Chairman had let them into the secret of some of his recent activities in London, in the interests of Ceylon. No doubt the recent events in the adjacent continent of India might stimulate feeling in the Island. He would suggest that those who had come from Ceylon should combine with Mr. Peiris, to ask the Secretary of State to receive a deputation for an extended constitution for Ceylon, and he believed they would get something substantial in a very short time. (Hear, hear.) Something had been said about the patriotism of all races in Ceylon. The East was passing through a rapid change somewhat similar to the change which came over the West centuries ago. The sentiment of a common patriotism on geographical grounds was a thing of comparatively modern growth. The common patriotism of the various races in Ceylon was very properly laid stress upon by the chairman. Ceylon must always be dependent either upon England or some other great power; she could not stand alone, because she was a small island and incapable of defending herself against the world. It was to the interest of the people of Ceylon to cultivate friendly relations with the people of England, and it was to her interest that England should be strong, for on that depended the peace and prosperity of Ceylon and the other dependencies of the Empire. (Applause.)

Sir HENRY COTTON also responded. He said he was very glad to be with them that evening, for the second time. (Hear, hear.) It was always a pleasure for him to be of any assistance to them. Some time ago he had put to Colonel Seely a question on the important point which had been referred to by several speakers that evening. He had asked the Under-Secretary whether he was aware of dissatisfaction existing in Ceylon owing to the absence of elected members of the Legislative Council, and whether he would consider the advisability of instituting an elective Council. To this Colonel Seely had replied that it was not proposed to introduce changes in the constitution of Ceylon which appeared to give as much satisfaction as would reasonably be expected of any form of Government. This reply was received with laughter and could only have been intended to excite ridicule: there was not much meaning in it otherwise and it was with great satisfaction he heard that the chairman had seen Colonel Seely on the subject, that the Under-Secretary had assured him his real feelings on the subject were not represented by the official reply he gave in the House, and that he was really prepared to consider the matter seriously. (Hear, hear.) The constitution of the Ceylon Government was more backward than that of any other country under the British Crown. Ceylon was probably the most advanced of their colonies, both in material prosperity and in the intelligence of its people, and he thought it was an outrage that there should be no vestige of elective representation in the Councils of the Island. (Applause.) It was impossible for a community to continue contented under a purely autocratic Government, especially when it was a Government of foreigners. The only remedy for unrest was to absorb the people into the Government and give them a share in the management of their own affairs. Whether there was to be a change or not in Ceylon depended upon the Ceylon people themselves. If they remained passive they would get nothing; they would go on as they had gone for the last 50 or 60 years, and would get no improvements, no change whatever in the constitution under which they were governed. If they combined to fact as their Chairman appeared to have done, if they put pressure on the authorities, who could

doubt that their efforts would be crowned with success? (Hear, hear.) They were themselves to blame, for having done so little in that direction. A large scheme for liberalising the constitution had been announced for India, and he hoped it would produce beneficent results. It was impossible for Ceylon to remain untouched and unaffected. (Applause.) He urged them to take their own share in this movement, to raise their voices and demand from the British Government those changes and modifications in the form of administration which would enable the people of Ceylon to take a share in the management of their own affairs. It was a fact, and he could speak from experience that questions in the House of Commons produced a remarkable effect on local Governors. (Laughter and loud cheers.) They did not like them. (Laughter.) Questions were, above all things, what they deprecated, But as long as he was in the House, he trusted, he would not fall in his duty, whether in regard to India or Ceylon or any other part of the world where there were subject populations. (Cheers.)

Dr. A. K. COOMARASWAMY, in proposing the toast of "The Ceylon Students," apologised for the absence of his wife, who, he said, had been helping him for the past six years in the production of his book, published that day, on Eighteenth century Civilization in Ceylon. (Applause). He was not used to that sort of dinner. He led a simple life; he was a vegetarian and he did not drink, and this was the first after-dinner speech he had made. What was the purpose for which they came to England seeking education? The majority came over to study law, or medicine, or some branch of science, and their studies were usually conducted from a utilitarian point of view. He had not heard of anyone coming to study in those branches which were imaginative. No one in Ceylon in the 19th Century had produced anything of any importance in art or music. But the things judged by posterity were not the means of making material progress but additions to the intellectual possessions of mankind. (Hear, hear.) Were they in Ceylon really acting up to their responsibilities in this matter? They had been spoken to that evening on the basis of their love for Ceylon. He was very doubtful whether their love for the real Ceylon was very strong. He found that those who were now known as "educated" in Ceylon were nothing more than strangers in their own land. It was no credit to them, it was nothing to be proud of that the returning student was as ignorant of Ceylon history and civilization as the young Civil Servant who went out fresh from this country. (Hear, hear.) What was the secret of the past glories of the Sinhalese and Tamil civilization in Ceylon? The secret of the overflowing life of Ceylon was that originally it was part of India; that was the key to the whole of their civilization. India was the teacher of the whole East. They could not fulfil their duty by mere references to the glories of the past, or by assimilating the features of Western life. They would not even gain the respect of the West by doing that. After all, he questioned whether they could judge of real progress by quoting statistics which were not qualitative but quantitative only. They should take a real intelligent interest in the nationalist movement in India, which was one aspect of a great force which was acting throughout the world. Nowhere would it have such results as in India. (Hear, hear.) The amount of Western knowledge they, as Ceylonese, had acquired was to be counterbalanced by the amount of Eastern knowledge which they had lost, and he questioned whether they were not in danger of losing more than they gained. He held that it was, ideally *quite impossible* for one nation to govern another. Especially for a Western nation to govern an Eastern. They must take it upon themselves as a duty to obtain control of such matters as education—far more important than getting posts in Government Office, (laughter) but they were in danger of being interested not in anything which was imaginative but only in something which would enable them to take in the rupees. He was still a student, and he sincerely hoped all the students present would continue to regard him as one of themselves. (Applause.)

In responding, Mr. P. L. JANSZ declared that the Ceylon students were zealous in the cause of Lanka. (Loud cheers). For himself, he liked everything in England except the climate, (Laughter). As students they should practice a sound and sane eclecticism choose all that was good, eschew all that was bad, and carry home all the excellences of English life, manners, and intellectual ability which (it was a pity) they did not always find carried to them by the Englishmen who went out to see them in Ceylon. (Laughter and applause.)

In proposing the next toast, "The Universities and Inns of Court." Mr. Advocate E. W. Perera said that the toast was entrusted to him on the principle that the less a man knew about a subject the more he was qualified to speak on it. The only connection he could claim with any University was that he had once gone up for one of the London exams and was hopelessly plucked. (Laughter.) His knowledge of the Inns of Court was however more intimate. He had eaten their dinners but had passed no exams. It was not because he was plucked but was exempted. In this connection he mentioned that the privilege of the Ceylon Bar of being called on keeping terms without passing exams was due to the generous efforts of one who was with them that night and who by his affectionate and practical interest in Ceylon and her peoples for many a long year had earned the title of Pater Patriae (loud applause) as a distinguished Ceylonese graduate called him in a letter received the other day. "To come back to the Universities," he said. "Ceylonese owe them a deep obligation. They had furnished an admirable training ground for our youth, and enabled Ceylonese to prove what they can achieve in fair and open competition. As for the result, we have only to look round us to-night.

An ex-President of the Cambridge Union and a first class man in mental and moral science and a MacMahon Law Scholar is our chairman. (Applause.) There is Mr. de Sampayo (Applause) a distinguished Graduate of Cambridge and sometime a Judge of the High Court, and Dr. Coomaraswamy (Applause) The roll is a long one. At the Bar, on the bench, in medicine, in all careers where there has been a fair field and no favour our University men have risen to highest places. The younger men whom I see here from the schools of law and medicine will, I am sure, maintain the tradition. There is one aspect of collegiate life in a British University I cannot sufficiently emphasise. It brings our lads in contact with the best types of Englishmen and serve to give Ceylonese an idea of the real sentiment of the British people towards their Eastern fellow subjects. (Applause.) The more our young men come over and take an active part in the life of the Universities the better it will be. It will be only then, that they will be able to realise the real note of English public sentiment and to distinguish the sovereign gold with the true British ring from the base Britannia metal which passes current in the colonies. (Loud applause.) We may do all that, says the Ceylon student, we may do all that, we may obtain the highest distinction at the Universities in Science, engineering and medicine. What then? This is the skeleton at the feast. the recurring skeleton at the Ceylon dinner. The words inscribed on the dry bones are want of fair-play. (Shame.) However qualified they might be by character and training, they are disqualified from holding office by the Government of Ceylon. They are outlanders in their own country. In Parliament we have the noble policy laid down that qualified Ceylonese should not only be given places in their country but they should have the preference. (Applause) That is the promise but what is the fulfilment, and that too after this declaration? A Ceylonese trained in England with the highest qualification applies to the agents of the Ceylon Government for a place in the Public Works Department. Candid Englishmen who represent the Colony in London, tell these aspirants to office that Ceylonese are ineligible. Questions (Hear, hear) are asked in Parliament by generous friends. (Hear, hear.) The doctrine of fairplay, striking the highest note of British statemanship is repeated (Hear, hear.) In answer to the question from the Colonial Office the local Government denies the charge and sneers at the ignorance which inspired the question. (Shame.) The Ceylon Government speaks with two voices, the Government officially has given no such instructions but particular officials at the head of particular departments. The London Agent being a bluff, candid Englishman, cannot distinguish between the two voices, and lets the cat out of the bag. More than one victim of this policy is in the room. Every year "it is getting worse" is the complaint. (Hear, hear.) But my advice to the Ceylonese students is, in spite of all drawbacks, go forward. "In conclusion he hoped that with energy and persistence and with the aid of generous English friends ere long to get fairplay. (Applause.) He coupled with the toast the names of Messrs. A. E. Keoneman and Carthigaser (Applause.)

Mr. A. E. Keoneman and Mr. Carthigaser briefly responded.

Mr. P. Mahadeva next proposed "The Ladies" concluding by saying he wished to couple with the toast the heroines of every age and clime. (Loud laughter and cheers.)

Dr. Spittel responded.

