

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF CEYLON
Bulletin

LORD EDWARD FITZGERALD

SIR WILLIAM H. GREGORY ?

U. C. WICKREMERATNE'S
BRITISH ADMINISTRATION IN CEYLON
1796-1802

S. V. BALASINGHAM'S SIR HENRY WARD

KUMARI JAYAWARDENA'S
LABOUR AND NATIONALISM IN CEYLON

E. W. PERERA'S
CEYLON STANDARDS AND BANNERS
SPEECH IN LONDON
WORKS

HUGE CLEGHORN

CHRISTIAN TOPOGRAPHY

JULIA MARGARET CAMERON

S. E. N. NICHOLAS

THE LION FLAG

THE LATE DR. S. C. PAUL

THE JOHNSTONE MANUSCRIPTS

DONA CATHERINA

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF CEYLON

The Island of Ceylon is about 25,000 sq. miles. It has a civilization as old as 2500 B.C. It still preserves some monuments worthy of the admiration of East and West. Foreign scholars have been very interested in the antiquities of the Island of Ceylon for over a hundred years. The Government of Ceylon established a Department about 90 years ago to survey the field of archaeology and to take such steps as are necessary for the promotion of archaeological and epigraphical studies for maintenance of archaeological records and preservation of ancient monuments. The work so far carried out is praiseworthy, but much more remains to be done. It is felt that the Government alone may not be able to find the men and resources for doing it. It can be done by organised effort of Private Societies in collaboration with the Government and other scholars and Institutions both at home and abroad as in all other parts of the world. The aim of this Society is to engage in research into the Island's archaeology, history and culture and to take suitable action in regard to them, to maintain international contacts and to direct attention of the public. There is a written record in the Island but the knowledge that can be gleaned from its study is limited. Further study, excavation, and exploration, are expected to reveal more interesting information. The Society hopes to work to attain all these objects.

The work carried out by the Department so far pertains mainly to the ~~historical period~~ relating to Anuradhapura, Polonnaruwa, Sigiriya and ~~Tissamaharama~~. Intensive work has been carried out in the Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa areas which has enabled the architectural, structural and artistic wealth of the past to be revealed through the wonderful palaces, baths, temples, sculpture, carving and paintings. Not so much work has been carried out in the Southern Province generally known as Ruhuna and that area is expected to yield information relating to the historic and pre-historic period as well. The North-West Coastal strip from Kelaniya to Mantota and the South-East Coastal strip from Potuvil to Ambalantota may reveal evidence that will connect the historical, proto-historical and pre-historical record with India and South East Asia.

Epigraphical work was started even before the inauguration of the archaeological survey. In this sphere careful interpretation has enabled to confirm some of the events occurring in India and identify some of the historical names and places. Moreover, writing in the Brahmi script was known from 3rd century B.C. and epigraphical data are used to confirm the dates of events as well as to obtain more information relating to social, religious and the economic affairs prevailing from time to time. ~~Unfortunately, all the inscriptions discovered so far have not been published.~~

So far comparatively little work has been done with regard to the period anterior to the 6th century B.C. No scientific excavations on an organized large scale have been undertaken. Interested scholars have searched certain areas, and their efforts have been rewarded. But a whole era remains to be better examined and understood and this can be done by systematic excavations on a large scale. There is a further need to correlate the chronological sequence of

Ceylon with that of India. This is also possible through such an organised work. Scanty evidence tends to suggest that the pre-Vijayan period may be associated with the contemporary cultures obtaining in India from the ancient periods. Some suggest that Ceylon may have felt directly or indirectly the influence of Mohenjodaro and Harappa cultures of the Indus Valley Civilization as well. All these matters are most interesting and await confirmation through the light shed by scientific archaeological investigation. It can only be undertaken by a team of highly trained and experienced Archaeologists.

In India, Mesopotamia, Egypt, etc., foreign Organisations, Foundations and Institutions have collaborated in the search for such knowledge. But Ceylon has so far not benefitted directly from such assistance and advice and labour in the archaeological field. If a well equipped archaeological expedition can undertake and continue excavation for a period of 3 or 4 years at one stretch then there is no doubt that the new material that may be discovered will help to write a new chapter of the early history of Ceylon going back to nearly 3000 years ~~ago~~.

Our Association has been founded for the purpose of co-operating with the Government of Ceylon and other interested organisations since we believe that the generosity of international organisations under United Nations like UNESCO as well as well endowed Foundations which have done so much and spent so much money for furthering the study of man through an understanding of his cultures in other lands can and will help us to wrest from the womb of the Ceylon earth unknown treasures of knowledge to bridge the gaps that exist. We hope to secure this aid from the Government of Ceylon and through its good offices from other international and national Foundations overseas.

(Issued by the Archaeological Society of Ceylon)

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LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY
NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE 1

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THE LIFE OF LORD EDWARD
FITZGERALD.

1763 - 1798

By IDA A. TAYLOR

Author of "Sir Walter Raleigh"

With sixteen full-page illustrations
and a Photogravure Plate

London: HUTCHINSON & CO.
Paternoster Row - 1903

Pages 339 and 340.

LIST OF PRINCIPAL AUTHORITIES

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F. S.

The Governorship of Sir William Henry Gregory in Ceylon.

Bertram Emil Saint Jean Bastiampillai

Thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Arts
at the University of London, September, 1963.

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ABSTRACT.

William Gregory was Governor of Ceylon from 1872-1877. Under the constitution of the day the Governor was responsible for the colony's welfare. This study attempts to show that Gregory's term of administration was successful and eventful and that as a Governor he was remarkable unique.

The first chapter indicates the importance of the plantations in the island's economy. The seventies were the heyday of the Coffee industry. But already Coffee was disease stricken. Tea, the present day staple product, was introduced to supplant it. In the next two chapters Gregory's attitude towards plantations and planters is explained. Aware of their importance he helped planters wherever possible; but also mindful of the labourer's and the peasant's welfare he endeavoured to be fair to them. He attempted to improve the conditions of Indian immigrant labour and provided transport and other facilities for both planter and peasant.

The chapters four, five and six show that Gregory was a great reformer. Departments were reorganised. Consequently administration became more efficient while employees gained fairer terms of service. Better employment opportunities were given to Ceylonese. In hitherto neglected villages irrigation schemes were initiated. Village economy and the living conditions of the poor peasantry were improved. Gregory did not neglect the urban dweller either, but made his life healthier and easier. He fostered the growth of local government institutions. His predecessor's effort for extending educational facilities and encouraging Oriental studies were also intensified.

Finally, the Governor's relationship with the Colonial Office and his rational approach to controversial colonial problems are outlined. Unlike other Governors, Gregory interested himself in the Island's welfare after retirement. Gregory was unique as an administrator in 19th Century Ceylon not merely because of his manifold achievements, but also because of his successful effort to have his policies continued. He set out the pattern followed by his successors.

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Acknowledgments.

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I am thankful to the University of Ceylon for granting me leave to undertake this study at King's College, University of London. In London the grant of an allowance, from the London University's Central Research Fund, helped me to travel to Ireland to obtain the Gregory Papers, Sir William's private collection of letters and documents hitherto not consulted by any other student.

To Mr. W. J. F. Labrooy and Dr. I. H. Vandendriesen, of the University of Ceylon, I am grateful for advising me to choose the interesting career of Sir William for investigation. Dr. J. E. Flint of the History Department King's College helped me with advice during the earlier stages of my two sessions. Mr. S. Selvanayagam, Lecturer in Geography at the University of Ceylon assisted me in the preparation of the maps.

Miss Elizabeth Coxhead, novelist and literary critic, invariably encouraged me in my work and aided me specially to obtain the Gregory Papers. To her I am much indebted. To Major Richard Gregory M. B. E., grandson of Sir William, I am deeply obliged for allowing me access to the Governor's collection of letters and documents. He readily permitted me to study these invaluable private papers at my home a great favour, for which I am thoroughly grateful to him and his wife.

I also wish to thank the many officials who gave me courteous help in tracing out documents and books, at the Public Record Office, the British Museum, the Colindale Newspaper Library, the Institute of Historical Research and especially at the Royal Commonwealth Society's Library where I worked most of the time.

Above all, I have received throughout my period of study the invaluable assistance of Dr. Gerald S. Graham, the Rhodes Professor of Imperial History at the University of London. His skilled guidance and mature advice was ver courteously given to me at all times during the preparation and writing of this thesis. I acknowledge my deep debt to him most thankfully.

Principal Abbreviations in Footnotes.

Adm. Repts.	= Administration Reports.
Auto.	= Gregory's Autobiography.
Ch. of Commerce	= Chamber of Commerce.
C. P.	= Central Province.
Circ.	= Circular.
C. O.	= Colonial Office.
Col. Secy.	= Colonial Secretary.
Confdt.	= Confidential. (despatch or letter).
Dir. of Pub. Instruction	= Director of Public Instruction.
D. N. B.	= Dictionary of National Biography.
D. P. W.	= Director of Public Works.
Ex. Council Minutes	= Minutes of the proceedings of the Executive Council.

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Gov. or Governor's Addresses	= Addresses to the Legislative Council by the Governor.
G. A.	= Government Agent.
I. O.	= India Office.
Legis. or Leg. Council Proc.	= Proceedings of the Legislative Council.
Med. Inspector;	= Inspector of the Estate Medical Service.
N. C. P.	= North Central Office.
Pl. Assn.	= Planter's Associations.
Sub. Comm.	= Sub-Committee of the Legislative Council.
W. O.	= War Office.

The despatches cited by No. and date are from the Governor to the Secretary of State. References to despatches or replies from the Colonial Office have been indicated specifically by giving the Secretary's No. and date.

The numbers in brackets indicate the pages of books, reports or newspapers.

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THE GOVERNORSHIP OF SIR WILLIAM HENRY GEORGE
IN CEYLON

Bertram Emil Saint John Bastiampillai

Thesis submitted for the degree of Master of
Arts at the University of London, Sept:1963.

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APPENDIX I

A BRIEF BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE ON

Rt.Hon.Sir William Henry Gregory, P.C., K.C.M.G., F.R.S.

William Henry George was the only son of Robert Gregory of Coole Park, Galway and Elizabeth O'Hara, of the same Irish County. He was born on the 12th of July, 1817 at the Under Secretary's Lodge, Phoenix Park, Dublin, the residence of his grandfather, William Gregory.

After early schooling at Iver, Buckinghamshire, Gregory entered Harrow in 1831. Under Dr. Charles Thomas Longley, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, he was reckoned the cleverest boy. Gaining the Peel Medal and the coveted scholarship he became the head of the school. At Christ Church, Oxford, in 1837 he was less fortunate, and in 1840 left without a degree, partly owing to ill health. Nevertheless, having gained a good grounding in the classics, he later became conspicuous, among Parliamentary Contemporaries, for his intimate knowledge of Latin and Greek.

After travelling in Europe, in 1842 Gregory stood as the Conservative candidate for Dublin and was returned for so important a constituency at twentyfive. In the House of Commons he was soon looked on as promising, grew popular with all parties, and attracted the attention and regard of men so varied as Peel, Disraeli and O'Connell. He supported Peel on the corn law policy and was offered the Irish Lordship of the Treasury and responsibility for the conduct of Irish business in the Commons. Advised by his father and friends, who feared charges of unprincipled office - seeking, Gregory refused the honour. Unfortunately he was thus prevented from obtaining a valuable foothold on the ladder of politics.

After Peel's overthrow, in 1846, Gregory remained in nominal opposition to Lord John Russell's ministry; but his sympathies gradually grew more liberal. An active participant in the discussion of the Poor Relief Act of 1847, for mitigating the misery caused by the Irish potato famine, he became the author of the "Gregory Clause". It intended to prevent the abuse of the Act by disentitling the possessor of more than a quarter of an acre to charitable assistance. Gregory also procured the insertion of provisions for assisting emigration.

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At the general election of August, 1847, since his liberal tendencies had alienated the former extreme Conservative and Orange party supporters, Gregory was not re-elected. Thereafter for ten years he made no attempt to enter politics; but in 1849 accepted public office as High Sheriff of Galway. During this period Gregory devoted himself to the turf for which he had cultivated an early passion. He had won whilst at Oxford, £5000 on "Coronation's Derby" when only twentytwo. Now less fortunate, he had by 1853 to sell two-thirds of the fine £7000 a year ancestral estate. With this financial setback Gregory quitted the turf; whilst Governor in Ceylon he never visited the racecourse.

At the general election of 1857 Gregory was returned again to Parliament, this time as member for Galway, which he represented until 1871. Entering as Liberal Conservative, he soon acquired a distinguished position in the House during this second phase of his active political life. Although he had begun by being Conservative, Gregory had everyday become more and more Liberal. He had become an advanced politician on the tenants' side and held advanced views on religion too. He favoured the fair claims of Catholics and Dissenters being granted. In 1865 he formally joined the Liberal Party and in 1866 was offered the Lordship of the Admiralty in the Liberal government of Earl Russell. But once more Gregory declined political honour for private reasons. He had to look after the estate on behalf of his mother.

Against a wide extension of the franchise, Gregory joined the celebrated "Cave of Adullam" in opposition to Russell's reform bill of 1866. Subsequently he supported Gladstone's Irish Church disestablishment measure and Land Act of 1870. In fact, possessing pronounced views on Irish agrarian legislation he had introduced as early as 1866 a measure, which anticipated some of the provisions of the Land Acts of 1870 and 1881.

It was however in reference to matters, pertaining to the relations between the state and art, that Gregory came to be best known in Parliament and out. In 1860 on his initiative, and under his chairmanship, a Commons Committee conducted an enquiry into conditions at the British Museum. Later he took an important part in the arrangement and development of the South Kensington Collections. An ardent supporter of the opening of the museum on Sundays, Gregory evinced a keen interest in popularising the study of the arts. For several years he was considered the Principal authority in the Commons on the subjects connected with art. In 1867 he was appointed a trustee of the National Gallery on Disraeli's recommendation whose regard, despite political disagreement, Gregory always enjoyed. With his fine cultivated aesthetic taste, he thenceforward took the keenest interest in the development of the National collection. He presented the best of his private collection of pictures to the Gallery.

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Because of his contact with Frank Villiers, member of Parliament for Rochester, Gregory became inspired with a strong desire to go to Ceylon. Villiers, who had been aide - de - camp to Sir Colin Campbell, Governor of Ceylon (1841-47), "never tired of his vivid description of that glorious island". To Frances Lady Waldegrave Gregory therefore confessed "that the darling object" of his "life was the Government of Ceylon". She approached Lord Granville, who granted the request.

Gregory assumed the administration of Ceylon on the 4th of March 1872. He resigned on the 8th of May, 1877. In 1871 he had been sworn a member of the Irish Privy Council and in 1876 was made K.C.M.G.

In England afterwards Gregory took no active part in public affairs, despite his great interest in them. He declined invitations to contest diverse constituencies and remained equally deaf to overtures made to him by the Secretary of State that he would accept another Governorship. As an Irish landlord he approved Gladstone's Land Act of 1881, but was opposed to the Home Rule Movement. He had however a deep sympathy with oppressed nationalities and with most aspirations for local independence. He had favoured the recognition of the southern states during the American Civil War and in 1882 he advocated the cause of Arabi Pasha in letters to the "Times".

After 1890 Gregory's health gradually declined. On 6th March 1892 he died in London from the effects of a chill contracted when attending a meeting of the trustees of the National Gallery.

Gregory was twice married, first in January, 1872 to Elizabeth daughter of Sir William Clay and widow of James of Temple Bowdoin, who died in Ceylon in 1873; secondly on 2nd, March, 1880 to Augusta youngest daughter of Dudley Perse of Roxborough, Galway. She survived him with one son, William Robert Gregory, and grew to be the famous Lady Gregory.

Gregory was "a man of great natural abilities, real political talent, and marked personal charm".

An excellent landlord he enjoyed even through the worst phases of Irish agrarian agitation the regard of his tenantry and the goodwill of all classes of his countrymen.

Sources: Ed. by Lady Gregory: Sir William Gregory - an Autobiography; Sir Burnard Burke: A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland - Vol. I - 1894; Ed. Hon. Francis Lawley - John Kent's - The Racing Life of Lord George Cavendish Bentinck M.P.; D.N.B. supplement Vol. XXI; Dr. Vere H. Gregory: The House of Gregory; George Moore: Vale; Sir Solomon D. Bandaranaike; Remembered Yesterdays.

continued

For a facinating account of Lady Gregory's life and work see Elizabeth Coxhead's excellently written Lady Gregory: A Literary Portarit, and also the same write's critical and superb collection of Lady Gregory's plays in Lady Gregory: Selected plays. See also W.B.Yeat's: Later Poems for descriptions of Coole Park, the Gregory estate, and for reference to Lady Gregory and William Robert Gregory.

CHAPTER VII

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS AND THE REVIVAL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

Until the 'seventies, the government showed little interest in education.¹ A few schools in towns provided instruction, only in English, for the better-off urban dweller's children. There was little concern for providing elementary education in the rural areas. Large areas had no schools. The quality of education was not high; expenditure on it poor.

1870 marked the introduction of major changes.² Assuming the responsibility for providing elementary, vernacular, rural education, the government left the provision of English instruction in urban areas, to private enterprise. More effort and expenditure began to be employed on improving the quality of education. The inefficient, unsatisfactory, voluntary Central School Commission, of four lay and three Christian clerical members, was abolished.³ The responsibility for public instruction was centralised in a government department under a director. The Government's attention on urban schools was withdrawn and it was to be focussed on establishing village schools alone. A grant-in-aid system would encourage the opening of town schools. With their management the government would interfere little; but to ensure that funds were judiciously used, payments would be governed by results. This system was no doubt useful for raising standards, which was necessary in Ceylon. It provided teachers and managers with an incentive to greater efficiency. On the other hand, the system was inherently bad. Encouraging a dreary, mechanical form of teaching it forced the pace for dull children and led to the neglect of those who could be trusted to pass examinations.¹ The new policy aimed at providing instruction widely.² Through the vernacular languages alone could the masses be best reached. Therefore the emphasis, that had hitherto been on English and Anglo-Vernacular instruction, was shifted on to vernacular education.

The acceptance of a responsibility for providing widespread elementary education was but one of the many measures undertaken in these years for bettering the lot of the neglected, rural majority.³ In the changes in the sphere of education also reflect an indebtedness to contemporary English development. England had decided that no areas should remain school-less, and on instructing the generality instead of a few. She had adopted the systems of grants-in-aid, payment by results, and measures for improving the quality of teaching.¹ Moreover, nearer home, India began redressing the neglect of elementary rural education by apportioning funds mainly for creating village schools.² It was no wonder that Ceylon chose to act in similar fashion.

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Although these reforms had been introduced by Robinson, on Gregory devolved the responsibility for implementing the new policy.³ Eager to bring vernacular education "withing the reach of every native community large enough to support a school"⁴ and inspired by similar motives much the same, Gregory differed little from his predecessor. With a recurrence of buoyant revenues, he increased expenditure on education annually. Regularly more children were provided schooling facilities in Government and Grant-in-aid Schools, and pupils in them increased steeply, between 1871 and 1876. Similarly the educational vote shot up in amount.¹

The Colonial Office was clearly that the number attending schools was insignificant in relation to the island's population. Welcoming the advances in educational statistics, it cordially approved the rises in expenditure.² Given a free hand by the Secretary of State, the Governor multiplied the numbers of schools with phenomenal success.

The statistics of the day, no doubt, prove that the aim of providing widespread education was fairly achieved. In practice, however, the task of furnishing schools for the rural regions had been neither easy, nor speedily accomplished. Requiring many measures and much effort, it had been rewarded with uneven success.

Urging villagers to erect buildings as a first step the Government then granted assistance for organising schools. Particularly in the Western province and in Jaffna peninsula, where foreign influence was strong, the offer was eagerly availed of. Several schools were set up.¹ But within the Kandyan regions, under English control only since 1815, and in the interior remote from centres of foreign influence, the creation of schools proved difficult. Villages were apathetic; efforts of headmen to canvas rural co-operation for building school-houses met with discouraging result.²

Seeking the aid of Village Councils for overcoming peasant indifference, the Government offered them financial aid for establishing schools.³ Through them were obtained the services of village leaders for mustering the efforts of peasants for building schools, and funds were used only on schools for areas with none.

Consequently schools were established in Nuwarakalawiya and in the interior of the Northern, Eastern, North Western, North Central Central and Southern provinces. Even Badulla in distant Uva received schools.⁴ As schools began to be opened in some villages, adjoining hamlets, anxious to emulate their progressive neighbours, also demanded and obtained educational facilities.⁵

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A few years before schools had been clustered together only in the Western Province and Jaffna peninsula. Around Galle and Kandy there were a few and one or two at other principal towns. The rest of the Island had none.¹ But by 1875 some schools had been established in most areas.² The educational requirements of recent settlements, emerging into significance with the spread of plantations and roads, began to be met. In the region between Ratnapura, Badulla and Batticaloa there had been no schools before. Now schools had been opened at Pelmadulla, Balangoda, Haldumulla, Passara, Bibile, and Efavur. Similarly, in the central districts, along new roads in Udunuwara, Dumbura and Walapane, there were schools. To encourage attendance, at these rural institutions fees were abolished.³

Encouraging missionaries also to open schools in schoolless areas, the government often closed its institutions on the creation of aided establishments.⁴ This economical policy sought to prevent the creation of surfeit of schools in urban areas to the neglect of rural regions. Robinson had planned to disburse increased grants mainly for creating aided English and Anglo-Vernacular town schools. Gregory on the other hand, generally subsidized village vernacular schools alone.¹ To private establishments was left the main responsibility for providing English or Anglo-Vernacular instruction.²

Stimulated by a generous distribution of grants, missionaries took an active part in educational enterprise. Aided schools, the number of pupils in them, and the expenditure on grants increased immensely between 1871 and 1876.³ Fair to all establishments, the government allocated grants impartially. The adoption of this politic principle was also fraught with significant consequences. It prevented the rise of further discontent⁴ when their already was a rancour amongst other sects because of subsidies granted only to Anglicans and Presbyterians. Further even Non-Christian establishments, of the indigenous Buddhists and Hindus, gained an opportunity for engaging in educational enterprise.⁵ Although handicapped by the lack of sufficient funds, organisation and qualified personnel they did not at first make much immediate headway, gradually opening schools they later competed with Christians in providing education. Animated by a sense of rivalry with foreign missions, these institutions began fostering a revival of interest in local languages, literature and religions. Thereby they made no mean contribution towards the growth of nationalism later.

Provided denominational schools gave a sufficient number of hours of secular instruction, they were permitted to adopt their methods of teaching and textbooks of their own choice and to impart religious instruction. The slightness of state restraint rendered the environment favourable; with Gregory's encouragement it grew ideal for a rapid expansion of missionary endeavour. Inspections had convinced him that mission schools were efficient. In Jaffna

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In Jaffna the success attending American missionary efforts made it clear that only through missionary enterprise could education could education be best spread.¹ Moreover, unlike in England or Europe where ecclesiastical animosities were hindering attempts at aiding religious bodies in educational enterprise, in Ceylon there was little odium theologicum.² Therefore the Governor warmly sponsored missionary applications for opening schools.

But unfortunately in Ceylon too, within a short period unhealthy rivalry between the Christian Churches developed.¹ As a result, in certain populous areas, there was an overmultiplication of aided schools. The government too had neglected the prudent practice of subsidizing the establishment of schools only in areas where previously there were none. Therefore under Longden it became necessary to exercise a stricter vigilance over the grant and use of funds.

Meanwhile, missionary enterprise flourished. In Batticaloa the Wesleyans opened several village schools. In Galle they were pioneers in introducing science subjects.² Since missionaries led in adopting the newest and most approved methods of instruction, their schools often became more efficient than governmental institutions.³ Enforcing stricter discipline, missionaries obtained good teachers and managers from their schools, mostly English, European or American educated. The higher ranks of religious hierarchies also furnished personnel for constant inspections.⁴ The Government schools, on the other hand, generally drew teachers from the indigenous populace. Unfortunately because of the inadequacies of a local education, they were handicapped as against their missionary colleagues. Hence it was no surprise that mission schools imparted better instruction and the average Ceylonese parent began sending children to them.¹ The popularity of non-governmental schools was immediately strongly manifest in the sphere of female education. But, even for the education of boys, aided schools came to be sought after by those with means. High fees did not dampen the development of this trend;² even private schools flourished.

The Government also attempted to improve standards of instruction in schools, particularly in the vernacular media. Inefficient teachers were replaced with better qualified personnel.³ They were stimulated to work efficiently by increments only if the strength and discipline within schools were satisfactory. Classifying teachers into three grades, with differing salary scales, government also made promotions dependent upon qualifications and quality of work.⁴ Hitherto schools had employed adult assistants, chosen merely at the whim of teachers. From 1872, following English practice,¹ they were replaced with monitors. Grants of bonuses to teachers if monitors passed prescribed examinations creditably, ensured the selection of only

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of only promising students. The monitorial system, whereby elder children taught the younger, was ideal for meeting the immediate shortage of teachers, and for instilling responsibility, discipline, mutual aid and coprorates life in schools. Unfortunately it also encouraged a mechanical process of instilling facts into the minds of students.² There was mass production in education at the sacrifice of the development of individuality.

The policy of minimum interference appeared an obstacle to the efforts at improving aided schools. Some were clearly defective, but inspectors lacked the authority for enforcing reform.³ Therefore the Public Instruction department was compelled to acquire gradually a stronger supervisory control over aided institutions.⁴ Already it had been ruled that the amount of a grant would be governed by the standards of efficiency in instruction.¹ In 1876, by making departmental tests far more searching, managers were further forced to maintain an even higher level of instruction if they were to receive high grants.² Village schools, catagorised separately as Class "C" institutions since 1872, received capitation grants based on results. But the continuance of assistance depended on the ability of the schools to graduate into higher grades.³ If a school failed to gain promotion into the "A" or "B" grades within a few years, aid was withdrawn.

A system of grants, variable according to standards and affording incentive for improvement, was also adopted for compelling managements to improve buildings and equipment. Schools with buildings and furniture of a specified standard were classified as higher endowed "A" schools. Others fell into the lesser paid "B" group.⁴ Consequently in the Northern province, where village schools hitherto had been housed and furnished poorly, better buildings and equipment began to be provided. Likewise in Negombo the Roman Catholics built an excellent school-house for their English institution, while in Batticaloa the Wesleyans erected well-planned schools. Gradually all aided vernacular schools came to be housed better, while the government had already commenced building loftier, neater schools on an uniform design.¹

Unfortunately the few measures adopted for exercising a stricter regulation over the allocation of grants did not entirely arrest the growth of abuses. Soon after it was discovered that organisations were utilising grants more for missionary than for educational purposes. Writing privately to Gregory.² Longden complained that the government had been called upon to support several schools established by "irresponsible missionaries", who were not contributing one cent towards them. The government had really ceased to give grants-in-aid. Public funds were being expended at the will of private individuals. Discusted, Longden concluded, "I am sorry that my experience in the West Indies as well as Ceylon has convinced me of the unreliability of all

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of all information furnished by Missionary bodies about their schools unless checked by actual inspection". Constant strict supervision over the grant-in-aid system and schools became imperative. Having recognised this need, Gregory too had planned the enforcement of a stricter code of rules.¹ Unfortunately Legislative Council approval could not be obtained in time and the task had been bequeathed to Longden. But by that time it was not an easy one to perform. The missionaries having waxed strong under the liberality of a Governor who had trusted too much in their goodness, began claiming the independence conceded to them as a right. They opposed state-interference.² But Longden's administration firmly enforced the requisite supervision.

Since the progress of vernacular education was hindered by the lack of suitable reading material,³ a scheme for providing textbooks was formulated. After examining Indian school books a few, suitable for local use, were to be selected translated and published.⁴ Difficult and expensive, this measure offered no satisfactory solution. The lack of books remained a pressing problem even after Gregory retired.⁵ Inevitably the quality of vernacular schooling tended to be poor.

Of the endeavour to improve educational standards noteworthy were made within the teacher training institution, the Colombo Normal School, and the Public Instruction Department. Following the emphasis on vernacular education, the Normal School was provided with a Pandit for teaching Sinhalese grammar and classics.¹ In 1873 only vernacular teacher trainees were chosen.² Hitherto the average entrant had been often unfit for training. Because of a deficient early education even the merest elements of school learning had to be retaught. Hereafter government school teachers were required to prepare a special class of pupil teachers. From them would be selected trainees.³ Likewise aided schools were also instructed to create a nursery of trainees from promising students.⁴ The pupil teacher system, again derived from English practice,⁵ was certainly better than the monitorial scheme,⁶ for providing teaching assistance in schools and for the creation of good trained teachers.

Since trainees were generally weak in English⁷ a library was provided. Through constant reading they could cultivate a competence in the language. To provide adequate practical teaching experience well equipped practising schools were organised. Trainees served in them for short periods. Hitherto most students had lived in squalid surroundings because of the difficulties of obtaining suitable accommodation. From 1874, with the provision of lodgings, trainee teachers spent three years in a scholarly, disciplined, clean atmosphere. Consequently within year the tone of the school improved considerably.¹

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Yet despite these reforms, since salaries were poor, and in other occupations one earned even a hundred per cent more, the quality of recruits to the teaching service continued to be low;² inevitably the quality of teaching could not be high. It was fundamentally imperative to make the teaching profession more lucrative.

For ensuring through closer supervision that schools were properly conducted, an enlarged inspecting service was indispensable. Schools were multiplying rapidly. With three sub-inspectors and one inspector the department could not cope with growing responsibilities. In the very year 1872 a Ceylon Inspector had to do more than double the work done by his Australian or Indian colleague.¹ Without additional staff the department's efficiency would inevitably decline.

Three assistants were provided to the sub-inspectors,² but this gave little relief. From 1873 onwards government schools were being inspected at least once in three months. This was already difficult with schools being expected to increase from 769 in 1873 to 1000 by 1875, it was certain that inspections would have to be reduced.³ Aided schools were inspected only annually, and that too with difficulty, by arranging for a simultaneous inspection of the government schools around. Without adequate inspections managers nor teachers could neither be kept up to the mark, nor could defects be detected or corrected. Constant inspection was necessary for guaranteeing that government obtained commensurate returns in the form of efficient instruction for its outlay.⁴ Recruiting an additional European school inspector therefore government prescribed more frequent inspections.⁵ Government schools were to be visited by European inspector and a sub-inspector twice annually, while aided schools would receive a series of surprise visits in addition to the annual inspection.¹

Although an improvement of the existing position these changes were insufficient for ensuring a thorough control of school management. There was no code of instructions for regulating the duties of inspectors or teachers, nor a geographical classification of schools. Education still needed systematisation. It was no surprise that, a few years later, an efficient Director of Public Instruction discovered that funds were not being applied to the best advantage.²

Both in the achievements and policy within the educational sphere there were many shortcomings. Aware of these deficiencies himself, Gregory advocated further improvements on the eve of his retirement.³ Teaching lacked thoroughness. In the conveyance of instruction the thinking facilities were not exercised, nor strengthened. There developed a parrot-like learning, whereby students repeated or read passages because they had been drilled

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drilled to do so, but could hardly understand them. With the adoption of the monitorial system and payment by results systems it was inevitable that these faults should exist. Only by replacing them with better systems would there be improvement. But, when England was still experimenting in the field of education, it was too much to expect in Ceylon a faultless system of instruction.

• Large areas in the interior were still school-less. Between 1871 and 1876 the percentage of boys at school in proportion to the population had risen; but only to 2.44 from 1.09. ¹ Often attendance in rural areas was poor and involuntary. Considerable pressure had to be exerted on parents to send children to schools. ² Causes peculiar to illiterate isolated settlements, with distinctive social concepts, partly accounted for this unsatisfactory phenomenon. Believing that they were socially distinctive, and even superior, the up-country Sinhalese villager entertained an aversion to the low country teacher; ³ but it was only in the low country that people were adequately educated to be teachers. Tending to regard schooling adversely the peasantry even restrained children from attending schools. ⁴ The educated youth, generally unwilling to continue ancestral rural occupation, refused to assist his parents in their labour as was wont. He looked for more remunerative white-collar urban employment; it could also give him a superior social status. In a peasantry community where agriculture was little rewarding, it was inevitable that schooling was regarded as offering certain emancipation from a backward, difficult life and a way to success. Village ignorance had to be overcome; the peasantry had to be induced to regard education as inherently valuable. This was no easy task even for an enthusiastic Governor.

The emphasis on vernacular education was intrinsically good. Elementary instruction through the mother tongue has been acknowledged as excellent by educational experts. Moreover since the difficulties and costs of obtaining English teachers were great instruction could be provided easily and cheaply through an employment of local personnel. It was the ideal means for spreading literacy, which was necessary for making people perceive the benefits of new laws, winning their confidence in the government that enacted them, and for obtaining public co-operation for their working. ¹ Only a literate mass would appreciate reforms readily.

But unfortunately vernacular education was unsuited to the economic context of the day. The principal opportunities for employment for the educated youth lay in minor government and mercantile posts. To obtain these posts, English knowledge was a sine qua non. Gregory himself had regarded it essential to promote education because it facilitated an enlistment of the capacity of the Ceylonese into government service. Through the educated Ceylonese an agency could be created for dealing with problems

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with problems affecting local customs, deep seated impressions and prejudices, which were alien to the English official.¹ Moreover Ceylonese in the public service would form an element of strength in the administration. It would make itself felt in those strata of society to which English ideas and influence could not penetrate. "Every thing for the natives, but nothing by the natives was wrong"² If they were given "their due share in the general administration"³ the country would be governed better. This again was Gregory's motive when he had urged chiefs to send their children to school⁴ and Ceylonese to become doctors. Unfortunately only the English educated could benefit from Gregory's laudable plan. They alone could form the agency he endeavoured to create. There was little place for the vernacular educated youth in the public service.

Further the vernacular educated youth had no opportunities for gaining higher education which was in English. The few facilities for furthering education could only be availed of by the English educated. These were the children of the few urban dwellers, who could afford entry into the fee-levying town schools. Under such conditions, it was inevitable that, with time, there should emerge an English educated minority¹ and alongside a vernacular educated majority. In the latter had been kindled an ambition to advance which could not be satisfied. The vernacular-educated, divorced by their schooling from the rest of the ignorant, agricultural, village populace were unwilling to go back to traditional occupations. Uprooted from their milieu, and with no chances of obtaining employment and settling in the urban environment, they could only grow frustrated. It lay in the logic of circumstances that a bitterness should rise amongst the vernacular educated have-nots; that they should nurse a resentment against the ~~few~~ privileged English educated few. With no point of contact between them they remained separate.² Sooner or later the vernacular educated could become the eager recipients of a nationalism that would promise advancement and office to them. The wisest course would have been to bring English education within the reach of all, along with a sponsoring of vernacular instruction. To foster only vernacular education universally was unsound, when it gave no practical benefits to a community which could value education only for tangible results.

Already disappointment with the educational policy had become evident. When it was believed "that all young men who receive their education in Government schools have a claim on Government for appointments,"¹ this was inevitable. Affluent, influential, rural elements, such as headmen and labdowners, demanded English instruction for their children.² Even from backward Anueadhapurs, the peasantry had voiced a similar demand so that their children could make themselves eligible for employment.³ Under such pressure English teaching had to be provided in hamlets. Vernacular schools were promised grants for passes in English by their students.⁴

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With all administration in English, and opportunities for advancement only through English, it was no wonder that English education came to be more sought after. Vernacular education began to be left only to those with no means for pursuing English schooling; there even arose a tendency to regard it as valueless or inferior and to neglect it. The Governor tried to arrest this. Inspired by this cultured, leisured-class background, he explained that education was no mere "bread and butter" business. Viewing it from an angle of "art for art's sake" he preached "that education is so good and great a thing that it should be sought for apart from mere thoughts of gain".¹ His place were in vain. The Ceylonese continued to look on education as a means to an end; the unemployed educated youth of the North disappointed the Governor by clamouring for jobs.² Fortunately Gregory, though he felt it was not the state's responsibility to provide employment for all educated youth, had provided them new openings by remoulding the public services.³

Against the above criticisms must be also weighed the tangible beneficial achievements in the field of education. Schools had been opened in districts hitherto neglected.⁴ Some interest in education had been aroused, at least amongst a part of the peasantry.¹ This was clear from the activity of the Village Councils. Often pleading for them they aided in establishing schools and even in solving the perennial problem of poor attendance.² Rules were framed compelling parents to send children to schools. If there was no satisfactory explanation for a child's absence, parents were fined. Here was an attempt to have compulsory education long before many another place had even thought of it! Amongst the youth too, an interest in schooling had been awakened. "Not on one or two occasions, but constantly and in the remote parts of the Island" the Governor had been requested "as the greatest favour" he could confer on boys "to send them to some good school".³ Still more significant was the keenness kindled in female education; especially at a time when valuing education only for its palpable results, parents preferred educating boys alone as they could be breadwinners. Very few appreciated the education of girls as useful. Encouraged by Gregory's ready assistance many girls' schools had been opened. The number of students more than doubled from 4998 in 1871 to 10,718 by 1876.¹

With schools standards of efficiency,² cleanliness and punctuality had been improved. The quality of teaching too had been somewhat battered. New subjects, like elementary physical education, had been made a part of the curriculum. Despite the shortcomings catalogued earlier, this record of success was worthy of any efficient administrator. Above all, following Robinson, Gregory had made it clear that education was an important subject worthy of great attention from the state.

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ii Higher Education: Considering the poor facilities that hitherto had existed for obtaining elementary education, it was no surprise that there was little popular interest in higher studies.³ The average parent was anxious on educating children, merely for minor posts. Generally poor, the Ceylonese could not afford to provide children higher education. Nor could he as yet even visualise the value of it, when there were but limited employment opportunities. Moreover the facilities for equipping children for higher learning were for the most part available in Colombo. Very few parents could afford to maintain their children away from homes whilst they went to school.

However in 1873 and 1876, probably following the new efforts of encouraging the growth of education, the numbers attending the Colombo Academy rose.¹ Students at the Academy were eligible for admission to British universities on a government scholarship granted on the results of a competitive examination. The institution grew overcrowded; a sign that promised future development. Apart from this salutary indication, and the commencement of extra-curricular activity, athletics and games,² there occurred little else of note in the arena of higher academic education. The Government's interest remained channelled mainly towards developing vernacular, rural, elementary schooling.

Gregory was not even enthusiastic in introducing science and art. In view of the limited prospects of employment for those educated in these fields, he anticipated little local interest in studying the subjects.³ The heavy costs of obtaining competent foreign teachers would be unwarranted. But in India and Europe art schools, polytechnics and mechanics' institutes for science teaching were rising. Influenced by this, the press, Muttu Coomaraswamy in Council, and the Director of Public Instruction urged the Governor to make some start.¹ By a promise of additional grants school managers were encouraged to introduce the new subjects into the curricula. In 1877 a science teacher was appointed to the Colombo Academy, classes were commenced, and competitive prizes awarded for stimulating students to pursue science courses. To the Normal School science and art lectures were recruited;² teacher trainees were instructed in the new subjects.

Compared with Gregory's interest in developing other fields of study, the lack of enthusiasm for introducing the new subjects was unusual. He failed to visualize that only by providing facilities for instruction could there be created a sufficient number educated in science or art who, agitating for them would obtain openings in the public services. Up to now there had been no reason for providing openings for the art or science educated Ceylonese; there were no such people. Departments imported science personnel from England. When there were some Ceylonese, proficient in science or art, the Government would have to offer employment to them, especially because it would be cheaper to use local personnel. Moreover science contd.

Moreover science education was an invaluable pre-requisite for medical studies. It was strange that Gregory, who was keen on developing medical education, was uninterested in providing science instruction. Furthermore with science education there could also be turned out better recruits for the technical services, where employment opportunities for Ceylonese had been furnished. The existing educational system was mainly geared to producing clerks; there was already a glut of them. It was essential to provide instruction for equipping people for other occupations. A consideration of the heavy initial in introducing the new subjects had made Gregory adopt a manner quite incompatible with the farsightedness and liberality.

iii Medical Education: With the Principal Medical Officer's advice, the Governor made useful changes in the field of medical education.¹ Ceylonese needed to be trained for recruitment to the reorganised medical service.

In accordance with European university practice, the course of studies was extended and improved. For practical instruction, in Anatomy, Midwifery and other subjects, better facilities were furnished. A lying-in-hospital for teaching purposes, an improved laboratory, a pathological museum and more staff were provided.¹ Greater emphasis, was rightly placed on practical knowledge. Licentiates were trained for a year at the larger hospitals.² Even today local medical graduates are trained for a year after their studies. The standard of preliminary qualifications demanded from entrants to the medical school was raised. Assisting poor students financially,³ the Governor also encouraged candidates to work hard through annual awards of competitive prizes. As a result of these measures, the intake of the school and its output bettered.

In 1875 new buildings began to be erected for expanding the institution. A secondary class of students were enrolled for a new two year course.⁴ Dispensers and hospital assistants were to be trained speedily and economically for serving as rural medical assistants and vaccinators. Thus the local youth was given the opportunity of following another rewarding course of study.

The government's strict policy of admitting and training only a few competent candidates efficiently, along with a shortage of adequately qualified doctors for appointment as lecturers, restrained the school's intake and output of medical officers.¹ But it assured the gradual emergence of a highly competent local medical service formed from only well trained products of the improved college and course.

iv. Legal Education: Notaries, acting more or less like village lawyers, had existed since Dutch times.² As appointments had been made inefficiently³ many were unfit, either because of their character, or professional attainments. Examinations for their

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for their selection which ought to have been conducted by judges, had been entrusted to proctors and had deteriorated into a mere formality. Complaints about the malpractices of ill equipped notaries were constant. Urged by the Queen's Advocate and the Legislative Council, the Governor introduced reforms.⁴

Hereafter notaries would be chosen only after preliminary inquiries into character and general attainments. After undergoing proper legal training as apprentices to Proctors or Advocates, they passed a regular examination conducted by a Special Board. The number of notaries in each district was restricted. With an assurance of adequate practice for everyone, better classes would be induced to seek the office. The right to practice was to be procured by the payment of a higher stamp duty. Bringing them under the Registrar-General's supervision, the Governor and the Executive Council also obtained greater powers for removing peccant notaries.¹

On the advice of the judges, the Colonial Bar was improved.² Hitherto since even untrained persons applied for enrolment as advocates, indiscriminate admissions had grown into a public scandal.³ Hereafter, only candidates assessed to be of good repute and with sound elementary education could apply for selection. After passing a preliminary examination in English, Latin and History, they would follow courses in jurisprudence, Roman and International Law. Subsequently after year's apprenticeship to a practising advocate, they faced a final examination conducted by the newly created Council of Legal Education, composed of judges and Crown Law Officers.

These overdue measures of reform were eagerly welcomed by the Colony and the Colonial Office.¹ Systematising the education and training of legal functionaries, they also raised standards within the profession. A better class of qualified notaries and advocates developed. The practice of apprenticing advocate students remains to this day, while the Council of Legal Education became the principal controlling body over professional legal training.

v Industrial Education: Industrial education was at a low ebb. Only the Kandy Industrial School provided some practical instruction in trades and industries.

To stimulate an interest in it and to provide qualified Ceylonese to fill vacancies in technical departments, Gregory encouraged the Industrial School to commence classes in levelling and surveying for training recruits.² Funds were also allocated for enlarging the institution.³ But even then, except for the slight interest shown by a few educated Ceylonese, the progress of industrial education was poor. There was a lack of remunerative employment for the industrially trained. An erroneous impression in a caste-based society that craftsmen occupied a socially

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a socially inferior status, also could account for the Ceylonese reluctance to take to industrial education. The preference was for white-collar employment, better paid, and commanding more prestige.

vi The Promotion of Oriental Studies: This was a time when Europeans and Ceylonese were interesting themselves in Oriental studies.¹ To promote the cause of research became a compelling duty. Following Robinson again, Gregory therefore sedulously encouraged inquiries into Ceylon's past and culture. The Colonial Office gave cordial support to the Governor, especially when plans did not entail excessive expenditure. Equally enthusiastic in providing "... a fine addition to Oriental antiquarianism", the Secretary of State regarded the collection and preservation of source materials for a study of the past, "a work which ought to be done" with "no room for delay".² Both Herbert and Carnarvon showed a marked keenness in having epigraphs copied or archaeological monuments restored.¹ Owing to this coincident unanimity of zeal on the part of the Imperial and Colonial authority for fostering a study of ancient culture, much about Ceylon's art, culture and glorious past came to be revealed.

The Governor considered a museum an indispensable institution for encouraging research into Oriental culture.² With his long, intimate connections with museums and Art galleries,³ it was no wonder, that in Ceylon, Gregory exhibited a passionate keenness for establishing a museum immediately. To the Council he presented a compelling case. Everybody had acknowledge the need of an establishment for housing exhibits representative of Ceylon's natural history, antiquities, and industries.⁴ In Europe museums and art galleries were being extended, while in most colonies such institutions had been created already. But Ceylon had none, whilst it easily could afford one. Swayed by these enthusiastic arguments the Council welcomed the proposal for constructing a museum.

Eager Gregory embarked on his scheme eagerly, but in too much haste. Colonial Office consent had not been solicited and the Secretary of State was vexed when he learnt of the museum project only through a copy of the Governor's speech to the Council.¹ Already burdened with expensive reproductive ventures - railways and the breakwater - an additional outlay on a museum could strain the island's exchequer too heavily. Construction of the building was halted. More information about the plan was demanded for consideration as to whether the institution could be created economically.

The project having become too much of an obsession with Gregory, he was unwilling to abandon it. He sought to convince the Colonial Office of the need for creating the museum. Universally desired, the institution was also indispensable for housing material that could prove useful in scientific and antiquarian research. It

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It would house the Royal Asiatic Society's collections, the Oriental library and other useful books, and would also furnish space for conducting public academic meetings and lectures.² It was beyond doubt useful; yet the creation of the museum would entail only a modest expenditure. Donations would provide the collection of exhibits. The local Council favoured the project; the institution would be established without curtailing the execution of other useful public works.

Meanwhile rumours that the Colonial Office opposed the establishment had excited the island. Press reports criticizing the Secretary of State were written.¹ Although lamenting the expenditure entailed, apprehensive of disappointing the populace who favoured Gregory's plan, the Secretary of State sanctioned the construction of the Museum. Suspecting that the establishment was the Governor's premeditated idea,² and that local enthusiasm for it had been whipped up subsequently by him, Kimberley remarked: "The Museum is evidently a hobby of Mr. Gregory's and as he does his work zealously and well, I am afraid I must indulge his fancy; tho' I am very doubtful of its utility, especially since I have seen it so much puffed."³ Although certainly right in construing that the project was Gregory's hobby, the Secretary of State was proved wrong in his scepticism as regards the museum's utility. Growing into a nursery of research, the institution remained always valuable, perpetuating Gregory's contribution towards the revival of Oriental learning.

To safeguard the Colonial Office from being forced to sanction schemes begun by Governors hereafter, it was ordered that no large buildings should be planned without prior consent.¹

By September 1875 the Museum was built. Constructed under Gregory's personal supervision,² benefiting from his expert knowledge of European Museums and galleries, it resulted in a tastefully fashioned structure. To furnish exhibits, ancient sculptures and remains from the old Sinhalese capitals of Anuradapura and Polonnaruwa were assiduously collected.³ Many of these objects were being destroyed, through the carelessness of Works' department officers, engaged on construction schemes, and by vandal treasure seekers.⁴ Gregory's action proved most opportune for preserving valuable examples of ancient art and sculpture. In January, 1877 the Museum was opened; an attendance of over 99,000 visitors within the year itself revealed that the institution had stimulated a popular interest in Ceylon's heritage.

