

THE CEYLON NATIONAL REVIEW.

No. 7— AUGUST, 1908.

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

THE Ceylon National Review will be published quarterly for the Ceylon Social Reform Society. It will contain Essays of 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.

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The organ of the Ceylon Social Reform Society.

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Vol. II.

*THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY AND MODERN PROGRESS.

THE choice of this subject depends upon the fact that within the organization of the village community we find developed so many of the essentials of a true nationality. I allude particularly to economic security in the broadest sense, and to the evolution of personal character and a capacity for concerted action.

In speaking of economic security, I refer to the position of the Sinhalese villager, contrasted with that of a wage labourer in one of the large towns of modern India or Ceylon, or upon a tea estate. The essential feature of the land system of the last two or three thousand years has been an inseparable association between each man and a part of the land which descended in his family from generation to generation. This land was not his own property in the sense that he could easily sell it, but his tenancy was secure so long as he performed the services, due in respect of it, to king, chieftain, or temple. Society was founded upon the direct relation of mankind to the soil from which rice, the staple food, was directly obtained. To every man in this society a place was automatically assigned by a legal and religious sanction, and the exercise of his particular function was at once his duty and his pride.

More than one Government official has noted from time to time the disastrous results of the decay of the organized society of the villages. Speaking of Sabaragamuwa, in a report† written nearly ninety years ago, Mr. Turnour traced the then existing agricultural depression to the weakening of the power of the proprietors through the substitution of the grain tax for all other dues and taxes, the result of which measure was that tenants "ceased to render dues or labour to the proprietor."

* Presidential Address to the Ceylon Social Reform Society, May, 1908.

† Service Tenures Commission, 1872, p. 466.

The chiefs then, says Mr. Turnour, "possessing no authority....were unable to command labour on any terms, and, reduced as they were in their circumstances, they could not afford to pay the hire, if money was to procure it for them....If the present separation between proprietor and dependent is made permanent, landed property becomes at once disconnected and divided into many little separated estates.....Neither can capital be created or industry excited by sudden impulses. A community of interests must in the present state of the Colony be the foundation upon which individual wealth is raised....The tenure by which lands were formerly held happily combined these objects." The most important part of this statement is the stress laid upon the necessity for *community of interest*.

The commutation of services has also weakened the basis of Sinhalese society;* it has indeed struck at the root of the personal relation between proprietor and tenant, replacing it by a pecuniary relation. The power† of tenants to alienate service lands has had the same effect.‡ Not a few Agents of Government have doubted the desirability of these interferences with the structure of the Sinhalese village. Mr. Russell, Government Agent of the Central Province, says§ in a statement showing his appreciation of the importance of village solidarity:

"In my Administration Report for 1870 I mentioned that neither the actual condition of service tenants nor the relations between them and their landlords rendered necessary the abolition of Service Tenures in the Central Province. Since that Report was written, the Gansabhawa Ordinance, No. 26 of 1871, has been passed. The object of this Ordinance is, by the *restoration of communal self-government*, to enable the *inhabitants of every village to manage their own purely local affairs* in respect of the execution and maintenance of village paths, ambalamas, etc., provision of education of children, for breeding of cattle, preservation of pasturage, and other common purposes, and also in respect of the decision of trifling civil actions and petty criminal complaints. Now, the destruction of the influence of the natural leaders of the people, which must be the inevitable result, if it were not the object, of the Service Tenures Ordinance, may, without hesitation, be asserted to be quite incompatible with the ends which the Gansabhawa Ordinance

* Service Tenures Commission, 1872, p. 459.

† "Practically a creation of our own Courts," J. F. Dickson, Service Tenures Commission, 1872.

‡ I am not now arguing for any attempt at the restoration of the village system in the exact form it formerly possessed, but I seek merely to demonstrate the disadvantages resulting from the absence of any such system, and of the replacement of community of interest, by diversity of interest amongst the people of a village; and to suggest the importance of conserving and strengthening what remains of the common life of the villages.

§ Service Tenures Commission Report, 1872, p. 456. Italics are mine.

seeks to obtain. Believing therefore, that *the institution of Village Councils contains the elements of great material and moral progress for the Kandyans*, I cannot but view the commutation of services as a grave political mistake." It may be that, as in Europe, the commutation of services has been a social change, the progress of which it would have been impossible to resist or reverse; but if so, the point that I wish to emphasize is that of endeavouring to preserve or restore in some way, not necessarily the same way, the community of interest, and capacity for concerted action for a common end which were so characteristic of the old system; for if this cannot be done, we shall have to confess that the "progress" of the nineteenth century has availed us little.

The value and importance of the existing remains of village community organization cannot be better illustrated than in the following extract from a Report by Mr. Dickson, regarding the district of Nuwarakalawiya and contrasting it in this respect with other Provinces.

"The point in which the political condition of this Province especially differs from that of the rest of Ceylon is, that here the original Oriental village still remains of a pure and simple type, while in the rest of Ceylon it has generally disappeared under the influence of Foreign Government and the jurisdiction of English Courts....the villages....have retained, almost in its pristine purity, the ancient village system of the Aryan races. The discovery of this political state of the new Province at once suggested the necessity for the greatest care in avoiding any measures which would suddenly break up this system. To this end, and to utilise the existing system, it was decided to introduce throughout the Province the Village Communities Ordinance, which, though passed by the Legislature in ignorance of the existence of the perfect 'villages' of Nuwarakalawiya, is admirably adapted to their organization. It is to the extent to which this excellent Ordinance, No. 26 of 1871, has been adopted, and the success which has attended its working, that is to be attributed the essential difference in the system pursued in this Province, as distinguished from the six older Provinces, and the *marked extent to which the people themselves have contributed to the general improvement of the country*. In the other Provinces if anything has to be done, down comes the tax gatherer: everything has to be paid for. Here the people give their labour gratuitously for common objects, and escape all special taxation. In the other Provinces police are required, and are paid for by a special tax. Here there are no police....

"Here the irrigation works, except so far as the Government assists, are restored by the united unpaid labour of the landowners. In the other Provinces, except in the few cases and to the limited extent that the system of this Province has been adopted, all improvements in irrigation have to be paid for by money contributions from the land-

owners, recovered with great difficulty and often opposition. In the other Provinces tolls are imposed even on the minor roads. Here the people make their own roads* with their unpaid labour, and remain free from tolls."

One cannot but wish that all Government servants, that is, our servants, had approached the matter in a similar spirit. Take, for example, the village rights to the produce of neighbouring jungles. These have never been well defined, but certainly the villagers have always been accustomed to be able to obtain wood for building and agricultural purposes, firewood, jungle ropes, medicines, dyeing plants, honey and wax and such things from the forests. The endeavour of Government seems to have been, however, not to contribute to the villagers' prosperity and security in such matters, but to restrict their rights as much as possible, generally on the plea of forest conservation, and with much condemnation of the harm done by chena cutting. Personally I find it most difficult to distinguish between the harm so done, and the harm done by the sale of lands for tea or rubber estates to such an extent that, as in some parts of the Matale district, whole villages have been destroyed as the result of the continual encroachment upon the free area about them. Again, instead of forest regulation being communal, or even in the hands of the local Agent of Government, it is in the hands of a centralised Forest Department whose main object is to run the forests as a business concern, and whose hope is to get credit for a larger revenue; and the result is that we get the great Department suing a poor woman for stealing five cents worth of firewood (*Times of Ceylon*, 1/9/03). These are small matters perhaps, but show which way the wind blows. A Government official once said to me that it would be as much as a Government Agent's place was worth to refuse a villager the right to cut timber for agricultural purposes—say making a plough; I accepted the statement. Subsequently I found that when, acting myself for Government, I required a little timber for use for Government purposes, it was considered perfectly useless to apply for it to the Forest Department, owing to the extent of the formalities to be gone through in the various circumlocution offices, and the only way was to buy it in the market. I then understood why the villager was able to say that he could no longer get wood for his plough or jungle ropes for his *ankeliya*. Sometimes too, the *ampitiya*, or plain where *ankeliya* was played, is now Government or private property.

I propose now to say a few words about the personal character of the real and unspoilt Sinhalese villager; and the evidence on this

* Such communal roads, made by the adult male inhabitants, are called *pinparaval*, 'paths of merit' (Manual North Central Province, p. 207).

point is so strong, that it cannot be overlooked. If therefore it can now be shown that violence or crime are to any marked degree prevalent in the villages, it would appear that this must be due to some flaw in the "civilising" influences brought to bear upon them in one way or another during the last century. Such flaws it would be but too easy to indicate; they include the growth of an opium and liquor traffic, the encouragement of litigation, education which ignores the traditional religion and established sanctions for morality, and lastly, but perhaps not least important, destruction of the established order of society and decay of the hereditary peasant proprietor.

I give now some quotations that witness to the character of the true Sinhalese villager. Speaking of one of the most isolated and typically "village-community" districts fifty years ago, Mr. A. O. Brodie* wrote: "The people of Nuwarakalawiya are the most gentle I have had the good fortune to meet... Serious assaults, robberies, murders, are all but unknown, and during three years I have not had to punish one native of the district for pilfering." Davy,† ninety years ago, remarked: "Among few people are family attachments more strong and sincere; there is little to divert or weaken them; and they are strengthened equally by their mode of life and their religion." A piece of evidence more often quoted is taken from a report made by Mr. Lushington in 1870: "There is annually a gathering from all parts of the Island at Anuradhapura to visit what are called sacred places. I suppose about 20,000 people come here, remain for a few days, and then leave. There are no houses for their reception, but under the grand umbrageous trees of our park-like environs they erect their little booths and picnic in the open air. As the height of the festival approaches, the place becomes instinct with life; and when there is no room left to camp in, the later comers uncereemoniously take possession of the verandahs of the public buildings. So orderly is their conduct, however, that no one thinks of disturbing them. The old Kacceri stands, a detached building not far from the bazaar, and about one-eighth of a mile from the Assistant Agent's house. Till lately the treasure used to be lodged in a little iron box that a few men could easily run away with, guarded by three native treasury watchers. There lay this sum of money, year after year, at the mercy of any six men who chose to run with it into the neighbouring jungle—once in, detection was almost impossible—and yet no one ever supposed the attempt would be made. These 20,000 people from all parts of the country come and go annually without a single policeman being here; and, as the Magistrate of the district, I can only say that anything to surpass their

* J. C. B. R. A. S., Vol. III., p. 161.

† Travels in Ceylon, p. 289.

decorum and sobriety of conduct it is impossible to conceive. Such a thing as a row is unheard of. That does not look like a people among whom crime of a heinous nature was indigenous! In what part of Christendom would the money box be safe?" The testimony of Bennett* to the character of the inhabitants of another district, the Magampattu, may also be quoted: "I had heard so much to the prejudice of the inhabitants, before an opportunity offered of judging how far reports were, or were not, correct, that the first thing I did, upon taking charge of the district, was to erect a flogging post in the bazaar. This naturally gave rise to the supposition, that they had a *terrible Tartar* come amongst them; but after an experience of twelve months as the only Magistrate in the district, during which period I had neither occasion to commit one native for trial, or to resort to summary punishment within my own jurisdiction, (extending over seventy-six miles in length), either by the lash or imprisonment, except in one instance of the latter, in order to give a place of refuge to a Malabar vagrant, I had the supreme pleasure of ordering the removal of the *maiden* flogging post, as the last act of my authority there: and, when the extent of the district is considered, this tribute is nothing more than is, in justice, due to the native inhabitants of the Mahagampattoo, whom I left, *malgré* all that I had suffered there, with heartfelt regret."

Perhaps however the most important testimony to the character of the Kandyan villager, and the value of the common culture of which he was a part, is given by Knox: "Their ordinary *Plowmen* and *Husbandmen*" he says, "do speak elegantly, and are full of compliment. And there is no difference between the ability and speech of a Countryman and a Courtier." There was a Sinhalese proverb, to this effect: Take a ploughman from the plough and wash off his dirt, and he is fit to rule a kingdom. "This was spoken," says Knox, "of the people of Cande Uda because of the Civility, Understanding and Gravity of the poorest men among them." It would, I suppose, be hard to give stronger proof of the value of a social system capable of producing such results. This was indeed the "spiritual feudalism whereby caste makes a peasant in all his poverty one of the aristocrats of humanity."

We may or may not desire to transcend the idea and the ideal of caste or aristocracy; we may or may not regret the decay of the old and simple agricultural society; but if we are devoted to the future welfare of our own people, we must at least ask of the future that it shall be satisfied with no less a standard than the past attained. That standard involved the binding together of all men, independently of rank and wealth, by means of a common culture.

* Ceylon and its Capabilities, London, 1843, p. 304.

"By their fruits ye shall judge them;" and, judged by this test, who shall say that the new order has improved upon the old? If ever it is to do so, we ourselves must see to it; for the millenium will not steal upon us as a thief in the night.

In most countries these problems attract at least some attention and their importance is to some degree recognised; in one or two of the smallest countries they have been partly solved, as we shall see; but we seem to think that if only we drift gently and quietly enough with the current, all these good fishes will swim into our mouths unsought.

It is true that we have not the advantage and stimulus of free political institutions on the one hand, nor of the manifested ideal of kingly government on the other.

We have not the advantage of a ruler like the Gaekwar of Baroda, we have not a ruler who is one of ourselves and understands the ideals of our civilisation. The Gaekwar of Baroda has, (in Mr. Nevinson's words) "restored the ancient village Panchayat, or local government, by the men whom villagers can trust, whereas, in our passion for rigid and centralised power, we have almost destroyed the last vestige of this national training for self-government." That is the essence of what I am trying to say; local government and the capacity for concerted action in communal affairs are the best training for self-government. But all present social tendencies are destructive, not constructive in this respect. We have with us already developed to some degree the "town and country" problem of Europe. The country is becoming less interesting, and affords less scope for the exercise of educated faculties. The sons of country families are not interested in agriculture, but seek to become lawyers, doctors, etc., and especially to be employed under Government. There is no longer vigorous life and common interests to hold together the different village elements—proprietor and tenant, priest and chieftain. For this we have to blame, as I have suggested, in part, a mistaken political action; but in as great or in a greater degree, social causes which are largely under our own control.

What then can we do? It is not easy in a few words to make suggestions regarding so difficult a problem; for it is here as always, not so much in schemes and methods that salvation lies, as in a change of heart; we have not so much to win a victory over others as over ourselves. We have to restore social unity to the ideal of our national life. We must recreate that community of interest between men of different classes, in which lay the strength of the old society, without returning to the limited outlook that has become its weakness.

There is perhaps no country which has more satisfactorily solved the questions we are now considering, than Denmark. The general form of land tenure is now peasant proprietorship; a century ago it was

in a general way feudal. The same change has been, as we have seen, taking place in Ceylon; but whereas the result has been here disintegration, in Denmark there has been continuous constructive progress. Denmark, an essentially agricultural country, is one of the richest in the world in proportion to its population. In more important ways the people are also well advanced; for example, public houses are practically unknown in the country; farmers, and even small peasants nearly always have a small library of the standard works by Scandinavian authors. "Each village has its own Parish Council, which levies a Parish rate for its own purposes; and every village is kept in a clean and sanitary condition. Generally a hall has been erected by the villages, where during the evenings gymnastics are freely indulged in by the young men of the village. Some evenings are devoted to dancing, and on Sunday afternoon some person comes over to the village, and either gives a lecture on a historical or topical subject, or a leading man in the village will institute a debate upon some subject of practical value. These lectures and debates are most eagerly attended by all the people in the neighbourhood. No poverty apparently exists in the country."

The Danes themselves explain their prosperity as the result of the system of National Education. All children in Denmark are obliged to attend the National Schools until the age of fourteen. The chief point to be noticed about these schools is that the foundation of all tuition is religion, and national history. (You will observe that these are *the* two subjects ignored in most Ceylon schools). From the National Schools, a majority of young people pass to the Continuation Schools and thence to the Popular High Schools and Agricultural Colleges. It is worth while to repeat that the Danes attribute their prosperity in a very large degree to the character of the National Education, for we shall find that the aims and methods of this education are as different from the aims and methods of education in Ceylon as light from darkness. The aims of the schools are: "First and foremost to foster the love of country and national feeling. . . . The second aim is to educate the people that they may make full use of their free constitution; and the third, to prepare the young to better fit them for the fight for existence, which is daily becoming more acute. To attain these objects the first essential appears to be to develop the personal character and to make the young man and woman true and honest Danes. To do this, they rely more on lectures, giving instructive and interesting examples of the history and teaching the best of the literature of the nation, than anything else. . . . The same ideas with regard to education prevail throughout the Agricultural Colleges, national character and history being more important than anything else, concurrently with the development of which, courses in agricultural instruction are given. . . . The courses of

instruction consist of National History and Literature (which in all cases stands out foremost), Physics, Chemistry, Natural History, Anatomy, Physiology, with practical demonstrations.

"Education does not end with leaving school or College. A students' club, established in 1882, adopted as its motto: 'Association with the other classes of the population,' and undertakes the organisation of meetings, to which persons of all political and religious views are invited, with the object of creating a more complete understanding and fostering a more liberal public spirit among all classes and sections of the people. Evening lessons for the working classes have been a marked success. Over 100 teachers, chiefly male and female students of the University of Copenhagen, without any pay, every week during the winter months give lectures and demonstrations in different parts of the country to working men and women. . . . To render this instruction for the working classes more successful, cheap text books, written in simple language and sold at nominal prices, have been published. . . . A Committee has been formed at Copenhagen whose members accompany rural excursions to the public buildings and museums in the city, and give the fullest instruction on all objects of interest free of charge. Owing to the existence of this Committee, hundreds of rural excursions are organized every year to visit the museum, picture galleries and antiquarian collections, and with the happiest results. . . .

"A free theatre was brought into existence in 1891, in order that the rural population might be afforded the opportunity of witnessing the best plays of Danish and Norwegian authors at intervals. . . . Moreover, a series of concerts is held throughout the year, to which work-people and peasants are admitted at a nominal charge, and thus every element instrumental in the creation of a vigorous and happy national life is brought into frequent contact with even the humblest stratum of society.

"These various societies, organized and maintained by university men in all parts of Denmark, bring the academical world into close relationship with all classes in the country, and establish a sort of universal national union of vast influence in the material, social, and intellectual progress of the country.

"The problem presented to educationalists in Denmark was: 'How to impart a certain amount of intellectual culture to the people without putting them out of conceit with agricultural work.' The solution was found in the Popular High Schools, and almost every educated Dane will at once assert that the great economic results achieved by the Danish people are in a great measure due to these establishments. . . . the Danish Popular system of education, and the thousand and one forms of organisation that have sprung from it, have rendered Denmark absolutely free of the existence of what might be described as a lower

but indigenous products requiring only revival and re-invigoration,—if by divisions and unfaithfulness we do not to-day demonstrate our own ability to act together for a common end? What use is it to realise the historical background of the Gansabhawa Court of to-day, if rightly or wrongly, it is possible for any villager to feel that he can more expect justice from a foreign administrator than from one of his own people.

One of the most significant aspects of the beginnings of the movement towards unity in India has been the establishment of extra-official systems of legal arbitration. I am thinking especially of the Poona Arbitration Court. This Court, founded in 1876, consisted of leading men of the city, nearly half of them lawyers. The object was to arrange for the settlement of disputes by inexpensive private arbitration, so as to avoid the drain upon the people involved in costly litigation and the accompanying destruction of social good-will. A register of arbitrators was kept open to inspection, and disputing parties selected one or more of these by agreement. In this Court, in about 30 years, some 12,940 cases were disposed of. The total amounts involved exceeded 30 lacs of rupees. The cost of these proceedings amounted to about half a lac; if taken to the Law Courts, the cost would have been about $4\frac{3}{4}$ lacs. But much more important than the saving of money is the gain to the community in good feeling, confidence in the integrity of its own leaders, and general sense of unity and capacity for combination. I do not suggest the imitation of any particular feature of communal life whether new or old, or Eastern or Western; but I do say that there are surely some such ways as these in which we too might conserve amongst ourselves the remains of an earlier unity and add to it a wider and more comprehensive unity of modern growth.

We have after all many features of the old village system still with us, and I could wish that we should take much greater advantage of this fact than we are accustomed to do. It has not been always the Government at work against the old society; we too by our lack of faith in each other and lack of faith towards each other have done much to weaken the unity of national life. Let us instead take advantage of and use whatever remains to us of the old unity, and endeavour to build upon it, and not instead of it, a new and deeper unity.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.

THE "PROPHECIES" OF THE COMING TO CEYLON OF VARIOUS EUROPEAN NATIONS.