The concluding toast was "The Officers," proposed in a few words by Mr. H. E. A. Cotton

Mr. F. Wijenathen Hallock (the honorary secretary) responded, declaring that there would be another secretary before they had their next annual dinner, and hoped that they would all enthusiastically support him to make that dinner a success. He expressed the cordial thanks of the Committee to Mr. F. H. M. Corbet for the great assistance he had given them in carrying out their duties. (Applause.)

The company separated shortly before midnight.

IV.

A MEMORIAL FROM THE LOW COUNTRY PRODUCTS ASSOCIATION OF CEYLON.

To The Right Honourable The Earl of Crewe, K. G., His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies. The Humble Memorial of the Members of the Lowcountry Products Association of Ceylon. Respectfully Sheweth, Your Memorialists beg leave to submit for Your Lordship's favourable consideration the following facts with respect to the constitution of the Legislative and Executive Councils of Ceylon.

2. The present constitution was granted to the Colony in 1833 on the recommendation of a Royal Commission appointed to report upon the administration of the Island,

3. At the time the Council was established Ceylon was little more than a Military Station. In the seventy-five years that has since elapsed the Island has made phenomenal progress in every direction which is set forth in the following table:—

Ceylon in 1834 and in 1907.

Population.	Scholars.	Revenue. Rs.	Expendi- ture.	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
1907—3,998,064	275,492	36,573,824	32,591,521	13,302,950	129,316,757	129,570,001

4. The above figures establish the fact that Ceylon is at present ripe for some improvement of the constitution for which it was fit over three quarters of a century ago. But the single change that has been made in the constitution of the Legislative Council has been the addition of two nominated unofficial members in 1889.

5. The Legislative Council at present consists of ten official and eight unofficial members. Of the unofficial members one represents the Planters' Association of Ceylon, one the Chamber of Commerce, one the general European Community, one the Burghers, one the Sinhalese of the Lowcountry, one the Kandyan Sinhalese, one the Tamils and one the Mohammedans.

6. From the point of view of population the distribution of the unofficial members is as follows:—

For the Europeans	...	(6,500)	...	Three Members.
For the Burghers	..	(24,780)	..	One Member
For the Mohammedans	..	(250,000)	..	One Member
For the Tamils	..	(1,127,000)	..	One Member
For the Sinhalese	..	(2,551,000)	..	Two Members.

7. The Planters' Association of Ceylon represents mainly the Tea, Rubber and Cocoa cultivations which cover an area estimated at 600,000 acres. On the other hand the estimated acreage within the scope of the Lowcountry Products Association, apart from rice cultivation, which is chiefly in the hands of the small village farmers, may be set forth as follows:—

Coconut Palm.	700,000	acres	Value	Rs. 350,000,000
Arecanuts „	50,000	„	„	10,000,000
Cinnamon	45,000	„	„	11,250,000
Citronella	40,000	„	„	10,000,000
Tobacco	1,000	„	„	300,000
Minor Products	1,000	„	„	150,000
Nutmeg Pepper etc. }				
Total Acreage	837,000		Total Value	Rs. 381,700,000

With respect to the trade of the Colony the greater portion of the import trade, including the whole of the rice imports is in the hands of native merchants. The mining Industry of the Island represented by Plumbago and Gems is almost entirely controlled by Ceylonese. But none of these varied and important interests receive any representation in the present Councils whereas the interests of the European capitalists and merchants are safeguarded by two special representatives.

8. In estimating the relative importance to the Colony of Ceylonese enterprise in agriculture and mining, as contrasted with European interests, your memorialists beg to urge that whereas tea, rubber and cocoa plantations are mainly worked with foreign capital, largely by companies with head quarters in London, and chiefly with immigrant labour, the industries represented by your Memorialists are financed with local capital, and are worked with indigenous labour, thereby securing both the profits of capital and the wages of labour—entirely for the benefit of the Colony.

9. The unofficial members are selected by the Governor. The communities whom the unofficial members are meant to represent have no voice in their selection except the European Planters and Merchants who are permitted by the Governor to nominate their representatives their the Planters Association and the Chamber of Commerce.

10. The official element of the Legislative Council is in a majority and the unofficial members in the case of the two principal Ceylonese races are in the proportion of less than one member to a million persons. It is not possible for any member to do justice to such a large constituency while the fact that the members owe their appointment and their renomination for a further term of office to the Governor, is prejudicial to their efficiency and usefulness.

11. As at present constituted the Executive Council consists of official members only.

12. The Royal Commission of 1832 reported that “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 unnaturally hope that it will hereafter spread over the whole of these vast territories.” In 1833, when the Legislative Council was established in Ceylon, there were no similar institutions in India; they only came into existence in 1861. But while the Legislative Council of Ceylon remains what it was in 1833, a close body of the Governor's nominees, the Indian Councils were liberalized in 1892 to admit of elected members, and have now been given fresh life and vigour by the increase of elected members and the abolition of the official majority.

13. The hope expressed by the Royal Commission has not been realized, and Ceylon instead of being a model to India has been allowed to lag far behind; and this for no fault of the inhabitants of this Island. The Table given in para 3 is an eloquent commentary on the moral

and material progress of the people and of their ripeness for the liberal constitution granted to India. In all the qualifications of good citizenship the population of Ceylon is comparably ahead of that of India. As to education, the last Census showed that literate males numbered in Ceylon 350 per 1,000 of the population as against 98 in India, and literate females 70 per 1,000 as against 7 in India. The loyal attachment of the people of Ceylon to the Throne and their peaceful and lawabiding character have been acknowledged by successive Governors and Secretaries of State,—a contrast to the conditions that prevail in India.

14. Your Memorialists, therefore, humbly beg that your Lordship will be pleased to take such measures as may be necessary to place the Legislative Council of Ceylon on an elective basis, and to include in the Executive Council at least two unofficial members to be selected by the elected members of the Legislative Council. In May 1903, as the result of a unanimous vote of the Legislative Council, the then Governor Sir West Ridgeway recommended to your Lordship's predecessor, Mr. Chamberlain, 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 Government advice and information which it is not always possible to obtain from official sources." Mr. Chamberlain was unable to accept the proposal, as the unofficial members were not elected members but nominees of Government, and mentioned that in other Crown Colonies where unofficials were placed in the Executive Council "this change followed as a corollary of the admission to the Council of Government of elected representatives of the people."

15. The Memorialists submit as a tentative scheme for your Lordship's consideration the appointment of elected members to the Ceylon Legislative Council as follows:—

The Chamber of Commerce	..	1
The Planters' Association	..	1
City of Colombo	..	2
Western Province including Colombo	..	2
Central Province	..	2
Southern Province	..	2
Northern Province	..	2
North Western Province	..	2
Eastern Province	..	1
North Central Province	..	1
Uva Province	..	1
Sabaragamuwa Province	..	1

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Or., in all, 18 elected members, with such safeguards as your Lordship may deem expedient (by the addition of nominated members or otherwise) for due representation of minorities.

16. Your memorialists firmly believe that the concession of the privileges asked for will be appreciated by the people as a just recognition of their deep and, abiding loyalty to the Throne and of their advance in education and prosperity, will promote the efficiency of the administration, increase the happiness and contentment of the people and strengthen the foundations of British rule

V.

MEMORIAL OF THE CHILAW ASSOCIATION.

To the Right Hon'ble The Earl of Crewe K.G., His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State in the Colonies.

The humble Memorial of the Chilaw Association (Ceylon) Respectfully Sheweth :—

1. Your memorialists are an Association of the inhabitants of the District of Chilaw in the North Western Province of Ceylon which has been graciously permitted by your Lordships predecessors in office and the Government of Ceylon to represent the people of the said district in the expression of public opinion.

2. The said district is one of the most important (Districts) in Ceylon as being the chief centre of the cocoanut industry, which can reasonably claim to be the staple industry of the country since the decay in the recent times of rice-cultivation. The Registrar General of the Government in his last census report (1901) placed on record the following high testimony as to the importance of the District and the progressiveness of its inhabitants. "The District of Chilaw . . . is a model District, the richest perhaps of the purely native Districts of the Island and owes its wealth not, like . . . most other districts, to foreign capital and enterprise, but mainly . . . to the energy of its own small farmers and labourers, who are among the most industrious and prosperous in the Island."

In respect of the social and moral condition of the people the Government statistics show an absence of really serious crime in the District (vide. The Assistant Colonial Secretary's report on the Blue Book 1907)

3. As representing the views of so deserving a class of His Majesty's subjects, who have also, in common with the rest of the inhabitants of Ceylon always preserved the most steadfast loyalty to the British Crown, the Memorialists respectfully venture to express to Your Lordship their sense of dissatisfaction that the paramount right of the people of Ceylon both as an ancient nation of free citizens, and as subjects of the most Liberal of Modern Governments, to a free constitution had been so long unrecognised.

4. The Sinhalese nation had, 2,000 years before the first Europeans arrived in the Island in the 16th century of the Christian Era, been ruled under a native Government based on constitutional principle such as modern political science now recognizes to be the only sure foundation for a good Government. Mr. A. C. Lawrie who was sometime one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of Ceylon and had spent many years in the Island and made himself more conversant with its ancient history than almost any other European of modern times in a farewell address on the eve of his departure, to the Chiefs of the Central Province (Kandyan) said: "a brighter history of the Kandyan kingdom than that which was known might be written, Europeans and other nations thought of the Kandyan kingdom as it had been in the last Kandyan days. . . . about 150 years before the last century . . . the Kandyans were a happy people. Before . . . the deposition of the last Kandyan king, the Kandyans were a happy [and well governed people," He said that because he knew that the ancestors of many of the chiefs present "took part in that Government."