Encouraged by the European and English scholars who were interesting themselves in studying Ceylon's languages and culture,¹ Gregory ardently fostered the cause of research.² Having received at different times applications from gentlemen in Oriental literature that the inscriptions with which the Island abounds should be

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should be carefully collected and reproduced,"³ the Governor wanted to have epigraphs copied. Likewise architectural remains were to be preserved, archaeological excavation and restoration fostered. Ancient historical chronicles would be copied, edited and translated; books and manuscripts sought and preserved.

For photographing rock inscriptions and obtaining costs, Captain Hogg of the Royal Engineers was employed. A collection of photographs taken in Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa was sent to the Colonial Office in 1874.⁴ Since these reproductions of epigraphs, varying in character and dialect, could reveal valuable information about ancient usages, religion and history, collections were also to be preserved at the Museum and the India Office library for the consultation of scholars.¹

Unfortunately a number of the inscriptions were damaged. Photographic reproductions were neither quite clear nor of very much value. By scrutinising the epigraphs only a competent scholar of Oriental languages would make more useful, accurate copies. Grege Gregory pressed the Colonial Office for the services of Dr. P. Goldschmidt, a German philologist and Orientalist, recommended by the English Royal Asiatic Society as suitable for collecting and editing the epigraphs scientifically. Acknowledging the wisdom of obtaining copies of records which were fast perishing owing to the ill effects of exposure to weather, the Colonial Office authorised Goldschmidt's employment readily.³

Stimulated further by the Secretary of State's encouragement and enlarging his plans at the end of 1874, the Governor embarked on an ambitious, epigraphical and archaeological, survey of Ceylon's ruined cities.⁴ Goldschmidt would collect, edit and present a philological analysis of inscriptions; Hogg would photograph architectural remains for inclusion in a book on Ceylon Archaeology.¹ Gregory convinced the Colonial Office of the usefulness of his scheme.² Appealing personally to Gathorne Hardy, the Secretary for War, Carnarvon obtained Hogg's services for Ceylon for a further term, even though the military was anxious to have him back in his regiment.³ By April 1875, the architectural remains were photographed and Hogg was released.⁴

Meanwhile Goldschmidt continued his work. Examining various inscriptions, in two reports, in September and November 1875, he commented on the linguistic development of the ancient period. By September 1876 copies of numerous records within the North Central Province had been obtained.⁵ To discover further incip-tions, Goldschmidt ventured on to a survey of the Hambantota district in the South, another of the early Sinhalese settlement areas. Inspired by the German scholar's enthusiastic efforts, the Governor embarked on the production of a Corpus Inscriptionum Zeilanicarum.¹ For the easy reference of students, it would

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it would contain much source material about ancient Ceylon. Unfortunately in early 1877, Goldschmidt died; the Governor's design had to suffer.²

Nevertheless, the material already collected and compiled³ was of undoubted use to Pali and Oriental history scholars. A series of stone slab inscriptions, from about the 3rd to the 13th century A.D., had been copied, arranged chronologically, translated and deposited in the Museum library.⁴ Through a study of the records variations in the structure of letters in Sinhalese writing, from their early square formation up to the latter day round type, had been traced.

The photographs of principal Buddhist remains in Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa taken under Robinson, were compiled into two volumes with a commentary. To assist archaeological research ancient monuments were discovered, excavated and conserved.¹ In 1873 Anuradhapura's ruins were surveyed and objects of interest indicated on a map.² Detailed plans and sections, indicating architectural measurements, and drawings of the ancient moundlike religious structures enshrining Buddhist relics, the dagabas, were made. Lithographical copies were to be sent to the British Museum for the reference of scholars. Even contributing his own money, Gregory encouraged a Buddhist priest in restoring an ancient religious building at Anuradhapura. Consequently numerous damaged statues were repaired; olden day coins, rings and ornaments were recovered and preserved in the museum.

The Director of the Museum was instructed to discover and preserve ancient literary works.³ The search for old manuscripts in Buddhist temple libraries, commenced under Robinson, was eagerly furthered. Since James d' Alwis, to whom Robinson had entrusted the responsibility, was slow, Mudaliyar Louis de Zoysa, another competent scholar, was employed for procuring or copying the old works in libraries speedily. In transliterating the second part of Ceylon's historical chronicle, the Mahavamsa,¹ two other local scholars, the monk Hikkaduwa Sumangala and Pandit Batuwantudawa, were employed.²

As a result of these, valuable manuscripts containing useful data on Buddhism and early Ceylon were procured or copied and preserved in the Museum. Many manuscripts had already perished, but effort to save others had not come too late: In the early days temples had been managed by learned priests, who valued literature. But under the British when state patronage to temples was withdrawn, ecclesiastical property had fallen a prey to spoliators. Libraries were neglected; valuable literary and religious works had suffered from the depredations of insects and the severe tropical climate.³ Certainly it was a foolish that the island's rich ancient and medieval literature was not saved earlier.

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The Sinhalese, Pali, and Sanskrit works gathered into the Museum were catalogued.¹ Copies of the list were distributed to the British Museum, the Bodleian and other libraries so that foreign students would learn of the valuable literature in Ceylon. Through a consultation of various manuscript versions the text of the Mahavamsa's second part had been rectified. Having arranged for its Sinhalese translation the Governor also made provision for translating the first part of the chronicle into English.² For an elucidation of the chronicle's text a study of its commentary was indispensable. Therefore the Governor entrusted a revision of the commentary, the "tika", to Sumangala and Batuwantudawa. The value of these endeavours to make this chronicle easily accessible for student consultation cannot be overrated. Even today the study of the island's early history is based on the evidence in the Mahavamsa.

For the use of the modern history scholar the addresses delivered by Governors to the Council were collected and published, to provide a complete epitome of the important proceedings of the colony. Similarly for the study of natural historians a volume, "The Lepidoptera of Ceylon", was planned.¹ Dr. Thwaites who compiled this work, published under Longden, was also encouraged to write a book on Ceylon botany.² No local scholar failed to receive aid and encouragement from the Governor for the pursuit of research.

Even after retirement Gregory encouraged the study of Ceylon's history and culture. He urged the Secretary of State to have Goldschmidt's work continued and the book on Ceylon's inscriptions produced.³ He suggested that important ruins should be photographed, measured and drawn. To make the ruined cities easily accessible to scholars he wanted the clearing of jungle around them continued. For the study of Orientalists he requested that a revised text of the Dipawamsa,⁴ an earlier chronicle than the Mahavamsa, should be procured; a task at which he had failed.¹ Acknowledging that through his keenness Gregory had acquired much knowledge and experience, the Colonial Office readily welcomed his offer to advise them on matters relating to archaeology. Consulting him, it often adopted his suggestions.² For preventing valuable remains and manuscripts perishing from a want of care, Gregory presented a comprehensive scheme. Concurring that expenditure on the presentation of works of ancient art was prudent and beneficial, Carnarvon instructed Longden to adopt most of his proposals.

Through letters to Longden and Gordon, Gregory urged a continuation of the excavation and restoration of ruins, the collection and reproduction of epigraphs, the publication of ancient chronicles, and the development of the museum. From regular reports and information from officials³ and Governors⁴ he learned of the progress

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progress made. Agreeing to follow Gregory Longden continued his policy wholeheartedly.¹ Gordon, equally eager in furthering the cause of research, even handed down Gregory's proposals to his successor, Arthur Havelock (1890-1896).² In this manner the work of Gregory went on almost to the end of the century. He was actively responsible for directing English policy in sponsoring Oriental studies during the last quarter of the 19th century.

Even though he had originally confessed that he was personally uninterested in Oriental culture and encouraged a study of it as a mere obligation, in his later days Gregory undoubtedly had succumbed to its fascination. Invited by Carnarvon he agreed to read a paper on Ceylon antiquities at the Society of Antiquaries,³ he was the first contributor to Gordon's fund for restoring remains,⁴ for which government money was not available; and even encouraged a study of the language culture and people of the Maldiva Island. Only a love of delving into Ceylon's past could explain Gregory's enormous and sustained interest in sponsoring Oriental learning in the Island.

Following Gregory's endeavours a local eagerness for pursuing Oriental studies was kindled.² Collecting donations, monks and chiefs established a Pali library at Kandy voluntarily. By providing a room for storing books and the use of scholars, the Governor assisted this enterprise.³ In Colombo, the Oriental College for Pali, Elu, and Sanskrit studies was founded in 1877. Attended by monks and laymen this institution, for which an annual grant of Rs.600 was authorised by Gregory,⁴ grew into a rich centre of Oriental learning. Today it has blossomed into the fully fledged Vidyodaya University of Ceylon.

The development of an interest in Oriental studies was fraught with significant consequences. With a study of Ceylon's past its ancient languages, and religion, the Ceylonese began to look back with pride to their glorious past. Yearning for a revival of their lost cultivation they began movements for revitalizing their religion and language. The seed had been sown for the flowering of cultural nationalism with the revival of vernacular learning and Oriental studies.

Educational Progress and the Revival of
Oriental Studies.

NOTES.

1. G.C.Mendis: Ceylon Under the British (25,43,64) for education before the '70s.
2. Governors' Addresses: 12.1.1870 (191-192).
3. A. Wright: (Ed.) : Twentieth Century Impressions of Ceylon - "Education", (220 - 221).
1. H.C.Bernard: A History of English Education - From 1760. (112 - 114).
2. Governors' Addresses: 4. x. 1871 (223).
3. Mendis. - (p.x) of Introduction.
1. Woodward (455 - 464); Barnard (107 - 114) for English developments.
2. Overland Ceylon Observer: 24. 12. 1873 (86); 8.xi.1873 (476).
3. Charles Collins: Public Administration in Ceylon (91).
4. Governors' Addresses: 30. 7. 1873 (324).
1. 1871 - Government Schools - 180; Grant-in-Aid - 314.
1876 - " " - 301; " " " - 695.
1871 - Pupils - 31,447; Expenditure - Rs.238,436.36 cts.
1876 - " - 80,160 " - Rs.380,914.20 "
See, CO54:477 - No.113 -3.8.1872; CO54:488 - No.310 - 13.x.73:
CO54:492 - No.4031.1.1874; CO54:493 - No.86 - 11.8.1874;
CO54:498 - No.247 - 8.9.1875; CO54:504 - No.334-27.x.1876;
CO54:506 - 53 - 22.2.1877; Governors' Addresses:7.5.77 (518).
2. CO54:493 - No.86 - Ceylon : F.R.Round's minute - 26.x.1873; 11,002
CO54:504 - No.334 - 27.x.1876. In 1875 out of a population 2,405,287, only 1/45 of it attended schools. See also CO54: 477 - 9017: CO. minutes 10.9.1872; CO54:498 -Ceylon:F.R. 72 924
Round's minute - 29.1.1876.
1. CO57/57 and CO57/63 - Repts. of the Director of Public instruction - 1872 (314); 1874 (97).
2. CO57/57 - Rept. of the Director of Public Instruction - 1878 (314).
3. Governors' Addresses: 25.9.1872 (264).
4. Ibid., 30.7.1873 (323); 14.x.1874 (373); CO57/63 -Rept.of the Director of Public Instruction-1874(97).
5. CO57/63 - Rept.of the Director of Public Instruction 1874 (97).

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1. C057/66 - Rept. of the Director of Public Instruction 1875 (121)
2. Governors' Addresses: 8.9.1875 (416).
3. Ibid. 13.9.1876 (465); C057/66 - Rept. of the Director of the Public Instruction -1875(121).
4. C054:498 - No.247 - 8.9.1875.
1. Governors' Addresses: 25.9.1872 (264); 30.7.1873 (322).
2. Ibid. 30.7.1873 (323-4). 314; Pupils = 16,000 Expend.=Rs.38,816.
3. Aided schools in 1871 = 314; Pupils = 16,000 Expend.=Rs.38816. 29 cts. Aided schools in 1876 = 697; Pupils 45,422. Expend.= Rs. 125,950.88.
4. Digby - Vol. II (178); also see chap. VIII for an account of sectarian animosities. pages (340,341,343).
5. Wright (221); Mendis (64.).
1. C054:498 - No.247 - 8.9.1875; Governor's Addresses: 14.x.1874 (373); 7.5.1877 (520).
2. Governors' Addresses: 14.x.1874 (373).
1. Charles Bruce: The Broadstone of Empire - Vol.II (22-23).
2. Overland Ceylon Observer: 9.5.1876 (403); C057/73 - Rept.of the Director of Public Instruction - 1877.
3. C057/62 Rept. of the Govt. Agent, Colombo - 1873 (104); C0/57/63 - Rept. of the Dir.of Pub.Instruction-1874(108); C057/69 - Rept.of the Govt. Agent,Colombo -1876 (26).
4. C054:498 - No.14 - 23.12.1875 - Encl.Dir. of Publ.Instruction to Col.Secy. 13.7.1875.
1. Overland Examiner: 22.6.1875 (203); 9.12.1875 (440).
2. C057/72 - Rept.of the Dir.of Public Instruction -1877(144c)
3. C057/57 - " " " " " " " - 1872 (313).
4. Ibid. (314).
1. Woodward - (456-467) for an account of the monitorial system in England.
2. H.C.Barnard (54-55).
3. C057/57; C057/62; C057/63; C057/66 - see Repts of the Director of Public Instruction 1872, Appendix, AI, Inspector's Rept. (327-328); 1873 (137) 1874 (99); 1875 (118-119); also Appendix A-II Addl. Inspector's Rept. (130).
4. C057/62 - Rept.of the Acting Director of Public Instruction 1873 (310).
1. C057/57 Ibid. (317)
2. Gover-nors' Addresses: 13.9.1876 (464).
3. Ibid. 25.9.1872 (264).
4. C057/57 Rept. of the Director of Public Instruction 1872 (317).
1. C057/57 Rept.of the Dir.of Pub.Inst.1872 (314).
2. Gregory Papers: Longden to Gregory 21.x.1880.

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1. Governors' Addresses: 8.9.1875 (417); 13.9.1876 (465).
2. Bruce: (22-23).
3. CO57/62 - Rept. of the Dir. of Pub. Instruction 1873 (129).
4. CO/57/63 Rept. of the Dir. of Pub. Instruction 1874(98);
Governors' Addresses: 13.9.1876 (465).
5. Bruce (59-61).
1. CO57/ Rept. of the Dir. of Pub. Ins. 1872 (316).
2. CO/57/62 Ibid. 1873 (129).
3. CO/57/63 Rep. of the Dir. of Pub. Ins. 1874(98-99);
Governors' Addresses: 13.9.1876 (465).
4. CO57/69: Rept. of the Dir. of Pub. Ins. 1876 (209-210).
5. Woodward: (460) for an account of it in England.
6. Barnard: (185).
7. CO57/57 Rept. of the Dir. of Pub. Ins. 1872 (315).
1. CO/57/63 Rept. of the Dir. of Pub. Ins. 1874 (98).
2. CO57/57 " " " " " 1872 Appendix AI-see
Rept. of Schools' Inspector (328); CO57/69 Ibid. 1876(219-220);
Overland Examiner: 21.1.1875 (25); 31.1.1877 (31).
1. CO57/57 Rept. of the Dir. of Pub. Ins. 1872 (317-318).
2. CO/57/62 Ibid. 1873 (134); CO54: 492 No. 40 31.1.1874; CO54:
498 No. 14 23.12.1875 and encl. - Dir. of Pub. Instruction
to Col. Secy. 13.7.1875.
3. CO54:498 No. 14, 23.12.1875.
4. Governors' Addresses: 8.9.1875 (417).
5. " " : 13.9.1876 (464).
1. CO54:498 - No. 14 - 23.12.1875. Letter from Director of
Public Instruction to Col. Secy. 13.7.1875.
2. Bruce (20-23). A criticism by the author who was Director
of Public Instruction during the period following Gregory's
term.
3. Governors' Addresses: 7.5.1877 (519).
1. Governors' Addresses: 7.5.1877 (518).
2. CO57/72 Rep. of the Dir. of Pub. Ins: and Insp: of schools-1877
137c, 144c - 145c).
3. Bruce (62-63); C.O. 57/57 Rept. of Asst. Govt. Agent, Kegalla -
1872 (37).
4. CO57/69 Rept. of A G A Kegalla - 1876 (45); Overland Examiner:
11.9.1876 (355).
1. Ceylon Overland Bi-monthly Examiner: 5.8.1873 (284).
1. Governors' Addresses: 7.5.1877 (538-9).
2. Governors' Addresses: 7.5.1877 (538-9).
3. Overland Examiner: 15.4.1874.
4. See Chapters V and VI (Pages 214, 236).

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1. W.H.Riggings: Ceylon - Dilemmas of a New Nation (29-33);
E. F. C. Ludowyk: The Story of Ceylon (220-223).
2. Ludowyk: (220-223).
1. Governors' Addresses: 7.5.1877 (520).
2. C057/69 - Rept. of the Dir. of Pub. Inst: 1876 (209c).
3. Overland Ceylon Observer: 24.12.1872 (3).
4. C057/69 Rept. of the Dir. of Pub. Inst: 1876 (209c).
1. Governors' Addresses: 7.5.1877 (521).
2. Ibid. (520-521).
3. " (477-480).
4. C057/69 - Rept. of the Dir. of Pub. Inst: 1876 (214c);
Overland Examiner: 18.1.1877 (21).
1. Overland Ceylon Observer: 8.11.1873 (476); Overland Examiner:
7.1.1875(1); C057/69 - Rept. of the Govt. Agent, Kandy, 1876
(13); Rept. of Asst. Govt. Agent, Matale (22); Governors' Addresses:
13.9.1876 (464); 7.5.1877 (518-519).
2. C054:500 - No. 4 - 5.1.1876; Governors' Addresses: 7.5.1877
(518-519).
3. Governors' Addresses: 7.5.1877 (520).
1. Governors' Addresses: 7.5.1877 (518).
2. C057/69 - Rept. of the Dir. of Pub. Inst. 1876 (214c).
3. C057/57 - " " " " " " Instruction 1872 (314-315).
1. C057/66 Rept. of the Dir. of Pub. Instruction 1875 (118);
Mendis (43); also Governors' Addresses: 12.1.1870 (192)
founded in 1836, the Colombo Academy had prepared students
for the Calcutta Univ. examinations. In 1870 this was stopped
as only very few had sought higher education; instead a
couple of promising students were awarded scholarships to
British Universities.
2. Overland Examiner: 14.9.1875 (332).
3. Governors' Addresses: 7.5.1877 (520).
1. Overland Examiner: 21.1.1874 (23); 23.12.1875 (460-463);
31.1.1877 (38); Legislative Council Proceedings: 1876-1877:
See Muttu Coomaraswamy's Speech - 8.12.76.
2. C057/72 - Rept. of the Dir. of Pub. Instruction 1877 (139c).
1. C057/63 - Principal Civil Medical Officer's report 1874 (5-6).
1. C0/5763 Principal Civil Medical Officer's report 1874 (5-6).
2. C057/69 Ibid. 1876 (102c).
3. C057/66 " 1876 (61).
4. C057/66 Principal Civil Medical Officer's report 1875 (61-62);
Overland Ceylon Observer: - 7.8.1876 (174).

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1. C057/72 Principal Civil Medical Officer's report 1877 (940).
2. Digby - Vol. II (158-160).
3. C054:489 - No. 385 - 24.12.1873.
4. Ibid. see Encl. - Queen's Advocate - 22.11.73; also C054: 506 - No. 36 - 7.2.1877 - Encl. Queen's Advocate - 2.2.1877.
1. Governors' Addresses: 13.9.1876 (434-435); 7.5.1877 (491).
2. Ibid. 22.12.1873 (332); Digby Vol. II (160-161).
3. Ceylon Overland Bi-monthly Examiner (438).
1. Ceylon Overland Bi-monthly Examiner - 11.12.1872 (472); C054:506 - Ceylon: see Bramston's minute 12.5.77 and Secy's. 3348 No. 113 - 18.5.77.
2. Governors' Addresses: 13.9.1876 (460).
3. C054:506 - No. 53 - 22.2.1877.
1. C054:495 - C - Ceylon: Gregory to Herbert 28.x.1874; D.M.de Z. 14493 Wickremasinghe, Emigraphica Zeylanica: see the Preface for an account of this movement.
2. C054:495 - C - Ceylon: Carnarvon's minute 28.xi.1874; Herbert's 14493 26.12.74; also see D.N.B. Vol. IX (646-652) for an account of Carnarvon's interest in archaeology and antiquaries.
1. C054:495 - G - Ceylon: Carnarvon's minute 13.7.1874. 7703
2. Governors' Addresses: 25.9.1872 (254, 274-277).
3. See Autobiography (178-179, 206-210, 219-220, 254-255); also pages 369-370 of this thesis for an account of Gregory's connections with museums and galleries.
4. Ceylon Overland Bi-monthly Examiner: 11.7.1872 (234).
1. C054:484 - No. 64 - Ceylon: Mead's minute - 3.6.1873; 3839 Kimberley's - 8.6.1873; Secretary's No. 138 - 13.6.1873.
2. C054: 487 - No. 251 - 5.8.1873.
1. C054:487 - No. 251 - Ceylon: R.S. Macdonald's minute 13.9.1873. 9399
2. C054:487 - No. 251 - Ceylon: Cox's minute - 15.9.1873. 9399
3. Ibid: Kimberley's minute - 18.7.1873.
1. Ibid. Secretary's No. 244 - 3.x.1873.
2. C054:487 - No. 297 - of 30.9.1873 - See Rept. of the Legis. Council's sub-committee about the Museum bill.
3. C054: 511 - Gregory to Secretary of State - 1.8.1877.
4. Governors' Addresses: 8.9.1875 (409).

continued

1. Ceylon Observer - 13.5.1872 (1) In England a magazine, "Indian Antiquary", had been started and the International Congress of Orientalists", were showing much interest; Overland Ceylon Observer: 9.1.1877 (2) Monier Williams, Sanskrit Professor at Oxford visited Ceylon to study Buddhism; Governors' Address: 25.9.1872 (275-276) C054:493 - No.2 - 17.8.1874; C054:495 - C - Ceylon: R.C.Childers's letter to Secretary of State - for more evidence.
14493
2. C054:495 - G - Ceylon: Gregory to Secy. 5.7.1874; C054:497 - 7703
No.96 - 10.4.1875 - Encl. Private letter to Meade 30.4.75.
3. C054:499 - W.O.Ceylon: Gregory to Secy. - 25.9.74.
5385
4. C054:493 - No.15 - 5.9.1874.
1. C054:495 - G - Ceylon: Gregory to Secretary of State 5.7.1874.
7703
2. C054:493 - No.2 - 17.8.1874.
3. C054:495 - C - Ceylon: also Ceylon: see F.R.Round's minutes - 14.10.1874 ; 31.x.1874; Governors' Addresses: 6.1.75 (385).
11794 12576
4. C054:495 - C - Ceylon see Prof.Max Muller to R.C.Childers - 38
Encl. - 29.12.1874.
1. C054:499 - C - Ceylon: R.C.Childers to S.of State 22.2.1875;
2071
F - Ceylon: S.of State to Gregory - 18.8.1875.
9015
2. C054:495 - C - Ceylon: Gregory to Herbert - 28.x.74; Childers, 14493
to S. of State 16.12.74; also Herbert's - 26.12.74; and Carnarvon. 28.12.74.
3. C054:495 - C - Ceylon: S. of State to W.O.15.1.75; 12.2.75.
38
4. C054:497 - No.96 - 10.4.1875.
5. C057/67 - Goldschmidt's reports in Sessional Papers (107-110); also Gregory papers: see A.Gray's letters to Gregory - 6.4.1875; 10.4.1875; 14.xi.1875; 23.11.1875 describing Goldschmidt's work in the North Central province. Albert Gray was in the Ceylon Civil Service 1871-75 and served at Anuradapura: J.R.Tousaint- Annals of the Ceylon Civil Service (167).
1. Governors' Addresses: 6.1.1875 (385).
2. C054: 511 - Gregory to Secretary - 10.7.1877.
3. C057/67 - Sessional Papers - 1875 - 76 (299-301) Altogether three reports in the Sessional Papers and a note on Sinhalese inscriptions published only in 1879 - see D.M.de Z.Wickrema-singhe: Epigraphica Zeylanica: Preface (ii).
4. C054:511 - Gregory to Secretary - 1.8.1877.
1. Ibid.
2. Gregory Papers: Gray's letters - 10.4.1875; 14.xl.1875.
3. C054:495 - G - Ceylon: Gregory to Secretary - 5.7.1874;
7703
Governors' Addresses: 7.5.1877 (521).

continued

1. A Pali epic. The first part, composed by a Buddhist monk in the 6th Century A.D., relates Ceylon's history from legendary beginnings to A.D. 362; the second part, the Culavamsa consists of three sections. The first, by another monk in the 13th century A.D., continues the account to A.D. 1186; the second and third up to 1333 and 1781. - See G.C.Mendis Early History of Ceylon, (117-122) for more about the chronicles.
2. Governors' Addresses: 7.5.1877 (511-522).
3. C054:504 - No.331 - 26.x.1876.
1. Governors' Addresses: 7.5.1877 (521).
2. C054:511 - Gregory to Secretary - 1.8.1877; Governors' Addresses: 7.5.1877 (521); Gregory Papers: see Rev.Hikkaduwa Sumangala to Gregory - 13.1.1879. Thanks Gregory for the assistance given towards translating the chronicle. This letter was enclosed in Longden's letter of 11.1.1879. Sumangala was High Priest of Sripada and principal of Vidyodaya College.
1. Gregory Papers: Thwaites to Gregory - 20.3.1880, 8.8.1880.
2. C054:495 - M.O. - Ceylon: Hooker to Secy. of State 1.7.1874; 7488
and C.O. minutes; also see M.O. Ceylon: G - Ceylon: Gregory 12582 7766
to Secy. of State - 6.7.1874 and Secretary's Reply-No.114 - 17.7.1874.
3. C054:507 - No.39 - 7.5.1877; C054:511 - Gregory to Secretary 10.7.1877; also Ceylon: Letter of 5.11.1877. 13250
4. The Dipavamsa, the earliest Ceylon Pali work recounts the Isle's history from the introduction of Buddhism to 362 A.D. - see Mendis: Early History of Ceylon (62) for more information.
1. C054: 511 - Gregory to Secy. 1.8.1877.
2. C054: 507 - Secretary to Gregory - 22.6.1877; C054:511 - Ceylon: Secretary's 28.8.1877; Ceylon: Secretary's 17.11.1877 9527 13250
3. Gregory Papers: see letters to Gregory about archaeological restoration in the North Central Province from: A.Grey - 3.1.1878; J.G.Smith - 11.2.1883; R.W.Ievers - 20.11.1884; 10.2.1885; 15.3.1885; Encl. in Gordon's - 21.9.1889 from D.Murray - 4.7.1889; Encl. in Gordon's - 3.11.1889 from Murray - 17.x.1889. These are but a few of the letters from officials.
4. Ibid. Longden to Gregory - 11.1.1879 describes the continuation of collecting epigraphs and translating chronicles; Gordon to Gregory - 20.x.1884; 17.1.1885; 26.1.1886, 16.12.88, 21.9.1889, 3.11.1889, 4.4.1890 - all these inform of archaeological restoration and other work.
1. Ibid. Longden to Gregory - 16.9.1878 - Agrees to continue archaeological work and mentions collection of copies of inscription in North Western province.
2. Gregory papers: Gordon to Gregory - 9.x.1890.
3. Ibid: Carnarvon to Gregory - 15.4.1878, 13.8.1878, 26.xi.78. Carnarvon was a Fellow of the Society and its President at this time. D.N.B.Vol. IX (646-652).
4. Ibid. Gordon to Gregory - 4.1.1888, 29.9.1888 - Gordon acknowledges receipt of £10.

continued

1. Ibid: see Letter of H.C.P.Bell to Gregory - March 2.7.1881.
June 10, 1881. Bell of the Ceylon Civil Service was later Archaeological Commissioner. Along with Grey of the Royal Asiatic Society, England, Gregory encouraged Bell to study the Maldives.
2. The Overland Examiner: 21.1.1874 (23); 13.5.1877 (162) see Address presented by Kandyan Chiefs.
3. CO54:511 - Gregory to Secretary of State - 1.8.1877.
4. Governors' Addresses: 7.5.1877 (522).

A. Manuscript sources - Official .

The C.O. 54 series for 1872-1877, the main source for this study, at the Public Record Office, London, contains the despatches, with enclosures, from the Governor to the Secretary of State. The copies of replies and despatches from the Colonial Office, with minutes and memoranda of the officials and the Secretary of State, are also in this series. In the volumes catalogued as "Public Offices" and "Miscellaneous" are letters from departments to the Colonial Office, interdepartmental correspondence and letters from private persons and officials.

PRO 30/6/37, also at the Public Record Office, contain the private letters of the Governor to Lord Carnarvon, Secretary of State 1874-1878. Copies of replies to the Governor are also available. Useful information, not found in the official despatches, could be obtained from this series.

The C.O. 57 series, at the same office, contain the minutes of the proceedings of the Ceylon Executive and Legislative Councils along with sessional papers and administration reports (apart from the minutes of the Executive Council meetings the others are also available in print - Ceylon Govt. Press).

The administration reports and sessional papers are specially useful as they furnish statistics, information from districts and provinces, reports of Committees and Commissions of Inquiry, and an annual review of administration in various spheres and areas.

B. Printed: The documents W.O. 32/2356 - File No. 40248/502 and W.O. 32/48 - File No. 6738/592. "Reports of the Committee on Ceylon Military Contributions" - Section 12, Ceylon No. 2 (Ptd. War Office, London, 1895), available at the Public Record Office, furnish data about "The Ceylon Military establishment and contribution" problem.

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The Colonial Lists - 1872 - 1877 - Colonial Office, London.

(Institute of Historical Research).

C.O. 809: 16 - Correspondence on Taxes on Food in Ceylon. Contains a comprehensive account of "The Grain Tax question". Colonial Office, London, 1878. (Public Record Office).

Addresses Delivered in the Legislative Council of Ceylon by Governors of the Colony, together with the replies of the Council, generally referred to as Governors' Addresses; Vol. II 1860-1877. Govt. Press, Colombo.

They outline the Governor's policy and programme for the coming year and review the past year's record.

continued

Legislative Council Proceedings: 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876 and 1877. Ceylon Observer Office, Colombo. A useful source for obtaining the opinions of unofficials on questions. (At the British Museum and the Royal Commonwealth Society).

C. The Gregory Papers:

Private Papers: The large collection of Sir William Gregory's correspondence and documents in the custody of his descendants, hitherto not consulted. This consists of letters and addresses to Sir William and copies of some replies. There are letters from Derby, Russell, Sir Henry Layard and many other distinguished contemporaries. Of particular use to the Ceylon student are those from Carnarvon, Hercules Robinson, James Longden, Arthur Gordon, Richard Morgan and other officials, planters and people from Ceylon. This private collection, apart from providing information not available in official letters, also illustrates Gregory's continued interest in Ceylon after retirement. The letters throw might light on the administrations of his successors - Longden and Gordon. Those from other colonial administrators like Hercules Robinson and George Bowen give interesting information about their own areas.

D. Books consulted: Some of these, especially the memoirs of planters, provide valuable contemporary information whilst Gregory's Autobiography gives useful first hand information about work and conditions in Ceylon along with extracts of his letters about them to Sir Henry Layard, his friend, the well-known archaeologist and to Lady Gregory. Such publications of the period serve as useful as source material.

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BRITISH ADMINISTRATION IN THE MARITIME
PROVINCES OF CEYLON, 1796-1802.

A thesis submitted for a Phd degree

by

Upali Chandrabhaya Wickremaratne.

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ABSTRACT

The Maritime Provinces of Ceylon consisted of all the land around its coast which was acknowledged as not belonging to the Kingdom of Kandy. Between 1796-1802 they were governed by the English East India Company. The Government was faced with many difficulties. They were ignorant of the languages of the country and of its real condition. The Mudaliyars, the former employees of the Dutch Company and the Muslim renters and traders wielded considerable influence. The real importance of the period is the many relationships which the Government reached with these groups without whose support their rule would have been imperilled. These relations took the form of the maintenance of the caste-system, the restoration of the headmen to their administrative positions, the employment of the Dutch as European officials and the use of the renting system for the collection of taxes.

The shadow of their power also fell over other policies. The ingenuity of the Mudaliyars allied to British ignorance prevented the land-tenure system from being worked. The same reasons

continued

reasons reduced the success of North's agricultural policy. The Madras administration tried to correct the balance of trade in Ceylon's favour by waiving all export duties. In this they failed. North for his part steered clear of general trade policies. Both the Madras administration and North refrained from interfering with the private traders. As far as commercial crops were concerned the Madras administration wanted to have them reproduced in India. Although North opposed such a policy Ceylon's commercial products with a few exceptions continued to be neglected in his period. North was more active than his predecessors in spreading Christianity, distributing charity and fighting small-pox. Although North did enjoy a measure of success in his battle against small-pox the benefit of his charity accrued mainly to one racial group - the Burghers.

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Historical background

What brought the British to Ceylon at this time was their war with Revolutionary France. When the Netherlands came under the sway of that country it was decided to move against the former Dutch colonial possessions. The capture of the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon was part of that manoeuvre.

If the decision to capture Ceylon was dictated by the needs of British in Europe the manner in which it was executed was decided by the British in India. At this point Ceylon's European and Indian connexion joined to determine her history. The military expedition against Ceylon was placed under the command of Colonial James Stuart. The first attack was delivered against Trincomallee on 18 August 1795. The military operations proceeded very smoothly because there was surprisingly little resistance put up by the Dutch and Colombo surrendered on 15 February 1796. In this way Ceylon began her long connexion with Britain through the English East India Company.

The civil government was entrusted to those who had been responsible for the military operations. This was the Government of Fort St. George. Supreme control was delegated by it to Colonel James Stuart who was invested with "a discretionary authority as well Civil as Military on the Island of Ceylon". Robert Andrews was appointed Superintendent of Revenue with three of his fellow Madras officials John Jervis, Robert Alexander and George Garrow as assistants. This was a temporary arrangement whose provisional nature was influenced by the uncertainty attending Ceylon's political future. It was uncertain whether it would remain within the possession of the British. Its fate would be decided at a peace treaty with France and Holland. In this way Ceylon's European connexion continued to tell on her history.

Before long the reforming zeal of Andrews precipitated a fullscale revolt against the infant British Administration. The legislative measures which gave rise to this revolt have been outlined in the course of our thesis. The Government at Fort St. George appointed a Committee of Investigation on 9 June 1797 to inquire into the causes of the revolt and propose measures of reform which would restore political stability in the country.

Before this Committee completed its deliberations Frederic North was appointed Governor by a commission dated 26 March 1798. Dundas assured the Court of Directors that this was also a provisional arrangement. 1 It was only on that understanding that they

continued

that they became reconciled to his appointment by the Crown. ² Britain had not yet made up its mind whether it would keep Ceylon. That question continued to hang on the outcome of a peace treaty. As things were Ceylon's Indian connexion continued to take a share in influencing its history. Ceylon's constitution was modelled on that of the subordinate Indian Presidencies. It was placed under the control of the Supreme Government of Bengal and North was enjoined to be in constant communication with the Government of Bengal and the Court of Directors.

By the end of 1801 another political change had supervened. A decision had been taken to keep Ceylon in Britain's possession. As a result Ceylon became transformed into a Crown Colony ending her associations with India and the East India Company.

The Ceylon Government throughout this whole period received only two direct communications from the Court of Directors. The first letter contained the instructions sent by the Court of Directors to North. ³ The second letter, while informing North that no cinnamon ships would be sent for the year 1800, acknowledged the many letters sent by North to the Court of Directors and went on to say that those despatches were "under consideration" and would "be replied to by an early opportunity". ⁴ That hope remained unfulfilled during our period. Dundas commissioned North's brother-in-law, the ever compliant Douglas, to draft answers to the despatches. It was however not a project which was completed. The explanation of its failure is best left to Douglas - "two days afterwards (viz. 26 September) Mr. Dundas signified to me his intention of naming me to the King for a situation of very high trust and which he thought it might be necessary for me to enter upon almost immediately ... The same cause makes it impossible for me to proceed with the outline of answers to Mr. North's dispatches so as to bring it to a conclusion according to my original design ⁵. Whatever might have been Douglas's personal good fortune it seems that the affairs of Ceylon did not receive the attention that was their due.

From the view point of the policies pursued by the British Government in Ceylon the subjects relating to her affairs mentioned by the Court of Directors in their Despatches to the Governments of Madras and Bengal were of a secondary and unimportant nature. They consist of such matters as the number and pay of the artificers in Ceylon, ⁶ the appointment of a military official called the Major Brigade, the diverting to Ceylon of part of the surplus provisions for the projected expedition to Manilla, ⁸ the table money of Colonel Fraser, ⁹ the receipt by the Court of Directors of a model and a survey map of Fort Ostenburgh at Trincomallee, ¹⁰ the sale of the Dutch ship Amelia, ¹¹ the delegation to the Government of Fort St. George of the task of deciding the amount of commission

continued

Commission to be paid to Greenhill for having collected the cinnamon in Ceylon, ¹² permission to George Arbuthnot to take out William Middleton as his servant provided the former signed a bond that the latter would not leave the island, ¹³ the information that a fourth cinnamon ship was being sent to Ceylon for the cinnamon season of 1798, ¹⁴ and orders to the Supreme Government to keep separate accounts of all military stores supplied to Ceylon, ¹⁵ to help those who participated in the capture of Ceylon to dispose of their prize money ¹⁶ and to inform the Court of Directors of all supplies sent to Ceylon. ¹⁷

The few matters of importance discussed were the announcement and description of the constitutional changes impending in Ceylon in 1798, ^{18,19} and in 1801, ^{20, 21} the assurance to the Madras Government that they would be reimbursed by the Court of Directors for the copper supplied by it to Ceylon ²² and the approval of both the civil service appointments made by North and his proclamation relating to the establishment of civil courts. ²³ The Court of Directors brought their minds to bear on the commercial regulations promulgated for Ceylon in 1798 only in their public despatch of 26 March 1801 when as they themselves observed "the new arrangement which has taken place relative to Ceylon supercedes the necessity of an answer to this paragraph". ²⁴ The new arrangement which relieved the Court of Directors of the burdan of a reply was of course Ceylon's transformation into a Crown colony.

It would be wrong to conclude from all this that the Ceylon Government was left completely to its own devices. In fact in the period of the Madras Administration Ceylon's officials were chosen by the Madras Government and sought the advice of their superiors on all matters of importance. ²⁵ We shall see how one official was castigated for acting without instructions ²⁶ and how the precipitate action of another was countermanded. ²⁷ The whole of that relationship is evident in the account we shall give of the history of that period. It is not necessary to repeat it here. In the North period there were the Royal Instructions, the Royal Commission and the Instructions from the Court of Directors. There were occasional letters sent by Dundas. There were the replies sent from the Madras Government and the Bengal Government. A few letters were also addressed from their side to the Ceylon Government. Most of these we shall encounter in the course of our narration of the history of this period. North was also enjoined by the Court of Directors' Instructions "to keep diary of your proceedings and transactions a copy whereof is to be regularly transmitted to us from time to time and another copy to the Governor General in Council". ²⁸ There is not one letter sent by the Bengal Government raising a discussion on its own initiative of matters contained in North's diaries. It does not seem as if much attention was paid to these diaries.

Greater attention to North's despatches or to his Diaries would have won for his superiors a better knowledge of the manner in which their Instructions were being carried out in Ceylon. It would not be very wrong to say that the Ceylon Government had by way of the indifference of its superiors acquired a sort of autonomy in this period.

During Dutch rule Ceylon was divided into three divisions - Colombo, Galle and Matara. The chief official at Colombo was the Governor assisted by a political Council. Galle and Jaffna were placed under the control of Commandants each equipped with a political council on the model of the one at Colombo. Both these units acknowledged the suzerainty of the Governor and council at Colombo which in its turn obeyed the Government at Batavia. This set-up was superimposed on the indigenous administrative system. In this system there was a Mudaliyar for each district or korale. He was placed under the control of the Mahamudaliyar and the Mudaliyar of the Attepattu. The former waited upon the Governor for his orders and the latter upon the European official in charge of each district known as the Disave. The Mudaliyar of the Korale was responsible for the work of the headman of the village known as the Vidane. He had also under his charge the indigenous military apparatus which consisted of lascoryns commanded by Muhandirama, Arratjes and Kanganies with varying degrees of authority. This was the system of administration which the British found on their arrival in Ceylon. During our period the British Government made certain minor changes in the European section of the administrative structure. The Maritime Provinces came to be divided into seven administrative units - Colombo, Galle, Matara, Jaffna, Trincomalee, Chilaw and Batticaloa. They were placed under Collectors or Agents of Revenue and Commerce as they later came to be called. These officials occupied a position similar to that of the Disaves under the Dutch. The function of policy-making was vested in the Commander-in-Chief and after 1798 in the Governor. This power was not shared with a council. In the indigenous section of the administration the British Government introduced no changes whatever except for one short-lived and abortive attempt to do without it.

Another matter which should be emphasized is the manner in which the headmen were chosen. All the evidence we have encountered points to the conclusion that the posts of the headmen were hereditary. North cogitating with the Commissioners of the Wannia the manner in which the Government should conduct itself in the case of the Mudaliyar of that area who had raised a forlorn banner of revolt said " ... it is my wish that Government should rather suffer some inconvenience from his incapacity or indifference and those of the other chiefs in the same situation than that the minds

continued.

the minds of the people should be unsettled and their intrigues and ambitions provoked by frequent and arbitrary changes of their immediate and hereditary chiefs".²⁹ Cornelis De Alvis Vidane, Mohandiram of Galle, while complaining to North that Lieutenant Short had struck him on the head and broken his comb, said "your humble petitioners great grandfather was Mahavidaan at Caltura, his grandfather Mohandiram and Interpreter of the Galle Corle and his father Vidaan Mohandiram of Calture who being deceased your Excellency was pleased to bestow his service on the petitioner".³⁰ The agent of Revenue and Commerce at Mahagampattu recommending Don Juan Abeywickreme Guneratne to the vacancy of Muhandiram of Mahagampattu caused by the death of his brother referred to the fact that "his father was Muhandiram of the same district under the Dutch Government".³¹

It is also useful to cast our eyes over the wide range of administrative duties performed by the headmen. To the headmen seem to have fallen some of the duties performed by the policemen of today. The Mudaliyar of the Happitigam Korale arrested and sent before the Agent of Revenue and Commerce the ringleaders of the revolt against the joy-tax in his area.³² When the Commandant of Negombo heard that a certain Petipas was being subjected to an assault he sent the Mudaliyar Simon with twelve lascoryns to his rescue.³³ They also seem to have acted as functionaries of the law courts. The Attapattu Mudaliyar helps in serving summonses.³⁴ Appu, one of the witnesses in a case in which Sinne Tamby and others were charged with having committed assault on Petipas, was served with notice to attend court by the Vidane.³⁵ Macdowall inquiring into the same case in its early stages asked the Mudaliyar of the Alutkoer Corle to summon the parties before him.³⁶ It was the duty of the headmen to help in recruiting the coolies. Joinville, Superintendent of the Cinnamon Plantations complained to the North of their negligence in this connection in the cinnamon department.³⁷ According to the commandant at Trincomallee it was only after "many evasions" that the Mudaliyars of the area sent him twelve lascoryns.³⁸ Bertolacci complained that he had not received sufficient assistance from the Mudaliyars of Negombo, Chilaw and Maraville when he was trying to recruit lascoryns and kangar for the Postal Department.³⁹ General Wemyss, who filled the post of Commander-in-Chief after Ceylon became a Crown Colony, wrote to North of how some engineers repairing a bridge needed coolies and "some felling axes" and how they addressed themselves to the Mudaliyar of the area for relief.⁴⁰ Although a survey department had already been formed,⁴¹ the services of the headmen were enlisted for the purpose of ascertaining some Malapala betel-nut gardens in the Galle area⁴² and for determining whether some other gardens in Bentotte, Hikkaduwa and Ambalangoda belonged to the Government or not.⁴³ Surveyors entering any district for the

continued

for the purpose of making a survey were required to give notice of their arrival to the headman of the area. 44 Presumably it was the duty of the headmen to help them whenever their assistance was required. In two of the other new departments the help of the headmen was found to be necessary. Post-masters on whom fell the duty of supplying provisions for travellers were instructed to seek the assistance of the headmen. Despite the formation of the Civil Engineers department the duty of ascertaining river-levels in order to prevent floods was to be entrusted to the care of headmen. 46 There were a number of miscellaneous functions which came to be performed by them. The Mahamudaliyar was the unfailing medium for communications with the Court of Kandy. 47 When children were needed to fill the provincial schools the headmen were enjoined to send them. 48 The Mahamudaliyar was asked to help in finding pupils for the new Sinhalese school at Colombo. 49 The mudaliyars were called into help in ascertaining the amount of the collections made by the joy tax renters of Galle 50 and Matara. 51 The Committee of Superintendence charged the Mahamudaliyar of Colombo with the task of finding fifty pounds of cotton for their spinning wheels. 52 The Mudaliyars cajoled people into having themselves inoculated. 53 Johnstone the Agent of Revenue and Commerce at Chilaw testified to the help given by the Mudaliyar of the Madampe in organising an elephant hunt by saying that he "is the only person from whom I have been able to collect any information respecting the mode of 54 getting the Elephants across the river and past the different tanks".

INDEX TO THE ABBREVIATIONS IN THE FOOT NOTES

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Factory Records - Ceylon - Commonwealth Relations Office.

Pub. Dept. - Proceedings of the Governor in the Public Department.
 Comm. " - " " " " Commercial "
 Rev. " - " " " " Revenue "
 Rev. & Comm. Dept. - " " " " Revenue and Com-
 mercial Department.
 Board of Rev. & Comm. - " " " " Rev. & Commercial
 Board.
 Pol. Dept. - " " " " Political Dept:
 Sec. Dept. - " " " " Secret "
 Mil. Dept. - " " " " Military "
 Mil. Board. - Proceedings of the Military Board.
 Comm. of Supdt. - Proceedings of the Committee for Charitable
 Establishments.

Sup. Court of Crim. Jud. - Proceedings of the Supreme Court of
 Criminal Jurisdiction.

Ceylon Vol. 54 - Volume 54 Miscellaneous volume containing notes
 by Sylvester Douglas, memoranda on commercial
 products etc. by Major D. Robertson and notes on
 the Pearl Fishery by G. Turnour.

Comm. of Inv. - Proceedings of the Committee of Investigation.

Madras Consultations.

Madras Mil. & Pol. Proc. - Madras Military & Political Proceedings
 Madras Mil. Proc. - Madras Military Proceedings.
 Madras Rev. Proc. - Madras Revenue Proceedings.
 Madras Board of Rev. Proc. - Madras Board of Revenue Proceedings.
 Madras Pub. Proc. - Madras Public Proceedings.
 Madras Sec. Proc. - Madras Secret Proceedings.

Bengal Consultations.