VALENTYN, dealing with "The Heathen Religion" in the sixteenth chapter of his *Ceylon*, says (p. 367):—

The old emperors of Ceylon built near Tricoenmale (which name betokens in Cingalees as much as "Tricoen's-mount," or "the mount of the 3 *pagoods**) a *pagood* of an unusual size and grandeur, which became renowned throughout the whole of India, but was demolished Ao. 1622,† and its stones were used by Constantyn de Saa, or some other Portuguese, in the making of a fine fortress there.

Regarding this *pagode*, and the destruction of the same, an old prophecy is known to the Cingaleese, which having been found on a very old stone in their old language, and, by command of the Court of Justice of Ceylon having been sent to the emperor of Candi by some learned men, was thus translated:‡ "Manica Raja erected this *pagode* in honour of the god Videmal in the year 1300 before the birth;§ but a certain nation, named Franks, will come, and destroy the same, and then will a king come, who shall build it up again." This stone was placed on the angle of the fortress.

Unfortunately Valentyn does not give the year of the discovery by the Dutch of this "very old stone," nor any details of its transmission to the king of Kandy. The latter seems to have returned it to the Dutch, who, according to Valentyn, had it placed in an angle of the fortress. I can find no reference to the stone by any subsequent writer; though in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. v., plate xxviii. (p. 554), are given facsimiles of three inscriptions at Trincomalee (Fort Osterburg) sent to James Prinsep by Dr. Bland of H. M. S. *Wolf*, who, in his accompanying note, states that the three separate stones bearing the inscriptions had been laid down to form part of the platforms for the guns of the fort. No translation is given of these inscriptions;

* In this same chapter, when dealing with the "History of Budhum," Valentyn says (p. 375):—"We said before that Tricoenmale betokens as much as the mount of the 3 *pagoodes*, both from the universally famed *pagode* that was named 'the *pagode* of the 3 stories,' and was on the middle of that mount, and from 2 others that were at the end of it. One of these was dedicated to the pilgrims that came thither in thousands to practise their idolatry, and some of whom, out of respect, threw themselves from the mount into the sea and were drowned, making sure that this was the directest and shortest way to get to heaven, and that the water in which they met their end had no less holiness than the Ganges." Here, it will be noticed, Valentyn adds to his former explanation of the name "Tricoenmale" the statement that the famous temple consisted of "three stories." I imagine that the number of stories, like that of the temples, is founded on the mistaken idea that the first of the name meant "three." I do not know who originated this false etymology, which it seems difficult to kill (cf. *Hobson-Jobson* s.v. 'Trincomalee'). The true explanation of the name appears to be that given by Casie Chitty in his *Gazetteer* p. 213, viz: that the temple was dedicated to Kónátha (or Kónésor): hence Tirukónámalai is a contracted form of Tiru-Kónátha-malai. Holy Kónátha's Mount. The name, of course, is Tamil, and not Sinhalese, as Valentyn erroneously states; and the temple was certainly not built by "the old emperors of Ceylon."

† This should be 1623-4 (cf. C. As. Soc. JI, xi. 628-9).

‡ I think this should read "was thus translated by some learned men."

§ *Sic*. With this statement compare that of Casie Chitty *in loc. cit*.

and I cannot find that any has ever been attempted. Whether or not these stones are still in existence I do not know. If they are, some scholar can doubtless easily determine if one of them is that spoken of by Valentyn, and if the prophecy is actually to be found on it. If it is, it will be interesting to determine the approximate date when the inscription was cut on the stone.

There is, however, another prophecy, not written but oral, regarding the coming to Ceylon of the Parangis (Franks) that is referred to by several of the older writers on the Island. João Rodrigues de Sá e Menezes says in his *Rebellion de Ceylan* (cap. x., p. 165):—*

There was amongst them [the “Zingalas”] a prophecy of a *jogue*† (I have already said what they were), [who] foretold revealing [it] to a Portuguese soldier on the occasion that Andre Furtado de Mendonça destroyed Jafanapatan in November, 1591,‡ and it happened in this wise. This soldier going to hunt came upon a *jogue* who was in a cave doing penance, and knowing the Portuguese he called him, and said to him that he need not be very joyful; because Ceylon would come entirely under the Portuguese; nevertheless that some years afterwards another people, whiter than they, would expel them from the Island. And the warning appeared mysterious: because it was spoken six months before the English went for the first time to Malacca,§ and it was impossible that the *jogue* could by human means have received notice so much in anticipation.

Though the above was written nearly a century after the event, I see no reason to discredit the story which the writer may have got from someone who took part in the expedition against Jaffnapatam in 1591. João Rodrigues goes on to say that “The Hollanders availing themselves of this and also of the superstition of the Zingalas, in the credit that they give to such things, strongly urged their pretension, when the renegade Don Juan came to die without leaving sons:” which is certainly incorrect, since Dom João (Vimaladharmasūrya) did *not* “die without leaving sons;” and as regards the Dutch, even if they had the effrontery to advance such a pretension within a year of the disaster at Batticaloa, it would have been treated with contempt by Senarat.

It is true, however, that the Dutch knew of the prophecy: for Jan Harmansz Bree, in his journal|| of the fatal expedition to Ceylon of the Vice-Admiral Sebald de Weert in 1603, records that at the first meeting of de Weert with the “King of Watecals” the latter “said among other things that some ten or twelve years before¶ there had

* See also C. As. Soc. JI. xi. 559, where, however, the translation is faulty.

† A *yógi*.

‡ See my translation of Barros and Couto, Dec. XI., Summary of Events.

§ This refers to the expedition of Sir James Lancaster, who, in the *Edward Bonaventure*, was in the Straits of Malacca in June, 1592, and at Malacca itself at the end of August (see Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations, &c.*, reprint of 1903-5, vi., 395-6).

|| The original appears to be lost. It was translated into German by M. G. Artus, and published in 1606 by J. T. and J. I. de Bry in Part VIII., of their *Orientalischen Indien*. A Dutch translation of the German version was printed in *Begin ende Voortgaugh, &c.* in 1646, and of the portion relating to Ceylon an English translation by Mr. F. H. de Vos appeared in the *Orientalist* iii., 68-75, 89-95.

¶ “Ten or twelve years before” would be 1591 to 1593, so that the “soothsayer” may have been the *yógi* spoken of by Joao Rodrigues.

been in that place a soothsayer, who had prophesied that within about ten or twelve years* a new people would come there, who would expel all the Portuguese from the Island: therefore he held it for certain that they, the Hollanders, must be that new people, since they came as enemies of the Portuguese."

Johann Christoph Wolf, who was in the Dutch political service at Jaffna for sixteen years (1752-68), also refers to the prophecy as current in his time among both the Sinhalese and the Tamils. In the second part of his *Reise nach Zeilan* (p. 80) he says:—"The government of a trading company requires special and other principles and regulations than those of kings, princes, and other masters of property; in the one hand merchandize, and in the other a sharp rod for chastisement, does not specially incite to willing adherence." He then continues (pp. 81-82):—

I will further only remark, that in the Island of Zeilan the inhabitants, Singalese as well as Malabars, have a prophecy, according to which they must be subjected to three different nations. When the time of these for ruling over them shall elapse, they will be freed from their yoke, and in accordance with their former ancient condition again be subject to their own kings and princes. Such a change will the gods make.

On the above Wolf comments as follows:—

I have already before said that I do not make much account of the heathens' prophesying. When however I view the circumstances of the present time, the prophecy often comes into my mind against my will. This much is certain, in case the honorable Company does not place itself upon a firmer and better footing with the emperor of Kandi: this ruler, who apart from that is more their enemy than their friend, and is besides very crafty (for that is his special kind of nature), will plan to deliver them into the hands of another power, exactly in the manner of the Portuguese aforetime, without making any scruple about it. Would that the honorable Company might select from its own members and councillors such men as attend to its affairs in East India, especially in the important Island of Zeilan; then one might hope therefrom for a marked improvement and sure maintenance of its territories there. For that the emperor of Kandi is actually in such a crafty mood, was convincingly made known to me during my residence there, from certain circumstances, which however I pass over in silence, as belonging to its secrets,† and only do not wish to live to see the day when such a change should actually take place, the news of which to me especially would be very grievous.

In the appendix to his translation of the *Yālpāṇā-vaipava-mālai*‡

* According to Sá e Menezes, it was "some years afterwards" that the new nation was to oust the Portuguese: the exact period here given was doubtless an addition by the "king" of Batticaloa.

† There can be no doubt, I think, that Wolf here refers to the secret dealings of the king of Kandy (Kirti Sri Rāja Sinha) with the English at Madras, which culminated in the mission (deservedly unsuccessful) of Mr. Pybus to the Kandyan court in 1762,—a gross act of treachery, which the Dutch naturally resented bitterly (see *Account of the Mission of Mr. Pybus, &c.*, and N. G. van Kampen's *Geschiedenis der Nederlanders buiten Europa* iii, 180 et seq.).

‡ The author of this history of Jaffna, Mayilvakanam, states in his preface that he undertook it "at the request of the illustrious Dutch Governor Maccara;" and Mr. Brito, in his preface says: "The Governor Maccara, of whom he speaks, was Jan Maccaré who was Governor of the Dutch possessions of Ceylon in 1736." There is a double error here: for Jan Macaré (not "Maccara") was really *commandeur* of Galle in 1736, when, on the death of the Governor Dideric van Domburg on 7th June of that year, he proceeded to Colombo, and with the political council carried on the administration until the arrival, on

Mr. C. Brito gives (p. xxxix. ff.) a summary of the contents of the *Kalveddu*,* in which the following occurs (p. xi.) :—

Kulakkoddan's† prophecy.

"A time will come in the distant future when the services of the temple will be neglected. But Gajabahu from Anurajapuram will dedicate more lands to the temple and restore its services to their original glory. After a long interval, the services will be transferred to Kalanimalai owing to the incursions of the Parangkis. The Parangkis will be overcome by the Hollander. The leonine solar dynasty of Ceylon will then be diminished. The Vadukan (Tamil) will reign over all Ceylon, but the Hollanders will snatch a small portion of his territory from him. A new power will overthrow the Hollanders and befriend the Vadukar, and the two friendly powers will restore the worship of the temple. After this, will come Singkam to govern the whole Ceylon."

In the same work, Mr. Brito tells us (p. xli.), "Sivan's revelation to his wife, when Trincomalie was originally formed by the fall of the sacred peak, is given in the following words":—

"When the first three ugas are past and the fourth is come, then will the Feringees endanger Sivasamayam but will themselves be overthrown by Raja Singkam (the Royal Lion). This king will invite the Hollanders and request them to finish the conquest of the sea ports. And the faithless Hollanders will conquer them but keep them for 140 years. A new king will come to help, will destroy the Hollanders and restore all the ports to the king of Ceylon. And there will be peace."

In the *Vaipava-mālai*‡ itself the prophecy is given in another form, with much detail, as follows (pp. 27-29) :—

Para-rasa-sekaran was a just and vigorous sovereign. His reign was distinguished above all others by the arrival of a remarkable visitor to the court of Yalparam. This was no less a personage than Supathidda-muni, a son of Siththa-muni and grandson of Akasthiya-muni. The king received him with all the marks of reverence due to his exalted sanctity, and when he was seated, the king ventured to speak, saying: "Lord and Master! thou foretoldest future events to this thy slave's father. Thy slave has not been able to learn them properly. Deign to enlighten him with a knowledge of what shall happen to this kingdom." The *muni* replies: "King! your kingdom will flourish but a short time more. From a mistake of the auspicious moment at your coronation you will have no royal descendants to inherit your crown." To this the king says: "Sir, I have two sons by my queen, and many children by the other wife." The *muni* replies: "True it is you have these children. But the first prince dies by poison and the second by the sword. Your second wife's eldest son will be deceived by smooth words into entrusting the government into the hands of Sangkili. Sangkili will tyrannize over your subjects, and there will be disaffection among them: and the kingdom will finally pass into the hands of strangers." The

23rd July, of the new Governor, Baron von Imhoff. I think that it must have been soon afterwards, when Macaré was probably *commandeur* of Jaffna (I can find no record of this) that Mailvākanam compiled his history.

* Mr. Brito says:—"Kalveddu literally means an inscription upon a rock. It is now applied to all records of remarkable events whether carved on stone or written on less durable substance. There is one relating to the temple of Isvaran of Trincomalie which is unquestionably a work of great antiquity, but it bears evident marks of having received additions from time to time up to very recent dates." (In connection with the last statement see the remarks in note 16 below).

† Kulakkoddan is said to have been the son of Rama Deva, son of Manu-nithi-kanda Cholan of the solar race, and to have visited Trincomalee, repaired the temple, &c.

‡ In his preface, after the statement that I have quoted above, in note 13. Mr. Brito continues:—"And there is sufficient interval evidence to show that the author lived about that time [1736], but the bold language in which the policy of the Dutch is described and the prophecies which the work contains, relating to the English, must be regarded as interpolations of a later date:"

king continues: "Lord! shall the kingdom ever return to my dynasty?" The *muni* replies:—"It will first fall into the hands of the *Parangki*. He will destroy all the Sivite places of worship, spread the *Saththiya Vetham** with force of arms, and rule forty years with an iron sceptre. The *Ulanthes* king will artfully overcome the *Parangki* and spread the *Ireparamathu Saththiya Vetham*† with the power of the sword. He will prevent the people from worshipping their own gods, and will make regulations abolishing the religious observances and ancient customs of the country. He will destroy all temples, build his own churches in various places, and compel all people to attend those churches. He will levy many taxes and otherwise oppress the people. His cruel reign will last more than one hundred and twenty years. The *Inthiresu* king will take the kingdom from the *Ulanthes* king and will proclaim to all persons liberty of conscience and freedom to build temples. He will reign 79 years with justice. And in the latter part of his reign the *Inthiresan* will not govern with justice as he will do at the commencement. When the time approaches that he shall lose the kingdom, preparations will be making to restore the sacred edifices built by Singkai Ariya Maharasa and by Vijayaraja. From motives of acquiring fame there will be many that will make the attempt to renew those edifices, but they will merely ruin themselves and find all their efforts prove ineffectual. Of those edifices only one, namely that which has been erected as protection for the northern ramparts of the city, will be first completed by one favoured with the grace of Siva. Then will the others be begun and completed one after another. The restoration of the most important of the temples, Kayilaya Nathar Koyil and Kayilaya Nayaki Amuram Koyil, will be undertaken and accomplished by persons favoured by Kayiloya Nathar. When the *Inthiresu* man shall have reigned his allotted years the *Piragnehu rasa* and the *Ulanther* king will wrest the kingdom from him by fraud and will reign from Kolumpu. Then will Vala Singkan make his appearance before them. To him they will deliver the government of the whole Langka and return to their own countries. After that Puloka Singka Sakkiravarthi son of Ariya Singka Sakkiravarthi will reign over the 57 countries from Kanniya Kumari to the Imaiy-malai, under one umbrella. The sovereignty will never again come back to your descendants."

The *muni* departed. Notwithstanding his solemn assurance, his words did not make any strong impression on the king, for he was disposed partly to believe and partly to disbelieve what he had heard.

That this last version of the prophecy consists largely of late interpolations is self-evident. Some of the "forecasts" were doubtless written after the events, and in others the wish was father to the thought, while some have never been, nor are likely to be, fulfilled.

Although little value attaches to these so-called "prophecies," their mention by Portuguese and Dutch writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries lends some interest to them; and I have therefore collected together the various passages in which they are referred to, in the hope that some scholar in Ceylon may throw further light on the subject.

DONALD FERGUSON.

* The Christian religion (Romish).

† The Reformed religion.

THE FUTURE EDUCATION OF THE INDIAN WOMAN.

HERE in India, the woman of the future haunts us. Her beauty rises on our vision perpetually. Her voice cries out on us. Until we have made ready a place for her, until we throw wide the portals of our life, and go out, and take her by the hand to bring her in the Mother-land Herself stands veiled and ineffective, with eyes bent, in sad patience, on the Earth. It is essential, for the joyous revealing of that great Mother, that she be first surrounded by the mighty circle of these, Her daughters, the Indian women of the days to come. It is they who must consecrate themselves before Her, touching Her feet with their proud heads, and vowing to Her their own, their husbands', and their children's lives. Then, and then only will she stand crowned before the world. Her sanctuary to-day is full of shadows. But when the womanhood of India can perform the great *arati* of Nationality, that temple shall be all light, nay, the dawn verily shall be near at hand. From end to end of India, all who understand are agreed that the education of our women must needs, at this crisis, undergo some revision. Without their aid and co-operation none of the great tasks of the present can be finally accomplished. The problems of the day are woman's as well as man's. And how idle were it to boast that our hearts are given to the Mother, unless we seek to enshrine Her in every one of our lives.

Indian hesitation, however, about a new type of feminine education, has always been due to a misgiving as to its actual aims, and in this the people have surely been wise. Have the Hindu women of the past been a source of shame to us, that we should hasten to discard their old time grace and sweetness, their gentleness and piety, their tolerance and child-like depth of love and piety, in favour of the first crude product of Western information and social aggressiveness? On this point India speaks with no uncertain voice. "Granted," She says in effect, "that a more arduous range of mental equipment is now required by women, it is nevertheless better to fail in the acquisition of this, than to fail in the more essential demand, made by the old type of training, on character. An education of the brain that uprooted humility and took away tenderness, would be no true education at all. These virtues may find different forms of expression in mediæval and modern civilisations, but

they are necessary in both. All education worth having must first devote itself to the developing and consolidating of character, and only secondarily concern itself with intellectual accomplishment."

The question that has to be solved for Indian women, therefore, is of a form of education that might attain this end, of developing the faculties of soul and mind in harmony with one another. Once such a form shall be successfully thought out and its adequacy demonstrated, we shall, without further ado, have an era amongst us of Woman's Education. Each successful experiment will be the signal for a circle of new attempts. Already there is longing enough abroad to serve the cause of woman. All that we ask is to be shown the way.

Important to education as is the question of method, it is still only subordinate to that of purpose. It is our fundamental motive that tells in the development we attempt to give our children. It is therefore the more urgently necessary that in the training of girls we should have a clearly understood ideal towards which to work. And in this particular respect, there is perhaps no other country in the world so fortunately placed as India. She is, above all others, the land of great women. Wherever we turn, whether to history or to literature, we are met on every hand by those figures, whose strength she mothered and recognised, while she keeps their memory eternally sacred.

What is the type of woman we most admire? Is she strong, resourceful, inspired, fit for moments of crisis? Have we not Padmini of Chitore, Chand Bibi, Mansi Rani? Is she saintly, a poet, and a mystic? Is there not Meera Bae? Is she the queen, great in administration? Where is Rani Bhowani, where Ahalya Bae, where Sanhabi of Pipperah? Is it wifehood in which we deem that woman shines brightest? What of Sati, of Savitri, of the ever-glorious Sita? Is it maidenhood? There is Uma. And where, in all the womanhood of the world, shall be found another as grand as Gandhari?

These ideals, moreover, are constructive. That is to say, it is not their fame and glory that the Indian child is trained to contemplate. It is their holiness, simplicity, sincerity, in a word, their character. This, indeed, is always a difference between one's own and an alien ideal. Impressed by the first, it is an effort that we seek to imitate: admiring the second, we endeavour to arrive at its results. There can never be any sound education of the Indian woman, which does not begin and end in exaltation of the national ideals of womanhood, as embodied in her own history and heroic literature.

But woman must undoubtedly be made *efficient*. Sita and Savitri were great in wifehood, only as the fruit of that antecedent fact, that they were great women. There was no place in life that they did not fill, graciously and dutifully. Both satisfied every demand of the social ideal.

At once queen and housewife, saint and citizen, submissive wife and solitary nun, as heroic combatant, both were equal to all the parts permitted them, in the drama of their time. Perfect wives as they were, if they had never been married at all, they must have been perfect just the same, as daughters, sisters, and disciples. This efficiency to all the circumstances of life, this womanhood before wifehood, and humanity before womanhood, is something at which the education of the girl must aim, in every age.

But the moral ideal of the India of to-day has taken on new dimensions—the national and the civic. Here also woman must be trained to play her part. And again, by struggling towards these, she will be educated. Every age has its own intellectual synthesis, which must be apprehended before the ideal of that age can be attained. The numberless pathways of definite mental concept, by which the orthodox Hindu woman must go to self fulfilment, form, to the western mind, a veritable labyrinth. So far from being really uneducated, or non-educated, indeed, as is so commonly assumed, the conservative Hindu woman has received an education which in its own way is highly specialised, only it is not of a type recognised as of value by modern peoples.