5. On the occupation of the Island by the Sinhalese, an aryan race from Northern India under a Prince named Wijayo about 400 years before Christ, "the followers of the Prince formed an establishment each for himself all over the country (the Mahavansa Chap. VII.) There establishments were the origin of a village community system which has survived up to the present day. The Sinhalese village, called "gama" was under the ancient constitution a self governing Municipality where affairs were administered by a village Council: "Gamsabhawe" composed of "the

head of every family residing within its limits however low his rank or small his property" ("Eleven Years in Ceylon" by Major Forbes 78 Highlanders). These villages were grouped into Districts administered by district councils: "Ratasabha": "which consisted of intelligent delegates from each village" (eleven years in Ceylon). The president of each District Council had, "ex Officio" a seat in the Supreme Court of the state called "the Maha Vasala Maha Ampata Mandale" (the Great Council of the Ministers of state) in which was vested all the Legislative and executive functions of the Government. At the head of the Great Council of state was a "Maharajah" (erroneously translated as "king") who it should be particularly noted did not derive his authority from any hereditary or other personal right as in a monarchical form of Government but was elected by the people. That it was a fundamental principle of the ancient constitution that the Maharajah at the head of the state had to obtain election from the people appears from all the historical Chronicles of the country, as to which Dr. Reginald Copleston, late Bishop of Colombo, wrote (in a paper read before the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1892). "It is one of the peculiar distinctions of the Island that from early times it had possessed historians. The Sinhalese stand alone or almost alone, among Indian people as having had an interest in history. Their chronicles are the oldest I believe, and for centuries the only instance of histories in the Indian world." And of the chief of them the (Mahavansa,) its learned translator Mr. Turnour who was Colonial Secretary of Ceylon about 60 years ago that "that history is authenticated by the concurrence of every evidence, which can contribute to verify the annals of any country." European and other writers, from the earliest times corroborate the native chronicle as to the election of the so called King of Ceylon. Major Forbes states "The King of Ceylon. . . . appear to have admitted the necessity of election. . . . even the last king of Kandy.

A Sinhalese historical work of the highest authority (Nikaya Sangrahava) compiled about the year 1397 A.D. gives the following list of the members of the great Council as constituted so far back as the year 1153 AD. when the great Prakrama Bahu was Maharajah:—

1. Adhikara.—Prime Minister.
2. Senewirat.—Commander-in-Chief of the Forces.
3. Epa.—Lieutenant Governor:—Aide-de-Camp to the Maharajnh.
4. Mapa.—Second Aide-de-Camp.
5. Mahalena.—Secretary of State.
6. Maharetma.—Minister of the Interior.
7. Anuna.—Second Minister of the Interior.
8. Sabhapatina.—Presidents of District Councils.
9. Situnai—Director of Commerce.
10. Soritlena.—Chief Legal Adviser.
11. Dulena.—Under Secretary and keeper of the rolls.
12. Viyatna.—Chief intelligencer.
13. Mahavedana.—Chief Medical Officer
14. Mahaneketus.—Chief Officer of the Calendar.
15. Dahampasakria.—Minister of Education.

Pliny: A.D. 44, "For a king they chose among the people one who was venerable for his years and humanity. . . . The Sovereign had a Council of 30 persons assigned by the people."

Edrisi (Abu-Abdulla-Mohamed) A.D. 1154. "The King is a prince who loves justice and the interest of his subjects. He has sixteen Viziers. . . . Learned persons are appointed to assist them.

6. From the above description of the ancient native State Council, it will clearly appear that the Sinhalese nation may justly claim a hereditary right to a free and liberal constitution.

7. Politically the Sinhalese are not a conquered race. The Portuguese in the 16th century occupied some of the maritime parts of the Island, not by right of conquest but by virtue of a solemn compact of treaty entered into between the Portuguese Captain General and the inhabitants. The Portuguese historian Riberio relates that the natives sent two delegates from each district (Corla—Korale) to confer with the Portuguese authorities and that between them was drawn up "a public act confirmed by solemn oaths on either side" the terms of which appear to have been in effect that while the people elected to acknowledge their King as their Maharajah, the Portuguese promised "in the name of His Majesty always to preserve for his dominions and subjects in Ceilao all their laws rights and customs without any change or diminution whatever."

The territory held by the Portuguese was after their defeat in war by the allied forces of the Sinhalese and the Hollanders whom the former had invited to their assistance, ceded to the Dutch East India Company under an instrument of treaty to which the members of the Sinhalese Council of Ministers subscribed in terms which admitted of no doubt as to their sovereign rights in the Government of the country as will appear from the following extract:—

On this Thursday, the 11th day . . . of the month of Medindina in the year 1688 of the Saka Era . . . know all men. The exalted (utum) powerful and illustrious States General of the free United Provinces of Holland and illustrious powerful company, of Hollanders in the East on the one part, and the illustrious and powerful chief Rajah, the exalted (utum) Kirti Sri Rajah Sinha, Maharajah of Lanka and the exalted (utum) the principal members of the Great Council of Ministers of the State, on the other part have agreed together to bring to a close the warfare carried on between the two powers.

The articles here under detailed were proposed with mutual consent of the two parties and adopted.

FIRST ARTICLE.

In future friendly relations shall be inviolably maintained between these two parties.

SECOND ARTICLE.

The exalted Lord the chief Rajah and the exalted the principal members of his Great Council of Ministers. recognize and acknowledge the powerful company of Hollanders. to be the Lords paramount of the several districts of the Island of Lanka. which had been held by the company before the war. Moreover the exalted chief Lord and the exalted the principal ministers hereby relinquish government and claim which they heretofore had or claimed over the aforesaid districts.

During the war which broke out between Great Britain and Holland in 1782, the Dutch possessions in the Island were ceded to the British Crown at the capitulation of Colombo in 1796. Meanwhile the rest of the Island remained under the ancient native Government till 1815 when the last Maharajah having committed "mainfold deeds of wickedness the Sinhalese were incensed against him. . . . and they all joined together and took the wicked and unjust Maharajah captive" (Mahawansa.) Thereupon on the 2nd March, 1815, "a solemn conference was held at the audience hall of the Palace of Kandy, between His Excellency the Governor and Commander of the forces on behalf of His Majesty. . . . on the one part and the Adigars, Disavas and other principal chiefs of the Kandyan Provinces on the other part, on behalf of the people A public instrument of treaty prepared in conformity to conditions previously agreed on for establishing His Majesty's Government in the Kandyan Provinces was unanimously assented to (Official Bulletin) In the said instrument of treaty it is stated "The Dominion of the Kandyan Provinces is the Soverign of the British Empire Saving to all classes of the people their civil rights and immunities according to the laws, institutions, and customs established and in force amongst them".

8. Your memorialists beg leave to submit, in all loyalty, that to the people of Ceylon who rendered themselves of their own will to British Rule under safeguard of the above treaty

condition, it is and has already been a just cause of dissatisfaction that an autocratic form of Government in which the people of the country have no real part or share and which it was believed was established only provisionally, in the exigency of the time, has been so long continued.

9. Not only does the present form of Government afford reasonable ground for dissatisfaction but has been responsible in actual fact, for grievances and hardship which it is to be feared may bring discredit on the fair name and repute of British rule, and which are inevitable when legislation is inspired by officials who (as the Colonial Secretary only recently admitted in Council) are out of touch with the native population. As instances of laws subsversive of the ancient rights of the people the memorialists would mention the various ordinances or statutes which have created in favour of the Crown presumptive title to lands which under the ancient laws were the absolute property of native agriculturists. These ordinances, particularly the latest called the Waste Lands Ordinance contravenes fundamental principles of Justice by arbitrarily restricting ordinary rules of evidence and judicial procedure. Through the instrumentality of these laws large numbers of the native peasantry have been and continue to be evicted from their ancient holdings. An industrious and well deserving community of agriculturists being thus reduced into an irresponsible proletariat, not merely of wage earners, but criminal and vagabonds as is painfully evident from the enormous increase of crime all over the Island dating from the time when the fictitious Crown claims founded on these Ordinances began to be strictly enforced. The Government anerverates repeatedly and in the most solemn manner that it had by no means any intention in this legislation to alter or curtail rights conceded by the ancient (Kandyan) law. This gives a complete illustration of how the present defective system of legislation by officials more or less ignorant of the native laws, institutions and customs, which the British Crown is pledged to save inviolate, leads to gross error, for the highest judicial authority of the land, the Supreme Court of Judicature, has solemnly declared that these laws "have now made a change in the Kandyan law" (vide).

Your memorialists humbly conceive that it is essential in order to correct such legislative blunders as the above and to prevent similar errors in the future that the existing form of Government should be reformed on constitutional lines: and respectfully beg to submit that:—

(1) Racial representation and the appointment of non-official members of Council on the Governors' nomination should be discontinued.

(2) The number of official members should not exceed that of non-official members,

(3) The non-official members should be elected by the people to represent each revenue district and each chief town of a Province.

Provision may be made for more than one member to represent important centres such as the City of Colombo, Kandy, &c.

The representation of minorities may be provided for by means of Electoral Associations approved by the Government such as the Planters' association, Chamber of Commerce, &c,

(4) QUALIFICATION OF NON-OFFICIAL MEMBERS—Every male subject of the age of 21 years and upwards having a competent knowledge of the English language, who does not hold any office of emolument under Government and who has not been convicted of any infamous crime, shall be eligible as a non-official member.

(5) QUALIFICATION OF ELECTORS.—Every male subject of the age of 21 years and upwards and possessed of immovable property which, in the case of residents in towns shall be of the value of not less than R1,000 in his own right or in that of his wife, or who shall have an annual income in the case of village inhabitants of R100 and in the case of town residents of R300 or draw a pension of R150 per annum and who shall be able to read and write one of the Vernaculars languages or the English language shall be entitled to vote at any election of non-official member for the district or town where he resides.

11. The memorialists are firmly convinced that the concession of privileges such as the above will be appreciated by the people as a just recognition of their deep and abiding loyalty to the Throne, will promote the efficiency of the administration, increase the happiness and contentment of the people, and strengthen the foundations of British rule.

And Your Lordship's memorialists, as in duty bound will ever pray,

VI.

MEMORIAL FROM THE CEYLON NATIONAL ASSOCIATION.

1. The Ceylon National Association consists of a large proportion of the leading men of the educated and thoughtful sections of the Ceylonese and one of its objects is to promote interest in public affairs among the people.