Bengal Revenue Cons. - Bengal Revenue Consultations.
 Bengal Sec. & Pol. Cons. - Bengal Secret & Political Consul-
 tations.
 Bengal Board of Rev. Proc. - Bengal Board of Revenue Proceedings.
 Bengal Pub. Cons. - Bengal Public Consultations.
 Bengal Jud. Cons. - Bengal Judicial Consultations.
 Bengal Comm. & Ship. Cons. - Bengal Commercial & Shipping
 Consultations.
 Bengal Pol. Cons. - Bengal Political Consultations.
 Bengal Foreign Cons. - Bengal Foreign Consultations.

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HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

NOTES.

1. General Court meeting, 30 Jan. 1798, Court Minutes 1797-98.
2. Ibid.
3. Court of Directors to North 25 May 1798.
4. " " " " " " 10 Sept. 1800.
5. Douglas Papers by S.G.Perera p. 198.
6. Military despatch of Court of Directors to }
Madras. } 7 May 1800,
para 105.
7. " " " " " " " " 22 May 1800,
para 21.
8. " " " " " " " " 7 May 1800,
para 155.
9. " " " " " " " " 7 May 1800,
para 149.
10. " " " " " " " " 29 May 1799,
para 12.
11. " " " " " " " " 7 May 1800,
para 280.
12. Commercial despatch of Court of Directors }
to Madras. } 3 Sept. 1800,
paras 1-5.
13. Public despatch of Court of Directors }
to Madras. } 8 April 1801,
para 9.
14. Political despatch of Court of Directors }
to Bengal. } 25 July 1798,
para 33.
15. Military despatch of Court of Directors }
to Bengal. } 7 May 1800,
para 83.
16. Political despatch of the Court of }
Directors to Bengal. } 4 Oct. 1797,
para 74.
17. " " " " " " " " 26 Mar. 1801,
para 83.
18. Public despatch of Court of Directors }
to Madras. } 25 May 1798,
paras 66 & 67.
19. " " " " " " Bengal. 25 May 1798,
para 145.
20. " " " " " " Madras. 22 April 1801,
paras 4-11.
21. " " " " " " Bengal. 22 April 1801,
paras 8-15.
22. " " " " " " Madras. 9 May 1797,
para 18.
23. " " " " " " Madras. 11 June 1800,
24. " " " " " " Bengal. 26 Mar. 1801,
para 5.
25. The Board's drafts of secret letters to }
India (Answer to letter of 18. Aug. 1795) }
(Answer to letter of 28 Nov. 1795) and }
the secret and circular despatches }
to Bengal (letter to Bengal 31 May }
1790) (Letter to Bengal 3 Aug. 1796) }
and to Madras (letter to Madras 3 Aug. }
1796) deal mainly with the military }
conquest of Ceylon and negotiations }
with the King of Kandy. }
26. Chapter II p.178.
27. " VI p.333.
28. Court of Directors to North 25 May 1798.

continued.

29. North to Commissioners of Wannia 25 Sept. 1799, }
Public Dept. }
30. Cornelis de Alvis Mahavidanā to North 7 Feb. 1801, }
7 Feb. 1801, Public Dept. }
31. Pendergast to Board of Rev. & Comm. 4 April 1801, }
Board of Rev. & Comm. }
32. Gregory to Boyd 8 May 1800, Rev. Dept.
33. Rex vs Sinne Tamby and others 21 Feb. 1800. Sup. Court }
of Crim. Jud. }
34. North to Fiscal Court at Colombo 13 Aug. 1801, Public Dept.
35. Rex vs Sinne Tamby and others 30 April 1800, Public Dept.
36. " " " " " 21 Feb. 1800, Sup. Court of }
Criminal Jud. }
37. Joinville to North 10 Mar. 1802, Rev. Dept.
38. Dickson to Boyd. 10 May 1799, Public Dept.
39. Bertolacci to Boyd 17 Aug. 1802, Public Dept.
40. Wemyss to North 9 Aug. 1804, North MSS.
41. Chapter II p. 102.
42. Smitsz to Board of Rev. & Comm. 13 Sept. 1801, 18 Sep. 1801 }
Rev. & Comm. Dept. }
43. " " " " " 17 Dec. 1801, 18 Dec. 1801 }
Board of Rev. and Comm. }
44. Boyd to Board of Rev. & Comm. 5 June 1801, Board of Rev. }
& Comm. }
45. Governor's order, Government Gazette, 22 Mar. 1802, }
North MSS. }
46. Hamilton to Board of Rev. & Comm. 24 Nov. 1801, }
Board of Rev. & Comm. }
47. De Meuron to Harris 21 Mar. 1798, 3 April 1798, 2309, }
Madras Mil. & Pol. Proc. }
48. " " " " 11 April 1798, 24 April 1798, 2842 }
Madras Mil. & Pol. Proc. }
49. Chapter VI p. 311.
50. Cordiner to North 25 Oct. 1799, 28 Oct. 1799, Public Dept.
51. Smitsz to Board of Rev. & Comm. 30 July 1801, 3 Aug. 1801 }
Board of Rev. & Comm. }
52. Gibson to Board of Rev. & Comm. 25 Nov. 1801, 3 Aug. 1801)
Board of Rev. & Comm.
53. Dormieux to Mahamudaliyar 15 Feb. 1801, Comm. of Supt.
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21 Sept. 1801, Board of Rev. & }
Commerce. }

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BRITISH ADMINISTRATION IN THE MARITIME
PROVINCES OF CEYLON 1796-1802.

A thesis submitted for a Phd degree
by
Upali Chandrabhaya Wickremeratne.

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CONCLUSION

It was not so much their ignorance of philosophy which prevented the British in Ceylon in this period from taking on the mantle of philosopher-kings as the lack of that absolute power which Plato was so ready to bestow on the creatures of his imagination. Several causes contributed to place the British in this position of weakness. They did not possess adequate knowledge of the indigenous languages and of the European languages there was greater knowledge among the inhabitants of Dutch and Portuguese than there was of English. The British Government was also continually harassed by the lack of money. As things were military victory by itself was not enough of a mandate with which to govern the country. There were several entrenched social groups whose power remained unimpaired in the immediate aftermath of the British conquest. There were the headmen, who were drawn from one caste and also held their positions by hereditary right. Almost every administrative function required their co-operation. There were the former employees of the Dutch Company, whom the British were induced to employ because by that means they could forgo paying them the subsistence promised them by the Articles of Capitulation and because the vogue of the Dutch language in the country required their employment. There were also the Muslims, who held a position of importance by virtue of being the leading traders and renters.

From the very beginning the British were unable to make full use of the land-tenure system. They had to use the incentive of money to have performed those services which the holders of the service lands should have done for them gratuitously. Andrews' attempt to abolish the service tenure system, suppress the Mudaliyars and increase the state share of the produce from the land to that of one half was short-lived. Where Andrews made a frontal assault on the land tenure system North was more circumspect. He tried to encourage individual ownership and the registration of land. His efforts, however, met with as little success as those of Andrews. We cannot help but see the hand of the headmen behind both these failures and the revolt of 1797.

Unlike the Madras administrators North tried to develop agriculture. He looked on the communal ownership of land as its bane. He tried to circumvent the old social relationships which encumbered service-tenure lands by means of grants of waste land and the

continued

and the encouragement of single ownership. These policies of his did not enjoy much success. The importance that North accorded agriculture is to be gathered from the fact that he wanted to keep the forests as sources for land grants rather than as timber preserves.

When it came to export and import duties the Madras Administrators regarded the drain of specie and the fact that the balance of trade was against Ceylon as being her main problems. They saw a remedy in the expansion of trade. With this aim in mind they removed all export duties. As the research of the Committee of Investigation established, these hopes were disappointed. North did not look upon export and import duties or even the tolls within the country in this comprehensive way. He saw them as sources of revenue rather than as instruments for promoting trade and would not interfere with them. His approach was pragmatic.

The Dutch system of price-fixing was ended in the period of the Madras administration. In this matter North had no hesitation in following the guidance of his predecessors. This attitude of both the Madras administrators and North had the effect of putting an end to whatever control had been imposed on the speculation of private traders by the Dutch Government.

The Madras administrators, as we have seen, also tried although in a desultory way to check high prices by sponsoring the government sale of scarce articles. North was less disposed to engage in such activity. The preponderant position among these traders seems to have been held by the Muslims.

In spite of the prompting of the Court of Directors North was at no great pains to develop trade with the Kingdom of Kandy. His remarks show that he considered that trade to be already sufficiently developed. He also feared that its further expansion would aggravate the drain of specie from the British dominions. Above all he seemed to look upon it from a political viewpoint. He hoped by its means to bring the Kingdom of Kandy within the control of the British.

During the period of the Madras administration the aim of the government was to reproduce Ceylon's commercial products as much as possible within the East India Company's dominion. This was a time when the feeling that the British tenancy of Ceylon would be of a short duration prevailed strongly among the British administrators. North refused to look upon the question in this way. He thought that the Government should make every effort to develop Ceylon's commercial products within the island itself. In his case however practice fell far short of precept. His approach was once more pragmatic. He tried to develop the cultivation of cotton only in order to relieve himself of ~~some~~ some of the expense of maintaining his female pensioners. His efforts to cultivate betel-nut

continued

betel-nut within the Maritime Provinces was probably influenced by a wish to weaken the pre-eminent position held by the Kingdom of Kandy in that trade. The inspiration for the development of coir arose from the importunity of the Court of Directors. With a gambler's disposition he placed all his hopes on the success of the pearl fisheries. North also ignored the desire of the Court of Directors to have more products besides cinnamon placed on a monopoly basis. As we have seen there were several articles which he could have suggested for this purpose. While the conversion of new products into monopolies might have enriched the Company it would have had the immediately disastrous effect for North of depriving him of his precious sources of revenue in the form of the income from the duties. He also probably did not wish to alienate the traders who were already engaged in the sale of these articles by a measure which would deprive them of their profit. His indifference to the wishes of the Court of Directors should be explained on these grounds.

In the period of the Madras administration the handling of the charitable institutions and the leper hospital was left to the care of the Deacons who had exercised that function under the Dutch. North however by means of Committees of Superintendence brought the administration of these institutions within the control of the fully-fledged officials. He tried to overcome the barriers of caste, race and religion in his distribution of charity and treatment of leprosy. As we have seen, however, the grounds on which charitable payments were made would have brought more relief to the Burghers than to the members of the indigenous races.

North's attempts to eradicate small-pox by means of innoculating the small-pox germ although fraught with the peril of spreading the disease were attended by a measure of success.

Both the Madras administrators and North were very anxious to do nothing that would offend caste prejudices. It was insisted that all the headmen should be chosen from the Goigama and Vellale castes. Even schoolmasters were drawn from the same castes. Caste distinctions were observed in the manner in which the small-pox patients were housed in the hospitals and children admitted to schools. When fortuitous circumstances elevated Pasqual a member of a low-caste to high office the British Government thought it wise to bring about his dismissal.

While paying the Dutch clergymen their stipends as they were bound to do by the Articles of Capitulation the Madras Administrators left the manner in which they performed their functions completely to their own discretion. North, on the other hand, made it the business of the state to spread Christianity although he was not very fastidious as to whether its teachings consisted of doctrines of the Church of England or of the Dutch Reformed Church. In this way a very close connexion was established in this period

continued

period between Christianity and the British state.

The Madras administrators found a convenient way of collecting taxes in the form of the system of renting practised by the Dutch. They adopted it with little alteration. North used the system of renting on a wider scale. He also added to the number of the renters' dependents who would be held liable by their principal's contract. The dependence on the system of renting emphasizes the administrative weakness of the British in this period. The Muslims figured prominently among these renters.

Feelings of pity for those whom the fortunes of war had reduced to a wretched state, the vogue of the Dutch language and an opportunity for reducing expenditure led the British to employ the Dutch as Administrators. In this matter there was little distinguish the attitude of North from that of his predecessors.

There was something more compelling in the dependence of the British Government on the headmen. As members of the leading castes they would have held the most important positions that the caste system could confer. The fact that the right to office was determined by the hereditary principle would have ensured the hegemony of a group of families. There was also the knowledge of all the complexities of the system of land-tenure. It is difficult to imagine that the British could have ruled Ceylon without the co-operation of this class. When Andrews made the foolhardy attempt Ceylon was convulsed by a revolt which lasted for a year. Although the British congratulated themselves on the imminence of victory success attended their arms only when De Meuron promised to restore the headmen to their rank and to their possessions. Military victory belonged to the British. But the political triumph was that of the Mudaliyars. Davy Robertson in his report to Glenbervie made this very point. The British came, saw and conquered but the Mudaliyars won.

If the British were forced to recognise the old indigenous society it must be remembered that they recognised it only in the form in which it had been amended by the Dutch. They supported not only the caste system and the rule of the headmen but also Christianity. It was the Dutch legacy that they were forced to accept.

Because of their dependence on the co-operation of various social groups British rule at this time took the form of government by consent. The British administrators may not have intended to be democratic but that was the only way in which they could survive as rulers. They may have come as all-conquering soldiers but they could remain only as wise politicians. If events in Europe determined the manner of the British arrival the manner of their staying was determined very much by their hosts.

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THE ADMINISTRATION OF SIR HENRY WARD
GOVERNOR OF CEYLON (1855-1860).

By:

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Thesis presented to the University of London
for the Degree of Master of Arts.
April, 1954.

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(Pages 250 to 257) -----

The preceding chapters cite numerous occasions on which unofficials in the Legislative Council insisted on exercising whatever limited powers they possessed on deciding the the policy of the Government and controlling its expenditure. On the question of the railway, immigration, public works, the civil establishments and military expenditure they had expressed strongly their views, however self-centred they may have been in some cases. It must be admitted also that Ward allowed them full freedom of expression. In 1859, the Unofficials through the Planters Association and the Chamber of Commerce raised the problem of increased representation and increased powers of control over expenditure. This was in a great measure due to the realisation of their sense of powerlessness and to a sense of frustration, especially after the incidents connected with the debate over the supplementary estimates, referred to above.

continued

The agitation for reform of the Council began after the economic crisis in 1848 but died down with the improving finances of the Colony. The problem of increased representation and control of expenditure involved an important issue. The Legislative Council was composed of six unofficials nominated by the Governor and three represented the Tamils, Sinhalese and Burgher communities, while the rest represented the Europeans. Ward adopted a new principle of allowing the two constituencies - the Planters Association and the Chamber of Commerce - to elect their representatives whom he nominated. This practice first started when Darley resigned and the Chamber of Commerce at Ward's request elected Dawson to represent them.¹ There was no difficulty in nominating Burgher representatives as they were educated, intelligent and furnished the Government with clerks, the Law Courts with proctors and judges of the Sepreme Court and doctors. It was difficult to find representatives for the Sinhalese and Tamils owing to the slower spread of education among them. The Tamil member Edermanasingham was a Kachcheri Shroff, who had been appointed to the Council and drew the same allowance as his previous salary.² Dissatisfaction was expressed against him by the Tamils themselves.³

On assuming office, Ward recognised a feeling in favour of increased representation in the Legislative Council. Ward felt that the time was not opportune for such a change as Ceylonese (excepting the Burghers) were unfit to exercise electoral powers and rights and it would be unfair to exclude the one and a half million Tamils and Sinhalese from a privilege accorded to five or six thousand Burghers and Europeans.¹

In 1859, when Wall, the planters' representative resigned on proceeding on furlough to England, he addressed a letter to the Planters Association, in which he enumerated the defects of the Legislative Council. The Unofficials lacked power to influence the policy of the Government and "in the hands of an able and resolute Head, the Council is a mere instrument for giving effect to his views. Another defect arose from the heterogenous nature of the unofficials and the unofficial minority. They were thus unable to oppose the official bloc. Wall cited as an instance the Pangwelle Toll Ordinance² which was passed in spite of the unanimous vote of the unofficials. He also referred to the Governor's abuse of spending public money without the sanction of the Legislative Council; of departing from constitutional principles and repeating the practice annually. Hence Wall suggested the exclusion of the Governor from the Legislative Council, increase of unofficial representation by two and the granting of the right to all members of the Legislative Council to initiate measures in Council.¹

continued.

The Planters Association discussed this matter when they had to elect a member to fill Wall's vacancy. Much criticism was levelled against the composition and powers of the Legislative Council. They held that no additional powers or functions had been conferred on it for the last twenty-five years and there was no dignity or honour in serving on it. Time and expense was involved on serving in a body which was "a farce as a representative body".² The Chairman wrote to the Governor that the Association was unable to find a member willing to serve on it. Plainly, the charges made amounted to "despotism" and Ward's using the compact majority of officials and "consigning the unofficials to inaction and degradation." The dissatisfaction of the planters and merchants was expressed by their refusal to serve on the Council.

Ward was faced with a problem but he wrote to the Secretary of State that he may be forced to appoint a Kandyan and a Muslim to serve in the places of the planters and the merchants. He was definitely opposed to an increase in representation. He had no power to alter the constitution without the consent of the Queen. Representative Government could not be introduced to Ceylon where local populations were not accustomed to it. Even among the Europeans, there was no proprietary class ready to devote their time to public affairs. "All look to England as their home and seek to shorten their stay here."¹

Ward was also against the grant of increased representation to the Burghers as they were a small fraction of the community and a class most dangerous to trust with large powers of legislation. "If you value the peace of Ceylon, you must never give these gentlemen a preponderance in the Legislative Council."²

Ward made a concession, however, to the unofficials by allowing them power to introduce Bills in the Legislative Council. But they could not introduce any finance bills, the initiative for which rested with the Governor. Thus ordinary bills would not be brought before the Executive Council before discussion by the Legislative Council. But, the Governor could reject any bills of which he disapproved.³ Objections were raised at first by the Secretary of State, who held that Ward had set aside the Instructions as it was a change of some importance, which should not have been proposed by Ward without the sanction of the Secretary of State.¹

Mr. Lorenz was the first unofficial member to bring in the first Ordinance "to amend and consolidate the laws relating to the Law Courts."

Ward justified his action on the grounds that this concession had satisfied the public demand for some increase in legislation. Otherwise he was faced with the difficulty of filling the vacancies created by Wall and Butler.² In any case he felt that the concession in itself would in no way interfere with his own legislative or executive powers. But during the period from 1833 until 1910 it

It constituted one of the most important concessions to the Legislative Council.

But amidst these constitutional differences or attempts at class legislation or the charges of despotism levelled against Ward, one must also notice the great part played by the Legislative Council during the years from 1855 till 1860, which witnessed great Legislative activity resulting in vast changes in the whole country. The year 1856 was particularly notable, both in the number and importance of legislative measures, which included the Railway, Export duty, Penny Postage, Irrigation, Temple Lands Claims, the Surplus Fund Ordinances and four ordinances to rectify certain details in the administration of justice.¹ He paid a great tribute to the work of the Council and the singular unanimity on every question except the Railway. "The concessions of 1856 will leave an honourable record in the annals of the Colony."² In 1858, also, important measures like the Immigration, Kandyan Marriages, Surplus Fund and Supplementary ordinances were successfully brought in and led to the vast development of the resources of the Colony.

Ward's policy was justified. In one of his last despatches,³ he justified his administrative and financial policy as having been adopted on sound principles. The revenues had increased considerably from £.476,273 to £.767,100 by 1860.⁴ Expenditure also showed proportionate increases. The establishments of the Government had also increased and there was more frequent supervision of outlying districts. Increases were shown chiefly in the Customs, Land-sales, tolls on bridges, roads and canals and in the Pearl fishing. The exports of coffee had considerably increased.¹ The vast sums of money spent on public works were now producing their results and improvements in the Public Works departments resulted in the successful completion of all works. "I shall place in the hands of my successor a peaceful, loyal and thriving community with a revenue adequate to its wants I have carefully studied the wants of the Island and it was only requisite to turn these elements of prosperity - a large and enterprising European population, capital for water available for irrigation, land in abundance - to account by improving means of communication and encouraging propriety rights."²

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NOTES (Pages 250 to 257)

1. Letter of Ward to Strachey of 22nd August, 1859 - Governor's Addresses of Ceylon Legislative Council 1833. pp. 478-479.

continued

NOTES. (Pages 250 to 257)

1. Ward to S. of S. of 7th June 1859. C.O. 54/344.
2. J. Steuart - Notes on Ceylon. Ch: IX. p. 42.
3. A public meeting was held on 24th March 1855 at 93, Chekku Street of the Tamils in Colombo to present an address to him to resign his seat in the Council on grounds of incompetency, having no general knowledge, no systematic education and no knowledge of the English language. Ceylon Times of 8th May 1855.
1. Ward to S. of S. of 25th October 1855. C.O. 54/317.
2. Vide Ch. III.
1. Letter of Wall to Planters Association. Encl. in 16th April 1859. C.O. 54/344.
2. Rpt. of Meeting in Colombo Observer of 24th May 1859.
1. Confidential Despatch of 7th June 1859 - C.O. 54/344.
2. Ibid.
3. Ward to S. of S. No. 80 of 24th October 1859. C.O. 54/346.
1. S. of S. to Ward (confidential) Encl. in No. 80 of 24th October 1859. C.O. 54/346.
2. Confidential desp. of Ward to S. of S. of 29th February 1860.
1. Vide App. on Ch. I.
2. Ward to S. of S. No. 120 of 15th June 1860. C. O. 54/353.

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Thesis presented to the University of London for
the Degree of Master of Arts.

April, 1954.

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS.

Ward administered Ceylon from 1855 till 1860. Aided by the condition of the finances, he succeeded in dealing with the numerous problems that confronted him after the economic crisis of 1846. His administration was a period of consolidation and progress.

Ceylon's economy was dependent on coffee-production and most of these problems concerned these interests. He started railway works, improved communications by repairing and constructing roads and bridges - particularly the Katugastotte and Gampola bridges - and canals to benefit the European Coffee planters and the Ceylonese in the Coffee areas. He constructed the electric telegraph, established steam communication round the Island, introduced penny postage and extended jetties and customs houses in the Colombo harbour. He made efforts to improve the social condition of the immigrant labourer and to assist the flow of immigration into Ceylon.

Ward's greatest contribution to the Ceylonese lies in the revival of their ancient agricultural customs and the provision of irrigation facilities to encourage paddy cultivation especially in the Eastern Province. He also reformed the Kandyan marriage customs by abolishing polygamy and polyandry.

He consolidated the public services of the Island on a permanent footing with greater comforts and remuneration. He despatched troops to Lord Canning on the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny in 1857. He settled the problem of the military reserves increased the island allowances of military officers, improved the salt monopoly and took great interest in pearl fisheries.

His achievements in this short period were due to his energy, his extensive tours of the Island, and the exercise of an independent will of his own.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF
SIR HENRY GEORGE WARD, G. C. M. G.

Sir Henry George Ward was born in London on 27th February 1797. He was the eldest son of Robert Plumer Ward, an eminent statesman and novelist. He was educated at Harrow and sent abroad to study languages. He was appointed to the diplomatic service, serving as attache to the British legation at Stockholm in 1816. He was then transferred to the Hague in 1818 and then to Madrid in 1819. He was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to Mexico in 1823. He returned to England in 1824 and married the daughter of Sir John E. Swinburne and was sent again as Minister Plenipotentiary in 1825.

After a stay of about two years, he returned to England and represented St. Albans from 1832 to 1837 and Sheffield from 1837 to 1849 in the House of Commons. Sir Henry's career in Parliament attracted him no small attention. Annually he moved a motion against the Irish Church and played a prominent part in Parliament. His motion on the utilisation of waste lands in the Colonies in the House ¹ earned him the praise of Molesworth, who seconded the motion. Even then, he displayed much keenness and activity and earned the general reputation of an advanced Liberal. He took an active part in political polemics and to forward his views with the people he published a newspaper, the Weekly Chronicle. In 1846, he became Secretary of the Admiralty and in 1849 was appointed Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands. In accordance with the usual practice, he was made a Grand Cross of the Order of St. Michael and St. George.

Soon after his arrival in the Islands, a rebellion broke out in Cephalonia which he put down promptly and with great firmness. In suppressing this rebellion, he made use of his prerogative powers banished editors and members of municipalities. He did not hesitate to use flogging to put down the rebellion. His general administration was severely attacked in the English papers and in the House of Commons but his conduct was not disapproved by his superiors and he continued to retain his post in the Ionian Islands. His administration of the Islands was considered so able that on the termination of his government, he was promoted to the important post of Governor of Ceylon. After a brilliant and energetic administration in Ceylon, he was appointed to the Governorship of the Presidency of Madras by the same telegram, which recalled Sir Charles Trevelyan.

He assumed office in Madras in July 1860 but died on 2nd August 1860 at Madras and was buried at Fort St. George, Madras. A statue was erected to his memory at Kandy, overlooking the Kandy Lake. It was unveiled on 5th August 1868 and bears the following

continued

following inscription:

" This statue has been erected from funds subscribed by inhabitants of Ceylon to commemorate their appreciation of the energetic administration of the affairs of the Colony by Sir Henry Ward, G.C.M.G., Governor from May 1855 to June 1860. "

CONCLUSION.

Five years of an active and energetic administration came to an end in July 1860, when Ward left Ceylon to take up his duties as Governor the Presidency of Madras. When he assumed the administration of the Colony in 1855, the finances were in a prosperous condition. Anderson was bitterly criticised because of his "policy of inaction" and earned great unpopularity. But it must also be recognised that it was Anderson's watchful economy of the finances of the country that made for the success of Ward's administration. It would be interesting to reflect if Ward's administration would have had this success if the condition of the finances had been otherwise. Even if allowance is made for this, there are certain features in his administration which reflect also the character of the man. His administration was characterised by a sense of duty, a firmness of purpose, a quick grasp of problems and an energy in carrying out his policy.

It was his sense of duty that made him undertake those extensive tours to all parts of the country, see for himself its condition, realise its needs and then apply the remedy. This sense of duty and perseverance is necessary in tropical colonies, where climate and difficulties of communication can often effect the exertions of European governors. No other Governor toured the country so extensively as Ward.

Ward strove successfully to consolidate the public services and placed them on a sound footing by giving officials security of tenure and rewards, commensurate with their exertion in their duties. His first address to the Legislative Council on 4th July 1955 showed how painstaking he had been to grasp the problems and needs of the country and to trace a policy. It gave considerable hopes to the planters as well as to the Ceylonese themselves. Since then he never relaxed his efforts to improve conditions.

An administrator speaks by his acts. Ward's administration is a record of such acts and achievements as the starting of the railway, the completion of the electric telegraph, the construction of roads, bridges and canals, the provision of irrigation works to assist the material development of the Ceylonese, particularly in the Eastern Province. Ward rendered valuable services to the Ceylonese in reviving the ancient customs of irrigation and using them effectively to encourage paddy cultivation. The abolition of polygamy was a reform of great social significance. Steamship communications was once again established with the Northern and Eastern Provinces. He had thus consolidated the country and prepared it on the path to progress.

continued.

His acts grow into greater significance when measured against the great stumbling block of the financial control of the Colonial Office and the British Treasury. It required a strong will and unusual powers of persuasion to overcome this. But he also proved the wisdom of his acts by the increasing revenue and expanding trade which they brought. The Secretary of State on various occasions expressed satisfaction with Ward's policy and his habit of personal vigilance and supervision. "You have not ceased to direct your careful attention to every question connected with the administration." ¹ He identified himself so much with the interests of the country and its people that, as early as 1858, the Europeans and Ceylonese petitioned the Queen for his reappointment and for sanction of a grant of £ 3,000 from the revenues of the country as a bonus for his valuable services. The Treasury, however, turned down this request. ² In the course of his tours, he collected and published valuable information about the Colony in Minutes which are a classic among official literature and speak testimony to his literary talent. As a tribute to his services, all his speeches and minutes were collected and published in Colombo in 1864.

Though legislative initiative rested in Ward, his acts had to depend on the consent of the Legislative Council. Ward's administration is notable for legislative activity. He allowed freedom of debate and faced considerable opposition on many occasions from the unofficials. He held the scales evenly as between the interests of the small but influential group of planters and merchants and the larger groups of the Ceylonese, whose interest in legislation he safeguarded. In the debates he encountered stiff opposition from unofficials such as Brown, Bird and George Wall among the European community. The Burgher member then was Richard Morgan, whose last outstanding contribution was in the Railway debate and who was District Judge of Colombo and later acted as a Puisne Judge and Queen's Advocate. Morgan was succeeded by Lorenz, that vitriolic Burgher member who, with Wall, was to play an important part in the Unofficial "walk-out" in 1864 as a protest against the increase of the military commitments of the Colony. Perhaps it was this association with the Liberal Ward that served as the training ground for that later episode.

An administrator also speaks by the acts of his subordinate officials. A Governor was appointed only for a period of six years and this is too short a period to know the real and vital interests of the country. Hence, they are dependent mainly on the officials who by their long service in the country hold the threads of government in their hands. A Governor, therefore, influences and is also influenced by his officials. Bailey was the mainspring of the irrigation policy which Ward brought into operation. It was the experience of Skinner and his assistants, Churchill and Eyatt, contd:

Evatt, that led to the extention of communications, and especially of the building of bridges. It was Dyke who from that distant outpost of the Northern Province kept British rule at its best and is even today a household name among the Tamils. Had not death removed Dr. Elliott, whose knowledge of the people was so great, perhaps improved medical services, the introduction of western medicine and a medical school could have been a reality. Had Ward been favoured with an efficient official for education, instead of the inefficient Central School Commission, education might have been benefitted. Besides these were those other officials, in office and in tropical jungles alike, without whose services Ward would not have achieved so much. It is to Ward's credit that he consulted them so often and improved the conditions of the public services in the matter of salaries.

Finally, much has to be said for parliamentary experience for governors of colonies. Those who have gained this experience in the free air of the House of Commons have made good governors such as Horton, Mackenzie, Ward and Gregory. Governors who rise from the Colonial Service are often tied up too much by regulations and can keep the ship of state on an even keel. In Colonial administration sometimes a spirit of adventure to strike a new line of policy, even if it infringes financial regulations, attracts attention and sometimes leads to happy results. This happened in the case of Ward. In the advance of colonies from a paternal despotism to representative institutions, government by discussion is a necessary process and Ward's concession to the Legislative Council of introducing subjects for debate is a good illustration of this.

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Abbreviations used:

C. O. = Colonial Office.

S. of S. = Secretary of State for Colonies.

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LABOUR AND NATIONALISM IN CEYLON

The Growth of the Labour Movement 1893-1933

By

KUMARI JAYAWARDENA, B.Sc. (Econ.) Lond; PhD (Lond)

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AN OPEN LETTER
TO
MR. E. W. PERERA,
AUTHOR OF " CEYLON STANDARDS AND BANNERS. "

.... ::

Sir,

I have offered you an APOLOGY in to-day's issue of the "Ceylon Independent." Let me state the reasons that persuaded me to do so. You threatened to institute an action for LIBEL against the said Paper on account of certain passages that appeared in four letters written, in its issue of the 13th ultimo, by four different correspondents :- "Moratuwite," "True Kaurawa," "Clean Politics" and Fidelis A. Silva (that is, myself). I did not care to involve the "Independent" in vexatious litigation aided by legal ingenuity. I am not a judge of what is and what is not LIBEL. I chose to follow the dictates of my common-sense.

I want to have the issue on "Flags" decided between you and me, plain and square. I give you the advantage without bringing in third parties into the discussion.

Now I wish to address you, as befitting the occasion, concerning the public good and more especially the good of my Community. I do not consider that I have, by any stretch of imagination, libelled you. It is YOU who have done AN INJUSTICE to my Community.

The passage you objected to in my letter was :- " Mr. Perera's insertion of the design of three fishes into the Kaurawa Flag. "

You gave an explanation in a Sinhalese paper. You appeased a few, educated and uneducated, weaklings - men and women who have lost the ancient martial ardour of the Kaurawa Caste - of my Community. Why did you not make use of the medium of an English journal as well? What is your explanation? That a certain Hindu, calling himself a Kaurawa or Karawa, whose ancestors had run away to preserve their lives - with a bundle of flags - during a war or riot from Negombo or somewhere to the wilds of distant Thamankaduwa, gave a flag (with the figure or figures of a fish or fishes) to the late Mr. Godwin de Livera (may he rest in peace) who, you state, presented the flag to you. The Hindu, according to you, said that he was a Kaurawa. He produced a flag which he called the Kaurawa Flag. Therefore, according to your TASTE and convenience, you called it the KAURAWA FLAG. WHEREFORE, I said that you " inserted the design of three fishes into the Kaurawa Flag. " Not, mind you, into a flag. into the Hindus flag or into THE flag you found. What an innocent individual you are? Why did you not make a better attempt to verify the conclusions you arrived at before publishing them? A historian's first duty is to narrate facts; and to find out what is a fact it is necessary to refer to authorities on the given subject. You dealt with a subject of antiquarian interest, and so much the more reason why you should have had your statements supported by authorities before executing ANTI-QUARIAN somersaults.

Before you made so serious a statement about my Caste - a statement, you ought to have known, bound to be resented by us - did you trouble yourself, either as a gentleman or historian, to consider its historical authenticity, whether a flag reposing in the lumber-room of a Hindu at Thamankaduwa was a genuine Kaurawa Flag, to consider whether the flag was acknowledged to be the Communal Flag of my Community by any one of us, whether there is a single iota of authority for your statement, whether this particular flag had ever been used by members of my Community at their Ceremonies etc.? but the IRA-HANDA-KODIYA which has been recognised, from time immemorial, as one of the Insignia of Kaurawa Raja Vansa !!! You coolly give over its right, title and interest to the MUKKUWARS of Puttalam.

continued

Your conclusions are unwarrantable. False conclusions, conclusions a child - leave alone a historian - would not have drawn.

And you are very angry with me because I say that the GOVERNMENT ought not to have spent money on a publication containing a LIBEL on a most devoted and loyal Section of HIS MAJESTY'S Sinhalese subjects in Ceylon.

You did not reproduce the flag sent by Mrs. A.J.R. De Soysa, M.B.E. You had more than enough historical acumen to verify its authenticity or otherwise.

You state that the symbols on the flags are emblematic of the trade each Caste followed. You quote Valentyn who says that the "Makara is a particular kind of fish." Well, I am not concerned with your INTENTIONS. I doubt not that you were actuated by the noblest and best of intentions. But what is the benefit of good intentions if the results are ILLEGITIMATE ? viz :-

1. You have denied the right of Gothra or Vansa to the Kaurawas whose name you omit from the list of Tribes (page 23) and include under the trade-guild category (pp. 20-22); therefore the Kaurawa Banners are not Tribal Banners, but trade-guild Banners i.e. Fisher-Trade Banners.

2. We, the Kaurawas, have our Coat-of-Arms ("Kara-Goi Contest" p.55). You quote Casie Chitty's Gazetteer (pp.17 and 26) but in your Appendix (A) you failed to mention the Kaurawa Coat-of-Arms, the Makara Kodiya etc., (see, Casie Chitty p.235).

3. On page 34 you refer to the Chandrakula-Malawa, giving a list of flags :- " This list comprises virtually all the devices painted on Sinhalese Banners." Vincent Perera Jayatilleka Appuhamy (1893), the author of the book, says that those Banners belong to the KAURAWA RAJA VANSa. Your silence on this point is not appreciated by the Kaurawas.

4. You were present at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society held on 4th March 1905 (see journal) Vol. 18 No. 56 pp. 381,388) when Mr. H.C.P. Bell made reference to the Ira-Handa-Kodiya as ONE OF THE TEN INSIGNIA of the Kaurawa people (R.A.S. Journal Vol.18 No.56 p.448). The symbols on the flag denote the descent of the Kaurawas from the SOLAR and the LUNAR RACES.

5. You have blasphemed the Catholic Church by naming a flag - which, I have not the least doubt, you honestly accepted- " Tha Kaurawa Catholic Flag." It is possible that a class, or family of ignorant people may have named flags according to their limited knowledge of the Teaching of their Church. But, if you had only consulted a Catholic Priest he would have enlightened you that no such distinctions are permitted within the holy sphere of St. Peter's Rule. The Catholic Church recognises only men and women - all children of a common father and mother. There are different Sacred flags to represent different Catholic Societies and Guilds. Such misrepresentations by one who claims to be a responsible person are totally inexcusable.

Now examine your Conscience from the light of History, and not from that of your own INTENTION; and inquire whether it was I who owed you an APOLOGY or YOU who owe an APOLOGY to the HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH AND the KAURAWA RAJA VANSa. You have the privilege, now, of using the word HONOURABLE before your name. I ask you, is it compatible with your newly-achieved honour of being designated "HONOURABLE" to let this grave error of judgment or your SOMERSAULTING with historical, religious and antiquarian theories pass without, at least, an expression of regret from you.

" HONOUR and Fame from no condition rise,
Act well your part there all the Honour lies."

continued.

I know that this talk of Caste Superiority, Caste Flags, Tribal Flags, Tradeguild Flags, is nothing but RANK STUPIDITY. I appreciate the remarks by Sir. Valentyn Chirol, in "India Old and New," where he says that the ancient invaders of India (a handful of men who concured the Aborigines) to preserve their power and influence instituted the Brahmin (or white) Caste; the rest were called Low Castes. But, as long as there is a strong Caste-feeling in the Country discreet writers would not speak disparagingly of any one Community.

The "MAHAVAGGO" narrates the "PUNCHA MAHA SUPINAYA," or the five dreams The Lord BOODHA dreamt on the eve of his attainment of Boodha-hood. In one he dreamt that four birds of different colours - yellow, red, black and green respectively - surrounded him. He studied them. In the twinkling of an eye they all turned white and flew off. Asked as to the interpretation of the dream, the Holy One expounded it thus :- The four birds signified the four Castes - Kshtriya, Brahmana, Vaisya and Sudra. All men and Castes that followed the Teaching of the Enlightened One merged their differences and distinctions in one common Brotherhood this is the significance of the white bird - the attainment of WISDOM.

There is a story, which has become history, that a certain Royal Princess and Nephew committed a DISHONOURABLE act. The King, her father, enraged at the offence out-casted them who, ever afterwards, became RODIYAS. This, too, proves that there are only two Castes, viz: I. the HIGH Caste of HONOUR and II. the LOW Caste of DISHONOUR. According to this most sensible division of the human race, if such people exist, to-day, among the Kaurawa, Goi, Vansas etc., they will be RODIYAS; and if, on the authority of some writers on Caste it exists in Perpetuity, then such KAURAWAS, GOIYAS etc., and their PROGENY will be RODIYAS in PERPETUITY.

You have travelled much, you have read much. Have you not yet realised that wherever there has been, and is, MIGHT, POWER and RICHES (gained by Force of Arms, Intellect or Treachery) there has been, and is, always a High Caste, High Class or Aristocracy? You call yourself, or it may be that the people take you to be, a DEMOCRAT. Why do you give occasion for and encouragement to the preparation of this EVIL of DISTINCTIONS, the CANCER in the body politic and social of our dear Island?

Your Compatriot,

FIDELIS A. SILVA

Moratuwa, 12th May 1921.

7.77

Mr. Edward W. Perera said :-

Mr. Gunawardene, Ladies and Gentlemen. While thanking my fellow-countrymen for their generous appreciation and kindly hospitality, I take the opportunity of recalling on this occasion the conditions under which I left Ceylon in 1915. The horrors of martial law were upon us. Scores of people were being imprisoned without trial. Hundreds were being lashed; numbers were being executed under drum-head courts martial; large sums of money were being extorted to purchase immunity from arrest. British citizens were being shot without trial under shoot-at-sight orders; some were taken out of their beds, and placed against the wall in the presence of their wives and children while begging for an enquiry - ran the order of Mr. Dowbiggin, the Inspector General of Police. To crown all, Mr. Jayatilaka himself, and others like him, the flower of the Sinhalese nation, men of education, wealth and public spirit, and tried fidelity to the Crown, were arrested without charge and imprisoned without trial, in penal cells, liable to be shot at any moment. They had incurred the wrath of the Bureaucracy by their strenuous activity in the cause of Temperance Reform, which affected the liquor revenue of the Ceylon Government.

There was suspicion in the air; we could not even breathe freely; every Sinhalese was suspect, and everybody felt his turn would come next. To use the words of the Anderson Report, the officials acted as if they were "schooled by the Germans in Belgium". The local Government was obdurate. In the dark hour of our agency, we felt that our only chance was to appeal for justice to the Government and people of Great Britain, the masters of the Ceylon Bureaucracy. The great responsibility was placed upon me to represent these facts to the Government and people of England, and seek to have the scourge of martial law with all its incidents removed. The messenger himself felt rather apprehensive for his safety. At this period it was not possible to secure any evidence, for militarism reigned. No-one dare repeat what he knew, and meeting was prohibited under penalty of shooting. The task, a difficult one under any circumstances, was doubly so in the present case, for at the time, I could bring no evidence worth the name; the Press was heavily censored, and the only piece of real evidence, the shoot-at-sight proclamation, prohibited to be published abroad, found a haven in my shoe till it emerged from its hiding-place on my arrival. Englishmen nurtured in the free air of England could not realise that such horrors as I recounted were possible under the British Flag. We ourselves would not have believed that such excesses were possible if it had been told us before they were actually committed. Moreover in England, there was the pre-occupation and distraction of a great War; men's minds were bewildered and there was suspicion in the air. In spite of all doubts and difficulties, the traditional instinct of justice of the British people asserted itself, and friends in England seriously took up the cause of our oppressed

people. It is my privilege to-day to bear testimony to the vindication of the faith of our people. However great may be the wrongs inflicted on us by blundering and autocratic officials overseas, still if we appeal to the fountainhead of justice, the Parliament and people of Britain, we are bound to obtain right and re-dress.

Personally I must express my grateful thanks to the friends of Ceylon, who acted virtually on my bare word, and took such prompt action as secured the release of the imprisoned Temperance leaders, particularly to one who has passed away, Mr. John Newton. In January, 1916, arrived Mr. Jayatilaka with the twenty-pounder, the Sinhalese Memorial containing documentary proof of the outrages, and furnishing in himself a living witness to the horrors of the hundred days. In spite of repeated denials by interested officialdom in Parliament, at length by the Anderson Report, the truth of our allegations has been vindicated; but the Government still refuses an enquiry, and an enquiry is the only medium to secure redress. The permanent Officials of the Colonial Office supported their brethren overseas, an enquiry was burked. Unfortunately over them presided statesmen who held the heresy that British prestige in the East rests on supporting officials whether they are right or wrong. The Ceylonese hold the creed that British prestige in the East rests on justice and not on official wrong.

We hope that statesmen more in keeping with the British spirit and temper, less imperialistic and more truly imperial will as a result of the forthcoming election, preside over the Colonial Office. It will be invidious to mention some where all have so magnificently helped, but among the members of Parliament, I must mention the names of Messrs. Leif-Jones, Philip Morrell, Theodore C. Taylor, MacCallum Scott, Sir William Collins, H. G. Chancellor, H. E. A. Cotton, Philip Snowden, W. A. Chapple, Joseph King, Sir John Rolleston, W. C. Anderson. Among the first advocates of our cause were ladies and at the head of them stands the daughter of Cobden, Mrs. Cobden Unwin. Mr. Leonard S. Woolf has been a tower of strength throughout. The Hon. Eric Collier & Capt. Rolleston of the Buddhist Society rendered yeoman service. The Anti-Slavery Society and the Native Races Liquor Traffic Committee lent their powerful aid and among others the following papers supported our cause: The Globe, New Statesman, Daily News, Manchester Guardian, The Nation, Truth, The Herald, India, Westminster Gazette, Labour Leader, Review of Reviews. We are greatly indebted to Mr. George Lansbury for active and continuous assistance both in the press and on the platform. I am glad to see among us Professor Gilbert Murray of Oxford who has been strenuously fighting to get justice for the people of Ceylon and Messrs Travis & Blackburn of the Temperance Alliance and Liquor Committee respectively and Mr. H. S. L. Polak of India who have rendered us most efficient help.

Our fight is not yet over; we are still seeking to obtain redress and to remove the effect of such administrative blunders as occurred in 1915, and the substitution for the Prussian Bureaucratic system we have in Ceylon, a British system of administration, in which the people will be associate with the Government. Ours is an ancient land, and the foundations of our civilisation are coeval with the beginnings of Rome. In our golden prime, embassies from "the utmost Indian isle, Taprobane" stood in the Courts of the Caesars. Through twenty-three centuries although a small people we maintained our independence against overwhelming odds, till on the extinction of our dynasty, we surrendered our place among the nations to the good faith of Great Britain, and in elected the King of Great Britain as our sovereign, on guarantees of equal rights and religious liberty. Representative institutions formed the basis of our civil Government, and we evolved a civilisation, the moral grandeur of which may be seen in its Buddhist ideals and its material splendour, in cities which equalled Babylon and Ninevah. Beneath the free flag of England, we aspire to rise to still higher things, and we want the help and co-operation of our British friends to secure such a form of Government for us, as will ensure the ordering of our national development.

We are many peoples now, but our interests are identical. In relation to our beloved Isle, our feelings may be expressed in a variation of the poet's words :-

" Sinhalese, and Tamil, and Burgher are we,
But we are all Ceylonese in our affection for thee".

13th August 1948.

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N O T E

• The following account of the Administration of Ceylon under the Government of the Dutch was given to me by my oldest and most respected friend Mr. Cleghorn. I gained "more manifest and solid profit", from him than from any of my preceptors. I received from him the first acts of true and perfect friendship. He taught me to associate with men by becoming himself my associate; to think and reason with propriety by showing the mistakes which reason commits. He taught me the knowledge of things.

In his youth Mr. Cleghorn was the friend and pupil of Adam Smith. About the age of Twenty one, he was appointed Professor of Civil History at the University of St. Andrews, where he diffused the principles and the practice of political economy. He followed the steps of his great master.

Before the time of Mr. Cleghorn the Class of Civil History had been a sinecure. He was the first who made it a source of knowledge and Instruction. It was not mere learning that he impressed on the minds of his Pupils, but the most liberal, the soundest and the truest opinions for the conduct of life. This was a preparation for the World. The tendency of his Instruction was to give vivid but correct and often-profound views of the rise and progress of science and manners. His mind was open, generous, and sincere. He wished to inspire his Pupils with a noble and manly love of virtue. His elocution was clear, perspicuous and impressive. At the distance of half a century, the memory of my friend, his simple habits, and my own obligations, are still fresh on my recollection.

The French invaded Belgium & Switzerland in 1792 & Spain in 1793.

Neil pp.2-3 suggest C ceased to be Professor in 1793.

At the commencement of the French Revolutionary war Mr Cleghorn was removed from St. Andrews and appointed to manage the interests of his Country and one of the Secondary Courts on the Continent. But as I am not conversant with this part of his Biography I shall pass it over until I met him on Ceylon in 1796, by one of those singular ~~singular~~ adventures in human life which never surprise us when they happen, altho' they are extraordinary and unexpected. The Swiss Cantons had transferred the Regiment de-Meuron from the Service of Holland to that

that of Great Britain. Mr Cleghorn and an Agent from the Cantons was sent overland to see the terms of this-capitulation carried into execution. He returned from Ceylon entrusted with the dispatches, which conveyed to the King's Ministers the conquest and surrender of the Dutch Possessions on that Island.

Upon the formation of a regular Government for Ceylon, Mr. Cleghorn was appointed Chief Secretary to the Colony.

It was in this capacity that he obtained the accompanying information of the Administration of Justice and of Revenue on the Island under the Dutch Government. The Memoir contains much valuable information not only of the Dutch form of Government, but of the ancient Institutions of the Country, which that people wisely and prudently made the foundation of their own system.

The Land Road or Council of the Country, of which the Dessave was President was erected to relieve that Judge from a multitude of legal discussions; he referred to it in all cases too complicated for his judgement, or such as he had not leisure to decide; The Inhabitants could appeal from the decisions of the Dessave himself to the "Land Road", whose forms were simple and the charges fixed at one half of those of the common Courts of Justice. "A court of this kind of easy access, was extremely popular and its decisions were generally and justly respected".