Similarly, in order to achieve the ideal of efficiency for the exigencies of the twentieth century, a characteristic synthesis has to be acquired. It is no longer merely the spiritual or emotional content of a statement that has to be conveyed to the learner, as in the mythologico-social culture of the past. The student must now seek to understand the limitations of the statement, its relation to cognate ideas and the steps by which the race has come to this particular formulation. The modern synthesis, in other words, is scientific, geographical, and historical, and these three modes of knowing must needs—since there is no sex in truth—be achieved by woman, as by man.

Science, history and geography, are thus as three dimensions in which the mind of the present age moves, and from which it seeks to envisage all ideas. Thus the conception of nationality—on which Indian efforts to-day converge—must be realised by us, in the first place, as a result of the study of the history of our own nation, with all its divergent elements of custom, race, language, and the rest. The civic sense, in the same way, must be reached by a study of our own cities, their positions, and the history of their changes from age to age.

Again, the nation must be seen, not only in relation to its own past, and its own place, but also in relation to other nations. Here we come upon the necessity for geographical knowledge. Again, history must be viewed geographically, and geography historically. A great part of the glory and dignity of the ideally modern woman lies in

her knowledge that her house is but a tent pitched for a night on the starlit world-plain, that each hour, as it passes, is but a drop from an infinite stream, flowing through her hand, to be used as she will, for benediction or for sorrow, and then to flow on irresistibly again. And behind such an attitude of mind, lies a severe intellectual discipline.

But even the proportion which the personal moment bears to space and time, is not formula enough for the modern spirit. This demands, in addition, that we learn what is to it the meaning of the truth, or science, the fact in itself. This particular conception of truth is perhaps no more absolute than others, current in other ages, but it is characteristic of the times, and by those who have to pass the world's test, it has to be understood. Yet even this naked truth, thus thirsted after, has to be held as only a fragment of an infinitely extended idea, in which Evolution and Classification of the sciences play the parts of history and geography.

Nature, the Earth, and Time, are thus the three symbols by whose means the modern mind attains to possession of itself. No perfect means of using them educationally has ever been discovered or devised by man. The spirit of each individual is the scene of a struggle for their better realization. Every Schoolroom embodies an attempt to communalise the same endeavour. Those who would transmit the modern idea to the Indian woman, must begin where they can, and learn, from their own struggles, how better to achieve. In the end, the idea once caught, the Indian woman herself will educate Indian women—meanwhile, every means that offers ought to be taken. The wandering *bhagabat* or *kothuk*, with the magic lantern, may popularise geography, by showing slides illustrative of the various pilgrimages. History, outside the Mahabharata and Ramayana, might be familiarised in the same way. And there is no reason why simple lectures on hygiene, sanitation, and the plants and animals of the environment, should not also be given by the wandering teacher to the assembled community, with its women behind the screens. Pictures, pictures, pictures, these are the first of instruments in trying to concretise ideas, pictures and the mother-tongue. If we would impart a love of country, we must give a country to love. How shall women be enthusiastic about something they cannot imagine?

Schools large and small, schools in the home and out of it, schools elementary and advanced, all these are an essential part of any working out of the great problem. But these schools must be within Indian life, not antagonistic to it. The mind set between two opposing worlds of school and home, is inevitably destroyed. The highest ambition of the school must be to give moral support to the ideals taught in the home, and the home to those imparted in the school—the densest ignorance would be better for our women than any departure from this particular canon.

In making the school as much an essential of the girl's life, as it has always been of the boy's, we are establishing something which is never to be undone. Every generation as it comes will have to carry out the great task of the next generation's schooling. This is one of the constant and normal functions of human society. But much in the problem of Woman's Education, as we to-day see it, is a difficulty of the time only. We have to carry our country through an arduous transition. Once the main content of the modern consciousness finds its way into the Indian vernaculars, the problem will have disappeared, for we learn more from our mother-tongue itself, than from all our schools and school masters. In order to bring about that great day, however, the Mother Herself calls for vows and service of a vast spiritual knighthood. Hundreds of young men are necessary, to league themselves together for the deepening of Education in the best ways amongst women. Most students, perhaps, might be able to vow twelve lessons in a year to be given, either in home or village, during the holidays—this should hardly prove an exhausting undertaking—yet how much might be done by it!

Others might be willing to give themselves to the task of building up the vernacular literatures. The book and the magazine penetrate into recesses where the teacher's foot never yet trod. The library, or the bookshelf, is a mute university. How are women to understand Indian history, if, in order to read about Buddha or Asoka, about Chandragupta or Akbar, they have first to learn a foreign language? Great will be the glory of those, hereafter, who hide their ambition for the present, in the task of conveying modern knowledge into the tongues of women and the People?

Seeing that this first generation of pioneer work must needs be done mainly by men, on behalf of women, there are some who would scoff at the possibility of such generosity and devotion. But those who know the Indian people deeply cannot consent to this sneer. Life in India is socially sound. Civilisation is organic, spiritual, altruistic. When the practice of *suttee* was to be abolished, it was done on the initiative of an Indian *man*, Ram Mohun Roy. When monogamy was to be emphasised as the one ideal of marriage, it was again from a Man, Vidyasagar of Bengal, that the impulse came. In the East, it is not by selfish agitation, from within a party, that great reforms and extensions of privilege are brought about. It is by spontaneous effort, by gracious conferring of right from the other side. Or if indeed woman feel the pinch of some sharp necessity, some ill to be righted, is she not mother of man as well as of woman? Can she not whisper to her son, in his childhood, of the task to which she assigns him? And shall she not thus forge a weapon more powerful than any her own weak hands could wield? Such a woman

was the mother of Pundit Sewar Chandra Vidyasagar, and such was the inspiration that made him the woman's champion.

But one word there is to be said, of warning and direction, to that young priesthood of learning, to whom this generation entrusts the problem we have been considering. Education can never be carried out by criticism or discouragement. Only he who sees the noblest thing in the taught can be an effective teacher. Only by the greatness of Indian life can we give a sense of the greatness of the world outside India. Only by the love of our own people can we learn the love of humanity—and only by a profound belief in the future of the Indian woman can any man be made worthy to help in bringing that future about. Let the preacher of the New Learning be consecrated to the vision of one who resumes into herself the greatness of the whole Indian past. Let him hope and most earnestly pray, that in this our time, in all our villages, we are to see women great even as Gandhari, faithful and brave as Savitri, holy and full of tenderness of Sita. Let the past be as wings unto the feet of the future. Let all that has been, be as steps leading us up the mountain of what is yet to be. Let every Indian woman incarnate for us the whole spirit of the Mother, and the culture and protection of the Home-land. *Bhumia Devi!* Goddess of the Homestead! *Bande Mataram!*

NIVEDITA

OF RAMAKRISHNA-VIVEKANANDA.

THE DIPAVAMSA AND MAHAVAMSA.*

THERE is hardly a corner of the Indian continent of whose history we know so much as we do of that of the Island of Ceylon. The main sources are two chronicles in Pali verse, the *Dipavamsa* and the *Mahāvamsa*, the former written in the fourth, the latter towards the end of the fifth century. They contain the same material, which in the main is similarly distributed. They begin with the history of Gautama Buddha and his three visits to *Laṅkā*. Then some genealogy is inserted carrying the family of the Buddha back to the mythical King *Mahāsammata*. Both chronicles then continue the history of Buddhism on to the Third Council under King Asoka. Once more the tale goes back to the primitive history of Ceylon and to the coming of the first Aryan settlers to the Island, under the leadership of Vijaya, following on with a list of the early Sinhalese kings to the death of *Mahāsēna* at the beginning of the fourth century after Christ. The reign of Asoka's contemporary, King *Devānampiyatissa*, under whom Mahinda, Asoka's son, introduced Buddhism into Ceylon, is mentioned with special detail. Just as copiously the *Mahāvamsa* deals with the deeds of *Duṭṭhagāmani* whose reign in the second century B.C. represents the heroic period in Ceylon.

In India, history has never quite been able to separate itself from poetry. We cannot wonder, then, that both these Ceylon chronicles are a mixture of myths, legends, tales and history. The farther we go back into the past the more mythical becomes the story. In like manner, the reliability increases the nearer we approach the author's own times. But of course, even the later sections stand in need of historical criticism.

Whoever writes the history of Ceylon will have to separate the real kernel of fact from this traditional material. But the writer of history as literature cannot but rejoice over the form in which the record of events is embodied. He will follow the origin of the epic tradition, its building up, and its after life in later writings. These are some of the problems that I shall try to solve in the following pages. I feel that from the standpoint of the history of literature, the Ceylonese chronicles deserve notice not only amongst orientalists, but in wider circles.

*The introduction to Professor Geiger's recent book, translated by Mrs. Ethel M. Coomaraswamy. (See Review notices.)

We are here able, in a way that elsewhere is not easy, to follow the development of an epic in its literary evolution. We are able to picture to ourselves the contents and form of the chronicle which forms the basis of the epic song, and of the various elements of which it is composed. We may note in it the signs and characters of the original oral tradition, lying far back in time, and the mixture of prose and verse. The Dipavamsa represents the first unaided struggle to create an epic out of already existing material. It is a document that fixes our attention just because of the incompleteness of its composition and its want of style. We stand on the very threshold of the epic. In like manner the severe form of the Apollo of Tenea is more interesting to the archæologist than many a more celebrated work of fully evolved Greek sculpture.

The Mahāvamsa is already worthy of the name of a true epic. It is the recognized work of a poet. And we are able to watch this poet in a certain measure at his work in his workshop. Although he is quite dependent on his materials, which he is bound to follow as closely as possible, he deals with them critically, perceives their shortcomings and irregularities, and seeks to improve and to eliminate.

But the process is not finished here. The Mahāvamsa has been added to in later times by writers who have carried on the history to their own day. The original work even has been revised. It so happened that the writer without making any serious alteration in the original, inserted any episode that seemed to him worthy of notice, thus nearly doubling the bulk of the matter. The sources from which he drew these episodes are usually recognizable. In the same way also revision in respect to the literary form took place. It is not the "folk" that added or revised, but one individual, who never followed where his fancy led, but took the written material as it was, and, with more or less skill, adapted it to new needs.

Finally, we mark how the subject of the epic is absorbed by later literature, purporting to be historical, and is occasionally enriched by new additions, although only in a small way, from legends outside that of the epic. These supplements and additions testify over and over again, by their legendary and mythical character, to their origin in popular folk lore. But by this it must not be understood that they were taken directly from oral tradition. This is by no means impossible; but it was not necessarily the case, and perhaps varied in different instances. They could also very well have originated from written sources now no longer accessible to us.

I do not say that the development of the epic, as we see it in Ceylon, is typical. That cannot always be the same amongst various peoples and at various periods. But wherever the question of the epic

is discussed, the *Dīpavamsa* and *Mahāvamsa* will always be invaluable analogies, above all for the Indian epic, but also for the epics of other nations. Their value lies in this, that we have not here to do with possibilities and hypothetical construction. We can here follow out actual developments. Unfortunately the sources are no longer preserved but they can be inferred. For this also we have fairly satisfactory material at our disposal. The epic itself lies before us in three stages of development, which we can distinguish from each other, and whose origin and growth we are able to watch.

THE AGRABODHI VIHARA AT WELIGAMA.

THE Agrabodhi Vihāra at Weligama is historically noted, and there is ample proof that it is one of the oldest spots sacred to the Buddhists in the Southern part of the Island. So far back as the commencement of the last century, it attracted the attention of European writers on Ceylon. For example, Cordiner, in giving a brief description of it, calls it Aggraboddhigane, and refers to the large statue of Buddha reclining at full length on a pedestal (Cordiner's History of Ceylon, p. 187, edition of 1807), while Pridham, one of the best authors of Ceylon History, gives such a vivid outline of it that we quote it in full.

"The Aggraboddhigane Vihāra and dagobah, as well as the dagobah in the midst of the dense cocoanut tope to the right of the High Road to Galle, are worthy of a visit from the traveller. Agrabodhi Vihāra is situated upon a gentle eminence, and approached by flights of numerous and well-worn steps. The recumbent image of the God (*sic*) is on the left hand on entering the sanctum, and is about thirty feet long, and covered with a lacquer, which has made the surface as smooth as polished marble." (Pridham Vol. II. p. 595, edition 1849.)

It is recorded to have been first built about 236 years after the death of the Vanquisher, and in the reign of King Dewanampiyatissa.

In A.D. 1153 the illustrious Sovereign Pandita Parakrāma Bāhu restored it, built a two storied house, and had the Temple richly endowed.

In the year 1208, A.D. the illustrious Queen Kalyānawati, who reigned at Polonnaruwa, got her General Ayashmanta of the Skandhāvāra race to despatch his Minister Dewa, and cause a Piriwena called Rājakulawadana to be built, and richly endowed. Tradition asserts that this Piriwena stood in the garden Ganahalāwatta, between the Temples Weligam Gane and Agrabodhi (Ganahalā derived from Ganasālā—an assembly-room of the Priesthood). The present Railway line runs across this garden, and during the course of its construction, large quantities of debris of brick and stone were discovered underground.

The edifice again underwent heavy repairs at the command of Buwaneka Bāhu IV. who reigned at Gampola in A.D. 1347, under the immediate surveillance of the Minister Senalankāra Adhikāra Senevirat, who had an eighteen cubit figure of Buddha cast, constructing besides several other attractive buildings, particulars of which are graphically given in the Māhāwamsa and Rājarathnākara. Apart from these

references, the event was immortalised in the following strain in the Tisara and Kovul Sandesa, poems of great worth supposed to have been composed about this time.

සුසැදි සිරි මාබෝ අක්බෝ වෙහෙර මනහර
පානා සිව් උපා සිරිලක රැකුම නි සා
සේනා ලකඳියර අගමැති සිතැති ලෙ සා
පුරමින් දස පැරැම් පනමින් පසිඳු බුදුසිරි
පෙරවු අසම් විතරින් මදකුත් නොතැර
කරවු පිළිමගෙට්ටැද ඉන්ගොස් එවර.

“Enter and worship the image house at the lovely Agrabodhi Temple, with the Majestic Bodhi, restored in exact accordance with the former dimensions, by the Minister Senālakāra Adhikāra, in so thorough a manner, as if, aiming to attain Buddhahood, he were perfecting the ten requisites.” (Tisara Sandesa).

අක්බෝ වෙහෙරසැදි
මුණිරු බලන වෙසෙසින්
අක්බෝ පහලවු මිස
නොපිළිවෙති සක්දෙවිඳු විලසින්

“Unless one were to possess eyes as of Sekra, he could not admire distinctly the beauties of the Image of the Lord at the Agrabodhi Wihāra, Kovul Sandesa.—Sekra is reputed to possess one thousand eyes. (See Alwis’ “Nāmāwaliya,” p. 4, 1858).

The following is the Text and translation of the Inscription which, with notes by Professor Rhys Davids, we quote in full, as it will doubtless interest readers.

“There is a very ancient Bo tree and large Dagoba at this place, but for a Wihāre only a small building of modern date. This would correspond exactly with the wording of the Sannas now enclosed, which speaks not of a Wihāre but only of a Sakmana or covered corridor, for priests to walk in, corresponding with the colonnades of more ancient times, and the crypts and cloisters in mediæval buildings.”

This Sakmana is further proved to have been a place of importance, for the name of the village Hakmana is derived from it, and the following inscription is on a stone built into the wall round the Dagoba.

ශ්‍රී සිරිසන්තබෝ සිරිභුවනෙකබාහු චක්‍රවර්ති ස්වාමීන්වහන්සේට සවන හවුරුදු
කළුපරාක්‍රම නම් මනත්‍රිකරයානන් මෙකෙකරුවන්ට කුලිදී කෙරෙහි මේ සාංඝික සන්
මන පිරිමසා වෙසිද සිතන දෙනමකට නිරන්තරව සිවුපහසක්දී සතරදිගින් වඩනා
සංඝයා වහන්සේටත් දවසක් පාසා යඳුනලෙසට රනවගෙතාළු කුඹුරුමුල් බිජුවටදක්
අමුනේදු පලදු පොල්වනනත් වහල් දසදෙනත් සරක්කලත් වටපන්දන්කොටලා පාන්
වැටට දෙලිකුනත් හෙලිසන් කොටට මොවුලා පටහනා ඇතිරිලිම නිකාය මඩුළු මේආදිව
මේ සාංඝික පිරිකරන්ලවා මා ඇතිකල භුවනෙක රජ්ජුරුවන් වහන්සේට පින් පිණිස
කෙරෙහි මේ සක්මන නොහොත් රජකුල වඩන විහාරය පවතිනනෙක් කල් ඉදිරියේ
ඇති වෙන සන්පුරුද්ධත් විසින් නිරවුල්කර පවත්වා ස්වයංමාන සම්පත් සිද්ධ සුභාසි-

“ In the sixth year of the revered Lord Emperor Siri Sangabo Siri Bhuwanaika Bāhu, the minister named Kalu Parākarama, having given wages to the workmen, and having given in perpetuation the four gifts to the two priests who reside economising in this (cloister) common to the priesthood; and also in order that the gifts might be given for a day to the reverend priesthood coming from the four directions, (having given) ten amunas sowing extent of paddy field which he had bought and a fruit bearing cocoanut garden, and ten slaves, and a yoke of oxen, and round torches and goblets with spouts, and a row of lamp stands (for illumination) and palankeens, and leather, and cushions, and mattresses, and cloths woven with silk and hemp to spread over (seats for guests) and tubs and iron basins, together with other things of this kind proper for the priesthood—it is proper for all good men who in the future shall be, to maintain without dispute this cloister or vihāre improved by the king’s family, which (cloister) has been made to add merit to the revered King Bhuwanaika Bāhu who brought me up, and (thus) to obtain the bliss of release in heaven.” [See Journal C.B.R.A.S. 1870-1871 p. 25.]

During the wars of the native kings with the Dutch and Portuguese, the upkeep of this historical edifice was neglected and, like similar structures, it was overgrown with rank jungle and became the haunt of wild animals. When the Upasampadā ordination was revived in the reign of King Rājādhi Rājasingha about A.D. 1747, a zealous bhikkhu of the name of Agalakaḍa Dhammarakkhita, an ordained pupil of the Sanga Rāja, Weliwiṭa Saranankara, had the place restored, clearing it of jungle, and repairing the edifices with the support of the laymen. He was undoubtedly a zealous bhikkhu of culture and attainments, and was consequently selected to be the Sangha Nāyaka of the South by royal warrant, which unfortunately has been lost. He had his headquarters at the Agrabodhi from A.D. 1771-1795, and received from the king a golden image, a golden casket, a pair of elephant tusks, an ivory handled fan of exquisite workmanship, a pair of chāmara, a brass teapoy, and a field : Pokunekumbura, so called, as it was in ancient times a tank reserved for the use of the temple, situated on its northern side. Of these gifts the gold image and casket are still to be seen, at the Goḍapiṭiye Wihāra, improved by the high priest, where his pupil Warāpiṭiye Maha Thera was stationed. The ivory tusks and other gifts are at the Agrabodhi temple. A stone tablet at the temple gives the date of this illustrious bhikkhus’ death in Sinhalese verse.

සකනරණ වසින් එක්වැදහස් සත්සියෙන් යුත්
සුවිසිවස වෙසක්මස් පුන්වෙක්ද දවල්කි
අද රටවනටැන්පත් දමරකින්නම් යනින්ද
මරණ පලභවන්පත්වූ පුවත්සන් දනින්වා

Know this fact that in the noon of the first quarter before the Full Moon of the month Vesakha of the Saka Era 1724 (A.D. 1791), Agalakada Dhammarakkhita Thera, Chief of the Southern Part, died.

He left ten pupils, some of whom were noted for their learning. Prominent amongst them was Kirama Dhammānanda, a contemporary of the illustrious Karatota and Bowala and who lived at Godapitiya, a poet of extraordinary ability and the author of the poems, Vibatmaldama, Siyabasmaldama, Stutipūjā Kāvya, Mahakanna Jātaka, Dewadharmā Jātaka, Sambulā Jātaka, Kancanādevi Kathāwa, interesting alike for their grammatical construction and unique literary beauty, so much so that they form the models of composition for the poetical students at the present day (see Jas. Alwis' Intr. S. Sangarā, p. ccxxxvii.). Another of the pupils, Akuresse Swarnajoti, a scholar of high attainments, held the office of Sangha Nāyaka of the Matara and Hambantota Districts, by Government act of appointment, dated A.D. 1836, under the hand and seal of Governor Sir Robert Wilmot Horton; since then it has been maintained and conserved by the several successive Incumbents, of whom the present is the learned Dhammānanda of Baddegama.

This Temple, it is safe to presume, gave much importance to the village of Weligama in ancient times, as it was not only one of the important seats of learning in the South, but was a place visited by devotees from remote parts of the Island, and its upkeep was safeguarded by royalty.