2. At a Special General Meeting of the Association held on the 30th day of January last it was resolved that a Memorial with respect to the reform of the constitution of the Legislative and Executive Councils of Ceylon be forwarded to Your Lordship.

Your Memorialists beg leave to urge the following facts for Your Lordship's favourable consideration.

4. In March 1833 His Majesty King William the Fourth was pleased, on the recommendation of a Royal Commission appointed to report upon the administration of this Colony, to direct that the Governor should no longer be assisted by a single Council, Executive and Legislative, but that a new Council should be constituted with legislative functions and should consist of fifteen members "of whom nine shall at all times be persons holding office within the Island, and the remaining six shall at all times be persons not holding any such office."

In 1889 two members were added to the unofficial number constituting the Legislative Council, which now consists of ten official and eight unofficial members.

5. The different communities who form the population of the Island stand as follows:—
 Europeans.—6,500 in whose interests three Europeans are appointed by the Governor.
 Burghers.—21,780 in whose interests one member is appointed by the Governor.
 Mohamedans.—250,000 in whose interests one member is appointed by the Governor.
 Tamils.—1,127,000 in whose interests one member is appointed by the Governor.
 Sinhalese.—2,551,000 in whose interests two members are appointed by the Governor.

6. At the time the Legislative Council was established. Ceylon was little more than a Military Station. The only article of export of commercial importance was cinnamon. The mountain districts which are now the seat of many thriving industries were covered with dense forest. The people were uneducated and incompetent to take an intelligent interest in public affairs. The finances were burdened with a heavy military charge and deficits were frequent, sometimes amounting to a sum equivalent to a half of the revenue. In these circumstances the recommendations of the Royal Commission of 1832 were expressly put forward as necessarily imperfect and tentative, preparatory to a more liberal constitution. "Such a Council is not proposed as an institution calculated in itself to provide effectually for the legislation of the Island at a more advanced stage of its progress. . . . it would eventually constitute an essential part of any Colonial legislature for which the Island may be prepared at a future period" (Report of Royal Commission.)

7. The present Council was granted only as a first instalment, intended to be followed by a liberal constitution at a more advanced stage of the Island's progress. That stage Your Memorialists submit had arrived long since.

The following table will show the immense progress the Island has achieved in every respect and direction.

Population.	Scholars.	Revenue. Rs.	Expenditure. Rs.
1834—1,167,700	13,891	3,779,520	3,348,350
1907—3,998,064	275,492	36,573,824	32,591,521
Shipping. Tons.	Imports. Rs.	Exports. Rs.	
1834— 153,510	3,727,260	1,458,340	
1907—13,302,950	129,316,757	129,570,001	

8. The official majority in the Council, and the fact that the unofficial members are appointed by the Governor, do not conduce to the people taking a healthy interest in the consideration of their public affairs. And moreover, the fact that the prospect of a further term of office in Council, depends upon the Governor is prejudicial to the independence and efficiency of the unofficial members.

9. The effect of an unofficial majority was well described by Lord Morley of Blackburn, Secretary of State for India, in a recent speech in the House of Lords in regard to the concession of liberal reforms to India. In giving his reason for dispensing with the majority in that dependency he declared how "directly, palpably and injuriously an official majority tended to deaden the interest and responsibility of the unofficial members."

In India, where the unofficial members are in many cases elected by the people and responsible to them the official majority has the effect of throwing them into "an attitude of peevish and permanent opposition"—in the words of Lord Morley.

10. The Executive Council as at present constituted consists exclusively of official members, a few only of whom possess local experience. Mr. John Ferguson, C.M.G., in his "Ceylon in the Jubilee Year," points out "the farce has been seen even in recent years of a Governor and his five executive advisers in Ceylon not counting half a dozen years of local experience between them."

11. In the neighbouring continent Lord Morley has provided for the inclusion of Indian members in the Executive Council, in consonance with the declared policy of the British Government "to associate the people of India in the work of actual day to day administration" and to "adjust the machinery of the Government so that their Indian fellow subjects might be allowed parts which a self-respecting people could fill." In Ceylon, in consequence of a unanimous vote by the Legislative Council, Sir West Ridgeway suggested in 1903 to the then Secretary of State the addition of two unofficial members to the Executive Council as "it would formally place at the disposal of the Government advice and information which it is not always possible to obtain from official sources." Mr. J. Chamberlain could not see his way to accept this proposal because the unofficial members were the nominees of the Government, and he pointed out that in other colonies their admission into the Executive Council "followed as a corollary to their being elected representatives of the people."

12. The Legislative Council of Ceylon established in 1833 was to be a pattern to the rest of His Majesty's Eastern dominions. Similar Councils came into existence in India in 1861. They were liberalized and placed largely on an elective basis in 1892, and they are about to be expanded and conceded liberties and privileges wider still, while no change in the constitution has taken place in Ceylon during the last 75 years.

13. The hope expressed by the Royal Commission thus remains unrealized and Ceylon, the premier Crown Colony, far from setting an example to India in the working of freer and more liberal Councils has been allowed to recede far behind, being outstripped even by smaller, less prosperous, and less important possessions like Jamaica, Mauritius, British Guiana, Cyprus and other Colonies which have now larger concessions of political freedom; and this for no lack of merits or claims on the part of the inhabitants of this Colony.

14. The table given in paragraph 7 shows the immense strides the country has made in advancement in every direction, and bears testimony to the great moral and material progress of the people, and of their fitness to be entrusted with a constitution as liberal as that granted to India.

15. In all the qualifications of good citizenship the people of Ceylon are ahead of that of India. The last census returns show that literate males numbered 350 per 1,000 of the population as against 98 of India and females 70 per 1,000 as against 7 in India.

Nowhere in the whole British Empire are there more loyal and devoted subjects of His Majesty than in Ceylon and successive Governors and Secretaries of State have acknowledged this unshaken loyalty and attachment to the Throne of the people of this Island.

16. Wherefore your memorialists pray that your Lordship may be pleased to direct that such measures be taken as to place the Legislative Council of Ceylon on an elective basis and to include in the Executive Council at least two unofficial members to be selected by the elected members of the Legislative Council.

Your memorialists venture to submit for your Lordship's consideration the following scheme for the composition of the Legislative Council which they believe will satisfy the general aspirations of the people of the Island.

Western Province (exclusive of the City of Colombo.	Two members
Central Province	One member
North-Central Province	One member
Southern Province	One member
Northern Province	One member
Eastern Province	One member
North-Western Province	One member
Uva and Sabaragamuwa Provinces	One member
City of Colombo	Two members
Chamber of Commerce	One member
Planter' Association	One member

And in addition not more than three unofficial members to be nominated by the Governor for the purpose of representing such interests or minorities as may not be adequately represented by the elective principle.

This would make the total number of unofficial members sixteen. In order that Ceylon may be granted the same liberal treatment as India, the memorialists would suggest that the number of official members should not exceed that of the unofficial members, the Governor's casting vote being decisive subject to the confirmation or otherwise of the Secretary of State.

17. Your memorialists are firmly persuaded that the granting of the privileges prayed for will be highly appreciated by the people as a gracious recognition of their unswerving loyalty and attachment to the Throne, and of their great advance in education and moral and material progress, while they will promote efficiency of the administration, foster general interest and confidence in the Government and increase the welfare and happiness of the people.

And your Lordship's memorialists as in duty bound.

VII.

MEMORIAL FROM THE JAFFNA ASSOCIATION,

To the Right Honourable The Earl of Crewe, K.G., His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The Humble Memorial of the Jaffna Association, Jaffna, (Ceylon) Respectfully sheweth.

1. That your memorialists representing the Tamils of the Northern Province, the chief centre of the Tamil population of this Island, in general meeting assembled on the 9th February, 1907, passed the following resolution: "That the Ceylon Legislative Council as it is at present constituted is unsuitable to the existing condition of the Colony, in that (1) the method of nominating unofficial members is not likely to secure their independence; (2) it is founded on racial representation, a principle likely to perpetuate class feeling, and not calculated to introduce the best talents into the Council or to represent the interests of the various districts; and (3) the preponderance of the official over the unofficial element concentrates all the powers in the hands of the official majority. That in the opinion of this Association, reforms are urgently needed in the respects mentioned above. That steps be taken by the Managing Committee to do what is needful to ensure the ultimate realization of the reforms indicated above."

2. The feeling in favour of substantial reforms in the constitution and system of Government being now general throughout the Island, your memorialists now approach Your Lordship with their views on the question of reform of the Legislative and Executive Councils of Ceylon.

3. Your memorialists do not consider it necessary to submit facts and figures to convince Your Lordship of the great advance the people of every part of this Island have made in wealth, education and general well-being, and of the utter inadequacy of the share which the people in these altered conditions have been given in the administration of their own country. Such facts and figures, they believe, have been or are being submitted to Your Lordship by other public bodies in Ceylon. They, therefore, desire to place only the following considerations before Your Lordship, for your favourable notice.

4. Till within the last 16 or 17 years, it was the good fortune of the Ceylonese to be under a system of Government far ahead of that obtaining in India, though the former was one which was inaugurated so long ago as 1833, the only modification it underwent after its introduction being the addition in 1899 of two unofficial seats in the Legislative Council.

5. While thus in Ceylon the share in the Government granted to the people remained practically unaltered during 75 years, India which first had her Legislative Councils in some of her more important provinces only in 1861, made a long step forward within 30 years, when, by Lord Cross's Act of 1892, the choice of members of the Legislative Councils by a form of popular election was introduced. And now by means of far-reaching constitutional reforms the people of India are about to be given a real and substantial share in the Government of their country.

6. Your memorialists will here merely allude to the Councils or Representative Institutions that have long been established in other Crown Colonies such as Mauritius and some of the West Indian Islands, and the extremely liberal measure of self-government granted to them, though these Colonies are far behind Ceylon in revenue, population, wealth and education.