This is a practical example of administering Justice conformable to the Institutions of India. The practice is simple and it is agreeable to the people.

G Helena

1825.

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

The Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes is one of the prodigies of literature. The boldness and perverse ingenuity with which its author, from a long array of irrelevant scripture texts, seeks to construct an impossible theory of the universe can scarcely fail to astonish everyone who reads it. It made its appearance at that period in the world's history, when Christendom, fast losing the light of Greek learning and culture, was soon to be shrouded in the long night of mediaeval ignorance and barbarism. The work reflects with singular distinctness this prominent characteristic of the age which produced it ; for while Cosmas, on the one hand, held the principles of the Christian faith combined with others prevailing the theology then current which led to the darkening of all true knowledge, he had, on the other hand, a somewhat considerable, if inexact, acquaintance with the philosophical and scientific speculations of the Greeks. He may thus not inaptly be compared to a two-headed Janus, with one face turned to the light of departing day, and the other to the shadows of the coming night.

In our introduction will be found a statement showing the sources whence the text of this unique work has been derived. A biography of its author then follows ; next, a synopsis of his cosmological views, and finally, citations of the opinions which have been passed upon his system of the world and the contents of his work generally.

The translation here presented is literal, as far as the exigencies of idiom would permit. It is the first that has been made of the whole work into English, or, indeed, into any other language except Latin and Norwegian. In its preparation we have lacked the advantage, generally enjoyed by translators of classical texts, that of having at hand for reference a variety of translations and commentaries to throw light on passages that are dark, dubious, or disputed, or otherwise perplexed. We have had, indeed, the assistance of Montfaucon's Latin version, but no commentary whatever to give us light where we found Cosmas dark. That good and learned Father is generally accurate, but, like the good Homer, he sometimes nods, and we give at the foot of the page a list of notes which refer to passages whereof his interpretations differ from our own. Another list of notes follows, in which suggestions are offered for the correction of the Greek text.

Cosmas tells us, in the outset of his work, that he has inserted notes (napaypapai) for the clear exposition of the text (To keiuevov). These notes he seems to have placed, not in the margin, but in the body of the work, after the text to which they refer. In our translation they appear in a similar position, but printed in a type somewhat smaller than that of the text.

Our rendering of the word " Exxoves required a word of explanation. In the days of Cosmas it was used, not so much to designate persons of Hellenic descent, as persons who clung to the old superstitions of Greece and Rome and rejected Christianity. Montfaucon's rendering is Graeci, but we have considered Pagans as preferable. This class of persons Cosmas sometimes calls also oi egwAev, those without the pale of the Church, an expression which we render mostly by pagans.

Cosmas had some skill in drawing, and seems to have taken as much delight in covering his M S S. with illustrative sketches as was taken, according to his showing, by the Israelites of old in covering the rocks of Mount Sinai with inscriptions when once they had been taught by Moses the art of writing. Montfaucon, having made a selection from these sketches relegated them en masse to the end of his work. His copies of them, which are not always quite exact, have been reproduced for the present work, by photographic processes, in a way which leaves nothing to be desired, and will be found, with explanatory notes, in the Appendix.

The passages of Scripture to which Cosmas refers are very numerous, and the words are cited at length both in the Greek text and in the Latin version. We have, however, given only the references, in cases where this could be done without inconvenience to the reader.

In conclusion we have to express our obligations to Mr. J. Coles, Map-Curator of the Royal Geographical Society, and to Dr. James Burgess of Edinburgh, for their kindness in writing for us these mathematical notes to Book VI, in which they show how egregiously Cosmas erred in his calculations of the size of the sun ; while to Mr C. Robertson of Edinburgh, late of the Indian Civil Service, we stand greatly indebted for valuable suggestions and criticisms made while he had the goodness to hear us read over our translation to him. Mr. Foster, the Secretary of the Society, must permit us further to say how much the work has profited by his careful correction of the final proofs, and the suggestions which he was kind enough on occasion to offer.

32, Lauriston Place, Edinburgh.

November 1897.

J. W. Mc G.

32, Lauriston

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INTRODUCTION.

Sources of the Text.

The Christian Topography of Cosmas, surnamed Indicopleustes, or the Indian Navigator, has been preserved in two copies: one a parchment M S. of the tenth century belonging to the Laurentian library in Florence, and containing the whole work except only the last leaf; the other, a very fine uncial M S. of the eighth or ninth century, belonging to the Vatican library, and containing sketches drawn by Cosmas himself, but wanting entirely the twelfth book, which is the last. There is, besides, in the Imperial Library in Vienna, a Cosmas MS., but this contains only a few leaves of the Topography.

The existence of the work, which had been for ages forgotten, and the importance and interest of its contents, were first made known in the latter half of the ^{seventeenth} century by Emeric Bigot. This learned French scholar, while visiting Italy, extracted from the Florentine Codex a copy of the Adulitic Inscriptions, and of passages relating to Ethiopia and India. These extracts were afterwards published in Thevenot's Relation de divers Voyages, accompanied with a translation into French. Twenty years later (1706), the work appeared in its complete form as exhibited in the Florentine Codex, collated with that of the Vatican. It was not however, published separately, but was included in the second volume of the splendid work Nova Collectio Patrum et Scriptorum Graecorum, edited by Father Montfaucon, a Benedictine monk, celebrated for its profound knowledge of Patristic literature. The Greek text was illustrated by a learned introduction and a Latin translation of great elegance and accuracy. Notes were also added, chiefly to point out where discrepancies exist in the readings of the MSS. The present translation has been prepared from Montfaucon's text, as reprinted in the 88th volume of the Patrologia Graeca, printed at the Migne Press, Paris, 1864.

THE TITLE OF THE WORK.

In the Florentine Codex, the index of the work reads thus: Avtn n BiBxos Xpiotiavikan Torroyppia neplektikn navtos tov koouov nap nuiv wvouaouevn. This book named by us Christian Topography comprehensive of the whole world. Maontfaucon entitles it: Cosmae Egyptii Monachi Christiana Topographia, sive Christianorum Opinio de Mundo: The Christian Topography of Cosmas, an Egyptian Monk, or the Opinion of Christians concerning the World. As Cosmas all through the work keeps harping, with the most provoking reiteration, on his doctrine that the universe consists of only two places, namely, the earth which is below the firmament, and heaven which is above it, the term Topography designates the

designates the treatise properly enough; though on turning to peruse it for the first time, we should from its title expect its contents to be very different from what they are found to be.

NOTICE OF THE WORK BY PHOTIUS, PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

Montfaucon does not seem to have been aware that a brief notice of the Topography is to be found in the Bibliotheka of Photius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, who was elected to that dignity in A.D. 858. Photius states that the work had for its title *Xp̄ot̄iavwv BiBaos*, and was an exposition extending to the eighth book. He does not give the author's name, but states that he flourished in the reign of the Roman Emperor Justinus, and dedicated his work to a certain Pamphilus. He condemns it as being below mediocrity in style, and faulty in its syntax; and at the same time calls in question the author's veracity, saying that he makes up stories so incredible that he may fairly be regarded as a writer of fables rather than of facts,. He then gives a very concise summary of the contents of the Topography, and concludes with a reference to the last four books, which had from time to time been added to defend the doctrines set forth in those which had preceded.

THE NAME OF THE AUTHOR OF THE " TOPOGRAPHY ".

A doubt long ago arose as to whether Cosmas was the proper or family name of the author of the Topography. Isaac Voss first started this doubt, and Fabricius subsequently gave currency to the opinion that Cosmas was so called because his work was devoted to a description of the Kosmos: just as the Abbot John of Sinai was called Climacius because he had published a work entitled Climax. In the absence of evidence, this must remain an open question.

BIOGRAPHY OF COSMAS

The Topography fortunately contains passages which throw light on the personal history of its author, and enable us also to fix with certainty the date at which he wrote. He was most probably a native of Alexandria, and may have been of Greek parentage. His education was confined to the more elementary branches of knowledge, such as would fit him for the career he pursued in the earlier part of his life - that of a merchant. But though he was not instructed, as he tells us himself, in the " learning of the schools," yet so inquisitive was his turn of mind and so sharp his intellect that he eventually acquired such a knowledge of literature and science as raised him to the level of the culture of his time, and to being accepted as a capable exponent and defender of the Christian faith.

The commercial pursuits of Cosmas carried him into seas and countries far remote from his home. Thus he tells us that he had sailed upon three of the great gulfs which run up into the earth from the ocean, namely, the Mediterranean Sea, the Red Sea, and Persian Gulf. He sailed also upon that part of the Erythraean Sea which beyond Cape Guardafui stretches southward toward the outlying ocean, which in those days was regarded with terror and held to be unnavigable on account of the violent currents and dense and dismal fogs in which it was thought to be enveloped. When the ship which carried Cosmas was approaching this dread region of currents and fogs, a storm gathered overhead, and flocks of albatrosses, like birds of ill omen, hovered on the wing high above the mast. Dismay seized alike the passengers and the crew, and amidst outcries of "port the helm," the course of the vessel was reversed and she headed northwards. Cosmas does not say whether in the course of this voyage he reached India, which was his destination when he embarked. If he did not he must have made a second and more successful attempt; for no one, we think, who reads his eleventh book, in which he describes the island of Ceylon and the ports, commerce, and animals of India can doubt that he writes about these places from personal knowledge of them.

One of the most interesting and instructive parts of the Topography is that in which Cosmas relates what he had heard and seen in the course of his travels Ethiopia. By the name of Ethiopia he designates in a general way the vast region which stretches southward from Egypt down towards the equator; and from an incidental remark which he drops when treating of the Adulitic inscription on the throne, we learn that he has traversed it almost almost throughout its length and its breadth. Like Herodotus of old, he was ever athirst after knowledge, and when he was unable to visit places which lay in the vicinity of his route, he made inquiries about them from such persons as knew them and could be trusted to report things truly. The capital of Ethiopia at that time was Axum, an important centre of commerce, and also of religion and learning. It was one of the places which Cosmas, in pursuit of his calling, visited, and from one or two of his statements we may infer that he was well received at Court, and was permitted by the King, who professed the Christian faith and could speak Greek, to travel freely through his dominions.

The seaport of Axum was adule or Adulis, the modern Zula or Thulla, situated near Annesley Bay and distant from the capital about one hundred and twenty miles or an eight days' journey. Cosmas found himself here in the year 525 A.D., at which time Elesboas, the King of Axum, was preparing an expedition against the Homerites in Arabia. Here, at the request of the Governor,

Cosmas, along with his friend Menas, a monk of the monastery at Raithu, copied the famous Greek inscriptions on the marble tablet and the basanite throne, which lay together outside the town on the road which led to Axum.

Among other parts of Ethiopia which our traveller visited we may include the Aromatic country - that great projection on the east of the African Continent which terminates in Cape Guardafui. His description of this district (which supplied the Egyptians of old with their spices for embalming the dead), and of its products and its foreign trade, shows that it must have come from the pen of an eye-witness. He may also have proceeded to the north-west, and visited the kingdom of Moroe (now Khartum), for in that direction lay the seats of several tribes mentioned in the inscription on the throne. Montfaucon, in his Preface, credits him with the discovery, in the Abyssinian province called Agau, of the true source of the Nile. It was not, however, the source of the main stream which he discovered, but that of the Blue Nile, which, a millennium afterwards, was discovered by the Portuguese, and more recently by the Scottish traveller Bruce. There was still another interesting locality which the traveller tells us he visited, and this lay on the other side of the Red Sea - the Desert, namely, of Sinai, where he found, strewn among the sands, fragments of rock covered with inscriptions which he took to have been carved by the Israelites when they were wandering in that wilderness.

Cosmas, when all his travels were over, returned to Alexandria, perhaps after paying a visit to Jerusalem; and, abandoning the secular life, retired to the seclusion of the cloister, where he devoted his leisure to the composition of works on descriptive geography, cosmography, and Scriptural exegesis. Of these, the Christian Topography alone is extant. The loss of the geographical treatise, as Montfaucon well says, is to be deplored with tears. It has been conjectured that the geographical passages in the Topography, as, for instance, the description of Ceylon in the eleventh book, are extracts from that treatise.

THE CHRISTIAN SECT TO WHICH COSMAS BELONGED.

In the days of Cosmas ecclesiastical controversies were rife, and professing Christians were divided into the numerous sects. That to which Cosmas most probably belonged was the Nestorian. To this point Photius makes no reference, and it has been equally overlooked by Montfaucon. The first who called in question the orthodoxy of our Monk was De La Croze, who in his *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, adduced

adduced the following arguments to prove his Nestorian proclivities: - that Cosmas calls Patricius, who was the Archbishop of Persia when that country had been infected with Nestorianism, a divine man and an illustrious teacher; that Cosmas, in his list of heretical sects, names the Manichaeans, the Marcionists, the Eutychians, the Arians and the Apollinarians, but not the Nestorians; that in his exposition of Scripture, and in his system of the world, he always follows Theodosius of Mopsuestia and Diodorus of Tarsus, who were the principal teachers of the Nestorians; that concerning Christ and the incarnation of the Word, he uses the same modes of expression as the Nestorians. We may add as a fifth argument the glowing terms in which Cosmas speaks of the wide diffusion of Christianity among the heathen nations of the east, which was mainly the work of missionaries from Persia, where Nestorianism reigned supreme. Only one passage occurs to throw some doubt on the certainty of this conclusion - that in which Cosmas addresses Mary as the Mother of God, an expression abhorrent to the Nestorians. Had Cosmas in his Monastery relapsed into what was there considered orthodoxy?

THE DATE AT WHICH THE " TOPOGRAPHY " WAS WRITTEN

We have already mentioned that the Topography has data from which the time when Cosmas wrote can be certainly determined. In the second book (p.55) where he mentions his visit to Adule, he observes that it was made when Elesboas the Axumite King was preparing an expedition against the Homerites in Arabia, and this was at the beginning of the reign of the Roman Emperor Justinus, since which time some five-and-twenty years more or less had elapsed. Now, as it is known that the expedition was made in A.D.522, and that Justinus was at that date in the fifth year of his reign, Cosmas must have been writing about the year 547. It is true that an indication which apparently conflicts with this appears in the tenth book (p.351), where he speaks of Theodosius, the heretical Bishop of Alexandria, as residing at the time in Constantinople, and then on p. 353 refers to the death of his predecessor in office, Timothy the younger, as an event of recent occurrence. Now it is known that this Timothy died in 535, and was succeeded by Theodosius, who, after a brief residence in his diocese went to Constantinople, whence he was banished in 536. The tenth book must therefore have been written in the year preceding. How, then, is this earlier date to be reconciled with the later? Montfaucon answers this question satisfactorily. Cosmas, he points out, in order to meet objections urged against his opinions, was in the habit

in the habit of making additions from time to time to the number of its books. The earlier date thus probably indicates the time when he began to make such additions, and the later when he was making the last, or one of the last, recensions of his work.

OPINIONS OF THE LEARNED REGARDING THE
" TOPOGRAPHY "

The condemnatory verdict of Photius upon the work of Cosmas has not been endorsed by modern opinion. The style of the Topography has no doubt the shortcomings which the Patriarch pointed out ; but Cosmas, it is proper to remember, expressly disclaims all pretensions to the learning of the schools. He pleads that from his early years he had been so engrossed in business, and had been besides so much abroad, that he had found no spare time for studying rules of Grammar and the art of composition; he could, therefore, only write in a homely style, without attempting any flights of rhetoric. Rhetoric, moreover would, he thought, be out of place in his books, since " he wrote for Christians, who had more need of correct notions than of fine phrases." The style has, notwithstanding, some redeeming points. Cosmas, in spite of his loose grammar, seldom fails to make his meaning clear, or to put forward his arguments with sufficient and force. Some passages, besides, which give us an insight into the depth and fervour of his faith, rise to an eloquence which suggests the belief that, had he cultivated the art, he might have shown in pulpit oratory.

It is, however, in relating his travelling experiences that Cosmas is found at his best. The language he uses is simple, and his descriptions are not only remarkably vivid, but are, above all things, truthful. In this respect modern opinion is entirely at variance with that of Photius. The greater knowledge now possessed of the remote regions which Cosmas visited goes all to show that the thought of tickling the fancy of his readers with tales of wonder had never entered his mind, but that on the contrary he was a man who had a supreme regard for truth, and who was at once an acute observer, and shrewd in judging the value of the information which he received from others.

As soon as the Topography, in its complete edition by Montfaucon, made its appearance, it excited great interest in the circles of learning, and at once took rank as a work which contained more accurate and more valuable information on geographical subjects than any other document that had come down from the early mediaeval age. At the same time, the extreme singularity of the views ~~whateh~~ which it propounded

profounded on cosmology and on the interpretation of Scripture texts filled its readers with combined feelings of amazement and amusement.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

The Topography was republished at Venice in 1776 in Gallandi's *Bibliotheca veterum Patrum*, and its most valuable sections were printed, along with a French translation, at Paris in 1855, in Charton's *Voyageurs Anciens et Modernes*. Its contents were made use of by Robertson in his *Disquisition on Ancient India*, and by Gibbon in his *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. The latter, referring to the absurd theory of the world held by Cosmas, remarks that "the nonsense of the Monk was, nevertheless, mingled with the practical knowledge of the traveller."

Among the eminent geographers who have turned the Topography to account may be mentioned Mannert, Gosselin, Humboldt, Dodwell, Playfair, Bredow, Reinaud, Letronne, Sir Henry Yule, and Mr. Raymond Beazley, while among ecclesiastical writers may be noted Allatius, Bandini, De La Croze, Assemani, Cave and Milne Rae. The Adulitic inscriptions again have exercised the pens of such scholars as: Fabricius, Chishull, Vincent, Salt, Boeckh, V. de Saint-Martin, Dr. H. Muller of Vienna, and Dr. Glaser of Munich.

THE SYSTEM OF THE WORLD ACCORDING TO COSMAS

The Christian Topography is a production of which it may be truly said To mapepyov kpeittov tou epyou. It is essentially controversial, its professed design being to refute, from Scripture and common sense, the impious Pagan cosmography, according to which the earth is a sphere; and the centre around which the heaven, which is also a sphere, revolves with all its luminaries. The arguments with which Cosmas seeks to demolish this theory and to illustrate his own are abused in the extreme; and were it not for the geographical, historical, and other kind of notices which are here and there incidentally introduced into its pages, his work would chiefly serve for amusement. According to his view, the figure of the universe can best be learned from a study of the structure and furniture of the Tabernacle which Moses prepared in the wilderness. This wonderful conception did not originate with himself. Some of the Christian Fathers who preceded him had entertained it in a vague and general way, believing it might be warranted by the expressions in Hebrews, ix, 23 and 24, where the

where the Tabernacle and its contents are said to be patterns (vnodeiyuata) and antitypes or figures of the true (avtituna twy arnOivwv). It was left to Cosmas to develop the conception and work it out into all its details. So he explains again and again that the division of the Tabernacle into two places, by means of the veil, typified the division of the universe into two worlds - an upper and a lower, by means of the firmament. The table of shew-bread, again, with its waved border, represented the earth surrounded by the Ocean, while its other parts and the things upon it symbolized each some subject or other in the natural world. Now, as the table was twice as long as it was broad, and was placed lengthwise from east to west, and breadthwise from north to south, from this we learn that the earth is a rectangular plane which extends in length from east to west, and in breadth from north to south, and is twice as long as it is broad. The ocean, he further gives us to know, is unnavigable, and, while encompassing this earth of ours, is itself encompassed by another earth, which had been the seat of Paradise and the abode of man until the Ark, floating on the billows of the Flood, wafted Noah and his family over into this earth. The heavens come downward to us in four walls, which, at their lower sides, are welded to the four sides of the earth beyond ocean, each to each. The upper side of the northern wall, at the summit of heaven, curves round and over, till it unites with the upper side of the southern wall, and thus forms, in the shape of an oblong vault, the canopy of heaven, which Cosmas likens to the vaulted roof of a bathroom. This vast rectangular hall is divided at the middle into two stories by the firmament, which thus serves as a ceiling for the lower story and a floor for the upper. The lower story is this world, where men and angels have their abode until the Resurrection, and the story above is heaven - the place for the future state.

As to the position (Aeols) of the earth in the scheme of things, Scripture left Cosmas in no doubt. The Psalmist had declared that the Greater had founded the earth upon its own stability (enl tnv aopanelav aurns); Job, that He had hanged it upon nothing; and Isaiah, that, while heaven was His throne, the earth was His footstool. Clearly, therefore, the place of the earth was at the bottom of the universe - a position to which it must have naturally sunk (as he shows in a very curious passage) at the very instant of its creation. What then can be more absurd than the Pagan doctrine that the earth is in the middle of the universe? Were it in the middle, there must be something below it as well as above it; but there is nothing below it, since we learn from Genesis that God made heaven and earth, and nothing else beyond these. Here then the

then the Pagans are at war with divine Scripture; but, not content with this, they are at war also with common sense itself and the very laws of nature, declaring, as they do, that the earth is a central sphere, and that there are Antipodes, who must be standing head-downward and on whom the rain must fall up.

Referring to the figure of the world as thus conceived by Cosmas, Sir Henry Yule with grim humour remarked that "one of the hugereceptacles in which female travellers of our day carry their dresses, forms a perfect model of the Kosmos of Kosmas." The theory, again, by which Cosmas accounts for the vicissitudes of day and night is no less preposterous than his idea of the figure of the world. The Pagan theory that the earth is spherical and placed in the centre of the universe, with the heavenly bodies revolving round it, accounted satisfactorily for the disappearance of the sun during the night; but where could Cosmas, in whose philosophy there was neither a spherical earth nor any under-world, find a place for the great orb of light when no longer visible? The problem did not baffle his ingenuity. Calling to his aid the words of Solomon which declared that the sun on rising turned first towards the south and then towards the north, where he went down, and thence hastened to the place in which he arose, he made them the basis of the following extraordinary theory. The earth, he tells us, gradually rising up from the south, extends westward, until it culminates at last in a huge conical mountain situated somewhere in the far-away frozen north. Behind this immense cone, the sun at the close of day disappears from view, and leaves the world which we inhabit in darkness, until, having circled round the cone he reappears in the east to give birth to a new day. According, moreover, as he is high or low during his nocturnal revolution the nights vary in their length; while, owing to a slight obliquity in his motion, eclipses are produced. On the question of the magnitude of the great luminary Cosmas differed widely from the Pagan philosophers, and wrote his sixth book mainly to prove that, instead of its being, as they thought, many times larger than the earth, it was no more than the size of two only of the earth's climates or zones, those between the latitudes of Alexandria and Rhodes, and Rhodes and Constantinople, an extent of about 635 geographical miles. But the words of Solomon ~~from~~ form by no means the only Scriptural warrant for taking this view of the order of nature, for the candlestick placed on the south of the table of shew-bread typified the sun shining upon the earth from the south wards the north, while the waved border which ran round the table typified the ocean surrounded by the outer earth, both of which were illuminated by the sun while circling round the gigantic mountain.

The Pagan theory which Cosmas especially detested, and made most frequently the subject of his scornful and violent invective, was that which maintained that the heavens were spherical and in constant revolution. He heaps text upon text to confute the advocates of this most pestilent doctrine, which, if admitted, would, he contended, abolish the future state and make the resurrection of Christ of no account.

But while Cosmas regarded as impious the doctrine that the heavens revolve, he admitted the revolution of the celestial luminaries, which, he held, were propelled in their courses by the angels, who do not live in heaven but are restricted to the aerial spaces below the firmament, until the resurrection.

All these and other views no less absurd, though interesting, Cosmas states and re-states with the most wearisome pertinacity, and holding them to be most vital verities, sanctioned alike by common sense and the paramount authority of divine Scripture, denounces again and again those reprobate Christians who, instead of accepting them, prefer through their perverse folly or downright wickedness to adopt the miserable Pagan belief that earth and heaven are spherical, and that there are Antipodes on whom the rain must fall up.

CRITICISMS ON HIS SYSTEM

Sine the Topography had for its main design the exposition of these views, it has been compared by Yule to "a mere bank of mud, but remarkable on account of certain geographical fossils which are found imbedded in it." This comparison, however, we venture to think, does less than justice to the work, for besides the geographical there are many other "fossils" to be found in the mud, of different kinds and generally of more or less interest and value. A list of these - but not pretending to be complete - has been given by Montfaucon in his Introduction. Among others may be specified the indication of Clysma as the place of the passage of the Red Sea; the wares brought by merchants to the Israelites when they sojourned in the wilderness; the seat of the terrestrial Paradise; the worship of Mithras by the Persians; the rite of baptism; the date of the Nativity; the question of the canonicity of the Catholic Epistles; the exposition of the prayer of Hezekiah; the inscriptions on the rocks found in the desert of Sinai; the state of Christianity in Socotra, Ceylon and India; the extent to which Christianity had spread over the heathen world; the interpretation of the prophecies of Daniel; extracts from Pagan writers and Fathers of the Church preserved only by Cosmas; and his views on the destiny of children who die in the womb or in infancy.

The portion, moreover, of the Topography which is the " mud bank " of the comparison is not without some value. It is a specimen of a once prevalent and not yet quite extinct mode of Scriptural exegesis; it reveals what were some of the main currents of thought which permeated the Christian world at the beginning of the Middle Ages; it discloses to what a lamentable degree, as Monotheistic Christianity rose to the ascendant, triumphant alike over the Persian Dualism of the Manichaeans, and the Greek Pantheism of the Neo-Platonists, the light of Hellenic learning and science had faded from Christendom before as yet Islam, which was destined to receive and preserve that light, had appeared in the world; and while it exhibits the attitude in which Theology and Science in those days stood to each other, it illustrates the signal danger of regarding Scripture as a storehouse of divine communications which may be turned to account in defending or in oppugning scientific speculations. To quote Yule once more: " The work is a memorable example of that mischievous process of loading Christian truth with a dead weight of false science."

OTHER WORKS BESIDES THE " TOPOGRAPHY "
WRITTEN BY COSMAS

Besides the Christian Topography Cosmas wrote several other works, of which the most important was one addressed to Constantinus, in which he described the whole earth. Cosmas mentions it in Book I. A second was entitled A Delineation or Image of the Universe and of the Stellar Motion, made in imitation of the artificial Sphere of the Pagans, and a Treatise thereon addressed to the most Pious Deacon Homologus. A third book was A Commentary on the Song of Songs; and a fourth An Exposition of the Psalms.

GENERAL NATURE OF THE CONTENTS OF EACH BOOK
OF THE " TOPOGRAPHY ".

To the Topography, when first published, Cosmas prefixed two prologues, in the first of which he exhorts his readers to bestow upon his works a diligent and careful perusal; and in the second, which contained the dedication to Pamphilus and apologies for his own shortcomings as a writer, he points out the nature of the contents of each of the five books of which the work then consisted. In the first book he attacks, and to his own satisfaction demolishes, the pernicious anti-Christian doctrines of the Pagan philosophy, that the world is spherical and that there are Antipodes. In the second he propounds the true theory which all Christians are bound to accept, bases as it is upon the inspired Word, and maintained, besides, even by some of the Pagan philosophers themselves. By the citation of measurements of the earth made from east to west and from north to south, he seeks to prove that the length of the earth is twice its breadth.

In the third book he insists on the authority and harmony of Scripture, adducing many texts, which, as in the preceding book he twists with audacious ingenuity to lend support to his own impossible theory. In the two following books he again demolishes the doctrine of the spheres, while ~~the~~^{he} re-states and fortifies his own theory with a long array of additional texts.

The publication of these books, which gave definite and un- uncompromising expression to views of which the germs had long been vaguely floating about in the air of Christendom, produced, as might have been expected from their novelty when seen wrought together into a self-consistent system, a startling effect. Objections were urged - directed especially against his views regarding the figure of the world. How, he was asked, could the sun, which was many times larger than the earth, be hidden behind the mountain in the north, however great its altitude? The sixth book was written to show that the sun, so far from being many times larger than the earth, was in point of fact only the size of two of the earth's " climates ".

The seventh book, addressed to Athanasius, sought to refute a work written by a professing Christian, who held that heaven was an over-revolving sphere, but nevertheless dissoluble. Cosmas cites and expounds numerous texts to show that the heavens cannot be dissolved, and that neither men nor angels can enter into them until after the resurrection. The eighth book is addressed by Cosmas to another of his friends, called Peter, who had asked him to expound the Prayer of Hezekiah. The exposition is given, and Cosmas then proceeds to show how the minds of the Babylonians had been impressed by the miraculous sign of the retrogression of the shadow upon the sun-dial - and how Cyrus had been led to favour the Jews and dismiss them from their Babylonian captivity by his reading the prophecies of Isaiah which referred to himself even by name. The ninth book treating of the heavenly bodies ascribes their motions to the angels, who groan under this hard and incessant toil which they perform for the benefit of man, and not for their own. They would have sunk, therefore, into despair, had they not seen that, even after the Fall, God was merciful and kind to man, on whose destinies their own depended. They were further encouraged when they afterwards saw that the Apostle Paul was caught up into the third heaven, and was there entertained with a glimpse of its glories.

In the tenth book Cosmas cites a number of the Fathers to show that his doctrines were in closest harmony with the teachings of the Church. In the eleventh, which is entirely geographical, he describes some animals and plants which he had seen or heard of in the course of his travels, and gives an

and gives an account also of the island of Ceylon, and of its extensive commerce with India, Persia, China, and the countries of the West. The twelfth and last book shows that several of the old Pagan writers bore testimony to the antiquity of the Old Testament scriptures.

THE MAPS AND SKETCHES WHICH ILLUSTRATE THE VIEWS OF COSMAS

" There is, " says Mr. Raymond Beazley, in the admirable work we have already referred to, " another interest about the Topography. It contains in all probability the oldest Christian Maps that have survived. There is little reason to doubt that the numerous sketches which are to be found in the Florentine manuscript of the tenth century were really drawn by Cosmas himself (or under his direction) in the sixth; and are thus at least two centuries earlier than the map of Albi, or the original sketch of the Spanish monk Beatus " (p.281). The plates found in the Appendix have been reproduced by photography from those which accompany Montfaucon's edition of the Topography.

THE PLACE OF COSMAS IN HISTORY

With regard to the place which Cosmas holds in History we cannot do better than cite the estimate expressed by the same writer, whose wide and accurate knowledge of mediaeval literature enables him to speak *ex cathedra* on the subject. " Cosmas ", he says, " is of interest to us as the last of the old Christian geographers, and in a sense, too, the first of the mediaeval. He closes one age of civilization which had slowly declined from the self-satisfied completeness of the classical world, and he prepares us to enter another that, in comparison, is literally dark. From the rise of Islam the geographical knowledge of Christendom is on a par with its practical contraction and apparent decline. Even more than actual exploration, theoretical knowledge seemed on its death-bed for the next five hundred years " (p.33) In a subsequent passage dealing with the same topic, he says: " The place of Cosmas in history has been sometimes misconceived. His work is not, as it has been called (in the earlier years of this century), the chief authority of the Middle ages in geography. For, on the whole, its influence is only slightly, and occasionally, traceable. Its author stated his position as an article of Christian faith, but even in those times there was anything but a general agreement with his positive conclusions. .. The subtleties of Cosmas were left to the Greek for the most part; the western geographers who pursued his line of thought were usually content to stop short at the merely negative dogmas of the Latin Fathers; and no great support was

support was given to the constructive tabernacle system of the Indian merchant. .. Yet, after all, the Christian Topography must always be remarkable It is one of the earliest important essays in scientific or strictly theoretic geography, with the Christian aera, written by the Christian thinker " (p.283). Mr. Beazley concludes his long notice of the great Christian Cosmographer in these terms: " He felt himself to be apostle full supernatural theory in science. He knew that his work was unique. And such it has always been recognised - by some with rapture , by others with consternation, by most with derision. At least it is a monument of infinite, because quite unconscious, humour. ' For neither before him was any like unto him, neither shall be after.' "

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JULIA MARGARET

CAMERON

HER LIFE AND PHOTOGRAPHIC WORK

BY

HELMUT GERNSHEIM

Fellow of the Royal Photographic Society

Introduction by

CLIVE BELL

Published by

THE FOUNTAIN PRESS - LONDON

Distributed in the U.S.A by

TRANSATLANTIC ARTS, INC, NEW YORK.

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To
Evelyn Fradeletto

HER LIFE AND ENVIRONMENT

A few years ago I had occasion to change trains at Brockenhurst in the New Forest and while waiting for my train to come in I was suddenly struck by familiar faces gazing down on me from the walls of the waiting-room. To my astonishment I found no fewer than eleven portraits by Julia Margaret Cameron. I must admit that I was a bit puzzled to see these photographs decorating a railway waiting-room of all places, but a moment later I was able to read the surprising explanation, for some of them bore the following inscription -

This gallery of the great men of our age is presented for this room by Mrs Cameron in grateful memory of this being the spot where she first met one of her sons after a long absence of four years in Ceylon.¹

What an amazing woman, I thought, and what an odd thing to do ! And this thought led me on to further enquiries about Mrs Cameron, who was until then only known to me as one of the greatest portrait photographers. Slowly I was able to build up a picture of Mrs Cameron and at length there emerged a very picturesque and eccentric personality, a woman caring little for the conventionalities of her time, who lived her life according to her own will, yet who was deeply devoted to her family and friends, though both were subordinated when she found a higher purpose in life - Photography.

In the year of the battle of Waterloo - to be precise, on 11th June 1815, Julia Margaret Cameron was born at Garden Reach, Calcutta.

She was the third daughter of a Scotsman, James Pattle, a high official in the Bengal Civil Service, who seems to have achieved fame as 'the biggest liar in India' and of whom no more is known than that he drank himself to death.

His wife, who is said to have died of shock at the sight of his body bursting out of the coffin, was a Frenchwoman of aristocratic origin, the daughter of the Chevalier Ambroise Pierre Antoine de l'Etang, who was a page of honour to Maria Antoinette and an officer of the Grade du Corps of Louis XVI. The Chevalier is said to have displayed extraordinary devotion to the unfortunate Queen, and it is owing to this devotion - so tradition has it - that he was exiled from France to India, an exile which saved him from the fate of so many of his kind in the Revolution.

1. I should mention that the photographs exhibited in the general waiting-room are copies. As the originals were fading it was thought advisable some years ago to remove them to safer keeping at the Southern Railway Headquarters, Waterloo Station, London.

He was transferred to a regiment of "Spahis" at Pondicherry. There he married a Mdlle Blin de Grincourt, who had been one of the Queen's ladies and was renowned for her beauty. They had two sons and three daughters.

Soon the Chevalier appears to have been on very friendly terms with the English, for he was made head of the East India Company's stud at Ghazipore, an appointment which had been given him by Lord William Bentinck, with whom he was favourite. There he died and was buried at Buxar in 1836 or 1837. His sons died early too, but his daughters married Englishmen of the Company's service, becoming Mrs. James Pattle, Mrs Impey and Mrs Beadle. Though as a french family the de l'Etangs seem to have died out, the English descendants were numerous.

The Pattles had seven daughters. They married - Dr. Jackson Mr. Prinsep, Mr Cameron, Mr (later Earl) Dalrymple, Mr Mackenzie, Mr Bayley and Lord Estner (later Earl Somers). The sisters were noted for their wit, vivid personality, and beauty; only Mrs. Cameron was plain. But this deficiency was compensated for by other qualities. 'To all who knew her she was a unique figure, baffling all description' wrote Mrs G. F. Watts. 'She seemed in herself to epitomize all the qualities of a remarkable family, presenting them in a doubly distilled form. She doubled the generosity of the most generous of the sisters, and the impulsiveness of the most impulsive. If they were enthusiastic, she was so twice over; if they were persuasive, she was invincible. If she had little of the beauty of her sisters, she certainly had remarkably fine eyes that flashed like her sayings, or grew soft and tender if she was moved.'

We know every little of Mrs. Cameron's early life, except that the Pattle children were brought up by their French grandmother, and that they had inherited from their mother good taste and a high appreciation of beauty, and received the finishing touches of their education in England and France. Another little touch not without interest is the story she once told her friend Lady Ritchie, that she had her favourite sister Sara (later Mrs Prinsep) 'used to wander forth and kneel and pray on the country road-side'.

In 1834 Julia Pattle returned to India. About 1836 or 1837 she met her future husband, Charles Hay Cameron, at the Cape of Good Hope, where each had been sent for recovery of health, and they were married in India in 1838. She was his second wife and was exactly twenty years younger than he.

Mr Cameron has been described as a Benthamite jurist of great learning and ability, and a good classical scholar. He was a descendant of the famous Jacobite Dr Archibald Cameron, who was hanged and quartered in 1753. His father was Governor of Malta,

and of the Bahamas; his mother, Lady Margaret Hay, was a daughter of the fourteenth Earl of Erroll, and it was from her that he took his second name. Mr Cameron spent his early childhood at Malta, was educated at Eton, studied the law and was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1820, but never practised. Instead, he became a disciple of the famous reformer Jeremy Bentham and devoted himself to the more congenial task of law reform. Mr. Cameron was employed on various Commissions, one of which was the Indian Law Commission of 1835, to which he was elected as the English member. For twelve years he lived at Calcutta working on that Commission, first as member and afterwards as president. The Indian Codes commonly associated with the name of Lord Macaulay were largely the work of Mr. Cameron. During his residence in Calcutta he also occupied the position of member and president of the Council of Education for Bengal, and served as fourth member of the Council of India from 1843 to 1848.

His wife, Julia Cameron, was well known in society for her brilliant conversation and her great wit. Lord Hardinge - then Governor-General of India - was a great friend of hers, and in the absence of his wife she found herself at the head of European society. It was then that she appears to have acquired a rather imperious manner. She was by nature a law unto herself, though good-natured, kind-hearted and generous. She was a most original woman with a distaste for all cold and formal conventions, in particular the excessive forms which they tend to take in Anglo-Indian society. She shared her husband's humanitarian principles, so strongly advocated in an address to Parliament which he published jointly with Sir Edward Ryan in 1853 'On the Duties of Great Britain to India in respect of the Education of the Natives and their Official Employment'. An early example of Mrs Cameron's humanitarian spirit is her successful effort in 1846 to raise £ 10,000 for the victims of the Irish famine, towards which goal she worked with indefatigable energy.

About this time her energy found a new outlet in translating Burger's celebrated ballad 'Leonore'¹, which had attracted not only her but a number of other translators, including Sir Walter Scott and Sir John Herschel.

In 1848 the Camerons returned to England and lived for a time at Tunbridge Wells. 'Here was the beginning of a friendship which, though the upstart of a day, has not been as short-lived as friendships so upspringing are wont to be, for it has now lasted more than a quarter of a century', wrote Sir Henry Taylor. The Camerons were the Taylors' neighbours on Ephraim Common. Mrs Cameron's admiration for the author of Philip van Artevalde knew no bounds, and was indeed often embarrassing to her friends, so much so that Mrs G. F. Watts remarked that 'it seems to have been borne by them with patience, or at times impatience scarcely disguised.'

When the Taylors returned to their home at Sheen a few months later her affection found expression in a voluminous correspondence and an avalanche of presents. 'She writes us letters six sheets long all about ourselves, thinking that we can never be sufficiently sensible of the magnitude and enormity of our virtues She keeps showering upon us her "barbaric pearls and gold", Indian shawls, turquoise bracelets, inlaid portfolios, ivory elephants.' The transference of her personal effects went on day after day, and Sir Henry Taylor feared that shortly Mr Cameron would find himself left with nothing but his real property. One day there arrived a drawing from Sir Henry's bust, splendidly mounted, which Mrs Cameron was about to have lithographed. But this was not enough; the next day she set Dr. Heimann to work to complete his translation of Van Artevelde. An attempt to stem the flood of gifts proved futile. On one occasion a particularly valuable shawl was accepted under the threat that otherwise it would be thrown into the fire. After an interval to allow Mrs. Cameron's feelings to calm down, it was returned, and nothing more was said. But you could never defeat Mrs Cameron's persistence. She sold the shawl and with the proceeds bought an expensive invalid sofa which she presented in Lady Taylor's name to the hospital for incurables at Putney. The matter came to light only months later when Lady Taylor had occasion to pay a visit to the hospital and, to her great surprise, found her own name inscribed as donor. It is not difficult to understand that Lady Taylor found Mrs Cameron's exuberance rather trying at times and her affection somewhat overwhelming; on this occasion she was really annoyed. But Mrs. Cameron was not to be rebuffed. She told her that before the year was over she would love her like a sister, and she pursued her object with such determined devotion that Lady Taylor succumbed. In fact, her genial, ardent, and generous nature captivated all hearts. 'We all love her, Alice, I, Aubrey de Vere, Lady Monteagle, and even Lord Monteagle (Alice Taylor's father), who likes eccentricity in no other form, likes her.'

So within a year of their first casual acquaintance 'Mrs Cameron has driven herself hometo us by a power of loving which I have never seen exceeded, and an equal determination to be beloved', wrote Sir Henry Taylor; and now the Camerons took a house at Sheen to be nearer their friends.

1. Her preface to the translation will be found in the appendix.

This house soon became the meeting place for many famous people^{le} for, like her sister Sara Prinsep, who at Little Holland House had created a salon which was on a smaller scale - comparable with Holland House and Lansdowne House, Mrs Cameron 'was most perseveringly demonstrative in the disposition to cultivate the society of men of letters and of art', as Holman Hunt said. Here she entertained her old friends Sir John Herschel and Thackeray, both of whom she had known since girlhood, Lord Hardinge, the former Governor-General of India, and Sir Edward Ryan, who had been an early friend of Mr Cammeron's as well as never friends like Tennyson, G.F.Watts (from whose charming, if somewhat idealized, painting we can get an impression of what Mrs.Cameron looked like at about this time; 1852), Aubrey de Vere, Holman Hunt, Thomas Woolner, and, of course, the Taylors. Lady Ritchie described Mrs Cameron as 'a woman of noble plainness, carrying herself with dignity and expression, and well able to set off the laces and Indian shawls she wore so carelessly.' Mrs Cameron seems to have made a great impression upon her as a child for she pens this word picture of her first visit to Mrs Cameron's house, when she accompanied her father W.M.Thackeray. 'I remember a strange apparition in a flowing red velvet dress, although it was summer time, cordially welcoming us to a fine house and some belated meal, when the attendant butler was addressed by her as "Man", and was ordered to do many things for our benefit When we left, she came with us bareheaded, with trailing draperies, part of the way to the station, as her kind habit was.' On one such occasion Mrs Cameron was seen taking her cup of tea with her to the station, and stirring it on the way.

An unusually interesting society used to gather at Little Holland House around the Prinseps and G.F.Watts, the painter. Women remarkable for talent and beauty went there, as well as statesmen, painters, poets and men famous in literature. 'Little Holland House,' wrote Ellen Terry, 'where Mr.Watts lived, seemed to me a paradise, where only beautiful things were allowed to come. All the women were graceful and all the men were gifted.' But it was really the house of Mr.Prinsep, who was a director of the East India Company. Watts went there for a visit of three days but liked it so much that he stayed on for thirty years. Little Holland House was surrounded by stately elms and wide green spaces. It was the dower house on Lord Holland's estate, and had a farm. One seemed to be in the country, though only two miles from Hyde Park Corner, and this was enough to make the place popular. But when to this was added a hostess who was no less lavish in hospitality than her sister Mrs Cameron, and who had a 'brilliant smile and the gift of bringing people together', the entertainment was irresistible. It was at these parties that Mrs Cameron first met a great number of the distinguished people whom she was later to photograph.

Apart from these social activities, Mrs Cameron's time was largely taken up by correspondence with her numerous relations and friends, to whom she wrote ream upon ream about nothing in particular in her large flowing hand, usually three or four words to a line, and when she had come to the end she would go on writing across the sheets. Always brimming over with energy and the desire to help her friends, she said to Thackeray one day, 'Nobody writes as well as I do. Let me come and write for you.' But Thackeray preferred the fluency of his own pen.

Mrs Cameron had a daughter and five sons, and some orphan nieces who were brought up with her own children, but still found time to enter into other people's interests with warm-hearted sympathy, and could not hear of their troubles without endeavouring to alleviate them. Every cold became in her mind whooping cough and endless are the exhortations and prescriptions which she invents for their recovery.

Sometimes she would send tremendously long descriptions, all in a poetic and romantic vein, of the parties at her sister's or at country houses, dwelling at great length, in her rather exaggerated and gushing manner, on her fellow guests. From Canford Manor she sends Tennyson this description of Mrs Hambro, the 'Queen of Beauty'.

Frolicsome and graceful as a kitten, and having the form and eye of an antelope. She is tall and slender, not stately and not seventeen - but quite able to make all daisies rosy, and the ground she treads seems proud of her.

Then her complexion (or rather her skin) is faultless - it is like the leaf of 'that consummate flower' the Magnolia - a flower which is, I think, so mysterious in its beauty as if it were the only thing unsoiled and unspoiled from the garden of Eden. A flower a blind man would mistake for a fruit too rich, too good for human Nature's daily food. We had a standard Magnolia tree in our garden at Sheen, and on a still summer night the moon would beam down upon those ripe rich vases, and they used to send forth a scent that made the soul faint with a sense of the luxury of the world of flowers. I always think that flowers tell us much of the boundry of God's love as the Firmament shows of his handiwork.

After this digression she completes the sketch of the heroine -
Very dark hair and eyes contrasting with the Magnolia skin,
diamonds that dazzle and seem laughing when she laughs,
and a costume that offers new varieties every third hour.

After reading descriptions of this kind one is apt to agree with Sir Henry Taylor's remark, 'Her genius is too profuse and redundant, not distinguishing between felicitous and infelicitous.'

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She lives upon superlatives as upon her daily bread.' And he must have been in a position to know, for Mrs Cameron wrote to him every day, and every day he replied. Unfortunately this correspondence was destroyed at their mutual wish. To Watts she sent an appreciation of his fresco at Lincoln's Inn which caused him to complain to Sir Henry Taylor - 'Mrs Cameron's enthusiastic and extravagant admiration is really painful to me, for I feel as if I were practising a description upon her. She describes a great picture, but it is here and not mine.'

Another time she wrote to Tennyson, who had made his home at Freshwater in the Isle of Wight since 1853.

Dear Alfred - I wrote to you from the Wandsworth Station yesterday on the way to Bromly. As I was folding your letter came scream of the train, and then the yells of the porters with the threats that the train would not wait for me, so that although I got as far in the direction as your name, I was obliged to run down the steps, and thrust the directing and despatch of the whole to strange hands. I would rather have kept back my letter than have thus risked it, had it not been for my extreme desire to hear of your wife. Day after day I get more anxious to hear and then I write again, and thus I write, not to bore you by satisfying my own heart's wish, but to know if I can be of any help or comfort. I have been writing one of my longest letters to Sir John Herschel to-day, but I won't inflict the like upon you. (Then came many pages of the reasons which prevented her from writing).

Her affection for the Tennysons was intense, and like the Taylors, they were often made the embarrassed recipients of too generous and frequent gifts. "The only drawback is the old complaint that you will rain down precious things upon us, not drop by drop, but in whole Golconda mines at once," wrote Mrs Tennyson in friendly reproach. But Mrs Cameron paid little attention to such warnings, for the next letter from Mrs Tennyson begins with thanks again.