The three Vihara that are now called Agrabodhi, Weligam Gane and Rājakulawaḍana and are treated as separate edifices, must have formed one large Temple in former times. It is traditionally stated that on the four limits of the Temple premises, there were four Dewāla, the remnants of one of which, an Image of the guardian deity Nāta cut on a big granite boulder, still remains.

Our presumption that it is an image of Nāta deviyo is based on the fact of there being two figures of Buddha, cut on the crown; they are two of the appendages of the crown of this guardian deity, as is shown in the following verse of the Rūpa Mālā, a guide for the casting and cutting of images in melodious Sanskrit verse.

කරකෘත සුභපද්ම: කුඤ්ඤරජ්ජුරගෞර
සවජ්ජමකුටදිව්ඪ්ඨ ලංකාතො ජෙනිනාග:
සිරසිනිනින බ්‍රමො භිනදිනානු කම්පි
ජයතුනම්නපාදෙ, ඤ්ඤාදෙ, නාඨදෙව:

“May the god Nātha flourish, holding in his hand a full blown lotus, as well as a water lily, camphor and bezour, with divine attire, a head-dress and crown with images of Buddha, sympathising with the

supplicants, imparting wisdom, and possessing feet worthy to be adored.*”

There are traditions that the Image is that of an Indian Prince who introduced the cultivation of the cocoanut (Tennent's Ceylon: Vol. I. p. 436, Vol. II. p. 112) also that it is an image of a King who was cured of a leprous distemper, (Casie Chetty's Gazeteer, p. 22).

The Wihara is an ideal one, reached by a low causeway from the main road, and its situation on an eminence surrounded by fields teeming at times with light green paddy adds not a little to its beauty. The Dagoba is extremely pretty, and raises its cone vieing as it were with the crown of the Bo tree, which gives the name to this Temple, a descendant of that Great Tree, supposed to be the oldest in the world, venerated by nearly a third of the human race, and to which no less a personage than the Lord Himself paid homage, in token of the shelter it afforded Him, for the consummation of His aim.

E. R. GOONERATNE.

Atapattu Walawwa,
Galle, August, 1908.

* With much labour and trouble, we collected the Rūpa māla and Sari putra, guide books in excellent Sanskrit verse, giving elaborate instructions for measuring, and casting Images, and the attire and paraphernalia with which these are to be decked, and translated them into English for Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION IN CEYLON.*

ONE thing that strikes us as we read the Acts of the Apostles is how, at the beginning of the Christian Church, you have Greeks bringing a Greek message into the Church, and you have the division of the Church, the Jews against the Greeks. Yet a man, who was brought up in the narrowest of all schools, said then: "known unto God are all His works from the beginning of the world," and that the Greeks were to be received as having been made by God, having their past from God and their contribution was to be admitted, although different from that of the Jew. They were not to be bound to the past of the Jew. One of the reasons for that is that you have the Greeks so early coming into the Church as Greeks, not as Jews. When Paul went into the synagogues he did not speak to audiences of Jews, but proselytes, that is, the great majority of the people in the synagogues were not Jews at all but Greeks who, in their search after righteousness, had come under Jewish influences, learnt what they meant by one God, what they meant by revelation and the Prophets. These Greeks, who knew Greek philosophy, who knew Greek religions, were able to go and preach Christ from a standpoint which the people recognised. You have therefore, very early in the history of the Greek Church, Greek apologists. To-day in India we have none. There you very early get Greek apologists, and you have men later, like Origen, teaching their men Greek theology in Greek, winning the Greek for Christ, bringing the Greek contribution into the Church.

Now in India and Ceylon we are faced to-day, as we are all over the East, with a great national movement. This movement takes many forms. It is not confined to, and is not the creation of, political agitators, as the rabid part of our press makes out; I do not think any agitation has been ever raised by agitators. The national movement in India is part of the great national movement which is going on over the whole East. You have it in Egypt, in Persia, in Siam, in Ceylon, and in Japan. You have it in all these places, 800,000,000 of our fellows in the throes of these movements. It is largely a battle for character. Professor Bryce, our Ambassador to America, says that a great epoch of the world's history has closed and a new epoch has begun, in which

*Address by A. G. Fraser, Principal of Trinity College, Kandy, to the Friends Foreign Missionary Association, April 2nd, 1908. Reprinted from "The Friend."

East and West are linked together, and it is that which has created the new movement. In that close union they have found much of our honour, justice, and courage, but they have also found very little of our faith or reverence. They have seen our scorn and our materialism, they feel all their old past is being blotted out, and they are face to face with a view of materialism, and atheism. Indian parents are finding out that Indian education means a divorce from all that held them to the Oriental morality they had in the past, without giving them any new light and guidance. They are like ships gone adrift from their old moorings, and they are drifting out in a dark storm without guidance, without pilots and with no one to help. That is the case of the student population of India to-day.

Remember that the national movement is strong. Thirty years ago in Ceylon, Protestant Christianity was gaining hand over hand on Buddhism and other religions; twenty years ago the national movement had begun to work slowly; ten years ago we (Christians) were dropping behind, but we were still leading over Buddhism. In the last census Protestant missions advanced $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., while Buddhism advanced over 9 per cent. That is, they were not only holding their own but gaining on Christian missions. The great argument used for Buddhism is that it is the national faith, whereas Christianity is a foreign faith; and I have met men who were persuaded of Christ, that He was the Son of God, who refused to become Christians on the ground that it was treachery to their people and nation. I have met high caste men in India who have become Buddhists deliberately to break caste, in order that they may work at all costs for the Indian people.

The national movement will grow much more. It is like a great wave. I believe that either it will drive back the Christian Church further than it has already done, or that, won for Christ—and I believe it can be—it will carry us forward over the whole of India, to the winning of that great people as it were in a day. I think we could show them that Christ has been the only inspiration of all that was great and good in their past, and that He alone can clear away all the dross and dirt that have gathered therein, the only One who can realise their hopes and make them really one. You will never get a final unity amongst Mohammedans, Buddhists, and Hindus, although you see them on the same platform to-day; but you will get a unity amongst Christians, and you will have India one great nation under Christ, making their children infinitely greater and better than their fathers ever were.

Two things strike an African missionary, as I was, when he goes to India to become a missionary there. The first is the immense distance there is between the European and Indian. You may say the

African is far lower, but we are nearer them, and the native clergy are nearer the people among whom they are working, than is the case in India. A second point of difference is in our so-called college work. In Central Africa, where you have not Europeanised the college work it has grown from the village school, with which it is connected. In India our college work is a separate thing, and is but little connected with evangelisation. As in Central Africa, it might be made the centre of life, but our college policy has been dictated for us by Government directors, appointed, not because they were earnest in regard to missions, [why should they be? Ed: C.N.R.], but because they have had other objects in their educational work.

Once the colleges in India were producing Christian leaders, but that is not so to-day. That is because they are more Anglicised—they have less time. What can we do? If you strike out a line for yourself you do not get Government grants. You can have Government inspection, but you lose the grant. I have started teaching the vernaculars in my College, with the result that I have been able to teach less of other subjects. The result to the student has been beneficial, but the result to the grant has been detrimental. The Arya Samaj—the most hostile body to Christ and Britain in India, in North India particularly—are founding a seminary. They are asking for it fifty lakhs of rupees (£333,000), and what is more, they are getting that money from Hindus, and getting it quickly. Their curriculum lasts seventeen years without a holiday! The pupils are being trained in their old sacred books, also in English science and in all Western knowledge, but all through the medium of the vernacular, except the English subjects. It is the Japanese code; and the reason for adopting it is that the Arya Samaj found that in their English College at Delhi they could not turn out leaders for the villages because their men became too Anglicised; the people would not understand them. Therefore they are founding this College, which will turn out men who will stir up India against Christ and against Britain. If they think out an idea like that, I think it is about time we tried an experiment, seeing our present education is a failure. I have laid my plan before Government officials, who have criticised it and given their names to it, and they are pushing the thing for me. They are convinced that the work in India is not turning out men in touch with their people, and they think it is time a change was tried. Government cannot do it because they have such a vast organisation on their hands. Personally, we are going to take the risk in Ceylon.

Except the English subjects, we are going to teach through the medium of the vernacular, and we are going to teach the pupils in their own religious books as well as the Bible. I have been told that we

shall not be allowed to teach Buddhist books in a Christian College. But your boy comes to college, where he hears of Christ, and where he learns to love Him. Whilst in college he gets nothing of his own faith or books; later he goes to his village, (and the priest comes to him with difficulties,) and he cannot come to you to help him. Why not bring him face to face with things and make him think about them at college? The shutting out of these books is absurd.

Secondly, we are going to try and make men leaders as far as possible, by throwing the responsibility on them. We are going to give them a chance of making their own mistakes. Further, our village school boys can practically never get a higher education; and yet most of our Christians, both in India and Ceylon, are amongst the poorer people in the villages, for the longer a boy stays in a village school the less chance he has of a college education, because that is now obtainable only through the medium of English, and he knows little or nothing of it, and therefore can never get into a college class. We are going to teach through the medium of the vernacular, and we are going to give the Christian boys further training that they may go back to the villages to work for Christ.

Thirdly, we feel we need, in our Christian work, young men who are sitting behind to do apologetic work and answer attacks, like those made by Haeckel. If that is necessary at home, how much more necessary abroad. Here you know the conditions, you know the men attacking you, they are talking in the same language, with the same history behind. Out there, Christianity is faced with a different attack. We are going to set two men in our college—one from Cambridge and another from Oxford—to sit behind and do this work. When students find out what their difficulties are, they will be there, and they will help us who are burdened with detail to so present Christ that they will understand our presentation of Him. Then we may hope some day to have a community where East and West meet in Christ Jesus, and where East are not merely hewers of wood and drawers of water. It was Greeks who won Greeks, it was Romans who won Romans, and to-day in our own land we recognise the difference between English, Scotch, Welsh, German, and French Christianity. *There is also going to be a difference between English and Indian Christianity.*

We believe that God made all nations of one blood, but we do not believe He made them all one grade, but rather as a mosaic. Our duty in India is not to make worse Englishmen, but to clear away the dirt and dross gathered on India, and to let her shine forth as God meant her to be in her own colour and beauty, rising to the fulness of the stature which Christ planned. Westcott said, we should be

NOTE.—[Italics ours. There has been for some time a feeling among Native Ministers that this must be so. Ed. C. N. R.]

poorer if India were to accept the best form of Western Christianity as her own, and I think he was right. I believe India will bring a great contribution to our knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. We know our strength in our Christianity, and also our weakness. I have lived in the slums of London, Edinburgh, and Dublin, and know them well; one wonders why such places exist in England which is so rich, why there should be such a hell so near, and so few care. It is because we are materialistic and do not know how to give. In all her wanderings from God, India has never wandered from this fact, that the Unseen is the real and eternal, and, I believe, if India comes to the knowledge of Christ, she will give to the world a social message such as we have never had. A lady missionary, who had been in Western India, told me of a peasant who was disliked by the missionaries; they hardly believed his word, he was often in debt, and in fact in several ways unsatisfactory. One day this lady, in the Sunday School, was trying to show the beauty and love and gentleness of Christ, illustrating her story from the Gospel. A little girl cried out: "I know that man, he lives in our street," and she told of a man who, whenever there was cholera, went in, when people were too old to draw water, he went and drew it for them, when he met little children, he blessed them, and they all loved him. That was the Christ, thought the little child. It was the man who had been deemed unsatisfactory. When she told that story, many missionaries bore witness to similar examples.

I would point out that to us it is the last stage of saintship to take our life in our hands, to go into the dark places, taking up our cross for the sake of the lives of others. We have, first of all, honour, truth, and respectability. In India you are getting the other side developed, and truth and honour coming later. From India we shall get a new light thrown on the life of our Lord Jesus Christ. I believe that the Christ has never yet been lifted up; one light has been thrown upon Him from the West, we have seen one side of His Cross, but only seen one side. India will come with a different message of the Cross, China will bring another, Africa another, but they will only show us their side as we let them lead us. I believe that Christ will be fulfilled, all of Him in all of us, but it will be gradually through the nations, and he will draw all men unto Him. We feel we are rich in our civilisation, in our traditions, and in our history. If we are going to win men for Christ, we have to empty ourselves, get down into their minds, see what their view is, see how they love their land, how they revere, almost worship, their past, find out what is great and good in that, show them how Christ had these great ideas, how He must have given them these things, how He must have taught their great men, and lead them up to the Spirit of God.

A. G. FRASER.

LAND TENURE AND THE SINHALESE VILLAGER.

THE mode of inheritance of lands, as it now exists in this country, with a steady increase of diminutive shares as they descend from father to son, or from one generation to another, has been a source of much trouble to the people. This has resulted in many family disputes and serious breaches of the peace.

It may be useful to give the history of the system of devolution of property, which has been in existence in this country from time immemorial, making allusion at the same time to its subsequent development, which has eventually brought about the present state of affairs.

As far as information can be gathered from ancient writings, this mode of devolving property appears to have existed in the time of the Sinhalese kings, when the Island was in its most prosperous condition, having a population much greater than at the present day. The people were chiefly engaged in agriculture, and were always fully employed in work, in paddy cultivation and in *chena* and *kepulan* cultivation, in order to raise rice and fine grain. They had, besides, extensive pasture lands on which to feed their cattle, and they possessed, in all respects, enough food, milk and ghee for their use. The king had full sovereignty over the people and over their lands, both cultivated and uncultivated. There were no restrictions in those days on the people, as vast tracts of land lay before them as village property, allowed by the king for various purposes and for new acquirements, so that progress in cultivation was more and more extended. The people planted and possessed the lands and passed them on to their descendants in succession. When the shares grew so minute that their occupancy became inconvenient or impossible, some of the members of the family, who were more energetic and able to work, left their parents' inheritance and went after new acquirements and took up as much land as they could cultivate and plant. They had only to take up land with the general consent of the community. The king did not interfere with their possessions, as they were considered the sons of the soil. He kept for himself reserved forests and State property for various purposes, and he never sold any lands, as it was against the laws of the State, except that he made free grants of land on special occasions. Though the king's rule was considered despotic, he could not, strictly speaking, do anything against the laws of the land and its customs. It is necessary to explain this state of things, which existed in the early times, in order to shew

how well the people's interests were looked after and that they felt no difficulty in consequence of the undivided shares of lands. There were periods in our history when attention was paid equally to the well-being of the masses as to that of the higher classes, and it was then that the country attained its highest state of prosperity. The well-being of a country, it need hardly be said, is intimately bound up with the comfort of the poorer classes.

Then followed, at a later period, a decadence for several centuries, a time of wars and disturbances, resulting in the neglect and ruin of tanks and irrigation works, a depression in paddy cultivation, and a rapid decrease in the population. Even during such times, however, this mode of possessing lands continued under the rules of the Portuguese and the Dutch, and the people did not experience any difficulty in this respect, as they were permitted by the Dutch Government to clear lands for *chenas* free of tax and to cultivate and plant lands as *ratmehera* and *kanois-parveny* by paying $\frac{1}{10}$ of the produce, a practice that was followed till the early period of the English Government, and the people had even then no restrictions as to their settling on new lands.

I here digress in order to remove a misconception on the part of many of our officials as to the right and liberty the people had in extending their cultivations and settlements on village property, allowed to them even at the commencement of the British rule, as appears from the Government Proclamation of 3rd May, 1800. The following passage taken from it may be interesting, as illustrating the position which the people held in this respect. "All lands now enjoyed, without title or grant, under the denomination of *Kanois-parveny*, *Ratmehera* or any other whatsoever, may be appropriated by the occupier on condition that he should state the said possession before the Land Record, before the 1st November next, and have the same enregistered duly in the Registry of the District, and the land so appropriated shall pay $\frac{1}{10}$ of its produce annually to Government from the time of its appropriation. If it be not presented to be enregistered by or before the 1st November next, it shall pay $\frac{1}{2}$ of its produce to Government from that date." There were registers and lists of these lands in the Kachcheries till lately.

That these lands were registered as people's property is evident from the fact that when *chenas* were largely cultivated as *kanois* property, the people had to pay $\frac{1}{10}$ share of the produce, and the Government did not take any action in taxing such lands at $\frac{1}{2}$ for infraction, or at any other rate, although at a subsequent period the people were asked to take permits to pay $\frac{1}{10}$, and latterly, in issuing such permits, a form was adopted denominating the lands as Crown lands, keeping the rate of tithe still the same. It was not, however, till 1872, that a distinction was drawn and the rate of tax was altered to $\frac{1}{8}$ as regards those lands

which were cultivated as *chenas* on permits. It is evident from this that a process of gradual change was brought about, in taking away these lands from the hands of the villagers.—

In the Governor's minute, dated 23rd June, 1809, the *kanois-parveny* lands are thus defined :

"These were originally forests or jungles of large extents, cut down and cleared by individuals, which they sowed once every seven or eight years. These lands were free from all tax under the Dutch Government, but since the present took possession, they are subject to pay $\frac{1}{10}$ of their produce; and the remaining $\frac{9}{10}$ are divided between the *goyyas* and the persons who originally cleared them, or their heirs" (*Vide Ceylon Almanac of 1819*).

During the time of the Dutch there existed, in almost all the villages, a system of tenure of lands called *Diwel*, which amounted to a considerable number. These were vested in a set of superior local headmen called *Lekam*, for certain services, to be held and possessed hereditarily amongst the male heirs only, paying $\frac{1}{3}$ of the produce from fields and $\frac{1}{10}$ from gardens, whilst a few more lands were similarly held by others for menial services, paying $\frac{1}{3}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ of the produce. On the extinction of male heirs they became *Nilapala* or *Malapala* lands (Crown property) generally subject to $\frac{1}{2}$ duty. As these lands were in the hands of the headmen, they were fully remunerated for their services. These lands which were held by certain families were not, properly speaking, subject to a division or subdivision amongst the male heirs, though the produce was divided amongst them.

The policy of the Government having since changed, the people's claim to acquire bits of bare lands or village property has become more and more restricted, on the understanding that they should look only to what they have regularly cultivated and planted, or inherited from their parents as their real property, this being on a line of working more in keeping with Western views, by which our people are made to undergo a process of the obliteration of their national rights and their replacement by unavoidable European principles.

Without the opportunities for new settlements as in former times, the people now-a-days have to keep to their own holdings, and on the death of a parent, all the children succeed to the inheritance in equal undivided shares, and after a few generations the descendants became entitled to property in infinitesimal fractions. Then grow up further intricacies in the planting shares of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th plantations, divided into as many infinitesimal shares or more than those of the soil. Besides, there is another kind of possession called *Tattumaru* possession, in which the owners very often have no desire for a partition of land, and in which possession is held by the owners in turns, one

shareholder or his set of shareholders possessing the land in rotation once in three or four years, or taking the produce of a tree or trees in the same manner. Sometimes a regular rotatory possession is observed, by changing hands amongst the shareholders in the cultivation of the several portions or plats of ground in the same land. When the number of shareholders increased, quarrels and disputes arose, more frequently in the plucking of nuts, and in the division of produce, often resulting in bloodshed. Very many of the civil cases brought before the *Gansabhawas* are about disputes with regard to trees and the share of produce in lands held in common; and such cases are decided by the President of V. T. when there is no question raised as to the parties' right to the land.

As it has been found, by experience, that the multiplicity of undivided shares, causing so much vexation and trouble, has not given any satisfactory results, it was thought that partitioning by Court procedure would give relief to the people; and in 1844 an Ordinance was enacted for that purpose, but this was repealed in 1852 as it did not answer the object. The partitioning by Court procedure was again revived, by passing Ordinance No. 10 of 1863. At last the Government has introduced the Ordinance No. 10 of 1897, exempting pleadings and other documents from stamp duty in order to make the procedure easier and less expensive, and mainly with the view of suppressing crime in the Island. The people, however, do not appear to have much availed themselves of its provisions, except in cases where they were, for some reason or other, obliged to do so. As the stamp duty on pleadings and documents bears but a small proportion to the duty on process, the Ordinance has not given much relief to parties, considering that they have, in addition, to incur fees for surveying and retaining council.

The elaborate and highly developed rules for the partition of lands have had no attraction, and have not been much resorted to by the people, on account of the expenses and tedious process they have to go through; and there are cases in the District Courts pending for years, on account of disputes arising between numerous shareholders.

In cases of small shares of lands of small value, caused by the death of one or more of the shareholders, especially when the shares become almost useless to the holders for their occupancy or subsistence, or in the case of the shares of absentees who have left the district and cannot be traced, it is believed that a scale might be adopted, by Government taking into account both the value and extent, so that such shares may be appraised and put up to sale amongst the shareholders; in case of there being no bid, it may be proper to compel the other shareholders to buy the same, at the appraised value, in order that the property may be ultimately divided amongst the larger shareholders,—thus dispensing

with minute shares that had been bought or added to others: and the value of such shares may be paid to the owners, or deposited with Government, to be paid to the heirs in due course of time.