7. But by reason of the close proximity of India and of the ethnological and other relationships between the Ceylonese and the Indian people, your memorialists would most respectfully submit that if Western education has created in the people of India higher aspirations and ambitions which it is considered but just and right to satisfy, the same thing is true of Ceylon, and with even greater force for the following reasons: (1) The existence of vast masses of people always on the verge of starvation and in chronic poverty in India has no parallel in Ceylon;

(2) Ceylon is far ahead of India in the general education of the masses: (3) Ceylon has always been loyal to the core to the Throne and Person of the Sovereign., and has always been proud of being a British Crown Colony; (4) Ceylon is altogether free from the social and religious dissensions which are so rife in India. These are facts which go to show that the people of Ceylon are qualified to rightly employ the power of the franchise if it is granted to them, and fit to enjoy higher political privileges.

(8) Your memorialists beg respectfully to assure Your Lordship that the dissatisfaction which undoubtedly exists among the people at the extremely limited share that has been granted them during the last 75 years in the Government of their country, has been a matter of slow growth during many years. The unofficial members of the Legislative Council were originally appointed for life, and their presence in Council was of the utmost value to Government as they fearlessly placed before it the popular aspects of every question that came up in Council. Some years later, life membership gave place to a five years' tenure, but, while the elective franchise was in effect, though not formally, conferred on the European community, nomination pure and simple of Ceylonese unofficials by the Governor continued, with option of re-nomination, at the pleasure of the Governor, for a second term Ceylonese unofficials, therefore, owing their seats to Government and dependent on the pleasure of the Government for a second nomination, neither had a mandate from, nor were answerable to, a popular constituency. Outspoken and frank criticism of Government measures thus became as difficult as it was rare under a state of things which your memorialists respectfully submit, is not popular representation in any sense of the term.

9. The dissatisfaction with this state of things found expression in various ways during the last twenty or thirty years. One was that though by enactment and in fact the people were without the elective franchise, they nevertheless in a great number of cases, on the occurrence of a vacancy, proceeded to hold public meetings and to send to Government in an informal manner the names of the gentlemen elected by popular votes at the meetings. Another was the expression of opinion in newspapers in favour of various candidates before the Governor's nomination was made public, and vehement protests whenever their expectations ended in disappointment. When the Governor's nominee was one who had not been supported in his candidature by any considerable section of the public, it has more than once happened that numerous and influentially signed memorials from the people were sent up to the Secretary of State, respectfully but frankly giving expression to their disagreement with the choice of the Governor.

10. This dissatisfaction has not been confined to the Ceylonese. The extract given below is from "Ceylon in the Jubilee Year" by Mr. John Ferguson and published in 1887. He is the senior editor of the "Ceylon Observer," and is a gentleman of unequalled experience of Ceylon. He has just retired from the representation of the General European community in the Legislative Council, at the end of his term of service in that capacity. This is what he wrote: "Indeed the elective principle might under due safeguards be applied in the eight provinces of the Island,—under a severely restricted franchise to begin with,—so giving eight elected unofficial members, to whom might be added two to four nominees of the Governor from among the merchants or other classes not adequately served by the elections.....and a few more privileges might be accorded to the members such as the right of initiating proposals, even where such involved the expenditure of public money up to a certain moderate limit."

11. As one more instance of the participation in the general discontent, in this respect, of enlightened European opinion, the memorialists would instance the remarks of Mr. H. Creasy, a solicitor of extensive practice and a son of the late Sir Edward Creasy, Chief Justice of Ceylon, on the occasion of a meeting held in December last, in Colombo, of the General European community to nominate a successor to Mr. John Ferguson. He condemned in strong terms the antiquated character of the present constitution and insisted on the necessity of reforming the Legislative Council and conferring greater privileges on the people.

12. Your Memorialists have stated the foregoing facts to show to Your Lordship that the desire for a change in the present state of things is not a matter of yesterday nor a sentiment

confined to the Ceylonese. They now feel that the time has arrived for the people of Ceylon who are conscious of having arrived at adolescence to be released from a state of pupilage, that their unswerving loyalty entitles them to a more generous treatment than in the past, and that real efficiency of administration is, in the present advanced state of the Island, only possible with the cordial co-operation of the people at every step.

13. Your Memorialists therefore respectfully pray that Your Lordship will be pleased to sanction such changes in the constitution and working of the Legislative and Executive Councils of Ceylon as are likely to satisfy public feeling. They respectfully beg leave to submit the following suggestions for Your Lordship's favourable consideration.

First, as regards the Legislative Council, that (1) excepting two or three seats that may be reserved for nomination by the Governor for the representation of minorities, all the unofficial seats be filled up by popular election; (2) that provincial be substituted for racial representation; (3) that regularly constituted bodies otherwise unrepresented, such as the Planters' Association and the Chamber of Commerce, representing particular interests, and recognized as such by Government under definite regulations, be granted the right of electing their own representatives; (4) that the unofficial and the official element be equalised; (5) that unofficial members be granted the right of initiating proposals involving expenditure of public money within prescribed limits.

Next, as regards the Executive Council, that Sir West Ridgeway's recommendation in 1903 for the addition to the Executive Council of two unofficial members of the Legislative Council be now sanctioned and given effect to.

14. These reforms, in the humble opinion of Your Memorialists, would be in accordance with the progressive tendencies of the times all over the world, and strengthen the foundations of British rule in this Island, placing them securely on the broad basis of the people's will.

15. The Memorialists in conclusion beg respectfully to express their confident hope that Your Lordship, who is a firm believer in the justice and policy of the reforms that are to be introduced in India, as Your Lordship's noble speech on the second reading of the Indian Council's Bill in the House of Lords would show, will not deny to the people of Ceylon the privileges that are to be conferred on their brethren and fellow subjects in the neighbouring continent.

NOTES.

One Language for India.

Esperanto is naturally the only possible *lingua franca* of the West, it would seem, owing to its being mainly based on the Romance languages. In the middle ages Latin was the one tongue by which the traveller could make himself understood by the stranger, and it is still the common medium of scholars. English has to a great extent taken the place of Latin now, but it is still an unknown tongue to the great hordes of the East, and in India it seems possible or at any rate desirable that a common tongue should be gradually brought into use. We look for the day. Scholars can converse in Sanskrit and Pali, but what of the peasant and the trader? In the *Hindustan Review* for October, Mr. V. H. Mehta discusses this one language problem very ably and fully. He says, "*Hindustani* should be the common medium; leaving to *Bengali*, *Gujarati* and *Marathi* the fields of literary prose and poetry they are rich in, let all books of science and technology appear in *Hindustani*, and people from the Himalayas to the Comorin will make use of them without fail."

The article concludes thus:—

- (i.) Our object is to have a common alphabet, be it Nagri or Arabic.
- (ii.) To evolve a common language—*Hindustani*—for all purposes of interprovincial culture: for the spread of a purified religion: for the dissemination of sound views in politics: for a universalised technical and scientific training.
- (iii.) This language should be studied by all as a second language.
- (iv.) This language should retain the grammatical skeleton it has at present. Words will then come from the land of the birth of institutions they are intended to designate.
- (v.) We must aim at a practical solution of the problem, however deficient it may be theoretically.

**The Failure of
Vaccination.**

Mr. Arnold Lapton, M.P., writes on this topic in the *Indian Review* for September, giving exhaustive statistics to prove his point that there is no excuse for continuing the practice. He says "It is not only vaccination that is injurious and wasteful. The inoculations for diphtheria, instead of reducing the numbers of deaths, have increased them. Many sad cases of children being killed by the anti-toxin inoculations have occurred. In the town of Hull where the anti-toxin serum was distributed free of charge to the medical men, the result was that the number of deaths attributed to diphtheria increased fourfold. As a matter of fact, the poor people who were inoculated did not die from diphtheria at all but from the poison that was injected into their blood. Similar results have followed the use of inoculation against hydrophobia. The number of deaths has been increased. There are two thousand recorded cases of death following upon inoculation for hydrophobia. As an eminent French doctor remarked:—"Pasteur does not cure madness: he gives it." The anti-plague and anti-typhoid serums have also failed. In India, the plague has been continued for eleven years by the use of anti-plague inoculations?"

In the same magazine under '*Small-pox in India*' by Mr. Charles Gane, we read:—"will no one take up the matter? We in England are on the road to the complete abolition of compulsory vaccination, and even now all children born recently can easily be exempted from the operation. Men and women in England have taken a strong stand and have spared nothing in their efforts to rid the country of this terrible curse."

Are We Fit for Self-Government? 'Let us not be frightened by that bugbear *incapacity*: there is no nation unfit for free institutions. If you wait for absolute perfection, the world will come to an end before you have established your free institutions: but you must take the world as it is, and there is no nation so ignorant, but knows its wants, or some of its pressing wants: there is no nation so poor but it has some proprietary or possessory interests for the perfection of which it is solicitous; and there is no nation which is not entitled, therefore, with a view to its own wants, or what it conceives to be its wants and interests, to be heard in its own defence.'*

* The late Mr. Anstey, Quoted in the *Modern Review*.

**Acceptance of Presents
by Public Officers.**

"I have frequently noticed in the newspapers reports of functions where public officers, upon transfer from one station to another or upon other occasions, have accepted presents in the shape of purses of money etc., which cannot be classed as the gifts of personal friends. *This pernicious practice*, [italics ours] which I regret to say, appears to be common in Ceylon, is distinctly prohibited by the Colonial Office regulations, and I have given orders that the attention of all officers shall be drawn to the regulations and that they shall be warned that the practice cannot be allowed to continue."*

This is good. These 'heavy' or 'well filled purses,' like wedding-presents, are one of the curses of modern life, and testify very often to a moral weakness, to a fear of being 'outcasted' in case of refusal to give for probably few of the subscribers are able to afford the expense.

**Promotion of
Officers.**

One often reads in the papers letters protesting against the promotion of so-and-so 'over the heads' of others who have had many years of service. We are quite in agreement with those who hold that many years of service do not constitute a claim for promotion. It is often the case that many years' service without promotion is a proof of incompetence. Grey hairs do not always mean capability. We are glad to read that H. E. the Governor means to 'invest Heads of Departments with more responsibility in routine matters of transfer, promotion, leave and so on.'