Mrs Cameron's admiration for the Poet Laureate led her to insist on reading his poems to the assembled guests at Canford Manor. I read your Ode on the Duke and it sounded solemn and sweet there. The grand hall and its measureless roof is fitted for the organ's pealing sound, for the delight of anthem and the joy of praise and prayer, and for the reading of great and good poems. I also read your lines to James Spedding; I read St. Agnes too in that hall. Those chants are worthy of that edifice.

The next few years bring no events which greatly add to our portrait of Mrs. Cameron.

The Camerons had moved house again, this time only a short distance to Putney Heath; their eldest child Julia married Charles Norman in 1859. Shortly afterwards Mr Cameron was preparing to visit his office plantations in Ceylon. He had a passionate love for the island, to which he had rendered great service in law reform. It was there that he had bought several estates before leaving India, and had invested a large part of his fortune. Every few years he paid a visit to these estates, but at this time disquieting news had reached

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reached him that the coffee crop had failed. 'Charles speaks to me of the flower of the coffee plant. I tell him that the eyes of the first grandchild should be more beautiful than any flower', wrote Mrs Cameron to the Tennysons.

Some weeks before his departure Mr Cameron was suddenly taken ill. 'I tell him this should be a warning not to leave home and home care and comforts. He assures me that the sea voyage is the best thing for him, and Ceylon is the cure for all things'; but keekly he submitted to the home comforts - 'strong beef tea thickened with arrowroot six times a day', and when convalescent 'poached eggs at night, dinner (gravy soup and curry) at one, mulligatawny soup and meat at five, a free allowance of port wine, averaging a bottle a day. Ten drops of Jeremie's opiate every morning, a dose of creosote zinc and gum arabic before his meals, and a dose of quinine after each meal.'

Mr Fameron survived this invalid diet and set out for Ceylon accompanied by his eldest son Eugene, while Mrs Cameron remained at home with the younger children.

While her husband was in the East, Mrs Cameron was seized with a desire to be near her friends the Tennysons, and during a visit to their estate, Farringford, matured a plan to move house to Freshwater. No sooner had the idea entered her head than it had to be put into effect. She purchased a couple of cottages from an old sailor, and had them joined together by building a tower in between. The cottages were embosomed with ivy and garlanded to the very roof with roses, and christened 'Dimbola' after one of the Cameron estates. The house (now an hotel) with its smiling bay windows and low picturesque gables, stands halfway between Farringford and the sea, and has a romantic view of the rocky coast. It was here that the Camerons were to spend the next fifteen years, for us the most important and interesting years, for it was at Freshwater that Mrs Cameron took up photography.

Mrs Cameron's singular ardour and enthusiasm, the energy with which she flung herself into whatever she undertook, her rare forgetfulness of self and readiness to help others, endeared her not only to a wide circle of friends but to everyone at Freshwater, while her generosity, unconventionality and eccentricity could not fail to make a deep impression on local people and visitors alike.

She started by being active in word and deed in establishing a reading and recreation room for the parish.

Then she built for Professor Jowett, who used to come to Freshwater every spring to be near his friend the Poet Laureate, a little cottage, so that he could work on his translation of Plato in peaceful surroundings.

The day before Sir Henry Taylor was due to arrive for his first visit to Dimbola, Mrs Cammeron suddenly decided that his was too dark, and determined that a west window should be put in for her guest. She at once summoned the village carpenter and the builder, and together they worked late into the night, for when Mrs Cameron said a thing must be done it had to be done and objections were soon overruled. Early the next morning the glazier fitted the window, and when the visitor arrived from the three o'clock boat, the afternoon sunshine was pouring into the spare room and one of the maids was putting the last stitches to the muslin curtain.

Mrs G.F. Watts relates the story that once Mr Cameron remarked regretfully that too much space was given up to the kitchen garden, for he liked to pace the lawn, but the rows of vegetables impeded his way and made him wet. He had hardly uttered this preference when orders were sent out secretly to the gardener and to friends in the village that this must be remedied. Turf was brought and piled out of sight, and after Mr Cameron had retired to bed Mrs Cameron's army was marshalled and by lantern light the vegetables were dug up and the turf laid. When Mr Cameron looked out next morning he found a fine grass lawn spread out before his astonished eyes.

Mrs Cameron's kind-heartedness not only embraced her family and friends but extended to complete strangers. When the village Policeman reported to her that people passing were picking the roses from her sweet-briar hedge, she replied cheerfully, 'That's just what it's there for'. In her altruism she went a stage further and planted primroses on the bank separating her house from the main road for the enjoyment of passers by.

One stormy day, when she was admiring the rough sea, she met a stranger whose hat had just been blown over the cliff. Without hesitation she went up to him and commanded him to come with her to her house, where, to his surprise, he was pressed to choose one of her husband's hats. On another occasion she invited a family to luncheon and on wishing to introduce them to her friends, had to ask them their names. It then transpired that they were complete strangers whom she had only met the day before on the steamer crossing over from Lympington to Yarmouth.

One never knew quite what Mrs Cameron would do next. She had a complete disregard for ordinary rules, at Dimbola was no place for conventionalities. Her outspoken frankness was the delight but also sometimes the terror, of her friends. 'She was a masterful woman, a friend with enough of the foe in her generous composition to make any of us hesitate, who ventured to cross her decree.' But despite a tendency towards a good-natured despotism, she had the faculty of making herself loved. At Freshwater her

her word soon became law and everybody obeyed her command - even Tennyson yielded, on occasion.

The story goes that during a smallpox scare Tennyson refused to be vaccinated. When Mrs Cameron heard of it she at once fetched the doctor and asked him to accompany her to Farringford. Tenny had somehow got wind of the plot and locked himself into his study in the tower. Undaunted, Mrs Cameron stood at the bottom of the stairs calling out at regular intervals, 'You're a coward, Alfred, a coward !' until at last Tennyson appeared and willynilly submitted to the vaccination.

During the summer months Freshwater was seething with visitors from near and far, many of whom came specially in the hope of getting a glimpse of the Poet Laureate. But Tennyson resented intrusion on his privacy. Once three Americans came to see the great man but were refused admittance. Full of disappointment, they related their story in the village, where someone advised them to seek Mrs Cameron's aid - she was on such intimate terms with Farringford, she would no doubt be able to help them. As soon as Mrs Cameron heard of their disappointment she commanded them, in her husky voice, to follow her back to Farringford, where she ushered her proteges into Tennyson's drawing-room and addressed him thus - 'Alfred, these gentlemen have come three thousand miles to see the British lion, and behold a bear.' Tennyson laughed, and received the strangers courteously.

Whether convenient or not, Mrs Cameron was constantly bustling in and out of Farringford, 'always bringing good-will and life in her train'. William Allingham relates in his diary a very amusing incident at Farringford. 'Tea - enter Mrs Cameron (in a funny red open-word shawl) with two of her boys. T. reappears and Mrs C. shows a small firework toy called "Pharaoh's Serpents", a kind of pestile, which, when lighted, twists about in a worm-like shape. Mrs C. said they were poisonous and forbade us all to touch. T. in defiance put out his hand. "Don't touch 'em!" shrieked Mrs. C. "You shant, Alfred !" But Alfred did. "Wash you hands then!" But Alfred woundn't, and rubbed his moustache instead enjoying Mrs. C.'s agonies.'

When in the holiday period Dimbola was overflowing with her relations and friends, Mrs Cameron used to enjoy leading gay processions by lantern light to Farringford. But she did not find such ease of access everywhere. G.F. Watts liked to relate an incident that occurred during one of his visits to Freshwater. 'A drive had been arranged by Mrs Cameron, who wished to take Tennyson, Thoby Prinsep and myself to see a newly-built house, the view from which Mrs Cameron had admired. However, on arrival we found the house was let to a German Count, who had no wish to be invaded by strangers. But Mrs

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Mrs Cameron was not to be repulsed. She pleaded with her usual eloquence and at last we found ourselves in the presence of the Count. To him she then introduced Tennyson as "the greatest living poet", Prinsep as "our greatest Indian legislator", and me as "the greatest living painter". But this was too much for the Count, and he protested thus - "I subscribe not to that opinion. Also in Germany very good painters we have".

• Meanwhile Mrs Cameron's own family circle had become smaller. Her married daughter lived in Bromley, three of her five sons were looking after their father's coffee plantations in Ceylon, while another, Harding, was studying at Oxford. So Mrs Cameron felt lonely sometimes, but she would try to drown her sorrows by sending them long letters by every mailboat. She would write until the last moment for despatch, then "when the postman had hurried off she would send the gardener running after him with some extra packet labelled "immediate", soon after, the gardner's boy would follow pursuing the gardener with an important postscript; and finally, the donkey was harnessed and driven galloping all the way to Yarmouth, arriving as the postbags were being closed.' When staying with her sister in London she would write her letters at the G.P.O. up to the very last moment, calling out from time to time to the spellbound clerks, 'How much longer?' "Five minutes Madam." - and she would go on scribbling frantically, calling out again, "how much longer now?", "Two minutes more, Madam," and so on, and just as the mailbags were being closed she would fling the letters in.

In 1863, when her husband was again in the East, Mrs Cameron felt very depressed. The separation from her boys was painful enough, but her husband's absence, and the continued bad news of the coffee crop, she found more difficult to bear. Confiding her troubles to a friend she wrote - 'I found when I was with you the tears were too near my eyes to venture to read out aloud Charles' letters. I am in very truth very unhappy. I assume vivacity of manner for my own sake as well as for others, but the only real vivacity now at this moment in me is to conjure up very form of peril, and my heart is more busy when sleeping than when waking. When waking I fag myself to the uttermost by any manner of occupation, hoping thus to keep the wheels of time working till I hear again."

It was in these months when Mrs Cameron felt 'drowned in troubles and cares, and the water seem to pass over one's soul,' that she visited her daughter Julia and her son-in-law at Bromley, and received from them as a parting gift a camera and photographic outfit, with the words "it may amuse you, Mother, to try to photograph during your solitude at Freshwater." This gift probably did not come quite so much out of the blue as it sounds here. Like everybody else at that time, Mrs Cameron collected

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collected photographs of her friends, and the story goes that she was disappointed with the conventional portraits, which gave no idea of the sitters' personality, and she may well have said in the presence of her daughter, on seeing a new bad portrait, "If only I could photograph I'm sure I could do better than that." But there can be no question that Mrs Cameron had a definite intention to take up photography, for whatever she was resolved to do she carried out immediately, and she would no doubt have bought a photographic outfit herself. In Annals of my Glass House Mrs Cameron merely states the fact that she was given a camera and adds, 'The gift from those I loved so tenderly added more and more impulse to my deeply-seated love for the beautiful, and from the first moment I handled my lens with a tender ardour'; and to such characteristics as we have encountered before - abounding vitality, never-tiring energy, and an unflinching determination, she now added a great ambition.

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Mr Cameron, with his philosophical attitude, retired more and more to his bed-room away from the hubbub and consoled himself by reciting Homer.

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Mrs Cameron's Christmas boxes were famous, though not always suitable. To Carlyle she once sent a prayer-book. When he opened the parcel, he remarked, 'Either the Devil or Julia Cameron must have sent me this.'

Charles Darwin came with his family to Freshwater in 1868 for a summer vacation, and at once he too was pressed into Mrs Cameron's service. His son writes that she received the whole family with open-hearted kindness and hospitality, and that Darwin always retained a warm feeling of friendship for her. When they left she came to see them off and loaded them with presents of photographs, and he said to her, "Mrs Cameron, there are six people in this house, all in love with you." Darwin paid her for his portrait, and as the Camerons had lost a great deal of money by that time, owing to the continued failure of the coffee crop, Mrs Cameron gladly accepted the money and ran boasting to her husband, calling out, "Look Charles, what a lot of money!"

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When in the early seventies Watts built 'The Briary', with three huge studios, the Prinsep family came there to live with him, as he had previously lived with them for so many years. In their train followed the distinguished people who used to assemble at Little Holland House and who now gravitated to Freshwater for their summer holidays. Indeed, their brilliance quite overcame a rather shy visitor who was heard pathetically

pathetically exclaiming, 'Is there no one who is commonplace here ? Is everybody either a poet, or a genius, or a painter, or peculiar in some way ?' This last remark was no doubt meant as an appreciation of Mrs Cameron's talent. 'Freshwater in those days was seething with intellectual life,' wrote Wilfred Ward. 'The poet was, of course, its centre, and that remarkable woman Mrs Cameron was stage manager of what was for us young people a great drama, for Tennyson was still writing *The Idylls of the King*, which had so greatly moved the whole country, and we felt that we were in the making of history.'

The attractions of Dimbola soon became known far and wide, and it swarmed with guests. Life seemed to hum like a big wheel round the Cameron household. 'It was a house, indeed, to which everybody resorted at pleasure, and in which no man, woman or child was ever known to be unwelcome. Conventionalities had no place in it.' The hostess, who was always thinking of something for the pleasure of others, used to organise happy parties and ball balls, especially when her nices came for the holidays. but that was not all; she arranged private theatricals at Dimbola for the edification of her friends, taking it all very seriously. Her feelings were once outraged when the distinguished audience began to giggle at some stage misadventure which occurred during a tragic scene. Jumping on to a chair, she commanded silence and called out to the audience in an angry voice, 'You must not laugh, you must cry.'

Mr Cameron, agreeable though he was in society, was not particularly fond of it. Nevertheless, he seemed quite content that the house should always be full, and when he preferred seclusion he went to bed. But even there he was not safe from intrusion, for a visitor relates that she was taken by Mrs Cameron into his bedroom where he lay fast asleep. Pointing to him, she said, 'Behold the most beautiful old man on earth !',

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Mr Cameron's patriarchal mien, his long white beard and silver hair following down over his shoulders, made him a useful model for many of his wife's historical and mythological illustrations and he seems to have borne this new taste which was assigned to him with his usual philosophical resignation. Whether it was merely the comic situations of his wife's literal representations, or whether his nerves gave way under the strain of the long exposure, the cause of his fits of hilarity we are at a loss to decide.

After such a well-prepared and sympathetic review, Mrs Cameron's publishing venture was assured of a good measure of success, which encouraged her to follow it up in the same year by a second and similar volume illustrating twelve different scenes from The Idylls of the King and Other Poems, ¹ also containing a different photograph of Tennyson as frontispiece. These illustrations were to be her last photographic work on a large scale.

Encouraged by success and pressed by her friends, Mrs Cameron embarked upon an opus of another kind - the story of her photographic career. Unfortunately, this did not progress far, for soon her energy was absorbed in other activities. Quite suddenly, and in the same impulsive manner in which she had undertaken everything in her life, Mrs Cameron decided to leave England for Ceylon. Her husband has never ceased to yearn for Ceylon, to which he had rendered such important service. When he was nearly seventy the then Secretary of State, the Duke of Newcastle, considered offering him the Governorship of that island, but his friends thought that his help would not be equal to such a task. Now at eighty Mr Cammeron wished to see the island once more. He had long contemplated Ceylon as his final resting-place, even to the extent of choosing the site of his tomb.

Mr Cameron had been in poor health for many years, never leaving the grounds of Dimbula, though his stately figure was often to be seen walking in the garden in his crimson dressing-gown. Then one day he decided to walk down to the sea-shore, where he had not been for twelve years. Here he was filled with longing to return to his beloved estates in Ceylon, and he found his wife as willing as himself to undertake the arduous voyage, for Mrs Cameron was very devoted to her family and greatly missed her boys, who were out there.

The Camerons' friends and the inhabitants of freshwater generally were completely taken by surprise when they heard that preparations were being made for the voyage. At first the plan had been kept secret but before long it became all too clear, for Dimbula was in a turmoil. The rooms were piled with packing cases, telegrams poured in and out. In October 1875 all Freshwater was bewailing the Camerons' departure and hosts of friends came to Southampton to see them off. Their son Hardinge, who was private secretary to the Governor of Ceylon, was also travelling back with his parents.

1. To my knowledge the only person who possesses both volumes of the Idylls is Miss Emma Vaughan. The Victoria and Albert Museum has only Volume I, from the copy at the Royal Photographic Society the plates are missing. The British Museum has no copy.

Mr Cameron leaning on his carved ivory staff, his snowy locks flowing over his long travelling cloak, looking like an oriental chief, calmly surveyed the piles of luggage, holding in his hand a pink rose which Mrs. Tennyson had given him on parting.

Mrs. Cameron, in contrast, was making last-minute re-arrangements, in between affectionate farewells, rushing to and fro looking after the numerous baggage, and trying to calm the frightened cow which they were taking with them. The scene was not without its humorous aspect, for two coffins were brought on board - packed with china and glass - showing that Mr and Mrs Cameron were prepared for all contingencies.

When at last everything was on board, poeters were seen returning to shore carrying large photographs which Mrs Cameron had given them as tips, saying, 'I have no money left, but take this instead as a remembrance.'

We are not surprised to learn that before they arrived in Ceylon, Mrs Cameron had managed to raise a subscription for a harmonium to be presented to the captain as a token of gratitude !

Great was the happiness of the Camerons to be at last in the blessed island and to be united with their children. All their yearning was satisfied. They lived in a bungalow on the Glencairn Estate at Kalutara - a little hut with only mud walls, 4400 ft above the level of the sea.

To the great surprise of their friends in England, the Cameron Camerons returned to this country in 1878 for a short visit. Mrs Cameron's friends were delighted to find old her old force and freshness of character and temperament undiminished, but the health of her husband was still further impaired. A few months later they set out again for the distant island, Mrs Cameron full of life and energy, and still ripe with plans and projects. But little time remained for her to put her ideas into practice, for a few months after her last return to Ceylon, on 26th January 1879, she died after an illness of only ten days. Peacefully she passed away, gazing through the open window into the clear eastern night sky. 'Beautiful' was the last word she spoke. She died contended with her family and ^{with} herself, for she had achieved what she had set out to achieve; she knew it, and she was proud of the fact. Only a short time before, she had written to Mrs Tennyson, 'It is a sacred blessing which has attended my photography; it gives a pleasure to millions and a deeper happiness to very many.'

Her body was taken in a low open cart drawn by two great white bullocks and all covered with white cloth, over two ridges of mountains and buried in the little churchyard at the bottom of the valley between Galle and Colombo where Hardinge was living. After this, Hardinge took his father and his mother's maid to live with him there.

It was on the 4th of May the following year that Mr Cameron died. As he lay peacefully on his deathbed, his sons read to him in the deep-toned music of Homer. 'I am happier than Priam', he said gently, 'for all my sons are with me'. A local preacher asked to be allowed to read the Scriptures to him. Henry Herschel brought in the message. 'Harry, my boy', said the old scholar, happy with his Homer and his sons, 'If you think it would be any comfort to him, let him come in.' He, too, was carried over the mountains and buried in the churchyard where his wife lay.

'I cannot describe the beauty of that valley', writes Mrs Bowden-Smith, who has left us this record. 'High mountains surround it and rolling green grasslands, and a great river runs all along it. The little church stands on a knoll not far above the river, which flows into a lower river, also a dream of beauty. They could not have found a more beautiful resting place.'

So the beautiful followed Mrs Cameron even to the grave.

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Dublin 1865; Berlin 1865 and 1866; Paris 1867; one-man show in
London 1866 and 1868. A retrospective exhibition of her work
was held at the Royal Photographic Society in London in July/August
1927, when 122 photographs were on view, and her manuscript Annals
of my Glass House.

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1925 -- 1930.

A LIST OF BOOKS AND BOOKLETS

By

S.E.N. NICHOLAS

1925

PLANTERS' GUIDE TO LABOURER'S FOOD.

Preface written by W.E. Wait Esq., C.M.G. the then Labour Controller.

1926

PLANTER'S HANDBOOK ON LABOUR

Preface written by George Brown Esq., Chairman Planters Association
1925-1927.

The Times of Ceylon. "A work on all aspects of labour questions"
Major Oldfield C.M.G. "Full of useful information"
Sir (Then Mr.) Villiers. "I found it useful."
The Ceylon Daily News. "Should prove a boon to the Planter."
The Ceylon Morning Leader. "We commend this book to every Planter"

1927.

= ESTATE LABOUR AND LEGAL GUIDE

Ceylon Labour Commission. "It should be of considerable value to
the Superintendent".
The Times of Ceylon. "A manual that should prove eminently -
Valuable to the average Planter."
The Ceylon Observer. "Should prove extremely useful as a
handy-work of reference for Planters."
The Ceylon Daily News. "For the Planter - this work - is almost
indispensible."

1928.

Replied in a Booklet Mr. St. Nihal Singh's articles on Indian Labour.

1928 - 1929.

CEYLON PAST AND PRESENT.

Wrote and completed this book for Messrs. The Colombo Apothecaries
Co., Limited, who postponed publishing it owing to Trade Depression.

1930.

LABOUR PROBLEMS OF CEYLON.

Written specially for Whitley's Commission when it visited Ceylon.
The Tropical Agriculturist. "Many aspects of Labour questions
have been ably emphasised in this
book." Besides other local favourable reviews, it was renewed
favourably in the International Labour Review", Geneva.

MEN LIKE THESE..

Liverpool mourns two men. The Friend of the Poor and the Friend of Youth.

One was a Doctor. Crowds called at his House yesterday. Most of them were poor. "He saved my son", said one - a woman who wept. "He was our best friend", a sad faced man murmured.

Beloved doctor was Dr. J. R. Nicholas, a Cingalese known in the Princes Road district as The-Friend-of the Poor.

Other man, who was The-Friend-of-Youth, was Mr. James Fitzpatrick, formerly manual instructor and bandmaster for 50 years to pupils of Liverpool Boys' Orphanage.

His old boys are scattered throughout the world. When he was 63 he saved one of them from drowning.

FRIEND OF THE POOR - Ceylonese Who Died in Liverpool.

Liverpool mourns the death of its "Friend of the Poor" - Dr. J. R. Nicholas, a Tamil, who lived in the Princes' Road District Liverpool, writes a correspondent in the 'daily Sketch' of August 3rd.

When news of his death spread in the district, crowds called at his house. Most of them were poor. "He saved my son" said one - a woman, who was in tears. "He was our best friend" a sad-faced man murmured.

Dr. Nicholas was Dr. J. R. Nicholas forty-three years of age when he died on July 31 after an illness, which he contracted after his return from a holiday in the South of England.

He received his medical education at Liverpool University and went up to Edinburgh to complete his training. He returned immediately after he had qualified to Liverpool with practically an empty pocket. He hired a surgery, where he lived as well, in a very poor manner but steadily building up a practice.

This was about 13 years ago and by steady perseverance he collected a panel which in the course of time enabled him to count upon a regular income.

With signs of prosperity ahead of him he contracted to buy a residential house in Princes' Road - a house with a little garden in front and behind. It was fully equipped. Dr. Nicholas had completed the payment of his instalments for the house a month or two before he took ill.

continued

LEFT FOR HOLIDAY

He was so pleased with the fact that he was free of all liabilities that he wished to enjoy a holiday. He made arrangements with another Ceylonese who was pursuing his studies in Liverpool, Dr. Nadarajah, to act for him for a fortnight and went on a holiday to the South of England. At the end of the fortnight Dr. Nicholas returned to Liverpool. Although he showed no signs of illness at the time, within three or four days he developed a high temperature and was removed to hospital. Pneumonia was diagnosed but in spite of the attention he received he showed no signs of improvement and died on July 31. The doctors, who attended on him, were surprised that a man like Dr. Nicholas, well-built and over six feet in height and one who took regular exercise, should have shown such little resistance to the disease.

His brother in Ceylon, Mr. S.E.N. Nicholas, was immediately informed of his death. Mr. Nicholas telegraphed to the Trade Commissioner in London, Mr. G.K.W. Perera, about arrangements for the funeral.

FAITHFUL PET

The Trade Commissioner telephoned to Liverpool and learned that arrangements had already been made by the friends of Dr. Nicholas, the chief of whom were Dr. Lizama, a resident practitioner from West Indies and his English wife. The burial took place on August 3 in a pretty cemetery outside the town, after a service in the Wesleyan Chapel. The priest, who was a personal friend of Dr. Nicholas gave two lengthy orations at the Chapel and at the graveside. Among the many wreaths sent were wreaths from the Sefton Cricket Club, the Alerton Golf Club - Dr. Nicholas had made a name for himself as a cricketer and golfer in local sporting circles - and the Conservative Club, of which he was a member.

In a letter to Mr. S.E.N. Nicholas the Trade Commissioner says that Dr. Nicholas has left an Alsatian dog, which he had for the last eight years. The animal had been very attached to him and Dr. Nicholas's friends are now wondering what to do with the animal as it cannot be induced to leave the doctor's house.

FRIEND OF THE POORLIVERPOOL MOURNS CEYLON MAN

Under the title "Men Like These", a feature in the "Daily Sketch", there appeared on August 3rd, the following :

Liverpool mourns two men. The Friend of the Poor, and the Friend of Youth. One was a Doctor.

Crowds called at his house yesterday; most of them were poor.

continued

"He saved my Son", said one - a woman who wept.

"He was our best friend," a sad faced man murmured.....

The reference was to Dr.J.R.R.Nicholas, of 124 Princes Road, Liverpool, a brother of Mr.S.E.N.Nicholas, of Colombo, and a nephew of Doctor S.C.Paul. Dr.Nicholas, who was 43 years of age and stood 6 feet 3 ins. in height, was a well-known athlete in Ceylon before he went to England to qualify as a doctor. He received his medical education in Liverpool and qualified in Edinburgh.

He then returned to Liverpool and from small beginnings built up in the course of 12 or 13 years a large practice in the Prince's Road area.

VERY POPULAR

A successful medical practitioner, he was also a man of engaging personality. He was extremely popular and prominent in local sport. He belonged to the Allerton Golf Club, the Liverpool Cricket Club and the Conservative Club.

It was even believed that had he lived he would have been the first Ceylonese to be elected to the House of Commons.

A few days before his death Dr.Nicholas returned after spending a holiday at Torquay and resumed practice. He then developed pneumonia and died.

The funeral took place at Liverpool on August 3rd, after a service at the Wesleyan Chapel of which the Minister in Charge was a personal friend of Dr. Nicholas. The affection in which Dr.Nicholas was held by his patients was shown in the large number of wreaths - there were 42 of them - placed over his grave.

The chief mourners were Dr.W.A.C.Nasan, a cousin, who is practising his profession in London, Dr. and Mrs. Lizama, Dr.Nadarajah of Ceylon, and Mr.G.K.W.Perera, the Ceylon Trade Commissioner.

The funeral was attended by a great crowd of people old patients and friends, mainly poor, who showed great grief at their loss.

.....

'LION FLAG WAS AN ARAB GIFT'

There is tradition
for this view.

When the idea of having the Lion Flag as the National Flag of the Island was mooted three years ago, it had a "mixed reception".

Most politicians were keen to have it, as they were under the impression that it was the National Flag of the Sinhalese for centuries.

But the reader in Ceylon History of the University of Ceylon gave his verdict that the Lion Flag purporting to be the National Flag was none other than a Korale Flag used in the reign of Kandasamy the last King of Ceylon who reigned locally under the title of Sri Wickrema Raja Sinha.

Dr. Andreas Nell giving a similar opinion also suggested that the Lion Flag was possibly of Muslim origin, and as such it could not be used as a National Flag of the Sinhalese.

When the question of settling for all time, the National Flag was in the air last year more opinions were expressed.

Why did the Kings of Ceylon use the Lion as their motif-design during the closing regnal period of the Ceylon dynasty? Avowedly, the Malabar Kings did not have it to please the Sinhalese to indicate their reputed lion descent. Was Ceylon ever under the sway of the Muslims, after their conquest of the Kingdom of Arya Chakrawarthie, the powerful South Indian Pandyan King? Speculations regarding this point were hazarded but no definite conclusion was arrived at.

HISTORY HAS NO CLUE

Let us turn to the pages of Ceylon history to find, if possible, any clue regarding the entry of the Lion Flag into Ceylon.

A Nestorian (Persian Christian) cross was met with amidst a litter of ruins at Anuradhpura. This indicated that in the early centuries B.C. the Persians settled in the Capital of Ceylon and this community had a church of its own. Nor was this all. At Mantota near Mannar they had trading centres for the purchase of Ceylon pearls, precious stones, spices etc. They also brought from Persia horses for the Royal Cavalry and were exempted from paying taxes. Later we learn that the Persians brought a fleet to avenge the misdeeds of some Sinhalese who maltreated the Persian settlers.

The Persian trade in Ceylon ceased when their country fell into the hands of the Muslims in the seventh century. The Ali Muslim red Lion Flag was hoisted in Persia after their conquest. A good number of the Arabs thereafter marched into Persia and settled there.

continued

The Muslims were known by various names in Europe and Asia such as Turks, Saracens, Moghuls, Moors etc. They came to Ceylon not only to trade but also to spread their religion and culture. Some of these Muslim visitors have written interesting of the people of Ceylon and of the "two rival Kingdoms" (Kotte and Jaffna) One of them tells us that a Sinhalese King was interested in Islam and had the teachings of Mohamed translated into Sinhalese. Adam's Peak was the hallowed spot of their pilgrimage in Ceylon when the Island was known to them as Serendib. The Muslims to this day believe that the Foot Print in the Peak is that of Adam.

When Moghuls conquered the Pandyan country in 1310 A.D. did they bring this Island, too, under their suzerainty? We have no historical backing for such a possible conquest. How then did the Muslim Flag come into the possession of Malabar Kings of Ceylon?

Tradition, however, has a say regarding this point at issue. The story of the introduction of the Lion Flag into Ceylon is briefly this:

A party of five Arabs who were residents of the Muslim-owned Persia came to Ceylon via India. They landed in Ceylon and were arrested for illegal entry into the Island. While in jail they heard whispers from the jailer that the Queen-wife of Kirti Siri Raja Sinha was sorely ill and the King's physicians were not able to bring her round. There were in the party of prisoners three brothers who practised the Muslim

Unani treatment of medicine. They volunteered to cure the ailing Queen. The information reached the ears of the King who hastily requisitioned the proffered help.

When they were told that they could not touch the hand of the Queen to diagnose the disease, they said that they could feel the pulse if a thread was tied to the wrist and

-----SAYS-----
 :--S.E.N. NICHOLAS--:

the end given to them behind a screened place. They were put to the test. The King had a thread tied to a chair and gave the end of it to diagnose the disease of the person. They quickly said that they could not diagnose the ailment as the thread was tied to a cat, and they read the pulse as that of a quadruped. It was then tied to the wrist of an ailing Minister whose sickness was known. They recognised the human pulse and diagnosed the disease, too. Finally the Queen's pulse was taken, disease diagnosed and she was healed in a short time.

THE KING WAS PLEASED

The King was so pleased and grateful to these skilful physicians that he ordered their release forthwith and made them the Royal

contd.

the Royal Physicians. He also ordered the immediate release of their party. They were settled in King's land and were given gifts in cash and kind for their maintenance.

One of the party was an Alim (priest), Travelling one day he felt thirsty. He approached a Sinhalese village maiden and asked her to give him something to drink. She offered him kitul Meera (Sweet Toddy). He drank to his heart's content and then dropped his ring as a gift into the pot. The father of the damsel came later to the house and while drinking the sweet toddy came across the ring. He questioned his daughter regarding the find. She told her father that a medicant asked her for a drink and she gave the kitul pot and he may have dropped the ring into the pot. The father's wrath knew no bounds because his daughter had entertained a man in his absence. He upbraided her for her impropriety.

The village community were infuriated at this outrage of a foreigner receiving a drink from a young woman in the absence of the master of the house. But when the king heard of the complaint he ordered the damsel to be brought and had her married to the Alim and provided them with all the necessities of life, and settled them happily.

The physician's party became unpopular after this incident and they decided to go to their country. The King would not hear of it. He suggested that they, too, as in the case of the Alim, should settle down in Ceylon. These men refused to marry the village girls as they belonged they said to well-connected families in their country. The king promised to give them young ladies suitable to their status. Accordingly, A Perahera (dancing procession) was arranged and the four men were given the charge to select their partners. These couples too, were well provided and settled in Ceylon.

As a token of their gratitude for the treatment offered to them they offered to His Majesty their country's flag, which they said, if used by the King would ward off his enemies. Thus, the Flag was used by the men with modifications eliminating the Moghul impress - when they went on the risky job of collecting taxes. In this manner, according to authentic traditions, the Muslim Lion Flag was introduced into the Island. It is a version of some Sinhalese scholars, but there are, nevertheless, discrepancies in regard to the number of the party and the king who figured in this episode. Some say the number of the party is seven and the King who figured in the story is Bhuvanaka Bahu the VIth who ruled in 1464 and not Kirti Sri Raja Sinha who reigned in 1747.

The three years' task in setting the National Flag " on a communal basis " is now over. It is said that the sanction of Parliament will be sought very shortly for its adoption as the National Flag of Ceylon Happily the Lion in the Flag shows the traditional lion-descent of the Sinhalese community.

But, alas, should this 'communal rag' as some aptly put it, with the lion in the centre representing the "Sinhalese Race" and the fence (border lines) around it indicating minority races be the National Flag of Ceylon? Ceylon is a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. In place of the Union Jack ever shadowing the so-called National Flag on State occasions, could it not be possible to incorporate the Union Jack in the left corner of the National Flag itself as other Commonwealth countries have done?

If this is not feasible should we not have the National Flag with the Royal blue colour in it? Let us have a National Flag which has some aesthetic import indicating the national assets or something typical of the Island. In short, would it not be reasonable to have a tri-coloured flag with the Royal Blue on the top indicating Royal link, followed by saffron yellow, covering two-third of the space of the flag, to indicate the majority of the people (Buddhist Sinhalese) and the third colour to be dark green to show the natural wealth of Ceylon, and of course, the Lion should be in the centre holding a torch (in place of the lethal weapon appearing in the present National Flag) and looking at Adam's Peak, the sacred hill of the Buddhists, Hindus and Muslims alike.

READERS' VIEWS

ORIGIN OF THE LION FLAG OF CEYLON

(Letters to the Editor).

Sir, - With reference to Mr. Cyrus D. F. Abayakoon's letter regarding my article, "Lion Flag was an Arab Gift ", here is my commentary.

I have clearly indicated in my article that the All Lion Flag may have been possibly used from 1464 A.D. to 1815 A.D. Mr. Abayakoon says that according to his research work it was used as a National Flag by Sinhalese during the Dutch suzerainty in Ceylon. Mr. Abayakoon perhaps does not know that the Dutch occupation in this Island was from 1640 A.D. to 1796 A.D. and it is within the range mentioned above. Nor is it a surprise that the Dutch and others mentioned it and respected it. Who denies it? Mr. Abayakoon tells us that according to his find in an 'ola' record there is mention of it in the year 1750 and he has not possibly been able to trace the use of it earlier than this date. Thus, Mr. Abayakoon finds fault with me for supporting categorically the theory that it may have been used earlier. These points raised by Mr. Abayakoon do not help us in regard to the point at issue whether the lion flag was the National Flag of the Sinhalese or not. Whether it is so or otherwise, the public including my-self would like to have the Lion (without the sword) in the National Flag of the Island. When the Parliament approves it all communities will warmly welcome it.

Mr. Abayakoon errs sorely when he says that I have mentioned that the Lion Flag was first used in the reign of Sri Wikrama Rajasinghe I have not used the word 'first' ! I mentioned or rather supported the view of the Reader in Ceylon history of the Ceylon University that it was possibly used as a Korale Flag, or, in other words, it continued to be used as a Flag from the date mentioned above up to the time when the British took possession of it. It was not requisitioned by those in authority when they demanded from the British Government the Kandyan Throne and the Regalia, perhaps for the reason that it was not used by the Kandyan or Tamil Kings as a National Flag but used as a personal flag in deference to the wish of the donors.

I hope it is abundantly clear that Mr. Abayakoon himself according to his wording "adds" the word 'first' and finds fault with me.

It appears that Mr. Abayakoon does not want to own the gift as it "originated from the Muslims". If Mr. Abayakoon frowns at such a gift he would do well also to write to the Speaker of the House of Representatives to return the Speaker's Chair to the British Parliament as it is a gift from a foreign Government, and not originated in Sri-Lanka.

S. E. N. NICHOLAS.

READERS VIEWS

LION FLAG'S ORIGIN

(Letters to the Editor)

Sir, I am not to be blamed if Mr. Cyrus Abayakoon is unable to grasp the subject under discussion, or if he is unable to own a mistake when it is pointed out to him as such. Nor am I to be found fault with if his vision is distorted, as not to see that I did not insert the word used "first" as a Korale Flag in connection with the Lion Flag used in the reign of Sri Wickrama Rajasingha. It is highly improper for Mr. Abayakoon to misrepresent matters. For instance, I never condemned the "Lion Flag" as a mere rag. I said that the Lion Flag controversy had now become "a communal rag".

Mr. Abayakoon's observation, that the Lion Flag of Sri Lanka "is one of the oldest flags in the world and used thousand years before the Persian Muslims were born" sounds like the croaking of a frog in a well. The lion-motif-design is not the monopoly of a race or nation. It was used in the flags of ancient Sumerians, Babylonians, Ethiopians and the Indians who were in the height of civilisation circa 3000 B.C. ! The Sinhalese community was born but 500 B.C. (circa) and according to Mr. Abayakoon they used this Flag "thousands of years before the Persians were born." ! What about history or the elements of logic ?

Mr. Abayakoon's story of his finds of Sinhalese Lion motif-design in ola records culminated in his latest find in the eleventh century A.D. It would be interesting for the scholars to see the typescript of this. Ola record'.

That Vijaya took the Lion Flag of the Nagas is indeed a tale and no one can take it seriously as there is no record of such an occurrence either in the History of Ceylon or even in a tradition of the land. I wonder if Mr. Abayakoon has an "Ola record" for this too, and prove also that the lion had a sword in its paw !

I regret that I cannot support Mr. Tambimuttu's view that the All Lion Flag had its origin in Malabar District. It might be mentioned that the lion-motif -design was not only used in India and Ceylon but it was and is even now used in other countries, such as Ethiopia.

It is possible that the Kings may have used a lion as their design in their point at issue is whether the lion had the sword in it. There is a striking similarity of the Ali Lion Flag as used in Muslim Persia and the Lion Flag used in Ceylon.

S. E. N. NICHOLAS.

READERS' VIEWS

LION FLAG'S ORIGIN

(Letters to the Editor)

II

• Sir, - Mr. Cyrus D.F. Abayakoon stated at the outset that he would rely only on recorded evidence for his rejoinder but has not adduced documentary evidence for his theory that the Lion Flag was the flag of the Sinhalese from 543 B.C. to 1815 A.D. His only authority for stating that Vijaya used the Lion Flag was a reference to it by Mudaliyar Rasanayagam in the course of a conversation !! Mudaliyar Rasanayagam did not put it in writing. Is this recorded evidence ?.

Recorded evidence shows that Dutugemunu (2nd Century B.C.) did not have a royal flag but used his spear as a royal standard. The Mahavamsa says:- " When Duthagamini had provided for his people, and had put a relic into his spear he marched with chariots, troops and beasts for riders." (Chap XXV v. 1), Geiger, in his note to this verse, says:- " The spear serves as a royal standard which is always carried before the prince."

The Portuguese historian Queiroz states that the royal standard borne by Rajasinha I. (1581-1597 A.D.) was an elephant on a green field. " The cock (sewulu) was also cognizance of the Sinhalese princes who claimed descent from Mahasen (A.D. 277-304) and the sewulu family. King Mahasen himself adopted the device of the cock ". (F.W. Perera). According to the 'Nikaya Sangraha' Alakeswara had pulimukham (tiger faces) on his standard, and hoisted it on his new fortress of Jayawardhenekotte.

The Lion Flag was adopted as the Royal Standard by only a handful of kings when compared to the long line of Sinhalese kings who did not adopt it. Even the Lion Flag adopted by these few kings was not of the same design as the present flag. The Beknopte History (1688) (translation by Mr. F.H. de Vos in the R.A.S. Journal Vol. XI) says that the Lion Flag used at the time had a red lion on a white background.

Mr. Abayakoon is unable to trace any documentary evidence to prove that the Lion Flag was used from the Sinhalese Kings prior to the 11th century A.D. Will he please state what recorded evidence there is to prove that the Lion Flag was used from the time of Vijaya ? I cannot appreciate Mr. Abayakoon's method of taking two separate paragraphs out of their context from Mr. Nicholas' ~~anti~~ article reproducing them as one paragraph and proceeding to criticise it.

PAULINUS TAMBIMUTTU.

11, Amen Corner, Batticaloa.

POINT OF VIEW

IS THE CENSUS REPORT HISTORY OR FICTION ?

Mr. A.G. Ranasinha C.M.G., C.B.E., in his Census General Report for 1946, which has recently been published, states :-

" The inauguration of the leader (Vijaya) as sovereign was, however, delayed on account of his not having a queen-consort of equal rank to himself and it was decided to send a deputation to King Pandava from Southern Madura for a royal sovereign.

" It has been too easily assumed by some that alliance, which was the result of this mission, was with a Tamil princess from Southern India rather than with a Northern India princess, from Madura in Southern Madhyadasa of the Pandu Kingdom in the basin of the Ganges. The balance of probability seems, however, to incline towards the latter theory."

AN ATOM BOMB

This is indeed a mighty atom bomb for Ceylon and Indian historians - Madura mentioned in the history is in North-India !

I am afraid Mr. Ranasinha has brought trouble on his head. And he makes matters worse by inserting in his historical map the name " Raja Rata " in place of " Nagadipa." In other words, he challenges the translators of the Mahavamsa (the late Messrs. Turnour Wijesingha, and Dr. Geiger) and finds fault with the late Father S.J. Perera, Dr. G.C.Mendis and Mr. L.E.Blaze, O.B.E., and others who did not incline to his way of thinking !

Mr. Ranasinha invariably quotes in his historical sketch, when it suits his purpose, Dr. Geiger's translation of the Mahavamsa, the acknowledged standard work, but on this particular point he omits it !

In page 59 of Geiger's Mahavamsa we read that the Ministers sent messengers " to the city Madhura in Southern (India) to woo the daughter of the Pandu King for their lord, devoted as they were to their ruler, and they also sent to woo daughters of others for ministers and retainers."

NO DOUBT

Professor Geiger makes it all the more clear that the "Madhura" referred to is in South India by adding footnote to 'Madhura' viz. " Now Madura, in the South of Madras Presidency."

Mr. Ranasinha in support of his contention makes matters worse by stating: " The existence of a Pandyan Kingdom in South India at this time is in doubt." Here again he errs. Professor P.T.Sirini-vasa Iyanger, M.A., Reader in History, Madras University, a reputed

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a reputed authority on Indian history, throws light in regard to this point at issue. On page 127 of his History of the Tamils he points out that some Pali writers identify the word Pandya with the familiar word Pandava just as Patanjali derived Pandya from the word "Pandu" and further, he mentions, " Tamil girls bedecked with ornaments, accompanied by elephants, horses and waggons." went to Ceylon in connection with the marriage of Vijaya.

Nor is this all. In the classical Tamil Works Vaipavamalai and Manimekelaï mention is made of Kalinga and the marriage of Vijaya of Ceylon as stated by Professor Iyenger, to a Pandyan woman of Madura in South India.

Mr. Ranasinha's historical sketch

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which goes into certain unnecessary details and theories omits all reference to Nagas, though he mentions Yakkas ! This is a grave error, though it supports his fantastic theory. Professor Geiger in his translation of the Mahavamsa gives the account of Buddha visiting Ceylon and the subsequent conversation of the Nagas and the settling of a dispute in regard to the throne.

Dr. Geiger has inserted also the historical map of Ceylon in which Nagadipa is clearly marked. Local historians follow this map. Mr. Ranasinha rejects it and inserts his own historical map omitting "Nagadipa" and inserting in its place "Raja Rata".

This means that the Jaffna kings of certain period ruled Raja Rata ! If Mr. Ranasinha's theory is accepted, we have to take for granted that the author of the Buddhist chronicle, the Mahavamsa, was wrong or not justified in the mention of Nagadipa and the pages which mention Nagas and Nagadipa should be torn off from the Mahavamsa. And further, if the Government of Ceylon accepts Mr. Ranasinha's theory the history books written by authors mentioned above should not be used in schools.

Mr. Ransinha goes further and talks of "race consciousness" obtaining in Ceylon which our Prime Minister, especially at this time; tries to suppress by requesting all the people of Ceylon to act in a body as Ceylonese. Mr. Ranasinha indirectly suggests that the Tamils of Ceylon are invaders and conquerors of a later period and they, according to his ethnologists, " are of Aremenoid and Alpine stock" and that all the Moors (Muslims) of Ceylon are foreigners as as they came here for trade and settled at a later period, 1024 A.C.

Mr. Ranasinha, a Civil Servant of many years' standing should know that the forefathers of some of the present-day Moors settled in Ceylon long before Vijaya founded his new colony with the

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with the aid of the Tamil King of Madura. Some of the Moors of Ceylon are descendants of the Arabs who traded in ancient Ceylon when the Arabians were the mariners and masters of the Eastern Seas. Some of these also have contributed their 'quota' to the Sinhalese blood - " the Thamby Sinhalese."

Why hurt the susceptibilities of the minority-races by stating empirically that " the History of Ceylon is the history of Sinhalese race ?" If Mr. Ranasinha had delved deeper into the history of India and Ceylon and read also Professor Iyanger's History of the Tamils, and the Indian Antiquary he would have learnt that the Tamils had very early settlements in Jaffna Peninsula and in the Maritime Towns of Ceylon occupied by the Nagas and had an independent kingdom in Mantota (near Mannar). circa 1300 B.C. and a "colony of Tamils" had their habit at Trincomalee as far back as 2588 B.C., long before Vijaya founded circa 500 B.C. his "Aryan kingdom."

TAMIL EXAMPLE

And further at a later period a Sinhalese king in his rock inscription at Mihintale directed his Minister " to build tanks as the Tamils of old did." This goes to prove that the tank idea originated with the Nagas or ancient Tamils of Ceylon. Many ancient tanks including Giant's Tank and other Tanks now existing in Ceylon are not mentioned in the Mahavamsa as they were built by the Nagas or early Tamil inhabitants of South India and Ceylon.

It is apparent that Mr. Ranasinha had a purpose in placing Madura and Kalinga in "Northern India" and that is to prove the "Aryan Origin" of the Sinhalese race. He uses the word 'Aryan' when reference is made to the Sinhalese race and their dialect.

That the Sinhalese race have much Tamil blood in their veins has been emphasised by Sinhalese scholars of repute. Pundit Gate-Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana, member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, Ireland and Ceylon, in his paper read before the members of the Royal Asiatic Society of Ceylon, regarding the alleged "Aryan Origin" of the Sinhalese (vide volume 28 number 74 of 1921) says: " I shall therefore, briefly state that the Sinhalese are a Dravidian race slightly modified by a Mongoloid strain and an Aryan wash".

TAMIL BLOOD

Dr. G.C. Mendis in his Early History of Ceylon (page 10) drives the nail home: " It is difficult to gauge the extent of Tamil blood among the Sinhalese, but there is no doubt that it is considerable".

Mr. H.A.J. Hulugalle, Information Officer of the Ceylon Government, in the Oxford Service Booklet on Ceylon, confirms the

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confirms the views expressed above and aptly concludes, " They (Sinhalese) are a mixed race, the resultant of several waves of immigration, having much Tamil blood in their veins".

In time past one turned to the pages of the Government General Census Report of Ceylon not only to secure the latest statistics, but also to gather more data regarding the history and races inhabiting the Island. No one complains about the accuracy of the statistics tabulated in the 1949 Census Report, and all praise should be given to Mr. Ranasinha, the Superintendent of the Census, for the difficult job he has accomplished.