The heavy expense attending the partition of lands by Court procedure is a great drawback. Unless a scale is fixed according to the value of the land or shares, so that such expense may not exceed a sum fixed in proportion to the value of land, in order to cover all costs on a convenient footing, the people will have to undergo much hardship and pressure that might ultimately result in the sale of their shares. It may be difficult to adopt such a scale, in partition cases instituted before Courts, by limiting the several expenses which the parties have to incur in the course of the proceedings. The only possible way, therefore, to achieve this object, is by causing the lands to be surveyed and settlements made by a land settlement officer, from village to village, or on selected spots, according to the urgency or importance of cases brought before the settlement officer, so that he may be able to make the parties pay, according to a regulated scale, prior to the issuing of certificates. In order to make the procedure much easier and less expensive to the people, when partition cases are brought before the settlement officer, most of them may be referred to native constituents, so that they (no less than three native chiefs to form a quorum) may inquire into the claims of the shareholders and effect a division on the spot; by setting well-defined boundaries, or in case of necessity, by means of a licensed surveyor. They would be in a position to settle and dispose of such minute shares as are absolutely useless to the owners, or whose owners or heirs are absent and not traceable, as already pointed out. All such cases, it is presumed, could better take the form of amicable settlements by consent of both parties, and an account of the whole proceedings, may then be forwarded to the settlement officer appointed for that purpose.

It is the general opinion, that in order to ensure success in the many undertakings, as far as the administration of this country is concerned, great attention should be paid to the actual wants of the people and their well being, removing such abuses as are oppressive and not congenial to their character and condition; and anything done to shake their confidence in the enjoyment of their property, or the maintenance of their customs and usages, is sufficient to create discord and confusion. It is believed that much of the village matters and disputes as to lands and their divisions, and shares of trees, could be settled locally by native methods, or (to use a more expressive term) "on national lines," so that they may "be guided by their own sense of their own interests," as it was expressed by one of our Governors.* When some of the

* *Vide* Governor Sir G. W. Anderson's addresses to the Legislative Council in 1852, for repealing the Partition Ordinance. *Governor's Addresses*, Vol I. page 251.

provisions of the Ordinance No. 21 of 1844, regarding the partition and sale of shares of lands were repealed, as they were found not to work well,—leaving the partitioning of lands to the parties themselves—the great defect was that no remedy or measure was provided for such a course, as for instance to effect settlements by means of native constituents, or by a Commissioner associated with native chiefs.

Such a procedure would be more in keeping with the character and condition of the people, and adapted to rural administration. The Sinhalese, as well as other Eastern nations, have still some of their characteristic usages unsullied by the present “civilization.” There cannot be a better way to advance our people than by leading them on their own national lines in many things, so far as it helps them to a higher life, full advantage being taken at the same time of all that is good in the Western civilization.

As there are extensive sales of Crown land carried on, it is only the well-to-do who are able to buy these lands, but the large number of the poorer classes does not get any benefit therefrom. No sort of conditions set at the sales, as to the division of lands and limitations amongst the purchasers’ descendants, would be of much avail to the community; nor would the exposing of lands for sale in smaller lots, to enable the villagers to buy them, be a relief to them, on account of their inability to make up money to pay at once. In cases of persons having lost their shares, or having found them inadequate for their subsistence, it may be advisable to allow them to occupy new pieces of lands and carry on cultivation, to enable them to pay their value in annual instalments within a term of ten or twelve years. In the division of property, such cases might be brought to the notice of Government for relief.

Considering the many disadvantages of the present system of inheritance of undivided shares, and of its permanent continuance, with all the difficulties that are now presented,—if matters be not set right,—it may be asked whether the law regarding inheritance cannot be changed to produce better results amongst the community. It is believed that nearly half of the present increase of crime may be attributed to disputes and differences arising from the possession of undivided shares of lands and trees as well as the division of fruits and produce. There is no doubt that a continuance of this state of things, having its demoralizing effects on families, cannot but be disastrous to the general community. The only remedy left is the introduction of the Law of Primogeniture into this country. There are some among the people who are wedded to a system of inheritance on a footing of equality amongst all the children of a family, and have a keen sense of unfairness when property passes to the eldest son, but the more intelligent classes seem to appreciate such a measure being adopted for the

well-being of the community, if provision is made, giving the parents the option of using their discretion, before death, in making a fair division of property amongst the children, in case the whole estate is not to go to the eldest son. Besides, the enforcement of the Law of Primogeniture, which has now been introduced throughout the Empire of Japan, will no doubt have its salutary effects on the community, in bringing about unity amongst the children of a family, and obedience to the parents, which are now sadly wanting in our communities. It would induce the younger sons to be more industrious, and create in them a more energetic and enterprising spirit to take up different pursuits of life, and many of the idle habits, which we now see in the people, would probably disappear. At this stage of modern civilization under Western principles, and considering the increase of litigation amongst the people, the adoption of such a procedure may be considered very needful to suit the present condition and character of the people.

A. DISSANAIKE.

NOTES.

At the prize-giving ceremony of the Committee of The Governor and Oriental Studies. said that he was in full sympathy with any movement which aimed at encouraging the study of the classical languages of the East. We give the following extracts from His Excellency's speech:—

This is an interesting function, bringing together, as it does, the Buddhist priests whom I see sitting on my right. They are the custodians especially of the old Sanskrit and Pali books, and it is to them that we look especially to keep up and extend the knowledge of an original research in those two languages. Sinhalese is the *lingua franca* of the country, and I could not help feeling disappointed when I read to-day that for the prizes given to lay students there are not more than four who entered for the examination. I have been in other portions of the East, and when there, I found that the language of the country was a great deal taken up, and closely studied by the Europeans resident in that country. To many Europeans, Ceylon is practically their home, and it, therefore, would be most interesting to them, and would give them a greater zest in life, were they to come in closer touch with the language of the country. It was only this morning that I asked the question whether there was a single (what I might call) European scholar of Sinhalese in the Island, and I was informed that there was not. That I regard as a most unfortunate confession, especially when it is considered that there is such a large body of Government officers who have gone through what has been, at all events, supposed to be a difficult examination. It confirms me in the views which I have long held, namely, that examinations are not everything, and that, as with boys at school, examinations are but the beginnings of life's progress, which have to be kept up and improved upon in after life, so also in the case of officers who have passed those examinations, that they are of little avail unless the study of the language is kept up afterwards and improved upon. It is to my mind most important that officers should not only pass these examinations, but come eventually in such close touch with the native populations that they actually think in Sinhalese. The defect having been brought to my notice, I shall, when I have got a little leisure, go into the subject, and I hope that, before I leave the Island, matters will be improved, and that the higher and more responsible posts in the Island, connected with the natives, will be practically reserved for those who are proficient in the language. I am not speaking here of Sanskrit or Pali—I am telling of what I call the Vernacular, the Sinhalese of the country, and in speaking of Sinhalese it also implies, more or less, the Tamils who occupy such large stretches of this country. In connection with it I may say that I am not at all certain whether education generally cannot be conducted with much more profit to the nation, as a nation, in Ceylon, *in the vernacular*, than in English. I do not mean by that, that it should be done entirely in the Vernacular, or that some knowledge of English should not be acquired, but I speak generally of the main position of education, which should be acquired in the tongue which the people understood and not in a tongue which they have only acquired. It is not for everybody to belong to the professions, nor to take up those occupations in which a knowledge of English is imperative. The number of openings for such young men is limited, and in certain directions I am not at all certain, at the present moment, whether

they are not overstocked already. I therefore believe that it would be better to encourage the young men of the country to follow the occupation of their fathers, and to get a thorough technical education in those particular pursuits in which they are engaged. For the enormous agricultural population I would have agricultural schools; for those whose parents and clansmen belong to handicrafts, there should be industrial schools also, to teach them and improve them in those handicrafts. The whole would then comprise a set of practical utilitarian schools, in which also the elements of English are taught up to what I think Mr. Harward told me this morning was the 4th Standard. A movement in this direction could not take place in a day; it will take time, but I believe, eventually, if a move was made, that it would be better for the whole population of the Island. Now, this matter of Oriental studies does not consist merely and solely in acquiring a knowledge of the different languages. I conceive that it would include original researches in such objects as Archæology and Ethnology and other kindred objects. If this is to be the case, the Committee and those who are interested in this subject of Oriental studies, are closely allied with another important Society here, namely, the Royal Asiatic Society, and it is on one small matter of Archæology that I would like to say a few words, and especially to the priests here present. I have been over many of the Buddhist ruins, and in doing so, I say that I have been shocked to see that some of them are being practically spoilt by the erection of incongruous, hideous additions, which bear no relation whatever to the original structures—tumble-down old brick huts, corrugated iron, rotten wood—a lot of those sorts of things have been simply put up for the purpose of every day life there, quite out of keeping with those grand remains of which the priests themselves, and the Sinhalese, and the nation generally, I might say, are most proud. I may be told that we have power under the Buddhist Temporalities Ordinance to remove these incongruous structures, but I prefer not to go to any Ordinance whatever, but to leave it to the good feeling and good taste of the Buddhist priesthood in general, to remove the eye sores which are now so offensive to the sight.

These views are what we have ourselves advocated from the first, but in order to present the other side of the question, we quote an article by "Renegade" (*Ceylon Independent, June 11th*) entitled: "Shall we learn Sinhalese and Tamil?"

H. E. the Governor seems to be the latest and therefore the most enthusiastic convert of the Ceylon Social Reformers. He has unburdened his soul on the study of the native languages, and he seems to have charged those who do not learn them with folly. It is not proposed to enter here into any criticism of the gubernatorial deliverance. But the other side of the picture may be looked at. There is valuable ancient literature in Sinhalese and Tamil, but as for literature which deals with modern ideas and learning, these languages are entirely innocent of it. To appeal for a study of the native languages for the sake of this ancient literature, is as wise as directing Oriental nations to learn English, only for the sake of reading Chaucer and Bacon. These English authors have their value, but if English were to be learnt only for the sake of reading them, the study would be valueless in a world which is always thirsting for the newest knowledge. Ancient literature, in any language, must always remain the possession of only a University.

But it may be urged that a new modern literature could be created if the natives of their country will learn their languages more enthusiastically, and the stranger within our gates will also emulate their example. But will the time spent in such an effort tend to the happiness of the people of the country? There is nothing which divides races and peoples so much, as differences of language. The very term "barbarian" is based on difference of language. If the various races in this country are to be brought nearer to each other, it must be done by giving them a common medium of communication. English is ready at hand to serve such a purpose. The welding together of the different

communities of the country can only be retarded by the insistence on differences of languages. The boy who spends his time in learning English is doing more for becoming a real member of the British Empire, in thought and feeling, than he who is devoting the few years he has for study in a frantic effort to preserve his distinctive nationality. Besides, in a country where English is the language in which the Government is carried on, the more a man knows the language of his rulers, the less will he be at the mercy of Court-touts, petition drawers and that large class of pestiferous rogues who now trade on the ignorance of village folk who are voiceless when they have to appeal to Government. From such a point of view, the study of English by every person in this country is a first step towards personal liberty, and a breaking down of the petty tyrannies which now flourish because the victims are dumb. If Ceylonese are to be reduced to the level of the black races in South Africa, who, through ignorance of the language, thought, and policy of the ruling race, are like to dumb driven cattle, let English be banished from our schools and let Sinhalese and Tamil literature take its place. But whether, by such means, we shall make them living entities in a country where the language of the rulers is English, can have only one answer.

The fact is, there is a great deal of namby-pamby talk about the beauties of Oriental languages, preservation of nationality and the shame of not knowing one's own mother-tongue, while the truth is that in the present crisis of the history of the East, Orientals must safe-guard their personal liberty as a first step towards progress point. There is nothing attractive in preserving nationality, when the price to be paid for it is political helotism. These are the opinions of one who will be called a Renegade.

Commenting on this, the editorial of the same issue, has the following remarks, with many of which we are in entire agreement. The italics are ours.

Educational facilities should be adapted to the necessities of the situation. For those who live in towns, the writer's opinions are worth taking to heart. English is the language in which the Government is carried on and in which practically all business is conducted, and, therefore, the town-bred native, who neglects the study of English, even to the neglect of his own mother-tongue, is courting certain failure in life, unless his ideas move in a circumscribed groove, in which neither ambition nor energy find a part. To such a class, looking forward to being employed in walks of profitable occupation, where English is a necessity, an exaggerated value may appear to be placed on the study of Sinhalese and Tamil, though a running acquaintance with both languages possesses its value, and it would be folly to pretend otherwise. This is bearing on the practical side of education. Education to be thoroughly satisfactory should be eminently practical.

But there is another side to it. *Banish Sinhalese and Tamil literature from our schools and substitute English in their place. Will that lead to peace and contentment, or the reverse? Will it not lead to general discontent which will swell out of all proportion to the means of remedying it.* To what extent the knowledge of English has contributed to the disquiet and unrest on the adjoining continent, we must leave to subtler minds to determine. Has it had any effect at all? Take the native Press of India and compare it with the native Press of Ceylon, and we are at once struck with the difference. And in India they are driven again especially to legislate, with the object of exterminating a powerful weapon which has been put into the hands of natives by the misuse to which they have put their consummate knowledge of English. The truth is, the subject possesses very deep and far-reaching possibilities. We are only on the fringe of it in Ceylon. And it is this consideration which renders the Governor's advocacy of only a moderate degree of education in English and preponderating attention being given to vernacular education, accompanied by a wider diffusion of industrial and technical education, specially attractive to us at the present time. *We do not want a universal system of education in English, if it is to lead to discontent and to swelling the ranks of the great unemployed in this country.*

We commend to our friend, the "Renegade," the following pithy sentences from Mr. A. R. Slater's review of the Ceylon Blue Book of 1907 :

The complaint that education results in the educated classes leaving the country for the town, finds many echoes in the reports of the Government Agents in Ceylon. "The educated man no longer lives upon or cultivates his land; he either leases it or works it with hired labour, while he himself enters the Government service or becomes a clerk in a mercantile firm." "The education given is only good in that it supplies the possessor with an instrument to assist him in competing for employment, and endeavouring to alter his position from that of an agriculturist to that of a clerk or mechanic." "The tendency seems to be to create a distaste for an agricultural life, which, after all, is the only occupation open to the great majority of the people." Is this the way the personal liberty of the Oriental can best be safeguarded, or a condition of political helotism be prevented?

We hope to deal with the subject at greater length in a future number of this review. Meanwhile we would point out to "Renegade" that the present miserable state of affairs, in which the "upper classes" are divorced from their "uneducated" brethren, is perhaps a necessary prelude to, and, in a way, the birth-pangs of a greater "personal liberty" which will rest on a stronger sense of the very nationality which he decries.

Mr. V. Chelva Durai writes:—

Vegetarianism in Ceylon. A *Jivanmukta* is content to eat what comes without ever seeking for anything. He regards equally a clod of earth and a lump of gold. The fact of Buddha, or other emancipated sage, having partaken of flesh-meat would never excuse a Buddhist or Hindu who, out of a *desire* to eat flesh, *buys* the meat. The great Hindu epic, Mahabharata, disposes of this question as follows:—

[Anushasanika Parva Cap. cxv. sl. 26, 31, 32, 40, 41 and 49.] "Flesh cannot be had from grass or wood or stone. Unless a living creature is killed, it cannot be procured. Hence is the fault in eating flesh." "If there were no one who ate flesh, there would then be no one to slay living creatures. The man who slays living creatures, kills them for the sake of the person who eats flesh."

"If flesh were not considered as food, there would be no destruction of living creatures. It is for the sake of the eater that the destruction of living creatures is carried on in this world.

"He who purchases flesh kills living creatures through his money. He who eats flesh kills living creatures through such act of eating. He who binds or seizes, and actually kills living creatures is the slaughterer. These are the three kinds of slaughter, all these acts being one and the same."

"He who does not himself eat flesh, but approves of an act of slaughter, becomes stained with the sin of slaughter."

"He who arranges for obtaining flesh, he who approves of those arrangements, he who kills and he who eats are all considered as eaters of flesh."

In this connexion, an episode in the life of a chief in the North is worth citing. Shanmukhanāyaka Mudaliyar of Navali, Jaffna, flourished in "the good old days" of the Dutch. He was a descendant of the *Arya Chakravartis* (Rajas) of Jaffna and held the highest native rank and appointment at the time under the Dutch Government in North Ceylon. He was once called upon to sign a license for the slaughter of cattle. This he stoutly declined to do, and rather than aid in the perpetration of a mean, cruel and irreligious act, tendered his resignation, thereby sacrificing his situation with all its emoluments and perquisites. Mr. Naganather Mudaliyar, J.P. of Nuwara Eliya is, I believe, the present day representative of this chief's house.

Mr. Benjamin Kidd delivered the Herbert Spencer Nationality in Evolution. lecture in the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford, on the 29th of May. A most marked and most universal feature of social progress at the present time was, he declared, the increasing perception of the importance in the evolution of the world of the ideas which rendered society more organic in the sense of subordinating the present to the future. They were the greatest, the most lasting, and the most potent asset that a people could possess. It was in the increasing perception of the relation of this fact to all the ideas included under the head of nationalism that they had, he thought, the true explanation of the present tendency throughout the world to emphasise nationality as a factor in evolution.

Dr. Willis on Taste and Education in Ceylon. "It would seem natural and right, in the case of a race like the Sinhalese and Tamils, who have a language, literature, history, and culture of their own dating very far back, that these subjects should, as far as may be, be utilised in education, instead of European versions of similar subjects as they relate to England or other countries, but to properly devise a scheme of education suited to the wants of the people of Ceylon is a big task to put before anyone." We nevertheless conceive this to be the prime duty, now neglected, of the Department of Public Instruction; for at present education in Ceylon is more artificial and anti-national than is the case in any part of India.

"The native who has lost his taste for his own art is, in regard to whatever style of art he adopts, among the most inartistic people on the

face of the earth, as one glance into any native house, furnished in European style, will show. Many are in the very worst style of early Victorian, whereas a native house furnished in the old native manner is a pleasing sight.

"As is not infrequently the case in a decaying country,* art flourished considerably, until about 60 or 100 years ago, but now seems all but extinct. What the reason of this may be is doubtful. It may be that the taste for artistic work among the people is dead or dying, for the less said about the tasteless way in which they frequently arrange their houses, in what they are pleased to call European style, the better. Or again, it may be that the people cannot afford to buy artistic things, for, of course, cheap though they be, they can hardly compare in this respect with the Manchester and German goods which the natives chiefly affect. Or yet again, it may be that the natives wish to appear like Europeans by copying their style, though they do this in poor taste. The fact that they so largely wear European clothes, they generally explain in this way, and there is no doubt that should a clerk now dress in native attire he would find it more difficult to obtain employment. The fact then remains, that native art is now very largely dead or dying, and that the people in general are, or seem to be, content with European art—if art it can be called—of a cheap and tawdry kind.

"It is therefore largely among the ruins and the old buildings that one must look to find really good and satisfactory examples of native art." From "Ceylon," by J. C. Willis, Colombo, 1907.

The Cause and Prevention of Cholera.

The *Indian World* for May has the following:—"The reputation of the water of the Ganges among the Hindu millions of India is known to all,.....but it would appear that modern science is coming to the aid of ancient tradition in maintaining a special blessedness of the water of the Ganges." Mr. Hankin, in the 5th edition of his pamphlet under the above title, writes as follows:—"Since I originally wrote this pamphlet I have discovered that the water of the Ganges and the Jumna is hostile to the growth of the cholera microbe, not only owing to the absence of food materials, but also owing to the actual presence of an antiseptic that has the power of destroying this microbe."

We have read that copper is such an antiseptic, and it has been suggested that the Ganges flows over some large beds of this metal.

* Why decaying?—it is not a compliment to British rule.

On the other hand, pious Hindus have asserted that the holy river has been, and still is, highly magnetized by the Rishis of Aryavarta. To all outward appearances the state of the water, say at Benares, is highly favourable to the propagation of the cholera bacillus : yet we are told that it is not so.