**Knowledge of the Vernaculars Among
Government Officials.**

'It has also been laid down that no officer, whether recruited in England or locally, shall be promoted beyond the initial grade until he has passed certain examinations laid down to ensure a sufficient working knowledge of Sinhalese and Tamil.' 'All Foresters and Rangers will have to qualify in one of the Vernaculars other than their own before they become eligible for promotion.'

Progress.

"On the spot where, for five hundred years, the great and half-deified Kings of Kandy sat on their thrones of gold, unapproachable by any of their subjects save the Adikars alone, now stands the elegant tea-table of an English lady."—Dr. Hoffmeister's Travels in Ceylon and India, 1848.

* Speech by H. E. the Governor at the opening of the Legislative Council August 27.

For the Eye of the
D. P. I.

"No School of Music in Europe has yet arisen and flourished in Europe that has not primarily been concerned with the expression of national aspirations. Music . . . must express the ideals and aspirations that are shared by those to whom it is specially addressed, and be couched in an idiom that is intelligible to them. That is to say, it must possess national attributes, and be to some extent a communal, as opposed to an individual utterance."

"Now we have seen that the earliest form of music, folk-song, is essentially a communal as well as a racial product. The natural musical idiom of a nation will, therefore, be found in its purest and most unadulterated form in its folk-music."

"The importance of music as a factor in general education has latterly received almost universal recognition. Educationalists are agreed that the inclusion of music in the curriculum of the elementary school will not only tend to cultivate a taste for music, but will also, by exciting and training the imagination, react beneficially upon character . . .

"The ideal school song should satisfy two conditions. It should, of course, be music of the highest and purest quality. But this is not enough. It must also be attractive to children and easily assimilated by them. . . These considerations point to the folk-song as the ideal musical food for very young children. Folk-songs most certainly belong to the category of good music; they are natural, pure, and simple. They are, moreover, attractive to children, easily comprehended, and easily learned by them. The songs must of course, be chosen with discrimination; the compass of the tunes must be within the range of young voices, and the words adapted to the understanding of immature minds. Above all, they must be of the same nationality as that of the children, not German, French, or even Scottish or Irish."*

And why not Tamil and Sinhalese folk-songs for Tamil and Sinhalese children?

Perhaps if the Director of Public Instruction would consider a little more seriously than he has done the position of music in Education in Ceylon, he will not find occasion to write again, as he wrote once, that

"Village children, among Sinhalese and Tamils, have yet to be broken into the self-control necessary to enable them docilely to submit to the initial teaching in this subject."

* C. J. Sharp 'English Folk-Song' and some conclusions, London 1907.

We are sorry for children whose teachers' ideal of education is a process of breaking in. We also suppose it would take a good deal of 'breaking in' to enable English school children 'docilely to submit to 'initial teaching' in, let us say, Chinese music; and why the Director of Public Instruction should expect to find it otherwise in Ceylon remains to be explained. . We suggest to him that when the national culture is here, as in Denmark and Hungary and other educationally progressive countries, made the fundamental factor in education, the necessity for "breaking in' will be found to have disappeared.

Capital Punishment. The *Humanitarian league* publishes a little pamphlet entitled 'The Death Penalty' by Hypatia Bradlaugh Bonner (a trio of names, by the way, that set one thinking of champions of causes and inquisitors). In this she writes sums up her position as follows:—

(a) First, I object to capital punishment on the ground that it is an act of vengeance upon the offender, and that all enlightened theories, all humane theories, exclude the idea of revenge.

(b) Secondly, I object to capital punishment because it is unnecessary; experience having proved that the use of a secondary punishment is not followed by an increase of homicidal crime.

(c) Finally, I object to it because it is irrevocable, and in the event of an innocent man being hanged, the wrong done to him and to his family cannot be repaired.

She suggests as an alternative—rejecting perpetual punishment for any crime—a term of imprisonment within the discretion of the judge.

To this we might add that by 'killing off' a criminal we do not necessarily prevent his criminal action from affecting our physical plain: we merely shift him as a centre of crime to another *loka*. Why not correct him here and now?

Commercialism. "It is frequently taken for granted—naturally enough in commercial England—that the creation of new wants is one of the finest results of civilization; that by artificially creating new desires among the people of a 'backward' race, we not only enrich ourselves by finding new markets for our trade, but we elevate and ennoble such a people by compelling them to lay greater store on the accumulation of

wealth in order that they may gratify those desires. That it is unwise to accept any such theory as axiomatic may be at least tentatively suggested. 'It is popularly supposed,' said Ruskin, 'that it benefits a nation to invent a want. But the fact is that the true benefit is in extinguishing a want in living with as few wants as possible.' To see the whole Burmese nation clad in Lancashire cottons, labouring with set teeth from morning till night, year after year, their pagodas deserted and ungilded, their gleaming sky polluted with the smoke of factory chimneys, their beautiful country turned into a vast hive of ceaseless and untiring industry, simple in order that wealth might grow and British trade prosper, would no doubt be a consummation devoutly to be wished by the working classes of the ruling race, and also by the alien Government which would congratulate itself upon 'the unexampled of the country and the gratifying elasticity of the revenue.' But, meanwhile, what of the happiness of the Burmese people? It is a poor answer to say that if they do not want European luxuries they are compelled to buy them, and that if they despise money no one is going to force them to accumulate it." pp. 342 343. [R. F. Johnson, "Peking" to Mandalay, London 1908.]

Reform of the Ceylon Legislative Council. We publish in this issue the proceedings of several public meetings where the question of the reform of the Ceylon Legislative Council was discussed at some length and also give the text of the memorials addressed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies praying for the reform.

Lord Crewe on Reform. The speech made by the Earl of Crewe the Secretary of State for the Colonies in the House of Lords on the Indian Councils bill brings out the very encouraging fact that His Majesty's Secretary of State views with favour the granting of such reforms. The following is the speech referred to:—

"I want to make one or two observations on the question of the legislative councils, their constitution, and their proposed procedure. I confess that the demand made for a veto by the principal authority on the appointment or election of any particular member does seem to me to be going very far. It certainly does seem to me that the introduction of the electoral system can be of very little value if the man elected can be declared incapable of sitting, not on any

specific ground, but because the Lieutenant-Governor or Governor-General does not desire to see him on the council. A power of that nature given to an individual it is unlikely Lord Morley could agree to. officials and non-officials on the Councils. A word or two seem necessary on the question of official majorities. What seems to me the case is this. A Council composed of an official majority and an unofficial minority works very well in ordinary times, but if it comes to a state of things when the official majority is always drawn on one side and the non-official minority on the other, then we may be quite sure that there is something altogether wrong with the condition of the Government of the country or province. You may get your way, but in a manner that is by no means satisfactory, a manner that makes it scarcely worth getting. So far as the Colonial Office is concerned, if such a state of things were to become habitual, we should regard it as a very strong case for some form of outside enquiry. The blame would not necessarily be upon the Governor or the Government, but there would be indication that in some way the machinery of Government had broken down. If you have an unofficial majority in this case I understand the carrying through of what are known as "wild cat Bills" is in the last resort prevented by the use of the veto. Further than that—and this, of course, is a safeguard which does not exist in the case of an unofficial majority when it is thought necessary to pass a particular measure in the teeth of an unofficial majority—a power is given to do so. That seems to me to safeguard your position, but it is really safeguarded, as pointed out by Lord Ampthill, in an entirely different way by the fact that these unofficial majorities are not, or certainly ought not to be, solid bodies. I should not think very much of a Governor who did not somehow find means of detaching some of the non-official members from their colleagues and transferring them to the supporters of his own point of view. I do not say that if he failed to do so on a particular occasion he would show himself inefficient, but if it came to be an invariable fact that the non-official members were drawn up in a line opposed to the official members, in such a case I should be disposed to think that the executive officer, though he might be a good Governor in other ways, was not a very efficient politician or had the qualities of a skilful diplomatist. Lord Curzon said last night that after all there was no great hardship in being in a minority, and he pointed to these benches as illustrating the possibility of being in that position and yet surviving. Well, my lords, appearances are sometimes deceptive. We may maintain a calm demeanour and even attain at times to the appearance of a spurious joviality, but Lord Curzon will guess, if he does not know, the effect, on our general character, our tempers, and our minds of living in

a state of being perpetually outvoted. I am speaking quite seriously when I say that if he had shared our fate during the ten years before we came into office, he would know the truth of what I am saying. Most of us towards the end of those ten years were beginning to lose interest in public life, and began to think it might be well if we began to turn attention to the cultivation of our gardens, and but for the emergence of the fiscal question, which gave new life to proceedings in your lordships' House, I am not sure but some of us would have done so. The Right of Interrogation. I pass to points upon which it is supposed some danger might arise, and the use of supplementary questions has been mentioned. Well, I should have thought that this power would prove a very useful safety-valve, I assume under proper restrictions. It seems to have been forgotten that many more men like to talk about their grievances than expect redress. I think a disposition has been shown to underrate the value of this safety-valve of talk, and I cannot help thinking that if supplementary questions were forbidden, the value of questions would in a great measure pass away. It is said it would be hard upon officials, would take up too much of their time, and that they would be engaged in oratory against skilled speakers who merely wished to cause annoyance. Now I have always found that the man who knows his subject, orator, or not, makes a good speech upon it. The speeches that are ineffective are those made by men who really do not know what they are talking about. I cannot in my own mind doubt that experienced administrators will find no difficulty, in nine cases out of ten, in dealing with popular, glib, but infinitely less informed, speakers whom they may have to encounter. The position as to the regulations. I pass to a different point—the regulations which are to fill in the framework of the Bill. One noble lord said we were asked to give a blank cheque, and in one sense it is a blank cheque; but it is a cheque that is to be signed by a body of trustees who have to affix their signatures by the side of that of the Secretary of State. Something has been said about these regulations being laid on the table of the House, with a view, I suppose, of their being altered upon the presentation of an address from either House. That is a demand to which we could not assent. In the first place, it would be entirely foreign to practice in these matters, and to the principle laid down by Mr. Gladstone quoted by Lord Morley and agreed to opposite. Lord Lansdowne said this did not mean that the regulations would be debated clause by clause in Parliament; but it was a large demand to make by members of this House, who have a strong position and control of our legislative proposals here—complete control except in regard to details in the region of finance. If they are going to