One could pardon Mr. Ranasinha if he had given vent to his novel theories in a private publication to support a political candidate but it is highly improper for him to have inserted such controversial matter in a standard Government Publication. The Government of Ceylon should take serious note of the lapse and lose no time in expunging from the pages of the Census Report the references to Ceylon history and races, and secure a historian of repute to re-write these pages, if the General Census Report is to be regarded, as hitherto, a standard reference work meriting public recognition.

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Times of Ceylon, Thursday evening, January 18, 1951.

LET HISTORY ENLIGHTEN US.

Stumbling Blocks to Unity.

The peoples of India, Burma, Pakistan, The Philippine Islands, Malaysia, Japan, China, Russia, USA, Great Britain, Switzerland, France, Spain and Germany call themselves Indians, Burmese, Pakistanis, Filipinos, Malayasans, Japanese, Chinese, Russians, Americans, Britons, Swiss, French, Spaniards and Germans respectively. In Ceylon also the people of the Island at the request or wish of the majority of the people, are called Sinhalese. They are known as such in certain foreign countries also. If Ceylon is to continue as an independent country during the years to come it would be well for all the people to unite and be known as Ceylonese - not in mere name only, but in spirit and in action as well.

Let us survey the reasons why the people of the Island are not united and then indicate how it will be possible for the alleged different races inhabiting Ceylon to live together in harmonious unity.

WHY DISUNITY

One of the main reasons for the disunity that now prevails is the imperialistic attitude from the day so-called 'independence' was granted to the so-called majority - the Buddhist Sinhalese. According to the Government Census returns, they number about two-thirds of the population; but according to their own politicians their numerical strength is over seventyfive per cent of the population of Ceylon ! The majority of the members of Parliament at present have the mandate of the Buddhist people and therefore are in a position to dominate, or they may " Be just and fair and reasonable too " according to their interpretation of constitutional issues, democratic principles, social justice and moral doctrines.

BY S.E.N.NICHOLAS

Let us first consider, in all fairness, their request in asking all the people of the Island. Sri Lanka to look two thousand years back, The Buddhists tell us that The Sri Lanka was independent and prospered then under the sway of the local Buddhist kings during its "Golden Age" and "Glorious Past". Is it possible for all of us to adopt the customs and practices that were then in vogue circa 247 B.C. when the tenets of Buddhism made its impress on the people of this Island ?

The first noble and pious king, according to the Buddhist Chronicle, The Mahavamsa, was Devanampiya Tissa. It was he who met Mahinda on the "Holy Peak" at Mihintale and His Majesty was the first Buddhist convert in Ceylon, and later of course, the Queen the members of the Royal Family and perhaps a good number of the people too took

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took to the Faith. We read in the Mahawamsa (Chapter 15 page 224; and Chapter 17, page 125) that the pious King had two Queens and the Royal harem was composed of five hundred women. Not the King only, but the nobles as well patronised the harem or had their own harems. Polygamy was then an established Institution and the Queen was the Head of the harem and was known as the "Queen of the Consorts." Is it possible or desirable to reintroduce polygamy now ?

MUD HOUSES

Among the laws that obtained then was the branding with red hot iron under the armpit for cattle thefts, and the gallows for the slaughter of animals. Could the M.E.P. Government reintroduce these laws, as crime is on the increase now ?

In that age the people, with the exception of the kings and nobles, lived in mud-houses and were barely or scantily clothed; Could the present Government direct the public at large to follow suit to ensure economy ? The community that would be affected most would be the Sinhalese themselves.

The children would have to use three colours only following the traditional colours - Red, Yellow and grevish-green for their art-and, the beating of various types of drums and the blowing of the Conch Shell for their music !

V I J A Y A

A good number of the Buddhist Sinhalese talk and act today as if the Island of Ceylon belonged to them only ; and the Christian Sinhalese, the Tamils, the Muslims and the Burghers are aliens ! The truth is far from that. It is stated in The Mahavamsa that Vijaya was sent out of a little state or territory known as the Lala, which according to the monk-author, is in the vicinity of the place of birth of Gautama Buddha, Vijay and his companions were banished on account of their misdeeds, and they landed in Ceylon on the very day when Gautama Buddha attained Nirvana (Nibbana). The Hindu history, The Yalpana-Vaipaya-Malai - corroborates the account in the Mahawamsa discounting however, Vijaya's royal birth in North India but adds further particulars in regard to the colony he ~~formed~~ founded in Lanka.

When Vijaya, with his followers from India, invited more colonists from their homes, they were unwilling to come here as the Island was then known as "The Isle of Demons." So they invited to Ceylon the Indian and Siamese Buddhist converts who were driven from various countries. We also learn that the Tamil race, following in the wake of the Nagas, lived in Jaffnapatam, Trincomalee, Mantota Matara nad Kathiragaram (Kataragama) long before the landing of Vijaya and his followers, which was according to tradition, BC 543; and Geiger, B.C. 483.

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JAFFNAPATAM

Jaffnapatam was part and parcel of the Pandiya Kingdom of South India in very early times - circa B.C.3500. According to Sir. Alexander Johnstone, who visited Trincomalee in 1808, there was evidence to show that there was a colony of Tamils as far as back as B.C.2588, and according to Wilford there were at Mantota (now Mahuar) Tamil settlers circa B.C.1300. The Buddhist inscription at the "Holy Peak, Mihintale" confirms these and proclaims the fact "In all places irrigated by the water of Kama Vava Tank the distribution of water shall be utilised for the Vihara only in accordance with ancient Customs of Old in vogue formerly during the Tamil period (Rule)" Vide Epigraphica Zeylanica, Vol. I, page 113).

THE MOORS

Some of the Moors (Muslims) of Ceylon too have an earlier history than the Sinhalese. Long before the Sinhalese race was evolved these Moors descendants of Arab mariners settled here. Their mother tongue for the last three thousand or more years was Tamil, which language is taught in their schools and all their schools, and all their scriptures, including the Holy Quran, was written commented and studied in that tongue.

The Christian religion made its impress long before the Portuguese came to this Island. The Persian community traded in Ceylon - a good section of them were Christians, and their Nestorian Cross was found among the ruins at Anuradhapura. The Portuguese and Dutch followed and the Christian faith has been established here for over five hundred years. The Burghers are the descendants of the Portuguese and the Dutch and they played no small part in the history of Ceylon.

Every religion brings its civilisation and culture along with the people who bring in their particular religion. When people become converts to a new religion, they become followers of the culture of the religion, they partly adopt the culture of the people who introduce it, and follow some of the customs and practices of those people and in this sense a Christian becomes to some extent a "foreigner" to an old faith such as Buddhism, which appears to have lost its essence in the process of time.

Edward Conze, one of the foremost living Western scholars on Buddhism, in the contribution that appeared in the "Daily News" of May 23rd observes: "Prophecies dating from the beginning of the Christian Era have given 2,500 years as the duration of Buddha's teaching". The history of religion tells us that a religion decays the priest become wordly-minded and the devotees become arrogant,

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arrogant, unreasonable, belligerent and thus precipitate its downfall. Judging from the attitude of the present Buddhist leaders and certain Bhikkus in Ceylon, one can truly say that some monks violate the Teacher's injunctions : do not preach the Dhamma, but figure in politics.

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THE LATE DR. S.C. PAUL

THE CLOSE OF A BRILLIANT AND USEFUL CAREER.

----- BY S.E.N. NICHOLAS -----

Dr. Samuel Ghelliah Paul completed the Psalmist's three score years and ten just a week before his death which occurred on the 8th of March at his residence "Rao-Mahal", Ward Place. He passed away peacefully - death due to cardiac-asthma which set in after a few days of malaria. If one's usefulness to the community at large is to be adjudged by the contribution made for the benefit of the public, Dr. Paul's career should be regarded both as exemplary and unique.

Dr. Samuel Paul was the eldest son of the late Dr. William Paul of Jaffna whose name as a physician of repute was confined to the narrow limits of the peninsula, but his son's fame as a surgeon went out far beyond the shores of this Island. Eminent surgeons in England who watched him performing an operation had high praise for him. Sir Murchison Fletcher, a former Chief Secretary of Ceylon, in proposing the toast of the host at Dr. Paul's daughter's wedding told the gathering that he had the occasion to be operated on by Dr. Paul and when he went home on leave a Harley Street specialist after examining him said that the operation could not have been done better by the surgeons of repute there. When a wealthy Ceylonese gentleman went to a surgeon in England to be operated on, the surgeon asked him why he took all the trouble to come there when Dr. Paul's services were available in Colombo ? " The reply was that Dr. Paul was too busy there".

Dr. Paul showed his brilliance as a scholar from the start of his school career. He topped the list in the first class in the Madras Entrance Examination when he took it up from Central College, Jaffna; then he came to a Sister College, Wesley, Colombo, and took his F.A. and came off again with flying colours. After reading for his degree, for a short time at St. Thomas's College he changed his mind and decided to follow the medical profession. He proceeded to the leading Medical College in India, at Madras, and was successful in getting his first-class in the M.B.B.S. examination. He started practising, for a short time in Colombo, as a private doctor but later left for England and secured his F.R.C.S. (Eng). In securing this coveted degree he was the first to do so both in the East and in the Colonies.

In 1907 Dr. Paul started his career under government as second surgeon at the General Hospital, Colombo, and on the death of Dr. Rockwood he became the senior surgeon of the General Hospital which post he held with distinction and honour for nearly a quarter of a century. In a famous will case about forty years ago in which the

which the famous Eardly Norton of India, was briefed to appear in Ceylon, Dr. Paul gave his evidence on diabetic-coma and when opposing counsel found that Dr. Paul's evidence was too convincing, and prejudicial to his client he submitted to the Judge that Dr. Paul was only a surgeon and was not entitled to be called a doctor as he was not an M.D. However, Norton won the case on the medical evidence and he predicted that Dr. Paul would go "very far in his profession" and so he did. Dr. Paul submitted his thesis on this very subject of diabetes and secured his M.D. (Madras).

Dr. Paul's career as a medical man was not merely confined to his large practice. He wielded his pen as deftly as he did his scalpel and contributed articles, based on his experiences, to various medical journals. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society of Medicine, a past president of the B.M.A. (Ceylon) and Lecturer and Examiner in Surgery at the Ceylon Medical College. His students who are now medical men, some of whom have secured the F.R.C.S. degree, speak in high terms of his "interesting lectures" - and remember him as being a stiff examiner. One of his students who had been 'ploughed' by him in surgery on more than one occasion left for Scotland, secured triple qualification in Edinburgh University, and enjoyed a huge private practice on his return to Ceylon. Dr. Paul became his consultant, and when the practitioner told Dr. Paul that he once had to leave the Ceylon Medical College because he was 'ploughed' in Surgery three times, Dr. Paul told him that he was glad that his former pupil was having a large practice but he hoped that he was not performing operations! In all the leading cases in the island where expert evidence was required, Dr. Paul's service was much in request.

Nor was Dr. Paul's career restricted to that of his profession. He sat on the Board of Education, was a member of the University College Advisory Board, and a member of the Riddell Commission on the University. He took an abiding interest in the establishing of the New University at Peradeniya. The late Sir Marcus Fernando was strongly opposed to building the University at Kandy and contended that the site chosen was subject to malaria. Dr. Paul, at a public meeting, held a contrary view. The government requested the Malariologist to make a survey of the place and he said that Dr. Paul was correct in his findings. Just before his death Dr. Paul was shown the plans of the University to be built on the Kandy site.

A keen student of Ceylon history and anthropology, Dr. Paul read many interesting papers before the members of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch), of which he was a Vice-president. He also took an active interest in planting and business enterprise. He was at the time of his death the Chairman of the Low-country Products Association; he also served as a member on the Ceylon Banking Commission, and was the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Ceylon Insurance Co., Ltd., and Colonial Motor Works Limited.

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Space forbids anything more than a passing reference to his other social activities. He once commanded the C.M.C. and on his retirement was made Honorary Colonel. At his death he was accorded a full military funeral.

Dr. Paul married the only daughter of the late Dr. Simon De Mello Aserappa who predeceased him. Even in the bringing up of his family he was a success and it would appear that his talent is evenly distributed among the members of his family. His eldest son, Milroy, is a surgeon (F.R.C.S. & M.S.) and Professor of Surgery in the Medical College. His second son, Reggie, is a Doctor of Agriculture and holds a senior staff post in the Department of Agriculture; his third son Egerton, barrister-at-law, is a staff officer in the Department of Commerce and Industries, while his fourth son Jayaraj has a responsible administrative post in the Indian Civil Service, and his last son but one 'Tity', who recently passed out in the first class from the Ceylon Medical College is reputed to have his father's "surgeon's touch". This youngster performed three difficult operations in Gampola during his first year of appointment in the Medical Department. His daughters 'Girly', 'Emmie', 'Tudsie' have emulated their mother in being good-wives and companions to their husbands.

It is often asked how Dr. Paul had the energy and time to take a part in all his other activities while he was having a huge practice as a medical man? The answer is that he led a well-disciplined, simple and exemplary life was also blessed with a good physique. Though he prescribed fresh toddy for his patients he never at any time in his life took to intoxicating liquor nor to smoking. His death was a shock to many as he was enjoying good health throughout and the public was of opinion that he was good enough for another fifteen years. None but the members of the family knew that the death of his partner in life was a blow to him from which he never fully recovered.

Dr. Paul is dead; his fame as a surgeon will endure; and his record of work in other directions cannot be effaced; above all his genial personality will ever live in the hearts of those who came in close contact with him either as patients, co-workers, or as friends. May he now rest in peace.

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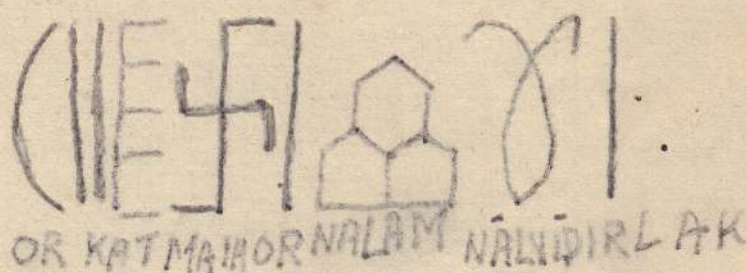
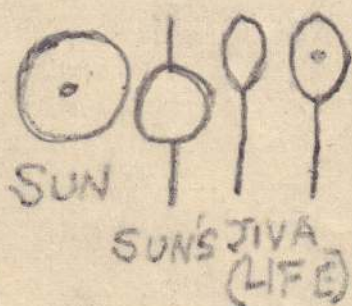
INSCRIPTIONS ON EARLY CEYLON COINS - BY S.E.N. NICHOLAS

In the ancient world the priests had much say in the barter; and "even their temples, their primitive treasure houses and pawn shops. The goldsmiths at a later period were developing into bankers". The caravans carried the merchandise. We have no definite information in regard to the primitive purchasing power of the bullion and the coins used in barter.

Gold in days gone by, as at the present time played no small part as a medium of exchange; it had its recognition and value. This fact is amply borne out in the pages of the history of Ceylon too where mention is made of gold bullion and coins.

ANCIENT SCRIPTS

The early copper cast and stuck coins were summarily dismissed in the past as ancient Ceylon coins. The inscription thereon was not deciphered and some numismatists surmised that these Harappa excavations and the deciphering of the inscriptions found thereon more light was thrown on the ancient civilisation of India and the country was placed on a par with that of the Sumerian and Egyptian civilisations of bygone days. Father H. Heras, S.J., who made a study of the inscriptions on the finds of the Mohenjo Daro excavations paid a visit to Ceylon and examined some ancient coins and scripts in the Colombo Museum and on those that were in the possession of some private collectors.



Father Heras instanced the case of Codrington's Illustration No.17 in this book "Coins and Currency of Ceylon" and pointed out that under the bull's head the enigmatic objects described as "a votive offering", "a sacrificial altar" represented none other than the 'totems of the Mohenjo Daro seals. The reverse of the coin shows the plan of the fortified cities of the Proto Dravidian, Vedic puran of the Dasyus. "The crooked entrances to these forts which may still be seen in many ancient Indian fortresses were the cause of much prosperity to the citizens for these were easily defended." Accordingly this sign reads nallam ("Prosperity").

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On another coin the sign which was called Chaitya by Cunningham has been satisfactorily explained as meaning mountains. It is a modified and more successful pictograph of the Mohenjo Daru sign that reads mala meaning mountains. Then comes a coin in which a tree is seen with a platform, as it were, round it. This sign stands for the pipal tree, the 'arasamaram'. One also comes across a leaf of the pipal " the sacrificial tree ".

The standing figure of a woman with a narrow strip of cloth round the waist with bangles round her arms and ankles is similar to the copper figure of the Mohenjo Daro dancing girl. The figure seems to represent the mother goddess Ama.

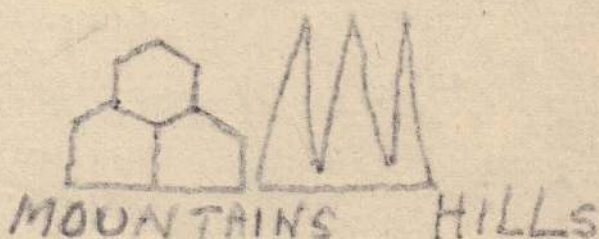
SWASTIKA SIGN

Again the line that unites the swastika with other sign - called sometimes a railing - is not a sign or part of a sign but simply a ligature, which is not read. Such ligatures occur a number of times in the



Mohenjo Daro sign list". The inscription found on one of the local coins following the Mohenjo Daro vocabulary reads as follows: Or kat malon nalam nalvidir lak which means " The rising of four (many) prosperous houses (families) of the mountainous people of one union."

Among the signs appearing on the coins are circles with dots on it to mean the sun. The sign to indicate the " life to come " - 'Jiva' - is smaller to a tie pin. Father Heras says that owing to the passage of time some



some writings on walls of hills have been scaled off and if these could be deciphered much material could be garnered regarding the people who lived in this Island in the dim past.

What then is the historical evidence derived from these inscriptions ? Father Heras is of opinion that in the pre-Buddhistic period there were several (four) Dravidian tribes in the Island. Most of them were living in the mountains and one of there tribes undoubtedly were the Veddas. They had formed a political union similar to the unions formed in India during the Mohenjo Daro period. Their union had as a symbol or totem - the moon (cool sun).

The pipal tree was one of their main objects of worship; they also worshipped Ama - the future sakti.

WHAT THEY PROVE

The inscriptions show the coins are much earlier than what has been supposed up to the present. Father Heras says that " these coins belong to the first half of the first millennium B.C. rather than to the second half and, therefore, these coins are pre-Buddhistic. If that is true, we would be forced to confess that the coinage of Ceylon developed faster than the coinage of India."

Finally, these inscriptions prove that the race that produced the marvellous civilization of the Indus Valley spread over India to Ceylon. " The marks on potsherds of the pre-historic tombs of the Hyderabad State, the signs on the rocks of the Nilgiris and the signs on pieces of pottery found in the Tinnevelly District are only steps in the long journey from the Indus Valley down to Ceylon ".

THE LATE REV. A. G. FRASER

When I read my classmate Mr. Perera's comments re our revered and eminent Principal (Rev. A.G.Fraser) in your paper of the 11th and 18th ultimo, I was enraged and many prominent old boys of Trinity wanted me to contradict and blot out those stains thrown on Revd. Fraser by Mr. J.A. Will Perera.

Some people when they advance in age become fanatics, and perhaps think they will become prominent Sinhalese Citizens if they slander illustrious men of the European Community. There are Europeans who deserve censure and criticism, but to besmirch a person of the type of Fraser of Trinity is really deplorable particularly when a person sings a song of praise about another person who is alive and then sings a hymn of hate after a person's death.

I met Mr. Perera who is a college friend of mine, and had a friendly conversation with him in the Fort. This was after my article on the subject: " HE BEQUEATHED CHARACTER - FRASER OF TRINITY " appeared in the Sunday Illustrated on November 27th 1949 Mr.Perera congratulated me on that occasion on my " EXCELLENT ARTICLE " and added that he wrote about him (Mr.Fraser) but the Editor returned the article as he had mine before him. I assuaged his complaint that I an author of Books should not encroach on the field of journalists and that I had acceded to the personal request of the Editor himself by submitting my article to him. Mr.Perera then told me that he sent his article after adding more details to " THE SEARCHLIGHT " as Mr. J.L.C.Rodrigo had written to the Daily News. Mr.Perera further told me that he met Mr. Fraser at Trinity College during his last visit to that place and had Tea with him.

May I therefore take the liberty of addressing you a few lines about the comments made by Mr. Perera in regard to the good old man of Trinity.

When I was in business in 1918 the Tamil Union C.A. and C. elected me as Honorary Auditor of the Club. In that capacity one day I had the occasion of calling on the late Sir. P. Ramanathan. Having waited in his office for a little while I was asked to come in to his room when Sir. Ponnambalam welcoming me inquired where I had my education I told him that I wound up my educational career at Trinity College, when he said: " Oh. Fraser of Trinity. He is one of the greatest philanthropic educationalist of Ceylon. He gave no rest to Mr. Havard, then Director of Education. Actually it was Mr. Fraser who ran the Education system in Ceylon. And during the riots too he was the Dictator to the British Government in Ceylon. He is a dynamic personality. I am told he was just the opposite of his father who was dreaded by the Indians, whereas his son, I understand, moved with masters and boys of Trinity as if he was one of them. Isn't that true ? asked Sir. Ponnambalam. Replying to Sir.Ponnam-balam I said " Yes Sir that is true. Mr.Fraser on one occasion

on one occasion pushed me down a flight of steps in fun. He also pushed Mr. L.M.de Silva Q.C. into the swimming bath. All this was done in a familiar manner and for the sport of it. That showed that Mr. Fraser always liked to be in the high favour of his boys and in fact with the people of Ceylon generally. On one occasion Mr. Fraser followed his boys who went to have a bath at the Mahaweli Ganga and when the boys were in the water Mr. Fraser took some pictures of them. According to Mr. Will Perera these pictures were included in a booklet Mr. Fraser had published and circulated in England immediately after the riots of 1915. Referring to this booklet Mr. Perera uses the word "alleged" in 1950 but in 1962 he refers to that Booklet and tried to make out it was something written against the Buddhists. If this was true and the Booklet contained anything derogatory of the Ceylonese Sir.Ponnambalam Ramanathan would have certainly made some reference to that Booklet in his remarkable book THE CEYLON RIOTS OF 1915. You will not that Mr. Perera used the word "alleged" in 1950 and in 1962 the "alleged" becomes real. !

* * *

Again Mr. Fraser was not the man to be disheartened at his non-election as the Bishop of Colombo. I was the member of the Cathedral Church but not of the Synod during that time. Some people did not like Mr. Fraser as he was not a member of the High Church. This was probably used against him. After his non-election the British Government gave him the opportunity to further his educational effort in formulating the Educational Policy of the Gold Coast Colony then and he did that very successfully. The late Honourable Mr. D.S, Senanayake, first Prime Minister of Ceylon made Mr. Fraser (first among the Europeans in Ceylon) a DISTINGUISHED CITIZEN of this country. The Prime Minister of Ghana too paid Mr. Fraser the same distinguished honour and made him a Distinguished citizen of the Commonwealth of Ghana. I cannot understand on what grounds Mr.Perera says or tries to make out that Revd. A.G.Fraser was against the Buddhist Sinhalese. If this was so surely Mr. D.S.Senanayake would not have offered Mr. Fraser a DISTINGUISHED CITIZENSHIP OF CEYLON.

The following extracts taken from Mr.Perera's article in "THE SEARCHLIGHT" of 7th January 1950 about the late Revd. A.G.Fraser give the lie direct to the recent statements made by Mr. J.A.Will Perera in the Sunday Observer of 11th, 18th and 25th February.

" I left St. Thomas's College Mutwal years ago from the Upper IV Form for Trinity when Fraser returned from Britain with a band of stalwarts from Oxford and Cambridge To me the transfer from St. Thomas' was like sunshine after rain ".

* * *

" I found a different atmosphere at Trinity. We inhaled the full air of liberty. There was a total absence of that Nazi-like rigidity that prevailed at St.Thomas'. Mr.Fraser (as he then was) was

contd.

was genial and moved freely with the students big and small. He always greeted one with a GOOD-MORNING or a GOOD-AFTERNOON.

* * *

" Incidentally I may mention that Scouting and Social Service were introduced to Ceylon by Fraser: and Saunders and Campbell shouldered these tasks ".

* * *

" Side by side with scions of the Kandyan aristocracy sat sons of the so-called depressed classes. There was a Sinhalese Pundit and an Ex-Buddhist monk well versed in ancient language of the Orient. From Jaffna came Mr. Nevins Selvadurai J.P. M.B.E., M.S.C., as Head-Master. "

" Mr. Fraser asked Albert Godamune to form a National Association the members of which were M/s. L.M.D. de Silva, Q.C., V. Coomaraswamy C.C.S., Dr. R.V.N. Selvadurai, Proctor W.D.N. Selvadurai (son of the Head-master), Proctor E. Dias de Singhe and my humble self ".

* * *

" Our National Association was on the alert and was disliked by Fraser because we made him sometimes retract whenever he wittingly or unwittingly ridiculed our customers, costumes etc. He was a sport and gladly made amends on the morrow in the College Hall for anything he had said. "

" Those who went into ecstasies over Fraser recently failed to mention one estimable quality in him. He always enjoyed a good joke and poked fun at teacher and student alike. He was above all human and humane. "

* * *

Fraser organised the First Elephant Race to be run in Ceylon. At the term-end Concerts we boys look forward to Fraser's appearance on the stage in his bald pale wig or his stockingnette negro mask. He composed witty songs and his gestures were great.

* * *

" My class-mate Mr. A.J. Weerasinghe, President of the Trinity College Old Boy's Union (Kandy Branch) in welcoming Fraser to Trinity mentioned two familiar words used by the great administrator and educationist. They are " DYNAMIC AND TREMENDOUS ". They yet ring in my ears. "

S. E. N. NICHOLAS.

Colombo.

Temporary administration of Ceylon, first by military officers under martial law from February 16th, 1796, for short time, and thereafter from Madras by the Council there.

See Turner Maritime.

PROVINCES

2. Get names of British Political Council (members of first Council) from Ceylon Almanac (at Archivists Office) 1802.
 3. Johnston's reforms of the administration of Justice. Care should be taken that this aspect of govt. should not be permitted to overshadow the political govt. of the country.
- 1829 C.V. Cameron & Lt-Col. Colebrooke appointed a commission of inquiry to report on the administration of the Colony. Commission apptd. on April 4th 1829. Report of the Com. will be found in the archives. See also Gazette announcement re this commission in the issues round about the date mentioned. Gazette can be seen at record office.
1833. New Charter of Justice proclaimed. 31st July.
- 1833 Legislative and Executive Councils instituted at the same time, superseding H.M.'s Council. Get names of last members of this council from allowances of 1832 or 1833.
- First meeting of the Leg. Council 22nd May 1833. See ~~refer~~ reference in Gazette and Col. Journal.
- October 25th 1833. mentioned for the appointment of unofficial members to Leg. Council adopted. See Gazette. Observer started 1834.
1837. Some time towards the end of the year, unofficial members of the Legislative Council were first sworn in. (see Ceylon Observer) No "Times" in those days. Get names of those sworn in. Also find and verify such names from Almanac.
- April 4th 1848. Public meeting at Kandy for the purpose of petitioning Parliament on the depressed state of the Colony. At this point mention may be made of the meeting at Kandy on July 8th. July 26th. (Second one at Borella) Objects of meeting re taxations. Martial law in Ceylon. see Times and Observer files.
1850. Ap. 25. Morehead & Rhodes apptd. Special Commissioners regarding cause of rebellion. Mention request for Royal Commission subsequent to 1915 Riots.
1853. June 30th. Public Meeting at Colombo to send memorial to Secretary of State re reform of the Leg. Council.
1859. Merchants and Planters decision to elect members to Leg. Council. 22nd May. See Times and Observer.

contd.

Gazette first issue Monday March 15th 1802. Size half diam. one sheet, printed on one side only. 4 cols. Printer Frans de Bruin, at Govt. Press Principle notice or announcement on Col. 1 top.

"His Excellency the Governor being of opinion that great convenience would arise to the Public if all Govt. orders and Notifications were made known & circulated, through 1 medium of a News in Paper, has been to direct that a prospectus of such a paper should be prepared and published, as follows, Vizt.

To contain Procls. G.O.O. Govt. ads.
and all other

Ads accepted from public later we find births and deaths also announced.

First controversy about
and J.H. Ludivich

Thomas

House of Commons proceeded reported in Gazette.

Mr Flower another auctioneer.

About 18 months after new type used. more up to date. arr and dep. of vessels. Published "every Monday before twelve O'clock" and post free.

2 Rds. per mensem.

Ad, rates. 10 lines , 2 Rds.

10-15 3 "

15-20 4 "

and so on.

Ss' printed in old style of type identical with present f.

Prospectus is dated 7th Feb, 1802, signed by Robt. Arbuthnot. Chief Sec. to Govt.

Nearly 50% printed in italics. Prominent amongst the contributors is :-

" The final Cession of this settlement 2 His M.
has of much joy 21 native inhabitants,
1 Gov. recd. a strong testimony.

On the 21st ultimo a Sunday, (Feb) an entertainment was given at 1 house o 1 Maha Mudaliyar at wh evening o 1 Civil & military officers and most of the ladies in Col. were present.

Sir Fredric North Gov. present. Address was delivered Govr. replied.

" After which dancing commenced & continued, with the interval of supper, until Two O'clock the following morning".

2nd issue of March 22nd, Monday contains a notice relating to the probate of the last will and Testament of G.J. Fybrands, late president of the Civil Court of Colombo. The notice was printed in Dutch.

3rd issue, March 29th states that all notices etc. appearing in the Gazette are to be regarded as valid and authentic. 3rd issue runs into one page printed on both sides and contained extract from overseas pp. South Indian official news occasionally.

After June published on Wednesdays instead of Mondays.

First Gazette Extraordinary was published on Friday, Sept. 17th 1802, announcing the signing of the Treaty of Earliest private advs. mostly announcement of sales by public auction. & Co. first private firm mentioned.

Sale of two houses in Schippers Street advertised. Particulars from Secretary of the Weskamer, in P.C. de Vos.

Sale of house at Slave Island used by Dutch Free Lodge

Michael Longnlin advertised for sale house at Grandpass belong to late Gov. John Gerard Van Angelbeck, occupied Maj. Gen. Hry Macdowal. Edge of river Matwal, (lalani) 4 acr. of ground.

House belongs to A.C.F. Count of Ranzow, situated at Maradana occupied Carrington C.T. ad. for sale by Mr. Muller.

past and given frequently ad. on sale by a publican named Meybrindle.

First letter of the Editor appeared on November 4th 1802.

Outbreaks of " " fever frequently reported, courts mortal etc.

CEYLON'S HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS.

Jaffna, November 6th.

Dear Sir, - Sir Alexander Johnston, whose name is so intimately connected with that of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, was Chief Justice in Ceylon in 1806 and again from 1811 to 1819. When he retired Lord Grey declared in the House of Lords that his "conduct in the Island of Ceylon alone had immortalised his name". The truth was that Sir Alexander had found time amidst the intellectual dissipations of Hulftsdorp to study the more serious problem of his new fellow-subjects, and in him Sir Robert Brownrigg found a colleague who was helpful not only for his legal attainments, but for his profound knowledge of local conditions. Students of local History cannot, therefore, fail to be greatly interested in the fact that Sir Alexander's Collection of Ceylon Documents has been placed on the London book market.

Sir James Emerson Tennent appears to have been aware that Sir Alexander had translations of the Portuguese and Dutch writers prepared for publication, and the twenty-four lots which are advertised contain translations from de Barros, de Couto, and Valentyn. The Raja waliya holds a high rank as a Sinhalese historical authority, and indeed, so far as the Portuguese are concerned, it is surpassed only by the Parangi Hatane. Nevertheless the translation of the Raja waliya which is available to the public cannot be regarded by a student as satisfactory; it suffers not only from certain rather startling errors of translation, but also much more from having followed misleading originals. A translation of this work, extending to 170 pages, is to be found in the collection with numerous other papers dealing with manners and customs, music, accounts of various devils, the "persuasion of the Candians," etc. Another set of documents deals with the Christian church in Jaffna, with information regarding the Muppuss and Sanoristans, and the Jaffna Seminary, and includes a list of Brahmins who under the bland influence of the Dutch Government had found maintenance for their bodies, if not salvation for their souls, by embracing Christianity. There are several papers dealing with the tobacco trade up to 1806, the Chank Fishery, the Thesawalamai, customs, Dutch Tribunals, Dutch regulations, etc. The cinnamon department always attracted Sir Alexander, and he has preserved in the early journal of the Royal Asiatic Society an account of the caste which was responsible for the production of the spice. The collection contains numerous official letters regarding the same as well as Governor Simons' instructions to the Cinnamon Captain. There are two or three narratives of the Kandyan Massacre of 1803, written by persons who took part in the connected expeditions, with a set of papers dealing with the "Quarrel with the King of Candi." The Supreme Court, I believe, not many years ago bemoaned its inability to trace Burnand's Memoir. Here it is, in the original French, with an English introduction, as well as, 450 pages of instructions to the Chief of Batticaloa (Batticaloa ?) signed by Burrard (Burnand ?). There is another aspect of the collection which one cannot regard with satisfaction, and that is that like Sir James Emerson Tennent the scholarly Chief Justice did not draw much distinction between public archives and private property. Here is the M.S.S. book of Dutch Ordinances, etc., date Jaffnapanam 1760, which was sent by the Provincial Judge of this station to the Governor in Council in June, 1806. Here is the official correspondence between the Governor and the Judges, 1812.-1816, the minutes of the Governor in Council, the index to the Dutch Records of Colombo, as well as translations of the Memoirs of Governor Schreuder, van Gollonnesse, Falck, and Van Goens, the originals of all of which have disappeared from the Archives.

Clearly the collections is of value, and should be secured for the country, but there is no organisation in existence with funds available for the purpose. It is hardly reasonable to wait for the chance of a private student being found with the necessary means. Should not a portion of the annual Museum vote earmarked for the purpose ? Yours, &c.

P.E.P.

The following record relating to the Malabar Churches, and the methods of the Clerics in Jaffna, is not only historically interesting, but provides several informative side-lights on the methods adopted by the missionaries of those days :-

The robust methods adopted by Commandeur Blom in the matter of the dinner given by him to the scholars are amusing. We are told that when the dishes were brought to the table the company were requested to wash their hands, and that in consequence of the son of a Prince (whose name is not disclosed) having refused to partake of the feast, he was promptly dismissed from the school, and the historian naively remarks "that the boy seemed to be rejoiced instead of being sorry, and departed precipitately," which seems to indicate that he was not very different from any other boy. The remainder of the youthful guests having raised objections to being compulsorily fed, the Commandeur, we are told was "thereupon irritated, held out threats to them, which frightening them, they came in, washed their hands, and placed themselves, at the table, where many wept loudly."

Up to this point, it does not seem to have been a very happy feast, and the Commandeur, and the other gentleman, having difficulty in getting the students to partake of the repast, apparently coaxed them by means of a "Sjambok," the Commandeur (who we are told, was "of Blessed memory,") "being unusually hasty and severe"; however from this point forward, the feast appears to have been more or less successful, as we are told that "the entertainment was passed with the greatest hilarity."

An indication of what the parents thought of this is shown in the record that Mr. de Vriest, who appears to have talked too freely on the subject, was denied all admission to the scholars." This same gentleman, apart from having his own method of conducting his feasts, seems to have been somewhat of a misogynist, for, later on, it is recorded that "a great number of communicants were admitted upon due confession." But he does not appear to have been very sanguine of their sincerity, and, continues "they were all men, and no women were among them. . . . We may doubt as to the probability of a woman being ever converted." It is not quite clear whether this is really a reflection on womenkind as a whole or whether it is meant to convey the fact that there is no record of a woman being converted.

Later on the worthy Commandeur detected a "Heathen" discoursing with some of the scholars, and caused his books "to be publicly offered to the flames by the Caffrees or hangmen and the Heathen instructor to be punished and banished from the province." He also appears to have unsuccessfully asked for four soldiers and eight Lascoreens in order more effectively to carry on his proselytising.

It was, no doubt, very heart-breaking to him to discover that the scholars were deserting the schools by night for purposes which he particularizes, and that they were also in the habit of "purloining the cloaths of each other."

Altogether his regime seems to have come to a sticky end, judging by the reference to disputes, including a dispute between the ministers. However, at the termination of the history we are told that his discription of the scholars "does not imply that . . . there is nothing good to be expected from them."

ANNOTATIONS AND CONSIDERATIONS RELATING TO THE MALABAR CHURCHES AND THE SEMINARIUM OF JAFFNAPATAM.

It is unquestionable that it is the duty of a man who by the blessing of Providence has undertaken an important and good cause to perform the same not only to attain an honourable end, but also to propose honest and fit means which is in his power and to pursue it paying particular attention to every circumstances of time, place, and persons; who would not believe that this is duly observed in the institution of the said Malabar school, and that by the blessing of God a favourable success is expected to be the result.

How punctually those proposed means ought to be pursued without deviation unless in case of great urgencies is easily to be comprehended.

One has no reason to hesitate that the school experienced this care at its commencement, but certain accidents since the year 1692, which is recorded by some persons, are deemed worthy of perusal which at the some time will give that light so as to judge what they have to expect from the Seminarium and its scholars.

Philipus De Vriest was placed in the aforesaid year at Jaffnapatam to take the charge of the Seminarium together with the Reverend Mr. De Mey, and to visit the Churches and schools according to the former proposal of the Council, and there was no doubt that he would have made himself fully capable of the important duties of it within a short time, as appears from an extract from a letter of the Honourable Thomas Van Rhee, bearing date 28th November, 1692, the difficulties which De Vriest foresaw and had met with in the commencement and how he was dissuaded and pitied by many others that he could not refuse the service, would be too long to relate. Nay, he was not intimidated, but he undertook the business under the fear and love of God.

He immediately applied himself to such resources as the cause demanded, and proceeded on with learning the Malabar language from the Reverend Mr. De Mey, offering his person as a scholar of that Reverend Minister, but he never obtained more than a half sheet of writing concerning the Malabar letters, and even that happened a long time after.

He understood and considered according to his best abilities from the different circumstances and found:-

(1) That the children in the school joined in learning each, other but not in eating, sleeping and other conversations, the one being of a higher or better caste than the other, notwithstanding that all were of good castes, and he also understood that they would neither eat nor drink with the Hollanders.

(2) He was given to understand that the Conicopies of the Gate or the Interpreters of the Commandeur and those of other Civil Servants were baptized and nominal Christians and, of course, Heathen in their hearts. On this he took the liberty to observe that they, being an uncivilized and rude people, one ought first to withdraw them therefrom by exciting in them a desire for knowledge and sciences, that they may be degrees proceed thereon, and this prudent procedure may be considered as the rudiments of true religion and piety, and if that foundation is not first laid well, our trouble to implant in them Christianity would be in vain. We ought in the first instance to make them understand the difference between honesty and dishonesty between a Heathen and Christian, ere we should explain to them the abstruse doctrines of our Christian faith.

The said De Vriest took also the liberty and asked whether there were no members of our Church among the Malabars, and understood that they were not in want of them. He, therefore, considering that the important situation, such as that of the Interpreters of the Commandeurs, Dessaves and Parsons ought to be selected from the Malabar members of our Church, so that we may not only use them more confidentially but also that others may be stimulated by it as those people must be drawn towards us by good and friendly acts.

The said De Vriest considered it truly as a fact that if one had conicopies who were members of our church, the other persons who were also members or wish to become members, would not be despised and prosecuted by ill-treating those of high and depressing those of the low caste, in case they profess the Christian religion

The truth is that this is not done openly, but by some invented reason, for the experience had taught De Vriest that such was the act of the heathen conicopies and the Grandees at Jaffnapatam and that this was an obstacle by which many were prevented from declaring or professing Christianity. This was then in frankness disclosed, but in the month of December of the same year, 1692 he was confirmed of the truth thereof.

For having had the honour to be present at the examination of the scholars and at the same time to hear that the late Commandeur Blom after the examination asked the scholars whether they wished to dine with him and the other gentleman then present upon which he immediately got the following answer:- "Mr. Commandeur we may, but dare not do that," and nothing could have prevailed them to do it.

However it appeared afterwards that they promised the Commandeur at his request that they would come to dine with him. To this entertainment the preachers of the Gospel were invited in addition to the persons in authority, and all who were in health assembled accordingly on the 6th January, 1693, and the scholars appeared also there. This intertainment was conducted in the following manner :-

When the dishes were brought to the table, the company were requested to wash their hands. While they were thus busy, Mr. Ottley and the Reverend Mr. de Mey waited upon the Commandeur and informed him that one of the boys being the son of a Prince refused to eat with him as his father (who was a disciple of the late D. Baldeus) had not been previously informed of it and upon which the Commandeur after many mild reasonings said "If you refuse to eat with me, you will be dismissed from the school, and that will take place today." The boy seemed to be rejoiced at this threat of the Commandeur instead of being sorry, and departed precipitately. The other boys themselves thereupon objected too, saying that they could not eat and persisted upon it, although they were told that the other boy would not be admitted in the school, and that they not only lose their castes, but all these promises did not at all avail. The Commandeur being thereupon irritated, held out threats to them, which frightening them, they came in, washed their hands, and placed themselves at the tables where many wept loudly. The Commandeur and the other gentlemen had the greatest difficulty to get them to participate of the repast, which they did however out of fear for the Sjabok (horsewhip) the Commandeur of blessed memory being unusually hasty and severe. This entertainment was passed with the greatest hilarity. Upon the scholars breaking up, they were allowed to return to their parents; but we do not know how they conducted themselves there. The reports we have received were very singular respecting their purifications.

This entertainment was afterwards very much talked of, but differently, and many was not well pleased with it, whether de Vriest had taken too active a part in this affair, or had talked too freely thereof, we are not certain; but he was afterwards denied all admission to the scholars and was only called at the annual examination of them.

And indeed on the 30th October, 1694, De Vriest was entirely excluded from it, for the scholars were then examined and presented with gifts without his being called or receiving any knowledge thereof until the examination was over.

De Vriest was afterwards for the last time consulted with as to the method of treatment to be adopted with respect to the boys, and as to what books were to be given to them; and he replied that with regard to the first, one should follow the rules of the Hon'ble Commissary General Hendrik Adrian Van Reede (of blessed memory) and as to the Malabars he expressed himself according to his experience more explicitly-

(1) That in the first place, it must be endeavoured to purify the minds of the scholars from all errors, and by arguments directed to them to refute the heathen doctrines, in which they have been educated by their parents, and teachers, and then to instruct them by degrees what their minds can comprehend.

(2) That one must be very cautious as to what books are given to them, and that he thinks an abridgment of the theology would be the most appropriate book, as they may be thereby instructed in the articles of faith, and the outlines of Christian Theology as well, or obtain a correct idea of erroneous tenets of Paganism, and the Roman religion, the latter of which had particularly crept in among the natives who are nominal Christians, and an incredible number had blindly followed the same on account of its outward ceremonies and that they are therefore for these and many other reasons like children to be still nurtured and as by much controversies their infant minds may be prejudiced and wavering in opinion and the church be thereby more, and probably be the cause of a schism, a result which would deserve to be eternally deplored, and therefore those who were placed as guardians of this important charge were directed to exert themselves and adopt proper precautions to prevent such evils.

These and the like propositions were suggested by De Vriest. Many other persons gave also their opinion, and the subject seemed thereupon to become serious.

The children from the school were taught from the Catechism of Spiljardus and from many other useful books.

The children at Chiavagacherri in the Dutch school made great progress as also those at Panto Das Pedras, but quite the contrary at Caits.

and more injured by corrupted disciples

More than 80 children attend four times a week at the house of De Vriest who catech ed them, namely on Mondays and Thursdays the boys, and on Tuesdays and Fridays, the girls.

Many were baptized on Thursdays and Sundays at Nallver, St. Joan, and at Chiavagacherri, and at the examinations.

At the examinations as well by the Reverend De Mey as by De Vriest, who were accompanied by a member of the meeting of schools, a great number of communicants were admitted upon a due confession made by them of the Christian faith, but it rests with God alone to judge their hearts, they were all men but no women were among them.

We may doubt as to the probability of a woman being ever converted, therefore let everyone exercise their own judgment why the men became members of the church and not the women.

The harvest here was great for two labourers only had to the care of 47 churches and as many schools dependent on them. More than a hundred thousand Christians comprised the flock and are situated in the following provinces :-

Welligammi has 14 churches and schools; the islands, seven churches and schools.- The visits in these, two cannot be accomplished in less than one month, and cannot be done more than twice in a year.

Tummoratje, three Churches and schools; Waddemaraatje, three Churches and schools; Patjelepalle, four Churches and schools. The visit in these three continues generally longer than one month and is also done twice in a year.

The Skirts of the-(sic) in all except the Dutch schools are fourteen Churches and schools. - In these two the visit continues longer than one month, but can be done only once in a year, See revived order of the 4th, Oct. 1697.

Total 47. Malabar Churches.

Besides the above stated duties the masters and ushers of the aforesaid churches and the Bridegroom and Brides are also examined, and in order not to depart from the object, here in contemplation, we shall not touch on what further duties they were obliged to render to the Dutch Churches.

The Semenatium called the further attention as they could now tolerably read, write and even speak the Dutch language.

All the preachers of the Gospel were summoned before the council besides the Reverend Mr. De Mey and were consulted whether the scholars should be taught the Latin language; each of them gave his opinion to the council. The members did the same, and the paper which was written by Mr. Swaarde Kroon, according to the directions of the said Hon'ble Mr. Rhee (sic) on the subject, is very interesting and worthy of perusal.

This letter was addressed to the Hon'ble Thomas Van Rhee, and on the 7th October, 1695, but the plan, however, was not adopted.

The books required from Europe for the use of the scholars being sent, and the same were delivered to them according to a certain scheme called "Consideration of useful Dutch Books for the native youth in the Semenarium" and, among the said books "An Ecclesiastical History Harmius" was given to them which is a very good book, but not very useful to them, would to God that this

may not be the source of their ruin, and that they may not employ it towards the subversion of our Church and religion.

It was found that the Bramine Timmersa with his adherents (who are still there altho' the Bramine himself had died) were very detrimental to the weak Malabar Christians by which all the endeavours of the preachers were either little beneficial or of no consequence at all, which has been demonstrated at large by a petition to the Hon'ble Thomas Van Rhee on the 20th July, 1696, in which very singular marks and proofs are to be found about the Jaffnapatam Malabar Christian.

The Heathens who came over as beggars from the coast with a view of wandering about the country and of diffusing their heathenist superstition among the inhabitants of Jaffnapatam, and who were in former times immediately ordered back to their country are now grown very numerous since they are allowed to remain without interruption.

Hundred and more of the inhabitants, as they retired out of our Church were detected sitting or standing around an Heathen of this class and listening to him, and who dispersed the moment they saw that they were observed in proceeding their way home.

And when one inquired from some amongst those who hearkened to the discourse or subject of these Heathen itinerent persons they replied that they were with much delight listening to the said heathen as he was relating the very singular history of their Vidam or Religion and other books.

We must now even witness that the Churches which were erected for the use of our Christian religion are now occupied by the youths wherein they are taught the most abominable heathen doctrines which were prohibited.