The Failure of Western Higher Education in India. Mr. N. G. Welinker in the *Asiatic Quarterly* sums up as follows, the causes which have lead to the present unsatisfactory state of affairs :—

- (i.) The steady diminution in the number of "great" English educationalists in India.
 - (ii.) The insufficiency of the teaching staff, both native and European, in Indian Colleges and High Schools.
 - (iii.) The unhealthy increase in the number of students in the Colleges, consequent on an excessive demand for collegiate education.
 - (iv.) Diminishing association and co-operation between English, and
 - (v.) The unsuitability of much of the teaching to meet the conditions and fulfil the functions of the life of to-day.
-

Race Restrictions in Ceylon. Under the above heading, the *India* gives the following in its report of the proceedings of the House of Commons :—

Sir Henry Cotton asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether rules had been published by the Ceylon Government, laying down the eligibility of Ceylonese for employment as District Engineers in the Public Works Department ; whether he was aware that the present Director of Public Works in Ceylon was endeavouring to secure the employment of Englishmen to the exclusion of Ceylonese by interfering with the selection of candidates in this country ; and whether he would take steps to ensure that Ceylonese, who had qualified in pursuance of the regulations, should be accorded a preference, or at least equal treatment, when candidates were selected.

Colonel Seely: "The Ceylon Technical College Regulations lay down the minimum course of training which Ceylonese engineering students in this country must undergo before they can be considered for ordinary vacancies in the Second Grade of the District Engineers of the Ceylon Public Works Department. No understanding is, however, given them that on the completion of such a course they will receive appointments, and, in fact, of late years, the Ceylon Government, in

stating the qualifications required when vacancies had to be filled, have usually asked for men with longer experience of their profession than the minimum period mentioned in the Technical College Regulations. It is the policy of the Ceylon Government and of successive Secretaries of State, to pay every consideration to the claims of well qualified Ceylonese to appointments in the Public Works Department of Ceylon, and to give them a certain preference over Europeans with equal qualifications; but where the qualifications are not equal, the best man must, of course, be appointed. I am not aware that there is any justification for the suggestion contained in the second part of my hon. friend's question."

The late Mr. Gladstone, speaking on the Government of India Bill (introduced by Lord Palmerston after the meeting of 1857) said: "I will take that great question.....I mean the question of the state of the natives, of the efforts which we are to make to keep open for them a career, and of the measures which we are to adopt for bringing them forward in the social scale, which, if it be a true advance, cannot be united to the social scale, but must leave open a political career. We have to look at the question, how far we can improve their qualifications for that career, and *the measure of their qualifications must be the exact measure of their admission.*" (Italics ours.) John Bright also spoke to the same effect; he contemplated a time when the sovereignty of England might be withdrawn from India, and suggested that the administration of the country should be so organized that "if at any future period the sovereignty of England should be withdrawn, we should leave so many Presidencies built up and firmly compacted together, each able to support its own independence and Government." He urged that in future India should be governed "not for a handful of Englishmen, not for that Civil Service whose praises are so constantly sounded in this house. You may govern India, if you like, for the good of England, *but the good* of England must come through the channel of the good of India.*"

Australia and the colour prejudice. Mrs. Annie Besant, writing from Australia in the *Theosophist* for July on this subject says (with regard to allowing the ignorant to rule the State): "One sees here the result of the power passing into the hands of the ignorant: the hasty snatching at a momentary advantage, without thought of the remote consequences; the thinking only of Australia and not of the Empire; the hatred of coloured races. One looks forward and sees the Australians themselves becoming yellow,

* Quoted from the *Indian Review*, June.

under the play of climatic influences, and wonders how they will then keep a 'white Australia'; many of them are already much yellower than the Northern Indians whom they exclude. And one thinks amusedly that, if Jesus Christ should come this way, he would be prevented from landing by the Australian law. One doubts if a white Australia should consistently worship a coloured Saviour."

Vaccination. This is one of the subjects, with regard to which the members of the medical faculty (as is the case with vivisection) are not agreed. The immediate and *apparent* results of the operation are misleading. We are convinced that the day will come when we shall regard vaccination as a mistaken idea. We are content to wait and see.

Dr. V. Wijetunga wrote, in a long article on this subject in the *Ceylon Morning Leader*, May 6th, 1908.

The Right Hon. John Bright said.—"I have always felt that the law which inflicts penalty after penalty on a parent who is unwilling to have his child vaccinated is monstrous and ought to be repealed."

When the people in Ceylon refuse to have their children's blood poisoned by vaccination, they are prosecuted and submitted to fines and may even be imprisoned. But in England and Wales, there is what is called a conscience clause which provides for conscientious objectors, and it is there illegal to punish such objectors. We poor heathen in Ceylon have no consciences, and no provisions for conscientious objectors are necessary here! Thousands of people in the different parts of the world have been seriously injured by vaccination, and official returns show that hundreds have died from cow-pox and the other effects of vaccination. The only reliable preventive of small-pox is *pure living*; all the scientific twaddle to the contrary notwithstanding. I sincerely hope that my feeble words will stir up the "outer educated public" and awaken them to a sense of their responsibilities towards their helpless little children.

Proposed Pasteur
Institute for
Ceylon.

The following letter has been sent to the Earl of Creve, the Secretary of State for the Colonies:—

Humanitarian League,
53, Chancery Lane, W. C.,

MY LORD,

June 14th, 1908.

We beg to draw your attention to the strong feeling which exists against the introduction into Ceylon of what is known as Pasteurism or preventive inoculation. The vivisection of animals which is carried on in these institutes is extremely repugnant to the humaner instincts of mankind, while the alleged utility of the experiments and inoculations is largely a matter of conjecture or assertion.

At a time, therefore, when public opinion in this country is sharply divided on the question of vivisection, we would remind you of the grave danger involved in thus outraging the feelings and wishes of the native population of Ceylon in a matter where, in the opinion of many Englishmen, they have right and reason on their side.

I have the honour to be, with great respect, your Lordship's most obedient servant,

JOSEPH COLLINSON,
Hon. Secretary,
Indian Humanitarian Committee.

The Right of
Restraint.

Professor Flinders Petrie, writing on this subject in the *Hibbert Journal* for July says:—"Much more inexcusable is the constraint, intentional or imitative, of enforcing customs of our own on the natives of other lands. For instance, the *amount of a people's clothing has no relation to their morals* [*Italics ours.* Missionaries please note *re* heathen,] but is entirely the product of climate and love of display; therefore this is not a fit subject for too drastic alteration. The nature of the food and drink used in a given country is determined by what long experience has shown to be fitted to the climate; to push the use of other aliments—such as meat and alcohol in a hot climate—is imitative constraint which we should avoid. Similarly, the extent and kind of moral training in an individual has imperative relation to the bodily development and fitness for the conditions of his life. If a man needs a highly resistant stomach, incapable of infection, he cannot also grow a highly organized brain. To constrain the teaching of a people out of proportion to their physical requirements, is to injure them, if not to exterminate them, as is seen in actual instances."

Dealing with the drink question in particular, he says:—

- (i.) Improve the tone and conditions of licensed victualing.
- (ii.) Reduce the facilities for getting drink, while not promoting private drinking.
- (iii.) Impose more severe penalties for offences committed when drunk than when sober.
- (iv.) Enforce the supply of clean water in all workshops, schools and establishments, and teach the importance of drinking it freely: encourage all large employers—regardless of the Truck Act—to supply non-alcoholic drinks, hot and cold, on their premises.

The Temperance
Movement in
Ceylon.

The tide of reform in this direction seems to have set in again, and various efforts are being made in different parts of the Island to do something to call the attention of Government to the drink question. A beginning was made last month in the Southern Province, on the initiative of the Galle Total Abstinence Society, in conjunction with several other societies which have survived the great movement of 1904, and a memorial is to be submitted to the Governor advocating several reform measures. The Social Reform Society proposes to attack the subject in September, before the Council meets, and we hope that one of the results obtained will be a total reform of the arrack renting system, and that other beneficial steps may be taken.

Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy wrote, in introducing his presidential address :—

The future of
the Society.

“My only desire regarding the future of the Society is that it should maintain its idealistic attitude, that is to say, that it should continue to concern itself more with the fundamental basis of the National Idea in educational, artistic, literary and social questions, than with questions affecting our purely material prosperity. As with Socialism in England, so with Nationalism in the East, it is fatally easy for high ideals to be swamped by a purely material ideal of prosperity. Too many Indian Nationalists desire merely to beat the European at his own trade—to learn so much Western science as will enable them to compete successfully with the West; so much of Western commerce as will enable them to transfer the factory system from the West to the East; so much of English “culture” as will allow them to pass muster in English society. Such aims are as delusive as they are mean. The aim of our Society, on the other hand, is, without blindness or prejudice, to study and foster the great ideals of Indian civilization; and, in endeavouring to preserve these, and their characteristic expression in our own culture, to build upon the true foundations of Nationality and Nationalism.

National
Architecture.

One other subject I can hardly refrain from mentioning; it is an instance of failure on our part to carry out our expressed ideals. One of the aims of our Society is to encourage the revival of native arts and sciences. There has recently been built at the Musæus school, our headquarters in Colombo, a Buddhist temple mainly for the use of the girls of the school. Our Society is not identical with the school in any way; but some of our most active members are interested in the school,

and have much to do with its management; so that when I read that this building "is a very pretty structure, a vaulted roof with a fine dome, Gothic windows, doors and a porch, with parapet battlements of classic design, being very effective," I felt how faint must be our own interest in the expression of our own national and religious life and architecture, for instead of taking this golden opportunity of putting our own principles into practice, we have but driven one more nail into the coffin of the traditional art of the country.

Sinhalese
Labour.

Upon one subject, related to the subject of my address, I think we have to congratulate ourselves. I refer, of course, to the important and successful meeting held by us to protest against the imposition of legal induc-

ments upon the Sinhalese villager, with a view to procuring labour for the tea and rubber estates. As it was in the seventeenth century is still the case: "Husbandry is the great employment of the country... In this the best men labour. Nor is it held any disgrace for men of the greatest quality to do any work, either at home or in the field, if it be for themselves; but to work for hire with them is reckoned for a great shame: and very few are here to be found that will work so" (Knox). We all recognize the importance of preserving in the country an independent self-reliant peasantry of this kind. A population of day labourers, at work of a much less interesting character, practically factory work in spirit, and making money of which the greater part is sent out of the country, would in no sense compensate for the loss of the independent villager. We have been told, of course, that no such thing as compulsion was ever intended; but this is not the first time that it has been proposed, and we may, I think, take it for granted that the way in which this part of the project has been dropped by its originators like a hot coal, is the result of our vigorous and timely protest."

REVIEWS.

The Buddhist Catechism, by Henry S. Olcott. Theosophical Society.
Published Adyar, Madras.

Forty-second edition, 1908. Corrected.

Mrs. Annie Besant writes, as preface to this edition :—"The writer of this catechism has passed away from earth, but, before he left the body, he had arranged with the High Priest Sumangala to make some small corrections in the text. These are incorporated in the present edition by the High Priest's wish, expressed to me in Colombo, in November, 1907."

We have compared the older edition of 1903 with this, and find the following alterations have been made. We present them here because, a little before Colonel Olcott's death, an outcry was made by a certain section of Sinhalese Buddhists that the book was full of blunders and contained non-Buddhistic statements. Now that the High Priest has made these corrections, it is to be hoped that the ground for complaint is removed. It is, however, only fair to say that there is, in our opinion, no fundamental error to be removed. The remarks in square brackets are ours.

- Q. 66, *old ed.* "he shrank from teaching it."
New ed. "he was reluctant to teach it"
- Q. 67, *old ed.* "and that only confusion of mind might result if it were preached."
New ed. omits this sentence.
- Q. 72, *old ed.* Kondañña "the believer."
New ed. Kondañña "one who understood."
- Q. 89, *old ed.* "Upāli—a barber"
New ed. "a barber, afterwards the greatest authority on *Vinaya*."
- Q. 91, *old ed.* "that no *minor* should thenceforth be ordained without the consent of his parents or guardians."
New ed. "that no *person*.....without the consent of his parents, if alive."
- Q. 100, *old ed.* "but the truth will remain for ever."
New ed. omits this. [In Mahāyāna there are three elements :—Dharma, Akāsa, Nirvāna].
- Q. 103, 104, *in old ed. re* "the popular belief that the Buddha was a giant"—omitted in *new ed.* [evidently a concession to popular belief].
- Q. 142, *old ed.* "It is not in the nature of every man to so become in one kalpa or world-period : a Buddha is developed, under nature's general adjustment of demand to supply, only at long intervals of time, when the state of humanity absolutely requires such a teacher to show it the forgotten Path to Nirvāna."
New ed. "It is not in the nature of every man to become a Buddha : for a Buddha is developed only at long intervals of time, and, seemingly, when the state of humanity absolutely requires such a teacher to show it the forgotten Path to Nirvāna. But every being may equally reach Nirvāna, by conquering ignorance and gaining wisdom."
- Q. 167, *new ed.* adds, "History says that enemies of the Buddha Dharma burnt piles of our books as high as a cocoanut tree."

Q. 236, *old ed.* "Exactly so. There is but one All, of which we and every being and thing are but parts."

New ed. "Exactly so."

[N.B. This latter statement is, however, true according to *Mahayana*, "the All" being the *Dharmakaya*.]

Q. 255, *old ed.* "He spoke parables and recited stories for the unenlightened masses: preached the *Sutta Pitaka* for the more advanced: gave the *Vinaya Pitaka* for the government of the Bhikkus and Upāsakas, and perfected the *Abhidamma Pitaka*, or philosophical teaching, for the highest class of minds."

New ed. "The Buddha looked into the heart of each person, and preached to suit the individual temperament and spiritual development of the hearer."

Q. 328, *old ed.* "What did the Buddha say to the venerable Kashyapa about the common source of all things?"

A. He said that "all things are made of one essence (*swabhava*) yet things are different according to the forms which they assume under different impressions."

Q. 329. "What does science call this production of all things from one essence?"

A. "Evolution."

Q. 330. "Do Buddhists believe matter eternal?"

A. "They do, as to its essence. If it were not so, it would imply that we believe in its miraculous creation. Matter, as we know it, is but a manifestation of Akāsa, and material forms are its impermanent modifications?"

New ed. omits 328, 329, 330.

[N.B. Akāsa, really the root of all matter, is apparently considered by Sinhalese Buddhists to be merely "infinite space." But see A. to Q. 364 *new ed.* where the statement is allowed to stand.]

Q. 356, *old ed.* "Vikubbāna Iddhi."

New ed. "Manomaya Iddhi."

Q. 370, *old ed.* "*Laukika*," *new ed.* *Bahira*.

Old ed. *Lôkôttara*, *new ed.* *Sasanika*. So also in 369 *new ed.*

A Buddhist Catechism. An introduction to the teachings of the Buddha Gotamo, by Subhadra

Bhikshu. Authorized translation from the eighth German edition by C. T. Strauss.

Mahabodhi Society, Colombo, 1908, price 25 and 50 cents.

This little book first appeared in 1888, and seems to have been largely based on Colonel Olcott's *Buddhist Catechism*, first published in 1881, in the *Theosophist*, June, 1890. Colonel Olcott, reviewing the 1889 English Edition, points out this fact. Mr. George Redway, the publisher, acknowledged that he was aware of the plagiarism, but after consultation with the Translator determined to issue the work as he had contracted to do, since there was no illegality, because Colonel Olcott had no copyright. This fact of course does not detract from the usefulness of the little work; indeed it enhances its value. Subhadra Bhikku (a German) replied, "that his (Col Olcott's) *Catechism* suggested the idea of mine I freely admit, and have stated as much in my preface [there is no such statement in that translated by Mr. Strauss]." "Subhadra Bhikshu" appears to be an assumed name. The present edition is in some respect an enlargement of the former, and contains useful notes at the end which fill out the original sketch so as to make the book useful even to advanced students. Note No. 66 is valuable and will help many to understand the Buddhist view of the continuity of consciousness, *viz* :—

"It is Buddhist doctrine that self-consciousness only illumines those parts of the individuality which just in that birth are being developed; that therefore it by no means

exhausts the whole individuality. Further, that besides the limited *ego-consciousness* of the actual personality, there is an *individual consciousness*, comprising the entire line of the part phases of development, but which is, as it were, in a latent state, and only enters into activity after the attainment of Nirvāna. [It is attainable partly in the stages following that of Sohan, increasing in volume up to that of Arahāt as the fetters are gradually cast off. Ed. N. R. Note] after lust, ill-will and delusion, which prevented its unfolding, are totally exterminated."

It is the constant confusion of the meanings of such words as *atma*, *ego*, *self*, *individuality*, *personality* and *soul* that have led to misunderstandings between the followers of different religions. The above note is in conformity with the latest discoveries of modern psychical research. Sir Oliver Lodge has likened, very aptly, the sum-total of consciousness to an iceberg, only a small portion of which rises above the surface of the ocean (*i.e.* only a small portion of the consciousness can be displayed in a single life) the vast residue being merged beneath the surface.

We should like to have seen the Pali equivalent of technical terms printed side by side with the English. The form of the book is neat and handy. The English of the translation is good and clear, and the teaching given bears the approval of Ven. H. Sri Sumangala.

F. L. W.

The Way of the Buddha. "Wisdom of the East" Series, by Herbert Baynes, M.R.A.S.
John Murray, 1906, 2/- nett.

This is one of the volumes in an excellent series of little books under the above name, edited by L. Cranmer-Byng and Dr. S. A. Kapadia. They are well printed on good paper and are of handy form, and are a token of the rapid way in which the boundless wealth of Eastern literature is being poured forth for Western readers, in instalments, by scholars of repute and impartiality. We quote here the Editorial note:—"The object of the editors of this series is a very definite one. They desire above all things that, in their humble way, these books shall be the ambassadors of good-will and understanding between East and West, the old world of Thought, and the new of Action. In this endeavour, and in their own sphere, they are but followers of the highest example in the land. They are confident that a deeper knowledge of the great ideals and lofty philosophy of Oriental thought may help to a revival of that true spirit of charity which neither despises nor fears the nations of another creed and colour."

We have here an introductory chapter dealing briefly with the condition of India and its philosophies at the time when Gautama Buddha appeared and with the progress of the Dhamma after the Lord's Parinibbana, and the leading features of Mahāyāna and Hinayāna.—The following sections are:—Birth and Youth. The First Sermon. Indian thought before the rise of Buddhism. The Bhagavad Gita. The Dhammapadam. The Master, Law and Order. The Disciples. The Ideal Buddhist.

Here the great difference between the Brāhman and the Bāuddha doctrine of the Path is briefly defined:—"in the one case, the traveller must seek and obtain divine help, whilst in the other he must work out his own salvation, relying upon himself alone."

The longest chapter (No. 7) is mainly taken up with an account of the ordination of Bhikkhus and the Patimokkha, as described by Sir Frederic Dickson, and quoted at length in *Warren's Buddhism*. A new feature is the appendix, which should prove useful to the Pali and Sanskrit student. It consists of all the quotations in full, to which reference is made in the text: these are printed in Sanskrit and Pali in Roman letters as done by the Pali Text Society. In conclusion, we must disagree with the editor, who sees in Buddha-Dharma nothing more than 'a religion of mere morality' which, he says, 'can never satisfy all the cravings of the human soul,' apparently forgetful that countless millions have been satisfied with Buddha-Dharma and will continue to be satisfied.

Brahma Knowledge. An outline of the philosophy of the Vedānta as set forth by the Upanishads and by Sankara. L.D. Barnett, M.A., Litt. D.
 "Wisdom of the East" Series.

Murray, 2/- nett.

This is another number of the "Wisdom of the East" Series and is brought out in the same form and on the same principle as the previous book, but without the Sanskrit appendix (the quotations are in English).

The editor points out the similarity of Vedānta with the teaching of Parmenides and the early Eleatic philosophers of Greece, and with Plato's Idealism—"but whereas the Greek philosophers were only professors, the Vedānta has always had a deep practical significance, like the early Christian Church, it preached as highest consummation the renunciation of the world and of self, passing in some of its phrases into a religious self-surrender, fully equal in completeness, if not superior, to that of European monasticism; and even as a purely intellectual force it has had incalculable influence upon the minds and characters of millions of Hindus in nearly every station of civilized life."

The divisions of the book are Part I. *An Account of the Vedānta.* Part II. *Some Texts of the Vedānta.*

We have nothing but praise for this excellent series.

The Dīpavamsa and Mahāvamsa and their historical development in Ceylon.

William Geiger. Translated into English by Ethel M. Coomaraswamy.

H. C. Cottle, Government Printer, Colombo, Ceylon.

Price Rs. 1.50.

This translation of Prof. Geiger's book, published at Leipzig in 1905, has now been finished by Mrs. Coomaraswamy and must have taken considerable time and labour. It is printed neatly and carefully by Mr. Cottle, but we should like to see a more durable binding. The introduction is printed elsewhere, in full, in the present number of the Review, so that readers may judge of the difficulty of the Professor's task and the clearness of the translator's English. The book itself was ably reviewed in No. 2 of this Review by Mrs. M. M. Higgins, so that we refer our readers thither for a full description of the ground covered.