ask also for control over purely administrative matters, they are making a demand never made before, and one to which I do not think Lord Morley could possibly agree. It would simply mean that the ultimate form of the regulations would be settled by noble lords opposite. The Colour Bar on the Executive Councils. Then I turn to the question of the Indian member of the Executive Council, and here I think some confusion seems to have arisen by the use of the word "representative." It is sometimes said that if an Indian member is placed on the Viceroy's Executive Council he is to be the representative of India. It is undoubtedly true, as has been already pointed out, that no man can be the representative of India, because there are so many Indians. But I do not understand that, if and when this gentleman is put on, he is to be put on as the representative of India. Lord Morley's proposition is not to create a representation, but to remove a disability, and that is surely a very different thing indeed. A closer analogy than those which have been made seems to me the removal of Catholic disabilities in 1829. If you were to take the specific instance of the disability which still exists in appointing a Roman Catholic to the office held by my noble friend (Lord Loreburn) on the woolsack or the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, the removal of that disability does not necessarily mean that a Roman Catholic will always be appointed to that particular office. It would mean, just as the Secretary of State's proposition of means, that, other things being equal, the person who holds that creed is as fit as any other person to hold that particular office. That is all that can be actually said to be meant by the proposition. Of course, the ultimate method of working out the proposition is, I admit, a different matter. It may so happen that the appointment of an Indian member will tend towards the filling of one particular office by an Indian rather than by another. Obviously there are some posts on the Viceroy's Council which could never be held by an Indian, but we ought, I think, to get rid of this notion of representation, which has been rather unfortunately imported into the question—unfortunately because it gives a wrong idea both to people in this country and in India as to what is really meant by the proposal. I very heartily re-echo one remark that fell from Lord Cromer, and that is the extreme importance of this proposition being a unanimous one, when it reaches India, so far as possible. The value of anything proposed by the Secretary of State, I quite admit, must be diminished, if it becomes the subject of acute controversy here with men, like the noble lord opposite (Lord Curzon), who are well known and thoroughly respected in India. Unnecessary Pessimism.

This debate has undoubtedly been maintained on the high level which distinguishes your lordships' House. Here and there has been an observation which we on this side of the House have heard with regret. I thought, if I may say so, that the whole tone of the remarks of Lord Curzon was somewhat unduly pessimistic about the entire scheme. He seemed to speak with lights turned half down and to the sound of rather melancholy music. I do not also, I admit, entirely appreciate the observations of the noble Lord behind me (Lord MacDonnell) with regard to the future destinies of India. I do not know that the prophecies to which he objected were exactly necessary prophecies, but I am quite sure that his prophecies in turn were not needed either. What will be the future of India 50, 60, or 100 years hence need not, I think, trouble us. It is the knees of the gods, and all we have got to do is to provide as best we can for the conditions of the moment, having, of course, an eye to the future, but not troubling ourselves about what may happen in days when, to use Sheridan's words "all of us are dead and most of us are forgotten." I think that the Secretary of State has good reason to be satisfied with the reception of his Bill. He has been himself the recipient of many tributes which, I can assure the House, give even more pleasure to his colleagues than they do to himself. I trust that the future course of the Bill in its later stages will be easy and prosperous. (Cheers.)

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

REVIEWS.

Buddhist Essays, by Paul Dahlke, Translated from the German by Bhikku Silacara.

Macmillan & Co., 10/.

The Author has brought to bear upon his work scholarship of a high order both in Oriental literature and Western Philosophy, coupled with a sympathetic spirit and an earnest devotion in the pursuit of truth. The problems dealt with are of great importance. The manner, in which he has presented the Buddhist view, in contra-distinction to the stand-point of other religions is admirable.

We can heartily congratulate Dr. Dahlke on the success of his effort; and he has earned the gratitude of the Buddhists, as well as of that large circle of learned enquirers in the Western World, who are investigating the claims of Buddhism to occupy a place in Western thought.

We can equally congratulate the Rev. Bhikku Silacara, a notable addition to the order from the West, on his successful rendering into elegant English of a German work of such a difficult and abstruse nature. He has remembered a signal service to English-speaking Buddhists.

The book contains numberless passages of deep significance which supply food for thought, and numberless passages in the 20 essays arrest our attention.

He sums up the first chapter on the Life of the Buddha in these memorable words:—

“Perhaps never while the world has lasted has there been a personality who has wielded such a tremendous influence over the thinking of humanity as has Gautama, the bearer of the Buddha-thought. This statement becomes indubitable fact for every one who rids himself of the baseless obscurantism which by the word “World” understands only the centre of Greco-Roman Christian culture, and the radiations in time and space that proceed from that centre. Again, this statement becomes an undeniable fact for every one who has learnt to understand by culture something else besides the mere art of living comfortably and making money quickly:—who has learnt to understand that progress does not proceed upon outward lines, but that true development consists of that inwardness which seeks and tries to comprehend that of which the world either knows nothing, or else treats with indifference, perhaps even with contempt. Whoso recognises this will also recognise that already almost two and a half milleniums ago, the supreme summit of spiritual development was reached, and that at that distant time, in the quiet hermit groves along the Ganges, already had been thought the highest man can think.

“For higher thought there is not than that Buddha—thought which wipes out the world, and with it its bearer.”

This reminds me of the high encomium passed by that great agnostic Huxley, who, comparing Gautama's idealism with that of Bishop Berkeley, says in one of his latest utterances:

“It is a remarkable indication of the subtlety of Indian speculation that Gautama should have been deeper than the greatest of modern idealists.”

In the second chapter on the leading doctrines of Buddhism we meet with the following passage:

“At the very outset it becomes abundantly clear that Buddhism is only adapted to such as find life to be suffering. Those only who build upon this foundation can reach the end. Nothing is to be joined by preaching Buddhism except when life is felt and understood to be suffering. Wherever this is not the case the conclusions drawn by the Buddha will seem merely absurd where they do not appear as frightful.”

But is there any one who at some moment of his life has not felt the reality of the Truth of Sorrow?

The author dilates on the doctrine of Sorrow.” “Certainly if sorrow to any man only means sorrow that is experienced, such a man may well regard any succeeding existence with utter concern.”—Then in another connection:—“We see that this sorrow to which the Buddha refers can scarcely be the sorrow of the common acceptation of the word. The Sorrow of the Buddha is nothing else but the perception of the transiency of all that has arisen. Sorrow is simple transiency looked at from a particular point of view.”

He then proceeds to discuss how Kamma causes rebirth, what constitutes personal identity; the obscurity of our *I*, and the realistic view of the world as our illusion.

Touching the idea that the world and life are the totality of the impressions of the senses the author says:

"We might say that the teaching of the Buddha is the purest Kantian transcendental idealism applied to the ends of religion. This idea, the profoundest man yet has thought or is perhaps capable of thinking, has been propounded most clearly by the Buddha, by him has been worked out to the fullest extent and made to do the most service towards his ends. If this idea has not been developed in the jargon of current philosophy, it still stands before us—perhaps even on that very account in crystal clearness, a proof that human thought already more than two thousand years ago reached its natural ultimate."

"In the soundness of its basis, in the logic of its construction, this religion even in the eyes of a non-adherent, must always appear as one of the most colossal and astonishing productions that has ever proceeded from the human mind. It is the completest considerable victory of mankind over itself."

"There never as yet has been a philosophy that has kept itself so free from all admixture of religion as has Buddhism (the author is here eliminating Buddhism from *religion* with its definition—"a longing fear based upon the unknown; the fear of God"), for it is the only one of all existing Philosophical or religious systems which resolutely overleaps every form of the unknown, and starts out with that fact of the present moment, the fact of sorrow. This is the stroke of Genius in Buddhism. Its surpassing excellence is at once apparent. Here is needed no mystical, primeval night, nor any equally mystical, God, who in threefold, mystic action brings the first life forth from the primal gloom." "Hence Buddhism is the only one among all the religions of the world which is able to keep itself free from the poison of hypothesis."

Thus on the vexed question of faith:—

"Nothing is needful to the Buddhist but sensitivity to, and understanding of the sorrow of life. In religions founded upon a revelation, belief in certain supernatural occurrences is indispensable for one to be able truly to call one-self an adherent of the religion. This capacity for belief, however, is an inborn feature of the character it cannot be assumed; it is not to be acquired. Hence if my understanding will not permit me to accept the dogmas of Christianity:— If the pains with which it threatens, or the promises with which it seeks to allure, are to me empty words, then in spite of the strictest obedience to the behests of morality I am not a Christian. Entry for me is inevitably barred by my understanding. It is as if I went looking for darkness with a light in my hand no power can help. On the other hand it is not necessary to be able to believe in order to be a Buddhist. Here belief is dethroned and replaced by knowledge and understanding; for something unteachable is substituted a something that can be taught. Wherefore hail, all ye that are unable to believe! To your chiefest of all, are the Buddha's promises addressed! He will teach you to understand, and understanding, the highest shall be made clear to you!"

"In Buddhism faith is purely the product of knowledge; it is mathematical certainty pure and simple. The New Testament definition of faith does not apply to it, for that means the derivation of something certain from something uncertain, of the unquestionable from the questionable. Mental gymnastics of this sort are not to be found in Buddhism."

To those who are fond of drawing comparisons between religions those words will appeal: We ought not to lose sight of the fact that any comparison between Buddhism and other religions is in many respects a comparison of incongruous quantities. For the Buddhist, the highest is something quite different from what it is for the adherent of another religion. His (the Buddhists') goal is not heaven, union with any deity; it is freedom from pain." "The longing for heaven is not only the most sublimated but also the most intense form of longing for life."