De Vriest got such an instructor detected in the very act, as the Church of Warny, and conveyed him with the heathen books in custody to the Fort, where he caused the books to be publicly offered to the flames by the Caffrees or hangmen and the heathen instructor to be punished and banished from the province.

The offer to remove all these abominable doctrines in case De Vriest is provided with four soldiers and eight Lascoreens was never accepted, and it could therefore not have had any effectual consequences.

Some orders which were formerly issued to promote the Dutch Schools in the country were repealed, or, better speaking were annulled by subsequent orders.

In visiting the schools it was found that all the expenses made by Government towards the same were fruitless. It was, therefore, deemed advisable to represent the matter, which being accordingly done all the schools were abrogated.

The children who were instructed in the Catechism were entirely neglected, and thus that most useful part of instruction was also abandoned.

Much was also represented with respect to the scholars who were giving themselves up to a life of dissipation and who were deserting the schools by night in order to partake of the embraces of disorderly women, and to do many other evil things.

It was found that they were in the habit of purloining the clothes of each other and of playing many other foul tricks; all, which were prudently kept as much as possible undisclosed by the

Reverend Mr. De Mey.

And indeed many disputes broke out at last among the local Executive and the Sprituals which did not and procure (sic) worthy to the latter. It was productive of many losses to themselves and prejudicial to the interests of the Church.

The ministers had the first dispute about the orders at the examination of the school-masters which were held monthly.

• It burst out afterwards in a party spirit, which however has now by the mercy of God terminated.

Their Connicoplys and Lascoreens were taken away from them, and it is impossible that they could accomplish the work without them as ought to have been done. The most part of the Churches had decayed as the Local Executive had not extended their assistance, and if the ministers at that place do not receive the auxiliary assistance of these public officers every effort of them will be misemployed.

All these circumstances combined to ruin the labour and efforts which had been hitherto bestowed for the propagation of our religion.

The demise of the late De Mey was also a great lose to the Church, but especially to the scholars.

Altho' it could not be denied that the scholars (who had not for a length of time been properly taken care of) possessed vigorous understanding, are ingenious and had made vast progress by their exertions, so that some of them had even composed accurate sermons before many auditors with success, yet it appeared afterwards evidently that they had not altogether forsaken the notions which they imbibed formerly from their parents and the opportunity afforded them at the times of vacation and other Malabazr feast days, when they mostly are at home, whereas they have been too much indulged with liberty to visit their parents and friends on which occasions it seems they conduct themselves in every respect as their parents and friends do, on which account Mr. Ottley, who is in a very familiar habit with them in the school upon a certain occasion, declared that he believed firmly that the most part of them were heathen at the bottom, and particularly one, of the name of Emanuel whom they consider as the head among them and who, notwithstanding by external appearance shows himself to be a genuine Christian, has no less pernicious principles at heart, and that, therefore, he is no more than the others to be trusted.

If one had acquainted the numerous occurrences thereof to the ministers, and to those persons who have the charge of the schools, they would be able to give the most strong testimonials thereof.

What expectations can one entertain under such circumstances unless the grace of God touches their hearts and convert them.

If any one should wish to employ any of them in the duties of a clergyman there can be no doubt that they will re-lapse to their former tenets, and corrupt the Christian religion by their erroneous heathen notions from whence a religion worse than that of the Mohammedans would arise, because in introducing such iniquities they will never want adherents, and such proceedings will perhaps not become known and public until it is too late, and then what a lamentable thing will it be to the Christian religion and of what avail will be all the trouble and expenses of Government. Therefore great care and precatation ought to be taken in watching the conduct of these persons.

With respect to others who are not qualified for the situation of Visitor of the Sick and who would therefore try to succeed to some temporal situation by the interest of their friends in power, whom they have at court and throughout the whole country, and to gratify whom the Commandeurs will do everything as if promoting the interest of Government; such of them cannot be employed with any degree of safety, for as in point of subtility they excel even the Dutch themselves and they might contrive to procure access to everything, and as they understand the Dutch language they will by making themselves acquainted of the contents of every letter, and becoming master of the secrets, employ it to the detriment and subversion of Government itself for many of them are unfaithful and are in the habit of employing their understanding and ability against Government.

To act therefore with the utmost circumspection with them ere it becomes too late would deserve to be stamped with the epithet of wisdom.

One should not disregard the opinion of many of the friends of Jaffnapatam who assert that the scholars ought not to be in the first place employed in the situation of a clergyman or preacher, but that the most eligible amongst them ought at best only to be employed as Visitor to the Sick, under strict restrictions of reading only in the Churches such Malabar sermons which are adopted by the Churches, and that in teaching the children and aged persons they ought to confine themselves only to the prayers and catechism which are in use for years, and even that under the direction of a preacher who is to be placed over them and who should be a fit person and have a sufficient knowledge of the Malabar language and for which immediate purpose one should always be kept in reserve.

With respect to those entirely unfit to hold a situation in the Church one can hardly urge in which way they can be best disposed of unless they be employed by or with a clergyman, to assist him, because in such a situation they cannot affect any great mischief.

This candid description of the scholars and Malabar inhabitants of Jaffnapatam does not imply that there are no genuine Christians at all or that there is nothing good to be expected from them in process of time.

It may be here in justice to them remarked, that there are many who in point of faith and Christian deportment would set most of the Dutchmen at defiance. An incredible number will fly to our Church with the facility of a dove if they are not deterred by the illtreatment contempt and oppression which they are obliged to experience from higher classes of the Malabars who are beathens at heart.

In order to have a confirmation of the facts hereadduced, some persons at Jaffnapatam may be directed to give their opinion conscientiously with respect to the scholars and inhabitants of Jaffnapatam, and if they will be so condescending, as to give full scope to truth, it will be found that their opinions do not differ from the account here given.

Nota Bene-these annotations and considerations were reduced into writing by the Reverend Mr. Philippus De Vriest and pursuant to his statement the same was done by the orders of Mr. William Van Puthoorn, Governor General to whom the original hereof has delivered.

Agrees.

J. HUISMAN,
Secretary.

A few hints and remarks on the most efficacious mode for instructing the Malabar youth in the true religion and converting the Pagans of Jaffna.

1. To have temporary schools erected in every Church district of the said province for the admission indiscriminately of the Malabar youth as well as grown persons who show an inclination to be instructed in the true religion.

2. The schoolmasters must be persons of probity professing the Protestant religion, and they shall not be admitted as such unless they possess the qualifications that such an office requires which must be ascertained after due examination.

3. The schoolmaster must besides the school instruction catechise and keep evening prayers and hold lectures and discourses with his disciples in which discourses he is to explain to them the Gospel and refute the tenets of Paganism as fully as possible.

4. The youths admitted in such schools shall not leave it before they confess to have embraced the true religion of Jesus Christ and be admitted as a member of our Church by confirmation.

5. Every Sunday the schoolmaster is to preach or read a sermon in the Malabar language to his disciples and particular congregation and occasionally enter into an explanation of the Gospel by way of Dialogue.

6. A register of all the children above six years old ought to be made by every schoolmaster respectively of their district, and a copy of which is also to remain with the missionary.

7. The parents shall be obliged to send the children so registered to the school for their education and improvement.

8. If any of the children be absent the schoolmaster is to enquire into the cause of his absence, and if it appears that the child is blameable for such neglect the schoolmaster is to chastise him according to his demerit, and it should appear to be the fault of the parents themselves, they should pay for each child a half fanam as a fine.

9. In the same way if the children should by any neglect of their own, fail to attend at Church on Sundays, they shall also be punished, but if such neglect be on the part of the parents, they shall pay a fine of a fanam for each child.

10. The missionaries are to take each part of the province under their pastoral care and superintendence, and they are to make their best endeavours to learn the Malabar language so that they may be able to preach in that language, but in the meanwhile they are to hold discourses (sic) amongst the Malabar congregation and youth by interpretation.

11. The missionaries are to visit the schools as often as possible and to travel throughout the whole province and they are to pay particular attention as to the conduct of the schoolmaster.

12. The children on half-yearly or yearly examination affording satisfaction to the missionaries with respect to their learning and other studies shall be rewarded, to be worn about their neck or with a golden ring.

13. The missionaries are to keep regular registers of the Proselytes and of the children in every Church district and similar registers to be kept by the schoolmasters.

n by them with some small silver medals

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14. The Proselytes shall regularly attend the Church every Sunday unless prevented by sickness on pain of paying a fine of one fanam.

15. An account of all fines so imposed will be kept by each missionary of his own district, and will eventually go in part purchase or the making of silver medals and other rewards that may be adjudged to the scholar at the examination.

16. If any of the Proselytes be detected of frequenting the heathen Churches or following their former superstitious systems and doctrines shall suffer corporal punishment to be inflicted by the magistrate of the district.

17. A Government Regulation will be highly necessary to effect the object; promoting Christianity in the extensive province of Jaffna, has taken place in old times, and as may be seen in Valentine's description of Ceylon under the head of the Reformed Divine Service, where he gives an ample detail of all the endeavours of the Dutch from the origin of its Government on Ceylon and their labourers in the Lord's vineyard in so far that they have extended Christianity in that every province in 1721, to a number of 182,302. But owing to the negligence of the Dutch clergy and their inferior officers together with the inattention of some of the Commandeurs of Jaffna who were the supporters of its establishment then, Christians have gradually disappeared and chiefly by falling into the errors of heathenism and for the want of Christian pastors.

JOHNSTONE MANUSCRIPTS.

TRIAL BY JURY IN CEYLON.

Among the many interesting papers found in the library of the late Sir Alexander Johnstone, and purchased by Mr. C. A. Galpin, was the following account by him of the introduction of trial by jury into Ceylon. It is an interesting fact that Ceylon enjoyed the right of trial by jury long before it was introduced into India. The letter, which is dated May 26th, 1825, was addressed to "Small-Journal Wynn," Sir Charles Watkin Williams Wynn, who sat in the House of Commons as representative for Montgomeryshire for 51 years, and at his death in 1856 was "father" of the House:-

Dear Sir,-I have the pleasure, at your request, to give you an account of the plan I adopted while Chief Justice and first Member of H.M. Council on Ceylon for introducing trial by jury into that Island, for and for extending the right of sitting upon juries to every half caste native as well as to every other native of the country, to whatever caste or religious persuasion he might belong.

I delivered my charge at the commencement of each Session to the jurymen, most of whom were considerable proprietors of slaves, of informing them of what was doing in England upon the subject of the abolition of slavery, and of pointing out to them the difficulties which they themselves must frequently experience in executing with impartiality their duties as jurymen, in all cases in which their slaves were concerned; a change of opinion upon the subject of slavery was gradually perceptible amongst them, and in the year 1816 the proprietors of slaves of all castes and religious persuasions in Ceylon sent me their unanimous resolutions to be publicly recorded in Court, declaring free all children born of their slaves after the 12th August, 1816, which in the course of a very few years, must put an end to the state of slavery which had subsisted in Ceylon for more than three centuries. See pages 15 and 16 of the 11th report of the Directors of the African Institution, and from page 93 to page 100 of the Appendix of that Report.

JURY SERVICE IN CEYLON.

(Communicated)

The letter of Sir Alexander Johnston reproduced in the Times of Ceylon arouses interest in a subject that is viewed rather differently by the many who are concerned with it. The sanctity attaching to jury trial in olden times as depicted by Sir Alexander has by no means worn off but the feeling is not absent that a jury, as it is composed in Ceylon, is too often liable to judge wrongly of evidence. It is a curious circumstance, which requires some explanation, that the villager prefers an English speaking jury to a Sinhalese speaking panel, when the latter would more properly come under the description of his peers. It is rarely that a Sinhalese speaking jury is empanelled to hear a case. Though summoned at each sessions this class of jurors are almost invariably discharged sometimes after hearing one case, but more often without entering the jury box with the thanks of the Colony.

Incidence of Jury Service.

About ten years ago the question of jury incidence in Ceylon was a grave one. It was thought that the frequent calls made upon the time of business men and others could easily be reduced if the question were seriously taken in hand. This was eventually done by dealing with the matter from two points of view. The first method of drawing the names of jurors. The then existing system had an obvious flaw in it, in that the burden was inequitably distributed, inasmuch as names of jurors who were drawn for a panel but who were absent from the island or the district at the time were not put back into the same compartment of the box from which they had been drawn but were treated in the same way as the names of jurors who served. In this way a large number escaped jury service for long periods during which others served repeatedly. This defect was remedied in a manner which ensured equitable distribution of the burden.

A Recent Controversy.

The other aspect from which the question was approached went deeper into the subject of the administration of justice. It was thought that there was a large number of offences exclusively triable by the Supreme Court but which could well be tried by the District Court. A Bill was introduced into the Legislative Council with this object and practically all offences excluding murder and homicide of the lesser degree were made triable by the District Court as well. This would have allowed the Attorney General to use his discretion according to the circumstances of each case as to whether it should be tried by the Supreme Court with its higher punitive power or by the lower court. At the same time a further important change was introduced. That was the creation of District Judges of the First Class with higher punitive powers than the District Court enjoyed, so as further to reduce the heavy roll of cases which the Supreme Court had to deal with. The Bill met with strong opposition. Unfortunately, the opposition, both in Council and in a section of the Press, was on the ground that Judges were to be allowed to try cases without a jury. The fact that District Judges and Magistrate, and even Presidents of the Gansabawa, possessed the power already was forgotten. In vain was it pointed out in the clearest language that no principle was being violated and that the Bill was only an extension of the existing provision of the law which gave Magistrates and District Judges the power to try cases. The opposition even went so far in their absurdity as to suggest - as though it were quite an innovation that the lower courts were being given powers which the Supreme Court did not possess entirely ignoring the fact that they

possessed such powers already. The Bill was passed but eventually it was withdrawn. The principle of the Bill was, however, ultimately given effect to by a revision of the jurisdiction of the Courts. The higher punitive powers which were to be conferred on the District Court by the creation of First Class Judges and the power which was to be given to District Courts to try some of the more serious offences were abandoned. In the meantime a deputation of lawyers had waited on the Attorney General and pointed out that it was possible to relieve the Supreme Court of a considerable amount of work by extending the jurisdiction of the District and Police Courts to try classes of cases which, though exclusively triable by the Supreme Court, were frequently of such a nature as not to warrant committal before that Court. This view was eventually given effect to and a number of offences were added to those over which the lower courts had jurisdiction. Here it may also be mentioned that Sir Alexander Wood Renton when Puisne Justice on one occasion made a strong appeal to the Bar to conduct the defence in a business like manner. He pointed out that the criminal sessions in Colombo ran into each other. The result was that his suggestions were carried out and the work was expedited. The old order of rambling cross examination and minute dissection of evidence by defending counsel, with exaggeration of every seeming contradiction changed and a new atmosphere prevailed.

The Judge's Position.

Sir Alexander Johnston draws a distinct line between the Judge as the judge of fact and the jury as the judge of evidence. The inference from his observations is that the Judge was not to press his own views of his own on the facts before the jury. It cannot be maintained that this principle is followed. The Judges analyse the evidence, the degree, of credibility of witnesses and unmistakably give the jury an indication of what their views are on the facts. The later Sir Alexander openly emphasised on one occasion the right of the Judge to press his views on the Jury. "An incident which took place not long after may be mentioned. An advocate who appeared for the defence, addressing a jury at the Assizes, at which Sir Alexander Wood Renton presided, suggested to the jury that they should not be influenced in any way by the Judge, who might press his views on them. The advocate in question cannot fail to remember the talking to he received in Chambers from that Judge. That the Judges concern themselves with the facts has been shown by the many occasions on which the jury have received a "slating" when the Judge considered the verdict perverse. Mr. Justice Moncreiff's wrath on one occasion is still remembered at Hultsdorf it probably exceeded that Judge's memorable outburst when the electric fans, which frequently gave trouble, failed on a very hot afternoon and His Lordship adjourned the Court. Mr. Justice Walter Pereira severely rebuked the jury for a perverse verdict not many years ago and the jurymen were given a long holiday. That Judge was not enamoured of the jury system. He held strong views on the subject before he was given a seat on the Bench. It is probably now forgotten that the Supreme Court Judges were on one occasion given the right of trial without jury. This power was given to them after the riots to deal with a class of offence indirectly associated with that event.

AN INTERESTING OLD PHOTOGRAPH.

SIR, - On seeing the "group of old coffee planters," in your Christmas Number, in Kotmalie and Dimbula photographed in the sixties, when Sir James Elphinstone visited Ceylon, I can name the man seated in front of James Bisset. He was my partner on Troup estate, in Dimbula, Fred. Wernham, who died there in November, 1871. The man named Hudson was, when I knew him, the Manager of the Queen's Hotel, in Kandy. He was long connected with Dimbula as owner of land, and was a natural son of Sir Hudson Low, who had charge of Napoleon Bonaparte at St. Helena. There is also George Grant, of Bogawatte, and Charles Richie. I can remember hearing about the dinner given in Kotmalie on that day, but was not there. With best wishes to the Times of Ceylon. Yours, &c.,

G.S. ANDERSON.

Durnford, Suffolk Road, Bournemouth West, England, Dec. 25th, 1917.

EXTRACT FROM TIMES OF CEYLON DATED 25th Feb. 1918.

A GROUP OF OLD COFFEE PLANTERS.

SIR, - Mr. Lewis's article and the excellent photo of a group of old coffee planters in your Christmas Number is especially interesting to me, as I was staying in the neighbourhood of Bahrundra, Kotmale, about the time the photo must have been taken, prior to my taking up the Assistant's billet ~~in~~ on Kataboola under the late James Bisset Morrison of Halgolla was the planter with the black beard sitting down near Martin's right hand whom Mr. Lewis failed to identify; and it was with him I was staying on Halgolla, a delightful place in Kotmale. I hadn't been long in the island then, having come out in the autumn of 869.

During Sir James Elphinstone's visit, his son, Graeme, invited me to stay at Bahrundra for a few days, and I well remember making an expedition with Sir James one morning to West hall, which was then partially abandoned, as he wanted to cut some coffee sticks to take home with him. The cooly we took with us returned with a good load of all shapes and sizes. I was personally acquainted with most of the others in the group, especially with Humphrey Humphreys, now also all gone West! Humphreys and I played together for Up-Country against Colombo at cricket on the Kandy ground in 1872, captained by Bob Elphinstone. We were in together for a long time and were lucky enough to make a good score.

The bald-headed man to the left of Stronach is certainly Hudson. I think he was a descendant of Sir Hudson Lowe's of St. Helena. He once stayed with me on Newton. Dickoya. - Yours &c.

J. HAMILTON.

Sunningdale, St. Leonard-on-Sea.

EXTRACT FROM TIMES OF CEYLON DATED 12th Oct. 1917.

"Hodle Mihi, Cras Tibi, Cur Igitur Curas."

On viewing the vandalism, as many would consider it, perpetrated in Darley Road, once a fashionable quarter of the city and a haunt of the lawyers, one is reminded of the above motto to be seen on the outside wall of Huntley House in the Canon Gate of Edinburgh. A free translation of it as rendered

by the late versatile David Patrick, Editor of Chambers' Encyclopedia, runs as follows:- "This house is mine today, you will be the tenant tomorrow why worry?" "Maha Nuge," at the head of Darley Road, was the property of Sir Anthony Oliphant, Chief Justice, and after his retirement Sir Harry Dias, another Judge of the Supreme Court, became the owner and proprietor thereof and lived and died there. It is now occupied by the railway authorities. Next to it lived John Drieberg, a well known proctor and notary of the day, one time Private Secretary to Sergeant Rough, a Puisne Judge, friend of Henry Kirke White. That with alterations and additions now shelters the Sisters of the Poor. "Lake House," built by the once famous "Boy Queen's Advocate," James Stewart, as Chief Justice Oliphant called him, and tenanted up to his departure for England by his brother, the Hon. Mr. Chas Stewart, another Puisne Judge, was purchased by the Roman Catholics, who built on its spacious ground the handsome St. Joseph's College, which adds greatly to the architectural beauties of Colombo. "Roseneath," next door, was built in the fifties of the last century by that successful and prosperous proctor and notary, Frederick Charles Loos, who represented the Burghers in the Legislative Council. He and his family occupied the same till his death. It has now been described into a copra store. Contiguous to it is Darley House. It was built by Philip Woodhouse, Government Agent of the Western Province, at a time when the Civilians were not afforded the facilities of the Suez Canal to visit the Homeland so frequently as at the present day and constructed habitations for themselves and their offspring. After several proprietary vicissitudes Bishop Copleston I.- late Metropolitan - tenanted it and selected it as a permanent home for future Bishops of the Diocese, as a tablet on the wall of the house indicates. "Kent" house, opposite Darley ~~Kent~~ House for some time tenanted by Puisne Judge Temple, and advocate Richard, afterwards Sir Richard, Cayley, was erected by a wealthy "native" when coffee was king and now houses all the hardware of those enterprising merchants, Hunter & Co. The same spirit of commercialism which induced the elders of the Wolfendahl Consistory of the Dutch church to part with a portion of God's Acre in the Pettah, where all the bones of the haughty "Mynheers" and their families found a resting place, seems to have actuated other communities as well. Sentiment is a thing of the past. It is Mammon that rules. If rumour be true, Darley House is also to change hands. The Metropolitan's children were born there, and it was only natural that he should have wished to perpetuate the memory of the domestic occurrences in brick and mortar, but apparently the trustees think otherwise, and a big mercantile firm will outbid all sentiment.

OLD TIMER.

EXTRACT FROM TIMES OF CEYLON DATED 20th July 1918.

(By C.O.S.)

In my last contribution entitled Heber's Hymn, I incidentally referred to the idolatrous practices which may have suggested the word 'vile,' which after all is the only possible explanation, when all is said. It may, interest your readers to know something of the 'barbaric' rites and ceremonies which prevailed at the time referred to.

There is no doubt that the Bishop took but the religious aspect. The Brahminical religion prevailed in the North of the Island a mixture of Hinduism and Buddhism in the Central or Kandyan provinces, and the worship of Serpents and Devils in the Southern portions of the Island. Under this rude mythology of the inhabitants this lovely Island of ours became a sort of Fairy-land, or enchanted spot. There were gods and goddesses of the mountain and valley, the jungles and dells. Under such various 'spells,' different sacrifices, even human beings were offered. Those practices were only given up shortly before the conquest of Kandy by the British in A.D. 1815, when efforts were being

made in England for the amelioration of human wretchedness in the East and the extension of True Religion as the only basis of Virtue and Happiness.

Many well-known spots in Ceylon, and particularly those in or near Kandy have terrible tales to tell of diabolical atrocities, massacres, and cruelties committed about this period. One such incident is painfully associated with Maha Bairavi Kande or the Western redoubt, on the summit of which may still be seen the levelled space where a young woman was annually sacrificed to the Goddess of the Mountain, Bairavi, to secure good harvests, an abundance of fruit and immunity from pestilence and plague. To win the favour of this Goddess, the prettiest girl that could be found in Kandy or its neighbourhood was usually selected. The unfortunate maiden was arrayed in bridal clothes and conveyed in procession to the music of the full Peraherra Band. She was then tied to a stake on the summit of the mountain and there left alone to die!

The goddess of this mountain is none other than Kali in one of her dreaded aspects, Bhairavi, "the terrible" She is here represented as a black or dark-blue woman with ten arms. In one hand she holds a spear with which she is piercing the giant Mushisha, in another a sword, in a third the hair of the giant, in the others the tail of the Serpent, the trident, discus, axe, club, and shield. For ear rings she has two dead bodies; she wears a necklace of skulls; she has a girdle of dead men's hands and her tongue protrudes from her mouth like that of a resuscitated griffin. - Her eyes and breasts are red, besmeared with blood. She stands with one foot on the thigh and the other on the chest of her husband.

Of the offerings to Kali, she liked human sacrifices best. Such a sacrifice must be attended by the forms laid down. An oblation of blood which has been rendered pure by holy texts is said to be equal to ambrosia! Sidney Lowe in his "Vision of India" speaks of her as the Hecate of the Hindu Pantheon while some have compared her to the Olympian Juno and the Pallas or armed Minerva of the Greeks. A.R. Wallace the great traveller in his account of "the visit to the Malayan Archipelago says, "In the House of a District Malay chief I saw a beautiful carved image in high relief out of a block of lava which had been buried in the ground near the village. It represented the Hindu Goddess Durga," called in Java "The exalted Virgin." She has eight arms and stands on the back of a kneeling bull. Ruined temples abound in the Eastern part of Java.

KALI TEMPLE IN AVISAWELLA DISTRICT.

Not long ago a visitor in passing through the Avisawela and Ruanwela Districts noticed a magnificent forest in which he saw the ruins of a Temple dedicated to the same mountain Goddess, Bhairavi. It was formed of stone and elaborately carved. Its history must ever remain a mystery. At any rate it shows us how far Religion influenced Social life in ancient times which rendered such extensive temples and elaborate works possible.

THE LAST OF THE KANDYAN HUMAN SACRIFICES.

The Story goes that during the closing years of the reign of the last Kandyan king, a young maiden of great beauty, then in the king's palace was selected as a victim, and was conducted as usual in procession to the mountain top. This maiden, one of the queen's maids-in-waiting had a lover, also of a good family, who lived at some distance, from Kandy across the great Maha-weli Ganga. He was a powerful young chieftain, highly accomplished and a poet of some renown. He was a royal favourite and acted as the King's Secretary, though he lived near the Katugastota Ferry. The sad news that his lady-love was to be sacrificed, ~~axix~~ excited him much and he was determined to save her at all costs. At night fall, he bravely swam across the sandy river, rushed past Waterantenne and other estates and soon reached the foot of the mountain.

At his approach the poor girl who was tied to the stake, feared it was the goddess herself coming up to suck her life-blood! But her gallant swain revealed himself by a snatch of song known to both of them. They met. He soon loosed her bonds and she was happy in her lover's arms - free as birds:

"They had freedom in their Loves
and in their souls were free
Angels alone that soar above, enjoy
such liberty!

HUMAN SACRIFICES ABOLISHED

The next morning when the King and his suite went up the hill they found the maid happy and free. It was rumored that the victim had prayed hard for deliverance and that the goddess had been merciful to her. The King thus not only restored her to her family but ordered the ghastly custom to cease, as the wrath of the goddess had apparently been appeased by the number of victims already sacrificed. The happy couple were married shortly afterwards, in the year that the last Kandyan King was deported Revd. Brooke Bailey in his exquisite lines on Kandy, apostrophizes thus:-

Tis twenty years since I beheld the throne
Of Kandy's captive King. I had no thought
Of that which time and sorrow since have wrought
That in this "Idol city" sad and alone
To soothe my grief for a dear spirit gone
The lot of life would cast me. Dull, untaught
And savage was the King!

Such, forsooth, were the circumstances which suggested the word "vile."

~~The shifts that entertainers in Colombo were put to before~~

EXTRACT FROM TIMES OF CEYLON DATED 14th Feb. 1918.

BEFORE THE DAYS OF THE PUBLIC HALL.

ENTERTAINMENTS OF LONG AGO.

Some Reminiscences.

The shifts that entertainers in Colombo were put to before a suitable place was provided in the Public Hall are recalled by the proposed sale of this building, and will bring a smile on the faces of residents of modern Colombo, with its numerous place of entertainment. Among those who were associated with the earlier days is Mr. Louis Siedle, who well remembers the many excellent performances given in cadjan sheds, private bungalows, at the Garrison Theatre, the Volunteer Headquarters and the Floral Hall. # When Mr. Siedle came to Colombo about 46 years ago there was no recognised place for public entertainments. The Colombo Club used to be available for special performances such as the visit of a first rate pianist or singer. Others had to be content with a cadjan shed in the Racquet Court. Among the companies that performed in Colombo in this primitive building were the Willard Company and Stanley Company, also a first rate Italian Opera Company. It was long after that the Floral Hall reared its head. The Volunteer Headquarters in what used to be Hospital Street, Pettah-the building itself having previously been the Merchant Seamen's Hospital-had an excellent stage, and the volunteers frequently held concerts there. A performance in the Garrison Theatre which was the talk of the time took place in the seventies. Among others who took part were Major Gunter and Capt. Staples of the Rifle Regiment. The "Area Belle" was staged. Mr. Dodwell Browne used to practise

an orchestra in a small building on the site of the present G.O.H. at the corner of Church Street and York Street, Colombo had the Town Hall, where it exists today, but it was a very small building and was not much patronised. Mr. Siedle remembers playing there at a concert which was attended by H.E. the Governor and Lady Longden. Capt. Gwatkin, of the C.L.I., was A.D.C. A panoramic show ran in the Town Hall for a length of time, but it was always considered far too small. Mr. Siedle thinks it a disgrace that Colombo should not have an up-to-date town hall.

THE PUBLIC HALL.

The Public Hall was opened by Sir Arthur Havelock shortly after his arrival in the island. His Excellency was received by Sir (then Mr.) Stanley Bois. Mr. Siedle was playing there with his orchestra at the time when the Governor came in. One of the earliest performances was by the Contralto Madame Antoinette Sterling, who was on her way to Australia from Europe. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that one of the earliest public meetings on record held at the Public Hall was one at which Mr. John Ferguson presided, and which had for its object the passing of resolutions and sending a memorial for the suppression of the opium traffic. One of the earliest defects noticed in the hall was the bad acoustic arrangements, and till Mr. Warwick Major introduced the gradual raising of the floor in tiers the one level floor was a great disadvantage. Among some of the incidents which the early days of the hall recall is the balloon which Spencer went up in, and the mysterious disappearance from the rear of the hall of Woodroffe, the supposed wild horse trainer, while an expectant audience filled the hall.

EXTRACT FROM TIMES OF CEYLON DATED 29th Jan. 1918.

THUTONIC ASSOCIATION BEING GRADUALLY REMOVED.

Freudenberg's Building, now the property of Messrs. Aitken, Spence & Co., is gradually being shorn of all traces of Teutonic possession.

There was a very strong feeling in Colombo shortly after the outbreak of war that the German eagles were no longer entitled to a perch over the main doorway of the building. The feeling grew in strength until one night the eagles were removed from the building, and deposited in the harbour.

Last week with the change in ownership, the name of Freudenberg building, which appeared on the portico at the entrance to Messrs. Whiteway, Laidlaw & Company was removed and its place taken by a blank piece of red material, doubtless in due course to give way to the new name of the handsome building when this has been decided upon. There is still another trace of its past German ownership the commemoration stone on the wall facing Prince Street, with some German lettering. Perhaps Messrs. Aitken, Spence & Co. will see that this too is obliterated.

EXTRACT FROM TIMES OF CEYLON DATED 6th July 1918.

(JAVA OR CEYLON'S ISLE?)

(By C.O.S.)

There are some who think that the original draft of the beautiful hymn From Greenland's Icy Mountains, does not refer to ~~Ceylon~~ Ceylon at all, and that it reads 'What though the spicy breezes blow soft o'er Java's isle'. It will be seen from the existence of the idolatrous worship of the Mountain Goddess both in Java and in Ceylon, the reference to either would be correct. But the doubt has been recently removed. The Rev. A.E. Dibben of the Church Missionary Society has in his possession a facsimile of the original manuscript of this famous Hymn which shows clearly that

the Bishop did not write "Java" but "Ceylon". Now that this point is clear, let us look into the meaning of the word 'vile' which has many significations-base, worthless, despicable, mean, degraded by sin, hateful to the sight of Heaven and man. Prior speaks of the "vileness of mankind" indicating the extreme wretchedness of mankind in general. Job asks the question:- "Wherefore are we counted as beasts and reputed as 'vile' in Thy sight?" Milton uses it in the sense of the Divine image marred:

"Their maker's image Forsook them when
themselves they vilified
To serve ungoverned appetites!"

Now we are inclined to think what the Poet-Bishop had in his mind was, not the extreme depravity or atrocious wickedness of the people, that they were a set of villains! ~~that they~~ Pope has it "calm thinking villains whom no faith can fix." Not quite that, although there are those who think the Bishop would have been right even if he used the word in that sense, in view of the Ehelapola Tragedy as conveyed to the minds of Europeans by De Quincey and historians of the time, and the slaughter of the European soldiery at Watapuluwa near Kandy where Davie's Tree stands in bold relief as the silent witness of the dastardly massacre of British troops, which occurred shortly after Heber wrote his famous hymn:-

No missionary hymn is so universally popular as this one. The singing of it is always followed by a wave of enthusiasm that is often akin to tears. The circumstances under which this hymn came to be written are related by a kinsman of the Bishop, his own father-in-law. Heber was on a visit to Dr. Shippley, Dean of St. Asaph and Vicar of Wrexham, at whose request he composed the hymn. The Dean was highly pleased with it. The original manuscript was exhibited in the "Great Exhibition of 1851" from the collection of Dr. Ruffles. The last verse appears to have been written with a trembling hand as though the writer was deeply touched by the thrilling words.

His Biographer says "He was peculiarly well qualified to fill the high and responsible position of "Bishop of all India" as well by his amiable and conciliatory temper, as by his talents, learning and zeal in the cause of Christianity." One of such a nature was not likely to 'vilify' a nation over which England had just gained ascendancy. In his Narrative of journeys through India and Ceylon the Bishop refers to his visit to the beautiful capital of the Kandyan Kingdom, thus, "The surpassing loveliness of the scenery around and the sense of the great responsibility which the English nation had just incurred by the conquest of Kandy brought tears to his eyes and standing, surrounded by friendly chiefs in the stately Kandyan Hall of Audience prayed to the true God of Heaven and Earth that the Ministers of State in England and the Bishops and Clergy there, might realize their great responsibility and hasten to see that every civilizing influence which made for Peace, comfort and happiness be placed within the reach of the people of this beautiful city in one of the loveliest Islands in the East.

That the Bishop-post was greatly misunderstood is clear from some excellent verses written by the late Mr. John Capper, entitled "Lanka's reproach." -

O Lanka men have written thee
The many-gifted Isle;
The fairest flower that decks the sea
"Where only man is vile."
Oh Lanka let the white man's store
Of knowledge be by thee
More prized than spice or pearl of yore
Than wealth of land or sea
Let the reproach no longer cling
To thee, O purest Isle,
But praise the poets when they sing
They children are not vile-."

A DESCRIPTION OF ADAM'S PEAK. •

The following interesting description of Adam's Peak, as described after a visit in 1690, provides a certain amount of information, though Mr. Helmont's imagination seems to have been vivid, as witness his description of "Eve" with a cobra "picking her upon the brain." It has always seemed to us that the best description of the ascent of Adam's Peak is contained in "Dead Man's Rock," by "Q.," though it is alleged to be an imaginary one, the author at that time not having performed the journey, but curiously enough no really good description of the ascent appears to have been published.

The following description is very terse, and makes only a slight reference to the actual ascent, and strangely makes no reference to the foot-print, at the summit:-

• TRANSLATION OF A LETTER WRITTEN BY
MR. HELMONT TO HIS EXCELLENCY
GOVERNOR SIMONS.

Honourable Sir, - In compliance of your Respectful Mandate, I have to state respectfully that, to the best of my recollections, the hill called Adam Berg, is situated two days' journey from Matura, near to the Company's Hedge Markatta. At the foot of the same, is a large excavated room, which is divided in two by a little wall. In one of it is a big naked image in a reclining position, yellow of body with brown eye-brows, red lips, long ears, the hand under its head, and the feet one upon the other; and it is called by the Singalese Adam. In the other is his wife, of the same stature and colour, called Eve. If I am not mistaken, the nose of the former being measured in my presence in 1690, out of curiosity by the Reverend Parsons Feico Wylsma, it was round to be one wooden foot long. Ascending from the cave by freestone steps (which is made simply without any cement), in a direct line, the hill being very steep and therefore not admitting to go round the same, you find two smaller rooms, in one of ~~the~~ which is painted on the wall, Adam, with the Patriarch's clothes as the Baljador's Dancers of the Heathen Pagodas, and in the other one, Eve, sitting crosslegged on a stone step, in the shape of an altar, with a snake, which ascending along the back, seems to pick her on the brain. She sits in the mid of her sons, the eldest bigger than the younger ones, cut out in stone, as the Mother, as big as life, at the middle standart; and sitting next each other. Outside of the same is a square bench edged with diverse characters which is said cannot be read nor explained by anyone. At the side of one of those little rooms, one climbs to the top by little cut steps, through the assistance of a large iron chain, which is soldered to the hill; where one is assisted to mount upon by 5, 6, or more blacks, who only knows to ascend through a deformed or ugly cleft, without passing this way, and layss upon their belly, one behind the other keeping each other by the leg, and the foremost one pulling the Fancier by the hand to the top; where you find nothing but a blind little Pagoda, and a Divil's Tree; the leaves of which are as pointed as Pikes. From a root of this tree, coming out of a cleft in the hill, continually drips a certain juice, which is gathered in a pot, and much care taken of and highly valued and not less esteemed by many on account (as their blind opinions are), of their making Barren Men Prolific. A Scotchman deceived by this opinion took a draught of the same, but had not the effect of that virtue. One also finds little Singalese offerings before those images, by lighting a number of little lamps and fires, some little time before the King's annual purification and in-auguration.

And considering that I do not recollect anything more, I hope Your Excellency will be satisfied with this statement.

And I have the honour to be, with high respect and deep veneration. Honourable Sir, Your Excellency's most obedient, respectful and faithful servant, GT. HELMONT.

Tuticoreen, 19th September, 1706.

RECOLLECTION OF THE HARBOUR AND FORT

A LEAF FROM THE EAST. 1867

An idea of the conditions prevailing in Colombo harbour and the Fort fifty years ago was given to a representative of the Times of Ceylon by one who has been closely connected with them since 1867. Mr. O. Raffel, who relates his reminiscences, joined the Colombo Customs fifty years ago. In the following year he secured a billet in the shipping department at Messrs. Armitage Bros. with whom he worked till 1882, when the firm became defunct. In the latter year he joined Messrs. Aitken, Spence & Co. and worked with them till last year, when he retired on a well earned pension. Mr. Raffel still pays a periodical visit to the harbour, connected with which he is probably the oldest Ceylonese.

Mr. Raffel ^{said} ~~and~~ that he joined the Colombo Customs in 1867, when that institution was housed on the site of the Ceylon Wharfage Company's premises. There was only one jetty then for landing general cargo. At that time only sailing vessels called at Colombo, which was an open roadstead, and anchored about a mile or a mile and a half from shore. During the South West monsoon it often happened that not more than a boat or two at the most landed cargo for the day, the condition of the sea not permitting of work, while during the same season it was usual for a vessel to remain for three or four months discharging and loading. During this season too, one or two native draft would

INVARIABLY GET WRECKED

Mr. Raffel said he remembered the wreck of a French barque near St. John's fish market, and the wreck of a big four master iron ship opposite the Racquet Court. The latter was calling at Colombo with a full cargo of rice loaded at Calcutta. The stench from the decaying cargo became so unbearable after a time that the vessel had to be blown up. The only boats which could live in the harbour before the building of the break-water were canoes, large-size ones with outriggers, rowed by three men with one man at the helm. Despite the apparent safety of these boats, Mr. Raffel on three occasions found himself precipitated into the water. There were hardly any passengers in those days.

Messrs. Darley, Butler & Co., Mr. Raffel went on to say, were the Agents for a good many vessels which called at that time. The canal was in existence, of course, running along the Bristol Hotel, past the G.O.H. and entering the harbour where the present landing jetty stands. Padda boats brought cargo up to this point at which it was transferred to barges. At that time there was only one cargo boat company in existence, viz., No. 1 Boat Company owned by Messrs. Passe & Co. Cos. Mohamadu & Co. entered the field afterwards. The principal dubashes were C. Matthew and H.P. Fernando.

ROYAL HOTEL

occupied the site of the General Post Office, and was the rendezvous of ship officers. Matthew had his office in the building. Messrs. Armitage Bros. were known as Prince merchants. They had an oil mill at Mattacooly and a coffee store at Kochchkadde, where Hutsons are at present located. John Armitage was the first Colonel of the Ceylon Volunteers, for which Corps Mr. Raffel recruited quite a number of men. Armitages were also the Agents for the Star Line of steamers, owned by the Rathbourne Bros., and were in addition the first merchants to charter steamers. These they got from Suez and Port Said, loaded them here, and sent them to Europe, coffee forming the bulk of the cargo. Coffee was also exported largely by Sabonadiere & Co. (now Cumberbatch & Co.), Geo. Steuart & Co.,

Lee Hedges, Duncan Symons (now Whittall & Co.), and Geo. Wall (now Bosanquet & Co.), Shand & Co., and Crow & Co., being other prominent merchants carrying on business at the time. The regular steamship lines were the Ducal and Star lines, their ships also, carrying passengers.

THE FIRST STEAMER TO ARRIVE

for Messrs. Armitage Bros. was the "Mira," a Star Liner, which loaded a small quantity of cargo. The "El Dorado" was the first steamer to call for Messrs. Darley Butler & Co. Later on Messrs. Duncan Symons and Lee Hedges and other leading merchants also took to chartering steamers. The principal local products loaded were oil, plumbago, coffee, cinnamon, etc. When coaling a vessel during the South West Monsoon it invariably happened that one or two barges would be lost through being swamped. The French mail used to call at Copombo during the South West monsoon, and Mr. Philippe, who was at the M.M. Agency in Colombo a few years ago, was sent from the Galle Office to attend to the business in Colombo.

The pilots were Ceylonese there were the two Pollockses and a man from Jaffna. The principal Medical Hall belonged to Maitland & Co., and is occupied the site where Browns now stands. Ships got their medicines from Maitlands.

THE FIRST PEOPLE TO STORE COAL

were Messrs. Aitken, Spence & Co., who had a tiled building somewhere opposite the old Lotus Pond. Later Messrs. Delmege & Co., also began storing coal, and these two firms were for a long time the only ones connected with the business. Bolam's was the principal tailoring establishment, afterwards taken up by MacMillan & Co., while O'Hallaran Bros. were the principal chemists.

St. Peter's stood where it now is; a Wesleyan Chapel was on the site now occupied by the large Japanese shop in York street; and there was a Roman Catholic Church in Canal Row.

Mr. Raffel said he remembered the first batch of Australian horses brought out for Messrs. Armitage Bros. They were a very wild lot, and two were lost to the owners. One jumped off the elevated ground where the Flagstaff now is on to the road below and was killed, while another jumped into the canal near the present Customs house and got buried in the mud, from which it was pulled out dead. Mr. Raffel believes that the horses were auctioned by Mr. O. Home.

FREUDENBERG'S BUILDINGTrutonic Associations Being Gradually Removed.

Freudenberg's Building, now the property of Messrs Aitken Spence & Co., is gradually being shorn of all traces of Teutonic Possession.

There was a very strong feeling in Colombo shortly after the outbreak of War that the eagles were no longer entitled to a perch over the main doorway of the building. The feeling grew in strength until one night the eagles were removed from the building, and deposited in the harbour.

Last week with the change in ownership, the name of Freudenberg building, which appeared on the portion at the entrance to Messrs. Whiteaway, Laidlaw & Company was removed and its place taken by a blank piece of red material, doubtless in due course to give way to the new name of the handsome building when this has been decided upon. There is still another trace of its past German ownership - the commemoration stone on the wall facing Prince Street, with soile German lettering. Perhaps Messrs. Aitken Spence & Co., will see that this too is obliterated.

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An individuality as distinct as possible from his great political contemporaries, Pitt and Burke, was the Etonian, Charles James Fox. Man of pleasure, man of action, he claims our homage by his generous instincts and his emotional breadth. Large-hearted, warm-hearted, he tried, but not always with success, to be patriot, partisan, and good-fellow all in one. His career was narrower than his nature, and the one was sometimes degraded by a duplicity from which the other was free. The statesmen of England are not often remarkable for either insight or foresight. Evils accumulate in England, till at last a giant's hand is needed to sweep them away. Fox had more of foresight and of insight than his celebrated contemporaries. Burke and the rest had a quick eye and a sharp tongue for the woes and the wrongs which were the offspring of the French Revolution, but they were blind to the benefits which that tremendous upheaval was destined to confer on France and the human race. From the beginning Fox perceived the whole significance of the Revolution, though he could not calculate its remoter consequences. Where, in reference both to the French Revolution and to other matters, Fox inevitably failed, was in his inability to infuse into the Whig oligarchy his own ardent and chivalrous spirit. The fact is singular, that it was the cold and haughty Pitt who animated and guided the popular elements, while the fervid and impassioned Fox was driven to be the champion of Whig exclusiveness.

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ANCIENT CEYLON ARCHITECTURE

(Ceylon Observer 20.6.1917)

LANTERN LECTURE AT TRAINING COLLEGE

For the Government Training College Literary Association Dr. Andreas Nell delivered a very interesting lecture yesterday evening in the College Hall, on "The Origins and Styles of Ancient Ceylon Architecture" There was a large number of members of the Union teachers and lady students present. Mr. Leigh Smith, principal, introduced the lecturer in a few words.

Dr. Nell - prefaced his lecture by touching on the past history of Ceylon, which he explained, was closely linked up with that of India. He emphasized the fact of their having been incessant commerce between China, Arabia, Persia and India and Ceylon and in addition to that there was a continual stream of immigrants, like the Aryans, among whom were merchants, scholars, artists, architects, artisans, and craftsman. Thus an interchange of art ideals, and art practices must have taken place in Ceylon. This was easily traced by a comparison of the designs and sculpture and carvings found in Polonnaruwa, Sigiriya, and Anuradhapura, with those of some parts of India. The mother country of Ceylon. Ancient Ceylon architecture had to be studied closely with Indian architecture. Dr. Nell (continuing) said that certain groups of architecture of the early Anuradhapura style could be classified with certain stone architecture in India called Asokan. Among the latter work found in Polonnaruwa, the architectural designs were more elaborate and ornate. These correspond to a group in India called Sungan or Post-Asokan.

Next a number of lantern slides were shown by Dr. Nell of the Sigiriya Rock statues of the Gauthama Buddaha, the carved figure on the Weligama rock, the Raja Maligawa, Asoka's bed at Mihintale, Asoka's Monument, Maps of ancient Aryan India, etc.

It was after 8 p.m. when the lecture ended and thanks, proposed by Mr. R.C. Edwards, seconded by Mr. D. Saverimuttu, were voted with acclamation.

Sir, - With reference to Mr. J. P. Lewis's query in the "Ceylon Antiquary," reproduced in your issue of the 26th instant perhaps the following items of information may prove of some use:-

Hippolyte Silvaf was most probably of Pondichery - French descent. Capt. Edward Hippolyte Daviot, of the Madras Marine Service, married at Kandy, 7th January, 1861, Julianne Mathilda Uranie Silvaf, "daughter of Monsier P. Hippolyte Silvaf" Capt. Daviot was born 1st August, 1821, died 21st November, 1876, and his tombstone is in the Pamban Roman Catholic Church Cemetary "India", on which are inscribed the following words :-

Je desire que mes cendres reposent en ce lieu.

- Julianne Mathilde Uranie Silvaf was his second wife, his first wife having been Gerardina Wilhelmina de Kretser. Capt. Daviot was probably the son of Emanuel Daviot of Pondicherry, who married at Colombo, 14th March, 1814, Sophia Jacoba ~~Pagallo~~ Pagalotti. It is significant that the name Hippolyte is common to both families, Silvaf and Daviot.

As regards Pieter Philip van Houten (who married circa 1810 Anna Catharina Helena Eberhardi) he was probably the son of Philippus Jacobus van Houten of Heusen, "hofmeester vander Gouverneur" (1754) and Regina Jenke - Yours, etc.,

F. H. de Vos,

Galle, February 28th.