Animism and Law: and On the Culture of the Mind, by Bikkhu Ananda Maitriya.

(Allan Macgregor.)

These are pamphlets, reprinted from "Buddhism" for free distribution by Mr. S. D. Fernando at the Granthaprakasa Press, Colombo, and clearly set forth the fundamental conceptions of the Dhamma, giving practical and useful advice for self-culture in spirituality and meditation.

F. L. W.

Records of Buddhist Civilization. Epigraphia Zeylanica, being lithic and other inscriptions of Ceylon. Edited and translated by Don Martino de Silva Wickremasinghe.

Part First (1904). Part Second (1907). Part Third (1907).

(Frowde, 5s. net each).

The following is from the literary supplement of the *London Times*, April 16th.

The Sinhalese, among all Indian peoples, pre-eminently possessed the historical instinct; their chronicles, extending over twenty centuries, "are authenticated," according to Turnour, "by the concurrence of every evidence which contributes to verify the annals

of any country." But the long story of Buddhist civilization is not only written in the Mahāwamsa and other Pali histories; it is inscribed on numerous monoliths, stone slabs, rock temples, and metal plates scattered throughout the Island, describing what Buddhism wrought in the day of its greatest culture; and the evidence of these records is confirmed by the stupendous topes and the magnificent remains that still survive in the ruined cities of Ceylon. That these, moreover, form vast repositories of historical documents may be readily realized when we remember that they included sacred cities like Anurādhapura, which, in its prime, ranked beside Nineveh and Babylon in its colossal proportions—in its four walls, each 16 miles long, enclosed an area of 256 square miles—in the numbers of its inhabitants and in the splendour and magnitude of its shrines and public edifices, and which was the focus and head-centre of a religious system, the influence of which is still a living factor in the East.

George Turnour, who rescued the Mahawamsa from oblivion, was also the medium of calling the attention of Oriental scholars to the Sinhalese lithic records, which, from about the second century B.C., to the first quarter of the nineteenth century A.D., trace the earlier type of Brahma-lipi script, through all its varying forms, down to the rounded characters of the present day, and display the evolution of the language from its primitive origin as a Prakritic dialect to the later developments of modern Sinhalese prose. But no serious attempt was made accurately to transcribe and translate the lithic records till Sir William Gregory, in 1874, engaged the services of a specialist to prosecute systematic epigraphical research on behalf of the Ceylon Government. It was only in 1899, moreover, that the publication of these records was placed on a proper basis by the appointment as epigraphist of Don M. De Zilva Wickremasinghe, of the Indian Institute, a competent Oriental scholar, who has had considerable experience in archæological and research work in Ceylon. We have before us the first fruits of his labours in the three parts of the "Epigraphia Zeylanica," issued by the Oxford University Press for the Ceylon Archæological Survey. In the first part appears a transcript of a series of inscriptions, among the oldest yet discovered, carved on the rock cells of the beautiful Vessagiri Vihāra of Anurādhapura. The transcripts are accompanied by fine collotype views and plans of the Vessagiri rocks. "These cave records," writes the editor, "are briefer than those of India, and show the prevalence of the custom (then in vogue in Buddhist India) of the dedication of caves as places of shelter for the Buddhist monks as a body, irrespective of sectarian differences." Cut in the old Brahma-lipi character, these inscriptions are, on palæographic grounds, assigned approximately to the second century before Christ. The rest of the inscriptions show the power and influence of the Buddhist hierarchy, and how it dominated the ancient government and the national life of the country. The royal decrees, carved by successive rulers, illustrate the care with which the rights of the Church were safeguarded, the manner in which the vast temple revenues were secured against spoliation and embezzlement, and the attention paid to the purity of the order by the strict discipline enjoined on the monks. They furnish an insight into the tenure on which lands were held for the monasteries, the duties and services of the temple attendants, the extent of the right of sanctuary, and the penalties attached to the breach of these regulations, with details of the ritual and ceremonial, and sidelights on the legal machinery, both civil and criminal, and on the social life of the period. There are scarce any among the documents published that contain strictly historical matter, though there are a few which embody incidental notices of the executive acts of certain Kings. An instance of this is the fine slab inscription of Kassapa V. (*circa* 929-39 A.D.). In an edict ascribed to Mahinda IV. (*circa* 975-91 A.D.), we find reference made to the Sinhalese palladium, the famous tooth-relic of Buddha, now enshrined at Kandy. This is perhaps the earliest decree we have relating to the most sacred relic of the Buddhist faith; and it confirms tradition as to the identity of the beautiful stone temple, to the east of the Thupārama at Anurādhapura, with the shrine in which the tooth was first deposited, when brought over from Kalinga in the reign of King Kirti Sri Meghavarna (304-324 A.D.). It is

to be regretted that a great portion of this inscription has been obliterated, but the manner in which the text has been edited leaves no room for criticism. We are glad to find that Mr. H. C. P. Bell's interesting note on the Dalada Maligawa has been included with the allusion in the Mahāwamsa to the arrival of the tooth-relic from India, but we have looked in vain for any reference to the Daladawamsa, the history of the tooth relic, either in the notes or in the historical summary.

The gem of the whole collection is the record on the two stone tables of Mahinda IV., on the summit of the sacred hill of Mihintale, "a mountain carved into a temple," where the Apostle of Buddhism resided, and where his ashes still rest (*circa* 253-205 B.C.). Although Mr. Wickremasinghe, with the caution of the critical scholar, while allowing the identification of ancient Missraka with Mihintale, affirms with some hesitation its identity with Seygiri of the earlier chronicles, there is no reasonable doubt that the hill eight miles from Anurādhapura, with its numerous ruins, was the "lion rock" of the ancient Buddhist historians.

"Of all the countless lithic records of Ceylon [says Mr. Wickremasinghe with truth], none, I believe, has attracted so much attention as these tablets. This is due partly to the interesting account which they give of the administration and inner life of a well-endowed Buddhist monastery; but more especially to the striking position which the tablets occupy on the sacred hill so frequently visited by pilgrims and sightseers."

Nothing better illustrates the thoroughness of Mr. Wickremasinghe's work than the manner in which he has translated and edited these inscriptions; the notes are full and to the point, and the text is preceded by a valuable historical commentary. The tablets of Mahinda IV. furnish an interesting glimpse of the internal economy and administration of a great Buddhist monastery of the beginning of the eleventh century, "which, in many respects, affords an interesting comparison with similar institutions of mediæval Europe." and, together with the Pepiliyāna inscription of Sri Parākrama Bahu VI. (1415-1467 A.D.), which contains regulations for the maintenance and government of a Buddhist ecclesiastical college, supply valuable materials to the historical student for reconstructing the picture of Buddhist monastic and wayfaring life in ancient India. The following extract will illustrate the contents of Mahinda's tablets:—

"(Thus) in respect of the great community of monks living in this vihāra, as well as in respect of the employees, the serfs, (their respective) duties, and the receipts and disbursements, His Majesty passed these (following) regulations, rendering them explicit by means of comments. The monks residing in this vihāra shall rise at the time of early dawn and shall meditate on the four protective formulas, and, having finished cleansing the teeth, shall put on and cover themselves with their (yellow) robes as prescribed in the Sikakarani. They shall then go to the "check-room" of At-vehera, and, exercising a spirit of benevolence and reciting *paritta* formulas, shall descend (into the refectory) and receive gruel and boiled rice. To the monks who are unable to attend the "check-room" through illness shall be granted a *vasag* each, when recommended by the physicians. . . . Orders shall be issued to employees and employees shall be dismissed only by the monks in council; no orders shall be issued or any servant be dismissed by individuals acting alone. The monks residing in this vihāra shall by no means possess the fields, orchards, &c., in any place belonging to At-vehera. They shall not allow their dependants to exercise supremacy over any place connected with At-vehera. Monks that infringe these regulations shall not live in this vihāra. The monk who looks after the Nakā, the lay-warden of the vihāra, the administrator of rules, the steward, the almoner, the clerk of the vihāra, the registrar of caskets, including the keeper of caskets—all these persons shall hold sessions in the At-vehera in company with the monks from the two fraternities at Abhayagiri, who have come to assist (them in their deliberations). They shall then fix places of business and shall attend to duties connected with receipts and disbursements, &c., both inside and outside (the vihāra). For the purpose of compensating for whatever may be destroyed by those engaged in matters relating to receipts and disbursements, both inside and outside

(the vihara), security shall be taken from suitable householders and deposited at the (respective) places of business. If any of the dependants of the monks of the vihāra are appointed, they shall not be retained in service, but be dismissed. Employees shall be dismissed after recovery of what has been entered (in their name) in the register. Caskets furnished with locks shall be deposited in the relic-house in the presence of the officials of the relic-house, with the seal of the officials at the place of business duly stamped on them. Apart from the case of any one of the officials of this vihāra going, not far, on vihara service, there shall (always) be in attendance not less than three persons from amongst those employed at (each of the following places—namely) the pay office, the place where raw rice is received, and at the place where, in the forenoon, boiled rice and gruel are accepted by monks."

It only remains to be added that the work, while preserving the high standard of excellence of its original, the "Epigraphia Indica," in accurate transcription, elaborate exegesis, and patient elucidation of the text, is superior to the Indian publication in its printing and general presentation; and we trust that, in the near future, some effectual measures will be adopted by the Ceylon Archæological Survey to gather in these epigraphical stores ere they suffer the fate of certain Ceylon inscriptions, including some that have been reproduced in these volumes, of ruthless destruction by treasure-hunters, that fruitful cause of danger to historical monuments in the East.

[The *Times* of June 16th has the following note:—"Don Martino de Zilva Wickremasinghe, lecturer in Pali and Prakrit at Jesus College, has been elected lecturer in Tamil and Telegu in place of the late Dr. Pope." We congratulate him.]

The Modern Review. Vol. 3 No. 6. June, 1908,

Calcutta. Re. 1.

This number of the *Modern Review*, to our mind the best of the Indian Magazines, is full of interesting matter. There is a well written article on *Emerson*, by J. T. Sunderland, M.A: then *The so-called inferiority of the coloured races* dealing with the scientific side of the question. A continuation of Rider Haggard's serial tale: *The Yellow God*, and an illustrated article entitled *Education that educates* (at the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute. Virginia, U S A.), by Saint Nitral Sing. *The Great War in Bengal 1658-1660*, by "Laboramus." *The Indian Craftsman*, by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy. A continuation of the narrative of his adventures in Thibet, by Rai Sanat Chandra Das Bahadur. *The Abolition of the Monopoly in the China Trade*. Professor S. Deva writes on *A French view of Indian Politics*. U. C. C. draws attention to some points of resemblance between the *Irish Repeal* and the *Bengal Partition Agitation*. Then follows a description of *A Shan Marriage* by B. Gangooly. The editor writes on *The Present Situation*, dealing with the Court outrages, casting the blame on Viscount Morley and concluding with, there can be only one remedy for this mis-government of India. It is to give her "*Swaraj*" or Home Rule. *The Saorias of the Rajmahal Hills* is an ethnological essay by C. Bandyopadhyay, B.A. Then comes *The White Army in India* and *What the world is doing* and *What we may do—What the world is doing for children*, Notes and Reviews (including one on *New ideas in India*. Rev J. Morrison, by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy) conclude an excellent number. A noticeable feature of the Magazine is its illustrations, reproductions of photographs, and pictures by Indian Artists of notables and Indian subjects. The March and April numbers were especially good in this respect, while the present number has, as frontispiece, a reproduction of *King Vitramaditya and the Vetāl*, by Nanda Lal Bose.

The Indian World.

May, 1908.

This number begins with a thoughtful article on *The Religious aspect of the National Movement*, by Rev. F. W. Steinthal, who says: "It must be admitted with deep regret that

one of the most outstanding facts of the movement is (a) its complete lack of any religious principle : " This argument is weakened by what he says lower down : " Another point is (b) " a growing lack of discipline in Colleges and schools.

" (c) The uncalled for opposition to Christianity.

" (d) Interest in social and moral reform is thrown into the back-ground.

" (e) The growing influence of Theosophy under the leadership of Mrs. Annie Besant.

" (f) A change in the conception of God : a tendency to spiritualize and symbolize old conceptions and presentations of religious truth.

" (g) The formation of new religious associations.

" (h) Activity among Indian Christians."

He then sketches briefly the history of Buddhism, Islam, Hinduism and Christianity with regard to their influence on India. He thinks too much force is being spent in self-defence ; that the interests of the nation as a whole are not felt by us (the missionaries ?). He pleads for higher religious principles.

Next comes a poem *The Birth of Tillottama* by N. Mukerjee, which halts somewhat, chiefly owing to the choice of a very weak rhyming metre of great monotony, and contains some amazing lines which defy scansion. Truly to write poetry in a strange tongue requires almost miraculous talent and genius.

Another and long article is : *Proposed Council Reforms and Self-government of India*, by Surendra Natt Roy, who pleads for an increased number of posts in the Civil Service to be thrown open to " natives." We quote extracts from this article in " Notes."

The Past, Present and Future of Buddhism is from a speech of Mr. Noven Dranatt Sen delivered at Calcutta last Wesak day ; it gives a birds-eye view of the progress of the Dhamma, claiming that " Buddhism in its purest form is still to be found amongst the highest initiates in Thibet," where there is still an immense number of MSS to be translated, and capable of throwing a flood of light on Buddhism. It extols the greatness of India in the times when Buddha-Dharma prevailed there and looks forward to the time when Maitreya shall restore the " light of the world."

Records of Buddhist Civilisation from the *London Times* is printed here. We have already quoted it at length in these notes. The rest of the number is taken up with Notes and Notices and an article on *The Progress of the Indian Empire*. Altogether an interesting number.

The Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon.

Vol. I. No. 2. Ceylon Examiner Press.

We welcome this the second issue of a new-comer to swell the literary ranks of Lanka. It is a small but interesting magazine, and is another proof of the wave of national feeling which is now sweeping over the world, arousing the slumbering pride of even the smallest bodies of citizens. The Frontispiece is a portrait of the Hon. F. C. Loos, M.L.C., the President of the newly founded Dutch Burgher Union, and is followed by a biographical note. Mr. Arthur Alvis lectures on *A plea for thrift*, truly a striking feature of the Dutch nation, and gives an outline of economical statistics dealing with the subject. Then follows the first instalment of a *list of some of the founders of families which settled in Ceylon from Europe during the Dutch administration, A. D. 1640-1796*, compiled by Mr. Advocate de Vos, the well-known antiquarian of Galle. Miss S. Pieters, Dutch translator to the Government of Ceylon, gives a part of *Sketches of Dutch History* beginning with the introduction of Christianity to the Netherlands. Next comes a *list of Dutch Civil Servants at Jaffna, in October, 1796*, compiled by the Hon. J. P. Lewis, c.c.s., with notes.

A *Chapter of the Dutch Lusiad* is a translation from the *Netherlands Spectator*. The number concludes with *Genealogien* door F. H. de Vos, which is beyond criticism, as our knowledge of Dutch is scanty. Notices of books, notes and queries, and details of meetings, form the rear-guard of an interesting number.

The Indian Review.

Vol. 9. No. 6, June, 1908.

This number opens with an article entitled *India and England, some moral aspects of the economic relations*, by Rev. C. F. Andrews. His four main points are (according to Indian economists):

- (i.) English predominance acts as a deterrent to initiative, enterprise and leadership (what Mr. Naoroji calls "the moral poverty of India").
- (ii.) The drain from India of wealth to England in "home charges."
- (iii.) The economic advantages given to England in the past and present Indian fiscal systems.
- (iv.) The heavy incidence of the Land Revenue, causing agricultural depression and distress.

The Two New Acts, by "an Indian lawyer," deals with the "explosive substance" act and "Newspapers' incitement to offences Bill," both of which are considered to have been too hastily penned. *The Discontent in India, its causes and remedies*, by Hon. Pandit M. M. Malaviya deals chiefly with the unfulfilled promises given by British statesmen to India. Parts are quoted elsewhere. A learned article on *Avidya : Nescience*, follows, by V. K. Kirtikar, who defines the word to mean "the natural incapacity of man, with his limited intelligence to comprehend the Eternal Absolute, called Brahma, which is unknowable by the senses or other such means of knowledge."

"In fact Prof. Max Müller defines it as *common-sense with well understood limitations, or the wisdom of the world*. It practically means our worldly life (what Christianity defines as 'the world') unenlightened by a knowledge of the Divine truth, which alone is the truest and highest knowledge, all other knowledge being deemed lower and, from the spiritual point of view, designated as false."

The article has another paragraph worth quoting: "And those who are competent to speak on the subject tell us that at this high stage of moral and spiritual culture (the merging in the All) one sees things which are concealed from ordinary humanity by the illusion of the senses. They think that the senses, by hiding the higher verities from our gaze, are in reality our benefactors, since they prevent us from perceiving that which, if realised without due preparation, would throw us into unutterable consternation—things which we could not bear to behold. See B. G. xi. [This is a statement common to all who have reached this high stage, and is made, among others, by St. Paul]."

The Mystery of the Sixth Continent, by Edward Vivian, traces the gradual spread of the knowledge of the "seven lotus leaves" of this globe, pointing out that the Antarctic Continent is the sixth, and cleverly solving the mystery of the seventh by saying that the Panama Canal will cut the Americas into twin continents.

Other articles are *The Administration of Criminal Law*, by K. K. Srinivasachari. *The Gods of the land of the Rising Sun*, by Romany James. *Dinshaw Edulji Wacha, his life and labours*. *Leprosy as known to the Ancients* by A. Swaminathan. Notes and Reviews, and utterances of the day (parts quoted elsewhere in this work) close the literary section. The last pages are confined to notes on industries, commerce and science, etc.

The front page of this otherwise excellent magazine is spoilt by an advertisement of someone's Pills, while the top is formed by a picture of Queen Victoria, flanked on one side by a gentleman in Indian costume, and on the other by a specimen of an extinct type of "masher" of the early "eighties," grasping a quaker hat, and rejoicing in loud check trousers. If this picture represents the ideally dressed Englishman (in Indian eyes) we are sorry. In these days of shoddy "art" and cheap lithography, we think that a magazine should either have a plain cover or a really artistic one, if only as a protest against degeneration.

Other magazines received are *The Mysore Review* (the type of which is very trying to the eyes) while the letter-press is spoiled by the insertion of advertisements. The chief articles are *Chanakya's Arhasastra* concerning marriage and *The Industrial Regeneration of Southern India*.

We beg to acknowledge also receipt of *The New Reformer* for July.

The Book of Ceylon, by H. W. Cave. Cassell, 12s. net.

Mr. Cave has produced another of his illustrated guides to Ceylon. The present volume is more comprehensive and more fully illustrated than any that have preceded it, and gives to the visitor a good general idea of the country. We notice many errors, *e.g.* the absurd statement (repeated from an earlier volume) about the European traveller who may not care to "take his life in his hands up the South-western route" to the summit of Adam's Peak; and the spelling Anurādhāpurā for Anurādhapura. But we have most fault to find with the journalese in which parts the volume are written, and the superficiality of the treatment. As an example of the guide book style, we quote the following: "Kuvēni upon the embattled peak with outstretched hand supplicating the gods is a fine situation and is a credit to Sinhalese invention" and this: "To stand upon the highest point of this sea-girt land, with the shadowed sky above and brooding darkness below, there to watch the rosy-fingered dawn cast her first rays upon the thousand peaks that begin to peep through the snowy mists which yet enshroud the low-lying valleys when the sun bursts over the horizon a rapid transformation takes place. The petrified surf of the mists now begins to move upwards, and reveals with vivid clearness the valleys all fresh from their repose ... the moistened rocks sparkle with diamonds and all nature rejoices at the new-born day."

Of the superficiality we select two instances. First, the statement that at Ramésaram "A century ago, when enormous cars, surmounted by images of the gods, were dragged along the paved ways by hundreds of frantic devotees, many in their frenzy hurled themselves beneath the massive wheels." We have understood that the story of human sacrifices at Jagannath itself was an exploded myth; but we have at least one statement to show that they were not practised at Ramesaram; for Bennet remarks that the annual festival of Jagannath there "is unaccompanied by the tragic scenes of self-immolation. ... We do not know upon what evidence inaccessible to Mr. Bennet, Mr. Cave bases his statement; if upon none, we suggest his withdrawal of the libel.