Then in connection with the death grapple between science and religion we read: "Alone among the world-religions it stands in no *a priori* contradiction to science and the development of science. Ultimately it is itself nothing but the application in this moral domain of the laws that obtain in the realm of natural science. Buddhism know nothing of that attitude of arrogant aversion that belongs to other religions. It readily adopts the facts of science, as being only so many supports of its own doctrinal structure. "And yet science here can never become so much the antithesis of religion as it has become in Christendom down, because the tenets of Buddha contain in themselves nothing contradictory to the findings of science. Like a gash in the bark of a young tree, this cleavage between science and religious faith has become deeper and more pronounced with the growth of the former. "It is no exaggeration to say that Buddhism is the only one of all the religions in the world which has remained wholly free from every form of formalism. The cause of this is to be found in its entire lack of dogmas. Just as little as it can be a subject of contention whether the solution of a given mathematical problem is correct or not just as little can the outcome of the Buddhist course of thought be disputed. From each point, with mathematical exactitude, the whole can be deduced and nowhere is left over that remainder, that unaccountable inexplicable thing which, like nothing else in the world, possesses the secret property of causing human passions to burst out into flame,

Elsewhere the author explains that this ever-recurring remainder is the God idea which has to be eliminated from the problem.

With regard to the somewhat baseless charge pessimism the author says. "To represent Buddhism as the religion of the ordinary common place pain of the world is the crowning height of misunderstanding" "Still further removed is pessimism from the teaching of the Buddha, since here the very *I* itself is dissolved in correct comprehension. The man of knowledge sees through this phenomenal form, the body, and perceives no *I*. Where, however, there is no *I*, there naturally can be no egoism either, no 'I-mania.' In the Buddha's system, not only is pessimism done away with, but also the very possibility of pessimism and of optimism as well. There remains only that unmoved serenity, that conscious indifference, which has its basis in a comprehension to which all things are of equal value."

In the Chapter on "God" the author writes:—"The Buddhist, in fact, is the only adult among religionists. All the others are children with respect to their god, and beg just as children. The Buddhist is the only one who seeks the truth, regardless of ought else. The line of thought pursued by the Buddha is perhaps the most astounding that has ever been pursued by man. . . ."

Dr. Dahlke thus defines Kamma "It is the force, in virtue of which reaction follows action; it is the energy which makes it that out of the present life, new life in an inexhaustible stream continually flows forth, This is merely the universal natural law of the conservation of energy extended to the moral domain. As in the universe no energy can ever be lost so also in the individual nothing can be lost of the resilient force accumulated by desire. This resilient energy is always transmitted into fresh life, and we live externally through our lust to live. The medium, however, that makes all existence possible is Kamma."

Touching religions which teach only one life we read:

"The doctrine of the Semitic-Christian religions, that life comes forth at birth and thereafter persists eternally, is perhaps the most astounding act of violence, that has ever been perpetrated against sane thought—an act of violence that must always awaken in the thoughtful mind a profound distrust of the religions that teach such doctrine."

With regard to *Majjima Patipada*, middle path, we read:

"The accusation of indolence is founded on sheer ignorance of the matter in hand "The moderation and quietude of Buddhism, the direct result of sorrow and struggle that have come to an end in knowledge, is indeed like some rich, noble truth which at once elevates this wonderful system above the common mass of all other religions. Buddhism is like a dark, clear brook which noiselessly steals between the over-hanging shadows. Sweet it is to rest upon its banks; sweet to look and to muse! And if the real value of all religions lies in this, that it teaches me to respect others and to avoid all violence, then is Buddhism not only the highest of all religious systems, but also the highest conceivable system. High above those levels where the storms of fanaticism rage, it raises its dazzling ice-crowned summit into the ether, eternally serene."

"If it is permissible to speak of a world-religion at all, it is certainly Buddhism that must first be considered in that connection. For a religion which, as the representative of the pure light of knowledge, without admixture of the shadows of faith, stands in no sort of contradiction to the facts of the understanding and yet maintains in its adherents the highest, natural morality—that surely is entitled to be called the true world-religion."

Taken all in all Dr. Dahlke's "Buddhist Essays" is a work that deserves a place of high distinction in the library of the student of Buddhism.

A. D. J.

Galle, December 1908.

THE CEYLON SOCIAL REFORM SOCIETY.

ENCOURAGEMENT OF NATIVE MEDICAL PRACTICE.

Report of the proceedings at a meeting of a deputation from the Ceylon Social Reform Society with Sir Allan Perry having for its object the enlisting of Sir Allan's sympathy in respect of a movement which the Society contemplates making with a view to arresting the decay of native medical science in Ceylon.

There were present on behalf of the Society Messrs. Donald Obeyesekere (President), Peter de Abrew (Secretary), W. Chapman Dias, D. B. Jayetilleke, Edmund de Livera, L. W. A. de Soysa (Treasurer) and Martinus C. Perera.

Mr. DONALD OBEYESEKERE, addressing Sir Allan Perry on behalf of the Society said as follows:—Our object as you know, sir, is to invite, your attention to the fact that native medical science is on the decay, to point out to you as best we can the causes of its decay and to submit for your approval or rejection what we consider to be means by which the decay might be arrested.

Those who have studied the history of the science are agreed that it is fast decaying.

Ancient history tells us that Sinhalese Kings had hospitals established throughout the country and maintained them for the benefit both of human beings and animals.

More modern history tells us that the Portuguese had great faith in native medical science, so much so that Portuguese soldiers officers and generals were attended on during their wars with the Sinhalese kings by Vedaralas. My authority for the above statement is Ribeiro. As for the Dutch period, Baldens the eminent Dutch historian tells us as follows:—Ceylon is sufficiently provided with medicinal herbs, and they cure all their distempers with green herbs, in the use whereof their physicians are better versed, by experience, than many of our pretending surgeons. God almighty having provided remedies suited to the distempers of each country.

As to the condition of native medical science during the British period, I find that your opinion as expressed in your article in the 20th Century Impressions of Ceylon is, that although there are vedaralas in the country who have a knowledge of the causes and symptoms of diseases that are common to this country and the remedies for them yet the majority of the fraternity are charlatous.

It is generally admitted by those who have received treatment at the hands of vedaralas as well as properly qualified doctors that there are certain ailments in which a vedarala could come to the

assistance of a doctor and *vice versa*. Under such circumstances would it not be well for us to adopt in Ceylon the system that holds in one at least of the hospitals at Hong Kong viz., having a ward kept apart in each hospital to enable patients who prefer to have native medical treatment, to receive such treatment. Such a system if adopted would besides arresting the decay of native medical science help one situated in your position to accurately gauge the comparative efficacy of native medical treatment

Sir ALLAN PERRY enquired whether Mr. Obeyesekere had seen the hospital alluded to.

Mr. OBEYESEKERE: No sir, but the Society has written to the Colonial Secretary of Hong Kong and obtained through him regarding it that was wanted.

Sir ALLAN PERRY: I have been to the hospital, personally, and it is manned solely by Chinese. The assistance of men with European qualification is called in only on occasions of necessity.

Mr. OBEYESEKERE: The Ceylon Social Reform Society is prepared to offer Government a hospital to be devoted to native medical treatment. Will you advise Government to accept it.

Sir ALLAN PERRY: I cannot accept the management of such an institution.

Mr. OBEYESEKERE: Then let us pass by the idea of having native medical science practiced side by side with Western Medical Science. You have said, sir, in the article alluded to that the majority of the native medical fraternity are charlatans. Under such circumstances do you not think it advisable to safe-guard the public as against such imposters especially as at least 70 % of the population of this country are dependant on vederalas for treatment, by giving your approval to the passing of a law to prevent such people from driving their nefarious trade and to the creation of a board of examiners with power to issue certificates to those who have proved themselves efficient both in the science and practice of native medicine, who alone should be allowed by the suggested law to practice.

If you favour this measure it will not only safeguard the country as against quacks but it will also act as a powerful incentive to vederalas to apply themselves to their studies. The idea that all vederalas are empirics is erroneous. The Principal of the Vidyodia College where, through the medium of Sanskrit and the vernacular, native medical science is taught, tells me that he could let me have a cart load of books on the subject in these two languages.

Sir ALLAN PERRY: Who are there in the country that could form the board of examiners you suggest.

Mr. OBEYESEKERE: I have here with me a list of those who have

studied the literature on the subject at the Vidyodia College and who at the present moment possess a large practice in various parts of the country.

1. Julis Jayatileke of Slave Island.
2. Raja Sundara Arachchie of Sedarem.
3. P. C. Goonesekere.
4. Kaviratne of Pamankada.
5. D. L. Sarnelis Silva of Maradana.
6. N. S. Perera of Borella.
7. B. S. Sudasinghe of Veyangoda.
8. Brampy Goonewardhana of Galle.
9. Don Carolis of Veyangoda, (occulist).
10. W. Harmanis of Ragama.
11. Jalis of Depanama (commonly called Morawake), surgeon.

Mr. MARTINUS C. PERERA gave a number of instances of cures effected by native vederalas where men with qualifications in Western Medical Science had failed.

Sir ALLEN PERRY was of opinion that these cures were quite as much attributable to Western Medical Treatment as to native treatment. It might have been that the vederala was called in at the moment the sickness was about to take a turn for the better under Western treatment.

Mr. D. B. JAYATILLEKE said that an advantage of native medical treatment which had not been mentioned was its comparatively cheapness. Most vederalas attend on those who live in the same village as themselves free of charge.

Sir ALLAN PERRY said that there are a great many cases in which men with Western qualifications make no charge for attendance. He could not agree with Mr. J.....as to the comparative cheapness of native medical treatment as it was the practice of vederalas to charge their patients by way of cost of medicines.

Finally Sir ALLAN PERRY said as follows:—Provided that it is considered necessary by those in authority to encourage the practice of medicine in Ceylon according to native methods, I am of opinion that the followers of those methods should receive an education at the hands of men competent to teach the practice of medicine by native methods, and that only those individuals who receive a certificate of proficiency should be allowed to practice, and that they should be registered.

I am further of the opinion that it is quite impossible for members of the medical profession who practice according to Western ideas to associate themselves professionally with vederalas, nor can I recommend that vederalas nor students in native medicine be allowed to practice their profession in the Government Hospitals or medical institutions in my charge.

Mr. OBEYESEKERE thanked Sir Allen Perry for his sympathetic reception of the idea with regard to the creation of a board of examiners with power to issue certificates.

The Ceylon Social Reform Society, 1909 - 10.

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