Here is another, perhaps less obvious instance: "We feel as we roam along the paths, how happy and contented must be the people who live amidst such surroundings; and we reflect upon the contrast which it all bears to the barbarian and poverty-stricken Kandy under the tyrant kings, when the food of the people chiefly consisted of bark (!) and roots, and their homes were squalid beyond conception. Such a transformation as this influx of wealth and comfort under British rule must be a convincing proof to the intelligent natives that their citadel at length fell to worthy conquerors, and a matter of proud satisfaction to every Briton who reflects upon the result of the enterprise." We have no time to refute at length this essentially philistine and British point of view, so ignorant as to be almost beneath notice; but we will only suggest that whatever is beautiful in Kandy to-day, apart from its situation, is due to those same tyrant kings; of whom one in the 18th century built the wall round the great *maluva*, raising "for himself a monument of glory by building a wall enclosing the great *bō-tree*, the *cētiya*, and the *Nāta Dēvale* that stood in the middle of the city—a wall of stone, thick, high, and shining with plaster work, like unto a beautiful string of pearls adorning the neck of the city that was like a fair woman." This wall is now broken into for the Police Court, a private house, and the English church! All of these buildings are painful eyesores. On the whole we prefer the chronicler's evidence as to the then state of the city, "that was like a fair woman," to Mr. Cave's self-satisfied and airy depreciation.

An excellent feature of the work is Mr. Lewis' admirable and adequately illustrated account of Kandyan architecture. We have only one serious error to point out in the rendering of *hansa putuwa* as "goose chair" (p. 358). *Putuwa* is a chair; *püttuva* is the design of two or more animals with entwined heads.

Amongst other illustrations especially interesting or valuable are those of agricultural ceremonies, and the picture of the "Kushta Raja" statue at Weligama.

On the whole we think Mr. Cave has done well, but might have done better.

A. K. C.

The Ceylon University Association Journal for April, 1908. This number, which appeared very late, contains *Memory in Education*, by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy. *The Training of Teachers*, by J. Harward, M.A. *Sir Henry Craik on Education in India. The Education of Girls. Mrs. Besant on religious education*: (a speech delivered at Galle in the Oriental Hotel, November, 1907.) *Education in India and Ceylon in view of the national movement*, by A. G. Fraser, M.A. *Report of the General Manager of the Buddhist Schools of the Colombo Theosophical Society*, for 1907. *Laying of the foundation-stone of the Old Memorial Hall, Mahinda College, Galle. Ceylon Examination Intelligence.*

Oriental School Drawing Books, by E. B. Havell,

Macmillan, 1 Anna each.

We have received from the publishers a set of Mr. Havell's admirable drawing books, which are of the familiar type, for teaching freehand drawing in schools. They differ from the old patterns in being the decorative forms of Indian art, instead of containing the, to an Indian student, less interesting and valuable forms of classic and gothic ornament. The first three books contain simple geometrical and architectural outlines, fruit and leaf outlines, and outlines of some of the beautiful water vessels for which Northern India is so noteworthy. We are especially glad to see these beautiful forms used, and wish that in model drawing, a reform in the same direction might be effected. The fourth and sixth books contain flowers and leaves naturalistically treated; more water vessels; and details of conventional ornament. The fifth book contains familiar Indian animals, naturalistically, and we think not quite successfully treated. Because, perhaps, of the absence of animal forms from so much of the decorative art of Northern India, these animals do not seem to be in harmony with the other books of copies. The sixth book contains flowers, conventional graceful forms in the Mughal style, filled in in solid black, and is perhaps the most successful of the series.

The books, as we have said, are based on the decorative forms of Indian art; but those selected are almost exclusively northern, and of the Muhammadan and more or less Persian school. What is now required is a series of similar volumes, in which Hindu and Buddhist types of ornament and design from Southern India and Ceylon are as freely drawn upon.

A. K. C.

The English-English-Tamil Dictionary, by A. Mootootamby Pillai.

Navalar Press, Jaffna, Rs. 3.50.

We have to congratulate Mr. Mootootamby Pillai (whose translation of the *Xailaya Malai* in our pages will be remembered, and who is the author of a *Tamil Classical Dictionary* and other works) upon the completion of his *English-Tamil Dictionary*. It is constructed upon a somewhat unusual plan; the various meanings of each English word are first given in English, and for each meaning the Tamil equivalent is separately given. This makes the Dictionary particularly convenient for purposes of translation from English into Tamil.

The English words and meanings are based upon those given in English dictionaries; and if we have any criticism to make, it is that a few unusual and unnecessary words are included, such as "irradiary" "jaculate." Shades of meaning are not in every case correctly rendered; "landlady" for instance means rather the mistress of an inn or lodging house, than an owner of land with tenants under her; the term "landlord" covers the second sense both masculine and feminine. But these defects (misprints are not many) are few, and the whole work appears to have been carefully and conscientiously performed, and will doubtless "fill a want." We do not hesitate to cordially recommend it to our readers.

[Also received too late for notice in this number:—*The Hibbert Journal* for July: *Pan-Islamism*, by Shaikh Mushir Hosain Kidwai. *The Dawn*: *The Indian Review* for July. *The Parents' Review* for July. *Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute*. *The History of the Rise, Progress and Downfall of Buddhism in India*, by Sumpa Khan-Po Jece Pal Jor: edited by Sarat Chandra Das., c.i.b. *The Indian Review* for July: *The Indian Educational Review* for July: *The Mahabodhi Journal*.]

The Ceylon Social Reform Society, 1908-9.

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THE CEYLON SOCIAL REFORM SOCIETY

MANIFESTO.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE CEYLON SOCIAL REFORM SOCIETY.

RULES AND REGULATIONS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

APPENDIX, I.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

THE Annual General Meeting of the Ceylon Social Reform Society was held on Saturday, May 2nd, at the Masonic Hall, Galle Face, with Mr. Donald Obeyesekere, Vice President, in the chair. The others present were:—Messrs. W. Chapman Dias, R. L. Pereira, C. Batuwantudave, F. L. Woodward, Revs. J. S. de Silva and Theodore Perera, Dr. Hewavitarne, Messrs. D. B. Jayetilleke, Martinus C. Perera, W. A. de Silva, S. Weerakoddy Mudaliyar, M. Supramaniam, D. S. Wickremeratne, C. S. Dissanaike, R. F. Cooray, H. S. Perera, John de Silva, K. P. Chandrasena, W. F. Gunawardana, B. Jayaratne Mudaliyar, G. F. Perera and Peter de Abrew (Hon. Secretary).

The Secretary read the notice convening the meeting, and then the Report of the Committee for the year ending April, 1908, which was as follows:—

Your Committee has the pleasure to report that during the year under review, the Society has founded four scholarships for Oriental Literature, of the total value of Rs. 960, tenable for four years, to be awarded to lay students only. These scholarships will be determined by examinations held by the Oriental Studies Committee, of which the Director of Public Instruction is the Chairman. On behalf of the Society, Messrs. Donald Obeyesekere, D. B. Jayetilleke, L. W. A. de Soysa, Dr. C. A. Hewavitarne and Peter de Abrew have guaranteed to the Director of Public Instruction the payment of the value of the scholarships.

The subject of the Revival of Sinhalese and Tamil Medical Science is receiving the attention of your Committee.

In accordance with the promise made by H. E. Sir Henry Blake, to a deputation from the Society, Sinhalese and Tamil have been included as subjects in the curriculum of studies at the Royal College. In this connection the Society records its deep sense of appreciation of the services rendered by the Hon'ble Mr. S. C. Obeyesekere.

Mrs. Annie Besant, who is an honorary member of the Society, gave a public lecture under the auspices of the Society at the Public Hall on the 28th November, 1907, taking for her subject: "National Reform,"—a plea for a return to the Simple Eastern Life.

An extraordinary general meeting of the Society was held at the Masonic Hall, on January 11th, 1908, to discuss the proposals with regard to Sinhalese labour, outlined by H. E. the Governor in his speeches while he was on tour in the Matale, Ratnapura and Kegalle Districts, during the latter part of last year.

A sub-Committee was appointed to report on the subject. The publication of its Report has been rendered unnecessary by the reply of Government to the Planters' Association regarding the subject, which embodied the views contained in the Report of the sub-Committee of this Society. Mr. Batuwantudave asked whether the Report of the Committee on Sinhalese labour on estates was available, and why it had not been put before the meeting.

The Chairman said it had not been circulated for the reason that the members of the Committee, at their final meeting, were unanimous as to the undesirability of the publication of that Report, in the face of the answer of Government to the Planters' Association. In the face of subsequent developments, they thought the publication undesirable. The Report was on the table, and if the meeting was of opinion that it should be published, the Committee would do so.

Mr. D. B. Jayetilleke proposed the adoption of the Report, and suggested that the Report of the Committee on Sinhalese Labour be included in it. The Committee did not consider the publication of their Report undesirable, but unnecessary. He thought it very desirable that just at this time the views of the Committee should be published. There was a Commission now sitting, and one of the questions referred to that Commission is the Sinhalese labour question. On that Commission there were very few representatives of the Sinhalese community, and gentlemen acquainted with the Sinhalese labour question, and he therefore thought it would be useful if at this time their Committee's Report was published together with the annual Report. The Committee was appointed for the purpose of preparing a Report and publishing it. That Report would be useful if embodied in their General Report as an appendix.

THE SPREAD OF THE OPIUM HABIT.

Mr. W. A. de Silva moved: "That it is desirable that steps should be taken to control the spread of the opium habit in the villages of Ceylon." They were all convinced that the spread of the opium habit was calculated to bring about the ruin of the villagers. It was gradually spreading and undermining the health of the people. If once they allowed it to gain ground among a people who perhaps did not possess sufficient education to control themselves, it would be a most difficult thing to arrest it in the future. Government had so many things to attend to, and so many pressing questions coming before them, that they would not pay attention to what they considered to be a minor matter, unless it was brought before them, and it were shown to them that it would really lead to disastrous results in the future. It was their duty to point out to Government, as people who had some experience of the villagers, that the opium habit was really undermining the health and the welfare of the people,

and that the present system of farming opium rents would eventually lead to serious results. There were hundreds of villages, where, for every licensed shop, there were scores of people who sold opium privately in small quantities, and those who consumed it in those small quantities eventually became confirmed opium-eaters. Opium was not absolutely necessary in the preparation of Sinhalese medicines, though it may be used in the preparation of certain pills and oils. Another extraordinary statement which he had read in the local papers was that opium was largely used by cattle owners as a preventive against disease, and that it would be a great hardship to them not to be able to buy it. He was afraid that was a bad "leg pull;" no cart owner could afford to drug his bull with opium; he requires at least a rupee's worth of it. Some people thought it would be best to leave the matter alone. That was an extremely selfish view to take. If they were going to take that view, there need be no charitable institutions at all. Then again there was the modern tendency to look only to the present, and to ignore the future. If the opium habit was allowed to spread, it would increase in geometrical progression, and in ten or twenty years' time, he believed the Sinhalese would be as much addicted to opium as the Chinese were now. So he thought they ought to do something for their nation, and try and induce those who were responsible for and could control the opium traffic, to take some steps to check it, because it could be done.

Mr. C. Batuvantudave seconded the motion. General attempts had been made in Ceylon, he said, by various bodies to check the spread of the habit, but the Government had been always looking to its own gain. He did not think they had received anything like a satisfactory reply or a satisfactory refusal from Government on the point. He thought it time that the Ceylonese took up the matter seriously and approached Government. If in countries like China and Japan, where opium drinking and smoking and eating had been the habit of most of the people,—if they found that it was injurious to the people and were taking steps to minimise the spread of it by issuing edicts against it—he did not see why that Society should not approach Government and ask them to take similar steps. Government was very particular in limiting and regulating the sale of other poisons, but the sale of opium had been allowed to go on. He thought they should seriously take the matter up and work it—even with more vigour than their Labour Committee—and draft a report and send it to Government and take all the necessary steps to see that it is published and brought before Government and discussed in the Legislative Council.

The Rev. J. S. de Silva supported the motion. He was glad that question had been taken up. Other questions, such as the liquor traffic, juvenile smoking, etc., should also be taken up by societies like the C. S. R. S. The Sinhalese had, with some truth, been called effeminate. The ordinary villager was very weak, and it was their duty to protect him as much as possible. Opium, it was said, allayed pain in cases of illness, but he found it was absolutely pernicious in Ceylon. It was a matter for regret that Government was not more interested in that and similar matters. The English Government, compared with that of China and America at the present time, did not stand in a very favourable light. Opium was not necessary in Ceylon and they ought to act vigorously, with all the strength they possessed, to check the spread of the opium habit. They should be thankful for having a man like Mr. Ferguson on their side. They should not regard the matter as an Exeter Hall affair at all. It affected the vital interests of the nation. He thought they should not spare any effort to collect all the information possible and set things going. The present was the psychological moment. The spirit of reform was in the British Parliament, and he earnestly supported the motion, hoping it would lead to something practical being done.

Dr. Hewavitarne also supported the motion. Opium, he said, was introduced into Ceylon forty-five years ago, and the revenue was Rs. 66 in the first year. He did not know whether it had now multiplied about ten or a hundred times, or a hundred thousand times. But it showed that the habit had increased largely. He had come across many opium-eaters, and their condition was pitiful. Mentally and morally they were wrecks. In Europe, the insidious dangers of opium were so well understood, that it was not prescribed even in the most painful illnesses, for fear of people getting into the opium habit. That habit made a man a moral degenerate. The habit was spreading in Ceylon, and they should do something to stop it. That Society had done something before in social questions and had succeeded, and they would succeed in that matter too. There were other matters—juvenile smoking and arm to arm vaccination—and it was just as well that they made a beginning with an important question like that.

Mr. D. B. Jayetilleke regretted that due notice had not been given of the question, otherwise many would have come prepared to speak. The habit was not confined to the villages. If they took timely steps, they could save their people from general ruin. The Australians had stopped the opium traffic, and even the Chinese in Australia were not allowed to indulge in the pernicious habit. It could not be said that the Chinese, Japanese and Australian Governments were infected with the Exeter Hall microbe. No; it was only because they saw the deleterious effects of opium. The Ceylon Government should be compelled to adopt measures for the amelioration of the people—the moral welfare of the people. The Government had been culpable in the past. Steps should have been taken many years ago. To-day the Government was very indifferent. Recently a Commission had been appointed to inquire into the opium habit, and had unanimously reported against the drug. But the Report of that Commission had been shelved like their own Labour Committee's Report—but as that Report was going to see the light of day, perhaps the Report of the Opium Commission would also see the light of day. But the P. C. M. O. had condemned the sale, the Government was bound to take some steps. They should

suggest that the Government should as speedily as possible withdraw all licenses for selling opium. If it was a drug, it should be sold like arsenic or anything else. It should not be sold in such a way that every man, woman or child could go to the den, just because they pay their money, and buy their pound or ounce of opium.

Messrs. W. F. Gunawardana, Weerakoddy and Martinus Perera also briefly supported the motion.

Mr. W. A. de Silva replied.

Mr. R. L. Pereira suggested that the word "further" should be inserted before the word "control."

This was agreed to, and the motion was carried. Mr. Peter de Abrew dissenting.

ELECTION OF OFFICE-BEARERS.

Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, the President of the Society, who is in England, having written to say that he considered it desirable that they should elect a president who is on the spot, the following office-bearers were elected for the ensuing year:—

PRESIDENT.—Mr. Donald Obeyesekere.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.—Mr. S. N. W. Hulugalle, Dissawe, Mr. E. R. Guneratne, Mr. James Pieris, Hon. Mr. W. M. Abdul Rahiman.

TREASURER.—Mr. L. W. A. de Soysa.

SECRETARY.—Mr. Peter de Abrew.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Mrs. Musæus Higgins, Messrs. C. Batuwantudave, W. Chapman Dias, W. A. de Silva, W. F. Gunawardana, Mudaliyar, D. B. Jayatilke, R. S. Subramaniam, R. L. Pereira, J. P. Obeyesekere, L. H. S. Peris, F. R. Senanayake, Edmund Livera, M. C. Perera, C. S. Dissanayake, H. S. Perera and C. Balasingham.

As it was now late and there was not time to read the late President's Address for the year (which is published in this number), the Chairman addressed the gathering. He said: Gentlemen, in conclusion I really cannot declare the meeting closed without expressing my deep sense of gratitude to you for having elevated me to the post of President of this Society. It is very gratifying as well as encouraging to know that what little work I have done in the interests of the Society has been appreciated. I thank all of you for the very flattering manner in which you received my election. There is a great deal of work that the Society can do, and it has done a good deal of work since its inauguration. After all, reform is not a thing that can be done in a hurry. It takes time. The Society has, so far, had the good fortune of having Government sympathising with it in its endeavours towards social reform. We had occasion, not very long ago, of approaching the Governor of the Colony, Sir Henry Blake, by way of a deputation. He was sympathetic, and carried out his promise to seriously consider the reform that we had suggested, with the result that the Vernacular forms part of the regular curriculum of the Royal College. It still remains for us to hope that the Royal College will be followed by other so-called English schools in the country, in which the children of the higher classes are educated. If they do not follow that example, there will be no alternative left to us but to approach Government again with a view to having the Vernacular given a more prominent place in the Education Code. At the present moment the Vernaculars are merely optional subjects, and the students have not been disposed to take advantage of that option that is given them. With regard to Ceylon History, that is another subject to which the Social Reform Society could usefully devote a good deal of its attention. We found the Government in sympathy with us. Sir Henry Blake thought that a knowledge of the history of their country was of primary importance for any community to be successful. The only difficulty that seems to face Government is the fact that no simple history of Ceylon exists in this country. So far as I know, there are very few high schools or colleges in the country where Ceylon History is taught. Trinity College, Kandy, is a notable exception. If Government is of opinion that the text book taught there is not suitable for introduction into the other schools, there will be no alternative but for this Society to turn out a suitable book, and let us hope the Government will accept the book turned out through the agency of this Society. Before another year has lapsed, we hope to provide Government with the history that is needed. Sinhalese and Tamil Medical Science is another subject to which the Society has devoted its attention, and to which it can usefully devote more attention. The study of Ceylon History shows us that Ceylon has had Medical Science in a very advanced condition for centuries past. In the time of Asoka there were well-equipped hospitals in the Island. Dutugemunu, we find, established no less than eighteen well-equipped hospitals, and the kings later on did much more. In fact, one of our kings, Buddhadasa, wrote a book on surgery, which even at the present day is considered quite an authority on the subject. There are plenty of other subjects to which the Social Reform Society could usefully devote its attention. Another subject has been proposed by Mr. W. A. de Silva—Opium. That, too, we shall include in our endeavours for the coming year. In case we find time available, we shall devote ourselves to other matters too. With these few remarks I conclude. I thank you gentlemen, again, for having elected me President, and I sincerely hope that, when we assemble here a year hence, you will not regret having elected me to this high post. With the assistance of the Committee, I hope to guide the destinies of this Society to your satisfaction.

The meeting then closed with the usual votes of thanks.

APPENDIX, II.

REPORT ON SINHALESE LABOUR.

AT an Extra-ordinary General Meeting of the Ceylon Social Reform Society held on January 11th, 1908, at the Masonic Hall, Galle Face, Colombo, for the purpose of discussing certain proposals in regard to Sinhalese labour then before the public, a Committee consisting of Messrs. Donald Obeyesekera ; James Pieris ; J. R. Molligoda ; D. B. Jayatilaka ; R. L. Pereira ; James P. Obeyesekera ; W. Chapman Dias ; Edmund de Livera ; W. A. de Silva ; L. W. A. de Soysa ; A. Dissanayake Mudaliar ; Andrew Perera and Peter de Abrew were appointed to prepare a report on the subject, for publication.

Since the appointment of the Committee, the original proposal has been largely modified. This Committee therefore thinks its report may well be confined to an expression of opinion on the suggestions now before the public.

As a matter of principle, this Committee strongly deprecates the connection of Government with the establishment and maintenance of a Labour Bureau as suggested in the above Scheme. The recruiting of labour for the different industries should be left to private enterprise and private agencies. Official connection with such ventures is not only derogatory to the Government, but is also likely to bring about undesirable results.

In the opinion of the Committee, the number of unemployed in Sinhalese villages is so small as not to warrant any steps being taken by Government in this matter.

The idea that the cultivation of rice in different parts of Ceylon takes place at different times and that it would be practicable to have a constant supply of local labour provided for the planters by villagers being shifted from one part of the Island to another is mistaken, in-as-much as in almost every part of the country the Maha Season is from November to March and the Yala from May to August.

The Committee does not consider it to be to the interest of the Sinhalese people that they should be, by whatever means, induced to leave their homes and go elsewhere to seek employment as coolies on Estates.

The Committee would also take this opportunity to express it as their opinion that crime in this Country is attributable more to lack of education, especially religious, and to easy access to cheap spirituous liquor, than to idleness.

The Committee is of opinion that it would conduce to the welfare and prosperity of the Sinhalese people if those who are not peasant proprietors at the present moment are helped to become such by Government letting them have lands on easy terms. The feeling of ownership will create in them self respect and stability of character, and make them more provident and temperate in their habits.