" Hodie Mihi , Cras Tibi , Cur Igitur Curas."

On viewing the vandalism, as many would consider it, perpetrated in Darley Road, once a fashionable quarter of the city and a haunt of the lawyers, one is reminded of the above motto to be seen on the outside wall of Huntley House in the Canon Gate of Edinburgh. A free translation of it as rendered by the late versatile David Patrick, Editor of Chambers' Encyclopaedia, runs as follows :- " This house is mine today, you will be the tenant tomorrow - why worry ?" "Maha Nuge", at the head of Darley Road, was the property of Sir Anthony Oliphant, Chief Justice, and after his retirement Sir Harry Dias, another Judge of the Supreme Court, became the owner and proprietor thereof and lived and died there. It is now occupied by the railway authorities. Next to it lived John Driberg, a wellknown proctor and notary of the day, one time Private Secretary to Sergeant Rough, a Puisne Judge, friend of Henry Kirke White. That with alterations and additions now shelters the Sisters of the Poor. "Lake House", built by the once famous "Boy Queen's Advocate," James Stewart, the Chief Justice Oliphant called him, and tenanted up to his departure for England by his brother, the Hon. Mr. Chas Stewart, another Puisne Judge, was purchased by the Roman Catholics, who built on its spacious ground the handsome St. Joseph's College, which adds greatly to the architectural beauties of Colombo. "Roseneath", next door, was built in the fifties of the last century by that successful and prosperous proctor and notary, Fredrick Charles Loos, who represented the Burghers in the Legislative Council. He and his family occupied the same till death. It has now been desecrated into a copra store. Contiguous to it is Darley House. It was built by Philip Woodhouse, Government Agent of the Western Province, at a time when the Civilians were not afforded the facilities of the Suez Canal to visit the Homeland so frequently as at the present day and constructed habitations for themselves and their offspring. After several proprietary vicissitudes Bishop Copleston I. - late Metropolitan - tenanted it and selected it as a permanent home for future Bishops of the Diocese, as a tablet on the wall of the house indicates, "Kent" house, opposite Darley House, for some time tenanted by Puisne Judge Temple, and Advocate Richard, afterwards Sir Richard, Cayley, was erected by a wealthy "native" when coffee was king and now houses all the hardware of those enterprising merchants. Hunter & Co., The same spirit of commercialism which induced the elders of the Wolfendahl Consistory of the Dutch church to part with a portion of God's Acre in the Pettah, where all the bones of the haughty "Mynheers" and their families found a resting place, seems to have actuated other communities as well. Sentiment is a thing of the past. It is Mammon that rules. If rumour be true Darley House is also to change hands. The Metropolitans children were born there, and it was only natural that he should have wished

(2)

wished to perpetuate the memory of the domestic occurrences in brisk and mortar, but apparently the trustees think otherwise, and a big mercantile firm will outbid all sentiment.

OLD TIMER

F. 178

PARTIAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE PETTAH

(Ceylon Observer 21.3.1918)

That the Pettah, near the present Fort Railway Station and beyond extending as far as the Eastern Produce and Estates Co., near the old Railway Terminus, has been partially transformed, if not entirely, must be seen to be believed. The difference between a few years ago and now is pleasing as well as interesting. Commencing from this end, the road this side and leading to the Fort Station has been widened a great deal; the grain sheds on the old Recquet Court and the high wall separating it from the road give this portion a very "business-like appearance." There are two entrances to the Station and the approach from that side of the Pettah too has not been neglected. Commencing from the left or Pettah gate of the Station there is now under construction a long row of buildings - to be used as grain sheds. The old Pettah Station has nearly disappeared portions of its are being daily pulled down. A beautiful walking pavement has already been laid, starting from the Fort Station and extending as far as the Eastern Produce and Estate building. It runs behind the old Pettah station though this building has not been altogether pulled down. Then passing the Pettah Station there are more buildings to be seen; grain sheds again. These extend as far as the Railway boundary and close by here the Lake Scheme people are busy getting on with the bridge, under which flows the Beira Lake towards Lockgate and beyond. Just in front the new quarters for the European Police Sergeants are under construction.

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BEFORE THE DAYS OF THE PUBLIC HALL

(Times of Ceylon 14.2.1918)

ENTERTAINMENTS OF LONG AGO

Some Reminiscences

The shifts that entertainers in Colombo were put to before a suitable place was provided in the Public Hall are recalled by the proposed sale of this building, and will bring a smile on the faces of residents of modern Colombo, with its numerous places of entertainment. Among those who were associated with the earlier days is Mr. Louis Siedle, who well remembers the many excellent performances given in cadjan sheds, private bungalows, at the Garrison Theatre, the Volunteer Headquarters and the Floral Hall. When Mr. Siedle came to Colombo about 46 years ago there was no recognised place for public entertainments. The Colombo Club used to be available for special performances such as the visit of a first-rate pianist or singer. Others had to be content with a cadjan shed in the Request Court. Among the companies that performed in Colombo in this primitive building were the Willard Company and Stanley Company, also a first-rate Italian Opera Company. It was long after that the Floral Hall reared its head. The Volunteer Headquarters in what used to be Hospital Street, Pettah - the building itself having previously been the Merchant Seamen's Hospital - had an excellent stage, and the volunteers frequently held concerts there. A performance in the Garrison Theatre which was the talk of the time took place in the seventies. Among others who took part were Major Gunter and Capt. Staples of the Rifle Regiment. The "Area Belle" was staged. Mr. Dodwell Browne used to practice an orchestra in a small building on the site of the present G.O.H. at the corner of Church Street and York Street. Colombo had the Town Hall, where it exists today, but it was a very small building and was not much patronised. Mr. Siedle remembers playing there at a concert which was attended by H.E. the Governor and Lady Longden. Capt. Gwatkin, of the C.L.I., was A.D.C. A panoramic show ran in the Town Hall for a length of time, but it was always considered far too small. Mr. Siedle thinks it a disgrace that Colombo should not have an up-to-date town hall.

THE PUBLIC HALL

The Public Hall was opened by Sir Arthur Havelock shortly after his arrival in the island. His Excellency was received by Sir (then Mr.) Stanley Bois. Mr. Siedle was playing there with his orchestra at the time when the Governor came in. One of the earliest performances was by the Contralto Madame Antoinette Sterling, who was on her way to Australia from Europe. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that one of the earliest public meetings on record held at the Public Hall was one at which Mr. John Ferguson presided and which had for its object the passing of resolutions and sending a memorial for the suppression of the opium traffic. One of the earliest defects noticed in the hall was the bad acoustic arrangements, and till Mr. Warwick Major introduced the gradual raising of the floor in tiers the one level floor was a great disadvantage. Among some of the incidents which the early days of the hall recall is the balloon which Spencer went up in, and the mysterious disappearance from the rear of the hall of Woodroffe, the supposed wild horse trainer, while an expectant audience filled the hall.

(Communicated) .

The former Volunteer Headquarters was in Prince Street, Pettah. These quarters were long used as a Seamen's Hospital, and during the Dutch time as a seminary, but the street ~~was~~ not known as Hospital Street. It was at one time the enforced residence of Count von Ranszau, who was expatriated from Holland. The Garrison Theatre was long the only place for theatricals, etc., and it was there that Staple, Commissioner of the Court of Requests, Colombo, is said to have revenged himself on Sir Anthony Oliphant, who is said to have hauled up the Commissioner before him for contempt of court. The story goes that there was no chair available for Staples and that he struck a theatrical attitude and addressing the Registrar, exclaimed "A chair, a chair, my Kingdom for a chair," and on the Chief Justice remarking "This is not the stage, Mr Staples" replied "All the world's a stage M'Loud." J.P.L. the other day asked "but was there such a case?" I have since gone through the minutes of the Supreme Court during the years Sir Anthony Oliphant was chief and find there was no such case! One of the latest performances at the Garrison Theatre was a "Scrap of Paper," in which Mr. A.S. Berwick and Mrs. A. Thwaites took part. The Assembly rooms was the venue of some of the best performances, There Dave Carson, the famous entertainer whose name was a household word in India, sang his well-known

I very good Bengalee Baboo, in Calcutta
I long time sh'top,
Ram Jam Chundra is my name, in Radha Bazaar
I keep it shop.

Very good Hindu, smoke my hookan,
Night time I make plenty poojah,
Hip hip, hurray God Save the Queen.

and so on, which was more popular than "Tipperary" is today. Amy Sherwin sang there and Carotta Patti on her way to Australia agreed to sing if Rs. 2,000/- was paid to her, which the Colombo of those days was unable to raise. Perhaps the best amateur performance there was "trial by Jury," in which Malcolm Clerk was Judge, Miss Barbara Layard Counsel for plaintiff, Captain Christopher, A.D.C. to the Governor, the defendant, and last but not least G.H. Alston as Usher. The Jury was composed of some of the handsomest ladies of the time, prominent amongst whom was Mrs. E.C. Dumbleton. Toole gave two performances, one at the Floral Hall during the day on his way to Australia and another at the Public Hall.

" Braybrooke Hall" the time honoured residence of the Hon the General Officer Commanding the Troops in Ceylon, has been rented out to the Colombo Commercial Co., and is being used as the quarters of the firm's European Staff. Prior to ~~that~~ the Hon. Sir Alexander Wood Renton, Chief Justice, and the Hon. Mr. Bernard Senior, Treasurer, had resided at Braybrooke Hall. This is a wellknown military residence in Colombo, having been used by successive officers in charge of the Garrison.

Brigadier-General F.Hacket Thompson has taken up his quarters at the R.A.Officers' mess at Galle Face.

HISTORY, NATIONAL FLAGS AND POLITICAL STUNTS

By Clio.

It is most unfortunate that the question of the historic origins of the Lion flag should have been clouded by it being perverted into a political stunt on the one hand by the U.N.P. Sinhalese nationalist megalomaniacs to be ferociously assailed on the other hand by the communal fanatics of the Tamil Congress working themselves into a frenzy and regarding the Lion Flag as a red rag to a mad bull.

To return, if possible to sanity and history, every student of history knows that the evidence for the national ensign of a country is derived from three sources, the symbol on the coins of a country, the seal of the kings of a country and last but not least the flag of the country. In the present conditions to take the last first, there is contemporary evidence for the early existence of the Lion Flag in spite of the categorical statements of Dr.G.C.Mendis, Lecturer of History in the University of Ceylon in a recent interview in the Daily News. In the course of his interview he states: "It is difficult to say anything definite about the Lion Flag for the lack of positive evidence. There are some who claim for it an antiquity of 2,000 years, but as far as my researches go I cannot find any clear evidence of its existence before the 18th Century. Before 1815 it does not appear to have been a Sinhalese Flag (Sinhala Kodiya). It was a "Sinha Kodiya", and was probably no more than a Royal banner of the later Dravidian Kings of Kandy". Concluding Dr.Mendis said: " I have already shown that according to evidence available the present Lion Flag seems to be a royal banner of the later Dravidian Kings of Kandy. I may add that my criticism should not be construed as an attempt to belittle the good work done by Mr.E.W.Perera with regard to Sinhalese banners and standards. MR.Perera's book is a pioneer work written some thirty years ago, when the study of Ceylon History was still in an elementary stage. I am grateful to Mr.Perera for his excellent work".

It is sad that Dr.Mendis' appreciation of Mr.Perera's excellent work did not extend to profiting by what he wrote. Although "Mr.Perera's pioneer work was written 30 years ago when the study of Ceylon History was still in an elementary stage" yet it furnishes the "clear and positive evidence" not available to Dr.Mendis in his advanced reserches that the Lion Flag "was in existence" as a Sinhalese royal standard before the 18th century and that "it was a Sinhalese flag before 1815". Mr.E.W.Perera on page 8 of his book quotes the contemporary description of the standards given by Dr.Daalmans, a Belgian Physician who visited Ceylon in 1687 which were carried at the military pageant held by the Dutch in Colombo in memory of the obsequies of Raja Sinha II (circa 1629 - 87) "After this the coat of arms of the King of Candien, which is a red lion on a golden field to the best of my recollection:(note obviously a mistake for a golden lion on a red field) was designed all round on the cloths both of the kettle- drums and of the bandrolls of the trumpetters. Next followed the great standard of the King, then the banner of the King. After this followed the carriage also in mourning as well as the six horses all hung with the Kings Arms and each horse led by a slave"

g/ "The royal flag is specially described in the Beknopte History 1688: A white flag charged with a red lion hoisted on the royal ships" (page 9). Raja Sinha was not a Dravidian King of Kandy.

S.G. Perera To come to the evidence of the royal seals, the seal of the Kings of Kotte like some of the older Royal flags notably the one preserved in Ratnapura represented the Lion holding the Chamara. We must all be grateful to Rev.Father S.G.Perera for securing transcriptions of these from the Archives in Lisbon and the V_atican. He not only secured them at great trouble and expense, but published and exhibited the fruit of his researches for the benefit of scholars and students at the exhibition of the Historical Manuscripts

Commission Exhibition at the Museum in 1937 and again at the Marque Memorial Exhibition at St. Joseph's College in 1938.

The following from the catalogue describes the seals.

1. Signature of Royal Sign Manual of Bhuvaneka Bahu VII, King of Kotte (1521-1551) to the Viceroy of India, Kotte 11th December 1549.
2. Signature of Don Joao, King of Kotte (1551-1597) in a letter to the Queen of Portugal, Kotte 23rd December 1561.
3. Signature of Don Joao, King of Kotte in a letter to the Pope, 26th January 1574.
4. Signature and Seal of Senerat, King of Kandy (1604-1635), Candia, 4th December 1632.
5. Signature and Seal of Senerat, King of Kandy to Viceroy of Goa, Candea, 4th December 1632.

On the question of the designs on the coins in which field Mr. H. W. Codrington has done such excellent and original work, see his articles and works on Numismatics etc. As the question of the royal flag of Jaffna has been raised the following quotation from Mr. Codrington's History of Ceylon page 91 will be valuable regarding the origin of the Jaffna Kingdom. "The Kingdom of Jaffna seems to have come into being at least as an independent state, about the thirteenth century. The place names in the peninsula indicate that it was held by Sinhalese inhabitants at no very remote date, and it certainly was part of the dominions of Parakrama Bahu I. Its sovereigns the Arya Chakravartis, were of mixed descent".

Since then Dr. Paranavitane published his momentous discovery in the Epigraphica Zeylanica of a gold plate in Asoka characters dug up by Hindu restorers from the foundations of an ancient Hindu temple in Jaffna which proved it was originally a Buddhist temple built by a Sinhalese governor on the orders of King Vasabha who reigned at Anuradhapura in 66 A.D., remarkably synchronising the date

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in the Mahawansa with the date in the gold plate and affording one more instance of the veracity of the old Sinhalese chronicles of which Mr. Turnour said that "since the introduction of Buddhism they are verified by the evidence of every circumstance which go to verify the annals of any country." Mr. Codrington discovered that the lion coin so called because of the figure of the lion on it that previous scholars had attributed to Parakrama Bahu the Great (1153-1180) was really struck by Parakrama Bahu VI of Kotte (1412-1468) the conqueror of Jaffna. This was confirmed not only by the discovery of several specimens of it in the neighbourhood of Kotte but by the discovery of the clay moulds in Kotte in which it was minted. By careful examination and measurement of the Lion coin of Parakrama Bahu VI of Kotte, Mr. Codrington made another discovery which was a splendid piece of original research. He found that the Jaffna coin with the bull of Jaffna was cast in a mould identical in size and shape with that in which the Lion coin of Parakrama Bahu VI was minted at Kotte proving that it was struck during the Kotte Period. Mr. Codrington has reproduced this coin with the bull in his "Short History of Ceylon" page 92.

The patient work and detached outlook of scholars such as Mr. H. W. Codrington, the Rev Father S. G. Perera S. J. and the Rt. Rev. Dr. Peiris are an inspiration to modern students of history and a careful perusal of their pioneer work will reveal to hasty critics historical evidence which they felt did not or ought not to exist.

It is, however, fortunate that there is cogent and positive proof leaving no room for doubt that the Lion Flag that was hoisted at the Pattirippuwa at Kandy on the 12th February 1948 was identical with the Lion Flag of Sri Wickrama Raja Singhe that was hauled down on the 2nd March 1815.

After the fall of Kandy the British Government granted to Sir Robert Brownrigg Bart., in 1816 the conqueror of Kandy as an augmentation of honour the banner, crown

and sceptre of the King of Kandy. The banner is emblazoned on the Patent of Arms of Sir Robert Brownrigg Bart., at the College of Arms, in Victoria Street, London and is identical with the Lion Standard in Chelsea Hospital, reproduced as Frontispiece in Mr. E. W. Perera's book on Flags. Mr. Perera after stating that Sir Robert Brownrigg Bart. (see introduction page 3) "was granted the banner of Sri Wickrema Raja Sinha as "augmentation of honour" on the fall of Kandy, writes "through the courtesy of Mr. Farnham Burke, now Norroy King at Arms" he was permitted to examine at the College of Arms the original letters Patent displaying the Sinhalese banner and to secure a copy for the Colombo Museum."

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LETTER FROM THE GOVERNOR

Sir John Tarbat, at this stage, said that he was going to read a letter that he had received from the Governor in appreciation of the "Haggis" they had sent him that evening.

The Governor wrote:

Three Sassenachs we sat to sup
Bemoaning much the reason
That bade us not to beat it up,
With Scots this Scottish Season.

St. Andrew's pious memory,
We toast in silent sadness
Our faces show our gall that we
Can't join in Galle Face gladness,

But what is this the patron sends
Pray what within this bag is ?
God grant that Fortune make amends,
Pray Heaven it's a Haggis.

It is ! The noble dish bring on,
Come boy, a dash of brandy*
A thousand thanks to good Sir John,
Say Olive, Joan and Andy.

(* It should have been Whisky, of course, but then
we are Sassenachs).

The Rev. J.G.W.Hendrie next gave the toast of "The Land O' Cake Cakes." and Mr. R.J.Gilmour the toast of the "Lasses" to which Lady Abrahams replied.

Mr. David Doig gave the toast of the Chairman to which Mr. Clubb responded.

Dancing followed until a late hour.

SOCIAL event of the Nuwara Eliya season will be the marriage of Miss Joan Caldecott to Mr. John O'Regan at Holy Trinity Church on Tuesday, April 15.

The Bishop of Colombo is officiating, assisted by his Chaplain and the Rev. J.E.Hardy. Also taking part in the ceremony are the Rev. Basil Jayawardane and the Rev. Lakdasa de Mel.

The Christ Church Cathedral choir are going up with the Rev. Ralph Dudley to sing at the service. Mrs. Spencer Sheppard will be at the organ.

And the couple, I hear, will spend their honeymoon in South Africa.

.....

contd.

GOVERNOR'S HYMN.

The Governor has composed a special hymn for the occasion which is Number Three on the sheet.

It is to the tune of "King's Weston" by Vaughan Williams and will be sung after the address.

Here are the words :-

First of signs that Jesus
Gave for men to see
Was a wedding wonder
Wrought in Galilee:
As, with flagons empty,
Still they sat to dine
Jesus there translated
Water into wine.

But this Cana marvel
Came of faith by deed;
For they sought His Mother
In their urgent need:
And Our Lady gave them
Counsel quick and true,
Forthright and compelling,
"What he saith, that do."

Jesu, friend and brother,
Be our guest today !
If our hearts be empty
Turn Thou not away:
Bid us dip and draw them
From Thy well of Love
Brimful of endeavour
Plighted faith to prove.

So shall bride and bridegroom,
People, priest and quire
Troth renew to serve Thee
As Thou dost desire;
Bold to sing in concert
With the viewless host
" Glory to the Father.
Son and Holy Ghost. "

..... ::::

A CHRISTMAS EVE OF 1869.Scenes in a Newspaper Office 50 Years ago.

"Once a year Mr Walter entertained the staff ceremoniously. I look on such invitations as Royal Commands" said Delane to Sir William Russel, the famous war correspondent and assistant, "and I think you had better follow an example which has been approved by long practice." Thus says the biographer of Delane in reference to the annual gathering of the staff of the "Thunderer" on the invitation of Mr Walter, the proprietor. Possibly this example inspired the first editor of Ceylon's oldest daily, John Capper, the associate of Charles Dickens, and founder of the times of Ceylon in holding Christmas Eve office entertainments in the sixties. The clerks, compositors, pressmen of different nationalities, all keenly looked forward to this annual foregathering.

The delectables for the feast, in the shape both of liquids and solids, were procured from Maitlands. John Maitland, an apothecary of H.M. 37th Regiment, had about this time purchased D'Esterre's business of the Medical Hall in Chatham Street on the sight of Brown's stores, opposite the office of the old Ceylon Times. His was a unique emporium, containing beverages of all kinds from the modest aerated waters to the most expensive wines of the best vintages. Maitland was also the agent for "Muniandi" the well-known comic weekly of the time, contributed to buy the most numerous intellects of the town, and garnished with the cartoons of J.L.K. VanDort, the Garruthers Gould of Ceylon in those days. The cause celebre of the period. Edgecombe vs. Ferguson, arose out of a cartoon in "Muniandi" there the editor of the "Observer" was cast in 20s. and costs by Judge Berwick in the District Court of Colombo. "Medicateds" were a speciality at Maitland's - a concoction curiously and wonderfully compounded of Brandy, gentian, soda, &c. chiefly by Neil S. Campbell, the assistant, for the delegation of all and syndry who longed for a drink with a "kick" in it, after a hard day's drudgery at the desk, for this was the rendezvous of the lawyers of Hultsdorf and the numerous units of the then Fort Society in the days when Galle was the chief port. Not all, however, were devotees of Medicateds. There were those whose tipple was brandy and soda. Whisky was hardly known, except, perhaps to those hailing from the North of Tweed. A few connoisseurs and sybarites aspired on pay days to Maraschinos and seltzer.

This is a long digression. To continue our narrative, Maitland was given a list of the viands and drinks for the function - biscuits, cheeses and ales in abundance, with a few bottles of Olf Tom and ordinary brandy. Guests mainly neighbours were invited. Among others genial, portly John Scott, well versed in French, and able to read Gaborian's stories in the original and translate them.

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Sarna, the trusty head printer, long ago gone West, sat at the head of the table, and after, in the phraseology of the Junior Reporter, justice had been done to the good things provided and the culmination of merriment had been reached, the Chief was heard coming down the stairs. There were vociferous cheers when he was espied and the veterans and patriarchs of the office claimed the right to embrace the Editor, whose health was exuberantly pledged. After a speech and a cordial exchange of the season's compliments J.C. Wood disappear. This, however, by no means ended the merry-making. There was singing of Caffrinha songs, "Villa Mozambique" among others, and attempts would be made to trip the light fantastic toe by those able to stand on their legs. It would be well past midnight when the last reveller departed, and the echoes of the function would reverberate till the time came to celebrate the advent of yet another Christmas. Autres temps, autres ^{de}maures !

OLD TIMER

COLOMBO AND ITS NOMENCLATURE

"(By Old Stager)"

The ancient mango trees opposite the Eye Hospital are being cut down to give place to the statue of the late Mr Charles de Soysa, which has been lying for some years somewhere in Colombo for want of a suitable location. These mango trees have been standing there for more years than the oldest inhabitant can remember and the place is known to Tamils and Sinhalese alike as the Mango-tree Junction, Ambagaha-handia, and will no doubt continue to be known as such after every trace of the trees has gone. Lorenz in the sixties make Coomaraswamy sing:

I will hang myself on the mango tree,
That grows by Darley's store.
My Eastern home has no charm for me
Since Cardwile loves me no more.

and so on. It will be remembered that all the unofficial Members of Council at the date resigned as a protest against the heavy military contribution imposed by the Home government. Coomaraswamy only held back and it was insinuated for feeling ran high at the time that he expected much as a matter of fact he got nothing. But that is another story. It is extraordinary how old names stick. The Borella junction is known as Etta-Ambagaha handia. Small Pass is still known as Jambugaha Weedia, the street of Jambu tree. And the oldest inhabitant does know of a few jambu trees up Dam Street. You start from New Bazaar (Alut Kaddie). Go down Dam Street and into Jambugas-weedia on the left on Kayman's Gate straight on. Why Kayman's Gate? The gate of the crocodile for there was a moat outside the ramparts of the old Fort which ran by the belfry and the moat was full of crocodiles or Kaymans. Messenger street is merely Massang-gaha-weediya - the street of the massang-tree, of which the only survivor is the huge one in Kurewe Street, which yields its plenty. Boake's School survived all change and if you wish to go to the Government dairy or the Training College tell your rickshaw-coolie to pull you to the "Normal Eschool", and he will understand. Perhaps the strongest survival is Adulup-weediya or Adulup Pallia. The name Wolvendaal (spelt frequently Wolfendahl !) is the Dutch rendering of the Portuguese Agoa de Loupe - the dale of wolves, presumably Ceylon wolves, i.e. jackals. The present church was built in 1749 and was ever since known as Wolvendaal, yet the name has not caught on and the old Portuguese

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name in a corrupted form is still in use among the Sinhalese Tamils, Moors and Portuguese. It is time someone did for Colombo what James Payn did for London. There are many nooks and corners, many streets in Colombo with a history which would be interesting to others, besides antiquarians. Grandpass, Alutma-watte, Jampettah Street, Cotchicade, Cottahena, Union Place, Slave Island (known in the vernacular as Compagnie Weedia - the street of the Company. Why !). Maliban Street, China Lane, Caffre Lane, Bankshall, Dam Street, Hospital Street (in Fort), Galle Buck, Norris Road and many more. Why are they so called ? It is said that the Municipal Council decided to hand down to posterity the name of a distinguished P.C.M.O. and built a road from the General Hospital to the Cemetery and called it Kynsey Road and nobody realised the grim humour of the thing till it was too late. Perhaps equally entertaining will be the nomenclature of more of our streets and other places. Who will be the vates sacer ?

Lecture by Rev. Father S.G. Perera.

The Bonjean Memorial Hall was crowded to its utmost last evening to hear Rev. Father S. G. Perera of Galle, lecture on " Portuguese Missionary Methods " Mr Justice T.E.de Sampayo presided and briefly introduced the speaker.

Father Perera began by referring to the very general impression abroad among Ceylonese that the Portuguese converted Ceylon at the point of the sword. Though the charge is now here frankly and clearly made it is at the back of the mind of many people who think and speak contemptuously of Portuguese Converts. They speak of nominal Christians and Government Christians and baptised pagans or expressions of the kind whereby the Dutch writers meant their own converts, and they foisted these names upon Catholics as if forsooth they were the same things. The Christians of the Dutch Government were poles asunder from the converts of the Portuguese who were made of such sterner stuff that Sir Emmerson Tennant expressed it " neither corruption nor coercion could induce them to abjure their faith " but the impressions upon the popular mind was such as he described it. It is not due to malice, nor to bigotry. It is the outcome of popular literature. It has been dinned into peoples' ears in season and out of season.

There is the excuse that their predecessors did worse. The Dutch writers Baldeus, Valentine, Schouten, Saar Schwartzler did not accuse the Portuguese of possible conversions, though they spoke ill of them. But in the early British period many a writer accused the Portuguese Percival and Cordiner, Philalethes and Valentine, Sirr and Predham said the same thing - all except Knox and Tennent.

This might lead one to suppose that the conclusion is driven into them by their readings in history. Let us therefore examine the sources of history. Barros and Couto Conea and Gertanbeda, Boceano and Sousa Menezes, and Ribero do not mention any single forcible conversation.

On the contrary force and violence was ever on the other side. The Kings of Ceylon opposed conversions, persecuted converts, confiscated their property. In short the missionaries had to struggle against the opposition of Kings, of the people and even of their own officials.

Sir Emerson Tennant said that there was no proof of compulsion. Such was also the result of Father Perera's research and such he said will be the result of a search for proof.

The lecture over Mr. James Joseph proposed a vote of thanks to the speaker, which was seconded by Mr. Justice T.E. de Sampayo.

HON. MR. E. W. PERERA'S LECTURE AT KANDY.

Under the auspices of the Kandy Y.M.B.A., the Hon. Mr. E.W.Perera delivered an interesting address on Ceylon past and present at the Puspadana Society Hall on Saturday last at 3-30 p.m.

Mr. Albert Godamunne, president of the Association, presided, and in introducing the lecturer, said that the Hon. Mr.Perera required no introduction to anybody in the island. They had heard of him, they had read of him, and they had seen him. He was one of the best sons of Ceylon. (Applause).

THE LECTURE

Hon. Mr.Perera rising amidst applause said that he was greatly overpowered by the flattering introduction made by his friend the Chairman. He had no doubt that the kind-heartedness of Mr. Godamunne had prompted the nice things he had said of him. With regard to what he had to tell them that day, when the Secretary very kindly asked him to deliver a lecture he (the speaker) made him to understand that he was not in a position to deliver a lecture, as it required time and preparation, but that he would be very glad to have a talk with the members of the Y.M.B.A. At the commencement he asked the audience to discount the very high credential Mr.Godamune had given him with regard to his supposed qualifications in the realm of history. For many years he had been a student of the past history of the island, and he would like to address them as a student would talk to his fellow students. With regard to the past history of Ceylon he promised that all of them had read the Mahawamsa, because if they were Buddhists they could not help knowing the history of their country, as the development of history in Ceylon was closely intertwined with religion. He would rather wish to speak on certain landmarks, causes and conditions that made their history. He would first of all call their attention to pre-historic Ceylon and mention the romantic epic of Ramanaya with which the earliest history of the country and religion were intertwined. The story of Rama and Sita had worked so much upon the imagination of the Eastern world and the siege of Lankapura, according to tradition was responsible for.

The invention of the Game of Chess

undoubtedly an Indian game by the people of Ceylon in the earliest times. When they played the modern game of chess, it would be of interest to remember that after all it was

their own game which had come back to them. These are the four constituent elements of the Indian Army i.e., the elephant the cavalry, chariots, and the footmen. This basis is still preserved. The game was called in Sinhales Chaturanga or Siuranga Keliya. It had been lost to them, but was still played he believed, by Maldivians. Here the lecture described how one of the pieces of the old game namely, the "elephant" had developed into the "bishop," when it was introduced to Europe from the East: The piece was called "Bispa" "Kerce-drinkes" = elephant. The lecture said that he had seen the old pieces of the game in England, and one of them had the trunk of an elephant in the piece that represented the Bishop. Chariots and elephants, horsemen and soldiers moved in illustration of the greater game that was played round the walls of Lankapura.

Referring to the arrival of Vijaya in the 6th century B.C. the lecturer said that the Sinhalese came from North Central India rather than from the Eastern Coast. In the Deepawansa, it is said that Vijaya and his War band on their way to Ceylon landed at a place called Baddrakachde (Broach) The 5th century B.C., was land mark in the history of the world. It was in this century that Rome was built and the Persian Empire was founded by Cyruss. It was in this century that Buddha and Confucius lived and preached. It was in this century that

The Chinese Empire in its later Development.

was founded. The story of Vijaya's landing and the capture of his followers by Queni greatly resembled the incident in the Odyssey. It was possible for this story to have been wafted across the seas and became the kernel of the great epic of the West. The lecture then passed on to another landmark in the history of the island namely, the introduction of Buddhism to Ceylon. Speaking on the subject he said that he saw a replica of the ancient gateway of the "Sanahi topewa" in the British and the Edinburgh Museums and he believed that there were similar replicas in the cities of continental Europe. In the replica urged were a series of carvings.

Depicting Events

in the introduction of Buddhism to Ceylon. It was a pity that the Ceylon Museum did not possess a copy of it.

The lecture then referred to Buddhist culture. He said that Buddhism developed a type of civilization peculiar to itself, and distinctly different from that of India in certain very material aspects. The world owed a great debt to the Sinhalese for preserving their great religion. Eastern and Western scholars

recognised Ceylon as the country which had preserved the canon of Buddhism.

Buddhist Culture Radiated to Burma

Siam, Cambodia and other Eastern countries from Ceylon. Speaking about Anuradhapura, the lecturer said that the size of the city resembled that of Babylon. What was most important was not so much to know the details of dead things and matters which one could get from text Books but to know how the people of the time lived. It was very difficult to form an idea of domestic architecture of those days from the surviving dagobas and temples.

Mr. Ortell who is perhaps the greatest authority on Buddhist culture in the Far East in his report obtained through the aid of Lord Stanmore and issued by the Ceylon Government had portrayed the kind of domestic architecture in ancient Ceylon. He would ask them to read the report if they could procure it. He would also mention as one of the characteristic teachers of the civilisation and development of Sinhalese nationality great works of irrigation, and how practically the whole of the North Western Province, North Central Province of the island was converted to one great granary. Many of them would wonder what sort of a place that great Brazen Palace was. The Brazen Palace resembled the Ziggurats of ancient Assyria. A specimen of the building he believed is to be in Polonnaruwa. There was no doubt that from the earliest times a strong artistic sense was developed in the people of Ceylon, and it was due to

The Stimulating Influences of Buddhists

which inspired the people to put up buildings and shrines under the impulse of a great religious consciousness. Were it not for the instinct of the Sinhalese people to preserve their records, the records of their civilization would have been entirely lost. George Turner had declared that if not for the preservation of these records it would have been extremely difficult, well nigh impossible to synchronise the history of India. With regard to education the lecturer said that the jealousy which confined education to the Brahmins was altogether absent in Ceylon. Under the broad and benign influence of Buddhist culture everybody was taught, and evidence of this could be seen today in Burma and Siam. So great was the educational activities in the island that Chinese scholars came to Anuradhapura to study in the Colleges there. He would also like to comment upon the position of women in Ceylon in those days. With regard to culture the position of women in Ceylon stood facile princeps. During the campaign of Parakrama Bahu the Great in Cambodia, against which country he declared war for having detained a Sinhalese Princess

on her way to the Far East without reason, Red Cross nurses were employed. (Applause).

Speaking about the wars between the Sinhalese and Tamils, the former with a population of five millions and the latter with twenty millions, Professor Rhys Davies told the lecturer that it was one of the greatest exploits in history.

For the Sinhalese to have Preserved their Independence.

This would remind them of the forty millions mentioned in another connection (Laughter). It was very strange that Milton in his "Paradise Regained" speaks of Ceylon sending ambassadors to Rome in the following passage :-

" Or embassies from regions far remote.
In various habits on the Appian Road.
Or on the Aemilian, some from farthest South.
Syene, and where the shadow both way falls,
Meroe, Nilotie Island more to West,
The Realm of Boochus to the Blackmoor sea;
From the Asian Kings and Parthian among these,
From India and the golden Chersoness,
And utmost Indian isle Taprobane. "

Among the presents sent to the Emperor of Rome by the Sinhalese monarch were parasoles, and it was said that parasoles then became popular with the Romans. (Applause)

Referring to the arrival of the Portuguese in Ceylon the lecturer said that at that time the Portuguese Crown was united with that of Spain whose King Philip, II was the husband of Mary Queen of England. When Dharmapala the de Jure Emperor of Ceylon ceded the country to the Portuguese, the Sinhalese protested against such a procedure on the ground that they were not bound by the will of their sovereign. During the reign of the Portuguese, the Kingdom of Kandy (Sitawaka) maintained its independence, and during the cession of the Dutch Sinhalese rights were preserved by Treaty as did the Kandyan Convention. Speaking of England at the time of cession (1796) the speaker said that there was a strong breath of liberty then blowing across that land. About 1802 the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

By One Stroke of the Pen Removed the Manorial System.

of service tenure which had existed for well-nigh twenty-five centuries in the Island. When Sir Alexander Johnstone, a man of great culture, was asked to report upon a form of Government for the Ceylonese, recommended a form of Government practically identical with the House of Commons. Sir Alexander was of opinion that full responsible Government ought to be accorded to

the people of Ceylon. Unfortunately there was a change of Ministry which prevented the Ceylonese from getting what was recommended in Sir Alexander's report. Then in 1817 came the great rising of the Kandyan Kingdom and at a certain stage the fight was so incessant that orders came to withdraw British forces. Later came the troubles of 1848 owing to the blundering of Lord Torrington. In the Parliamentary Commission which inquired into the case of Lord Torrington they would find the names of Bright, Gladstone, Harry and Disraeli. The lecturer believed that Duke of Wellington was called before that Commission to define Martial Law. Duke of Wellington defined Martial Law as the negation of law. On that occasion about 1801 Ceylon was constituted a Crown Colony after having been annexed for a short time to India. The lecturer next touched upon later political developments, and said in conclusion that they in the East had given a great deal to the West, and they also acknowledge what West has given them. They should imbibe and assimilate all that was good in the West and preserve all that was good in their ancient culture. With the co-operation of the East and West they could go forward to be a free nation under the British Flag. That was the best ideal.

VOTE OF THANKS.

Mr. M. A. Perera proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer, which was seconded by Mr. F.P. Senaratne and carried - Kandy Cor.

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PORTUGUESE BELLS - By Rev. Fr. S. G. PERERA, S.J.

The following interesting article on Portuguese Bells by Rev. Father S.G.Perera, S.J., was written long before he fell seriously ill five years ago. - Ed. C.F.R.

AMONG the many ecclesiastical remains of the Portuguese in this Island are three bells, each with a story of its own. One hangs in the belfry at Kayman's Gate, another summons the worshippers to St. Michael's, Polwatte, and the third now rests in the vestry of the historic Dutch Kirk at Jaffna. The first is of the sixteenth century and has seen Bhuvaneka Bahu of Kotte; the two others are of the seventeenth century and belonged to a famous shrine in the Northern peninsula.

* * * * *

THE Kayman's Gate bell once hung in the Church of St. Francis situate in the heart of the royal city of Kotte. It must have rung a joyous peal when the first Christian Emperor of Ceylon, the last king of Kotte, Don Juan Dharmapala was baptised with his queen Dona Margarida. Within a decade of that event Rajasingha of Sitawaka made Kotte too hot for Dharmapala and his supporters and 'the Fort of the City of Victory,' (Jayawardanapura Kotte) was abandoned to its fate in 1565 to become a howling wilderness where even elephants "were caught". In Dutch times it began to be reoccupied but the ruins of its places and temples and churches were utilized by the Dutch in the seventeenth century for their buildings and by the Public Works Department in the nineteenth for road construction.

The bell of the church was removed in time by the Dutch to do its duty in their Church of Wolvendaal, and was set up in a belfry at Kayman's Gate. There it still hangs unnoticed, apparently untolled, and there it will continue to hang till some public-spirited person succeeds in persuading the powers-that-be to give it a home in the Colombo Museum.

The other two bells belonged to the famous church of Our Lady of Miracles, Jaffnapatam. That church along with more than two score others of the Jaffna Peninsula became spoils of war in 1658, when the Fort of Jaffna, surrendered to the Dutch. The churches were then 'reformed' - as Baldaeus hath it, - for the use of the Dutch Reformed Religion. They were spacious edifices with massive walls and huge pillars and outlived the Dutch Reformed Religion in Jaffna. The British gifted the greater part of them to the American Missionaries who still use some of them, while the others are going to decay unused and uncared for.

* * * * *

WHEN the Dutch build their Kruys Kerk in the fort of Jaffna in 1706, two of the bells of Our Lady of Miracles were set up in the belfry where they remained voiceless for many a year. In 1895 a generous British Official thought of turning them to some use and gifted the larger of the two bells to St. Michael's, Polwatta, where I believe it is still in use. It bears the legend "Nossa Senhora Dos Milagres De Jaffnapatao, 1648." There is no Church of our Lady of Miracles now, but strangely enough there was one in Portuguese times not far from Polwatta, and its neighbourhood is still known as Milagiriya, which is a corruption of "Milagres" which is Portuguese for Miracles and was the popular name of the Church of Our Lady of Miracles that stood there.

* * * * *

THE smaller long remained in the belfry of the Kruys Kerk till it was removed for safety and placed within the vestry.

It bears the same inscription as its sister of Polwatta of the same church. If ever Jaffna desires a Museum it has a ready-made one in that church, the oldest Dutch Church in Ceylon. A Museum is the only fit abode for what is probably the oldest relic of the Portuguese in the peninsula.

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(The following article, reproduced from the latest issue of the Aloysian, the annual of St. Aloysius' College, Galle, is from the pen of S.G.P.S.J. - initials held in high repute among Ceylon Archaeologists)

• Towards the last quarter of the sixteenth century the throne of the Kandanda Rata because the object of frequent and sanguinary contests.

Wickrama Bahu, alias Jayawira, King of Kandy, had two sons: Karalliyedde Kumara Bandara by Antana Devi (I), a princess of Kirawella, and Kumarasingha by another princess of the Gampola dynasty named Sampala Devi. These two sons contested for the succession. Kumarasinghe was put to death, and Karalliyedde Bandara assumed the throne in the lifetime of his father under the name of Jayawira. He was, however, not allowed to sit peacefully on his ill-gotten throne. In 1582 Raja Singhe of Sitawaka invaded Kandy, and the King fled with his Queen, and infant daughter, and a nephew named Jamasingha. The King and Queen died in exile, having in the meantime become Christians under the names of Don Philip and Dona Maria. Jamasingha was appointed heir to the lost throne and proceeded to Goa to seek the protection of the Portuguese while his affianced bride, the little princess, was taken to Mannar and baptised as Dona Catherina.

Raja Singhe, who wished to reduce this beautiful Lanka under one royal canopy, meanwhile laid siege to Colombo. The Portuguese, thereupon, attempted to create a diversion in Kandy by enthroning Jamasingha, who had become Don Philip in baptism. He was proclaimed king at Wahakotte, but died soon after. Though destined to be the husband of Dona Catherina, he was a married man with a son. This son, a boy of twelve, named Don Juan, was then proclaimed King (Q.577), but the Christian boy-king found a formidable rival in Konappu Bandara. Konappu was the son of Wirasundara Bandara of the Peradeniya dynasty, whom Raja Singha had treacherously put to death (Rajavaliya 90). On his father's death he fled to Colombo where he rendered useful service to the Portuguese during the siege. Afterwards he was tried by the court of Don Juan Dharmapala and banished to Goa, where he distinguished himself by his prowess (Mahavansa ch.94), was baptised under the name of Don Juan of Austria (2), and finally returned to Ceylon as a supporter of Don Philip Jamasingha. On the latter's death he determined to bid for the throne. Throwing aside the mask of Christianity, he openly declared himself against the Portuguese. 'The Kandyans, glad to be freed from both King Stork (Raja Singha) and King Log (Don Philip), flocked to his standard and hailed him as their leader(3). 'The youthful Don Juan

then fled for his life to Wahakotte, and thence to Mannar with his mother, thenceforth to 'disappear from Ceylon History' (4).

Meanwhile to the intense relief of the Portuguese, Raja Singha raised the siege of Colombo and repaired to Kandy to curb the rising ambition of Don Juan of Austria. For this purpose he dispatched a large force under a Cholian fakir named Aritta Kivendu Perumal, who had risen into prominence as a warrior and he had been appointed Mannamperuma Mohottiar. Raja Singha himself followed shortly after, but was repulsed. His usual good fortune seemed to have deserted this redoubtable King, who now met with an accident and died at Sitawaka (1593). Then followed a bewildering succession of intrigues. Rajasuriya, a South Indian grandson of Raja Singha, mounted the throne, but was stabbed to death. Another grandson, a Sinhalese lad of five, named Nicapitiya Adahasin, was then proclaimed King under the guardianship of the aged Maha Tikiri Biso, sister of Raja Singha. The Mohottiar declared for this claimant and was made Wickramasingha or Captain General, in which capacity he rendered valuable services. In return for these services he now sought the hand of Nicapitiya Adahasin's sister. The suit was of course rejected, and the disappointed Mohottiar went over to the Portuguese. With them he attacked Gurubevilla, whither the treasures of Raja Singha had been carried. The young King and grandmother fled to Danawaka, but were pursued, captured, and brought to Colombo. Raja Singha's treasures fell into the hands of the Mohottiar, who was thus enabled to play the 'Grand Senhor' (Q.386) and became King of Sitawaka under the name of Jayawira. Nicapitiya Adahasin became a Christian and disappeared from Ceylon History (5).

Don Juan of Austria was thus left master of the field, and crowned himself King under the title of Wimaladharma Suriya. To oppose him the Portuguese decided to bring Dona Catherina, the lawful heir to the throne, who was rightly expected to win the sympathy and support of the Kandyans. The enterprise was a suggestion of Pero Lopez de Sousa, who was thereupon deputed to carry it out. Many a romance has gathered round this project. Some writers would have it that Sousa wanted to wed the Princess and found a Portuguese-Sinhalese dynasty in Kandy. Others think that a nephew of Sousa was the intended consort. The Rajavalia makes the astounding statement that she was brought to Kandy to be given in marriage to Wimaladharma. These stories have been fitly described as 'strange and seemingly fictitious'. What the Portuguese really wanted was to set up a rival to Wimaladharma. Their nominee had to be a Christian who could be expected to support Portuguese interests. (6) The fact that the intended sovereign was the rightful heir and an orphan girl was calculated to arouse the enthusiasm and loyalty of the Kandyans. A queen,

moreover, served the purpose of the Portuguese far better than a king. They could rule while she reigned, and the kingdom would be open to Christianity. Political and religious ends would thus be gained at one blow. The Kandyans would have a sovereign of the race of the Sun (7) to the profit of the Portuguese and the glory of the King of Portugal.

The plan seemed a capital one. Only there was strong rival to be ousted, which needed an army and meant invasion. The Kandyans could not well be expected to support an invasion which furthered Portuguese interests, even though it was made in the name of their lawful sovereign. Besides, Don Juan of Austria was no ordinary person. A prince by blood, a Christian in adversity, and an apostate in good fortune, he was determined, ambitious, and unscrupulous. What was more, he was actually master of Kandy. It required considerable skill for a Portuguese force to install the Christian heir to a Buddhist Kingdom on an occupied throne. Sousa was but ill-fitted to carry it out. The force he commanded was hopelessly inadequate, and he only succeeded in working his own and his countrymen's ruin. It happened this way.

Pero Lopez de Sousa set out with a large force in April, 1594, and landing in Colombo proceeded to the hill country taking Malwana Attanagalla and Menikkadawara on his way. Jayawira Bandara became one of the principal supporters of the expedition and brought a numerous following. A detachment was sent to Mannar to conduct the princess. She was escorted with great pomp. The two parties met near Kandy, and the magnificent cavalcade made its way to the royal city of Senkadagala Nuwara, which Wimaladharama had burnt and abandoned. There Dona Catherina was crowned Queen of Kandy amidst great rejoicings 6th July, 1594) All went well till Sousa and Jayawira fell out.

Jayawira Bandara aspired to the hand of the Queen (8), but Sousa put him off under the excuse that the hand of his ward was in the giving of the King of Portugal. According to some writers it was because Sousa had other plans (Q. 392). According to others it was because 'it was not meet, that one who was an empress born, should be given in marriage to an upstart king' (9). Whatever the reason, Jayawira was bitterly disappointed. He knew full well that his support was as much needed as his hostility would be fatal to the Portuguese. It was under these circumstances that it came to the General's ear that Jayawira was intriguing to betray them to Wimaladharma. This was only a ruse of Wimaladharma (10), but the evidence of guilt, or what seemed such, was too strong for Sousa. He acted promptly and hastily. Jayawira was stabbed to death with his own dagger. The young Queen is said to have foretold that it would be their undoing. It needed no great perspicacity to see that, but Sousa had not enough wisdom to foresee the

inevitable consequence of his action. Jayawira's men deserted to Wimaladharma and popular animosity against the hated foreigner ran high.

Sousa now found himself in a perilous and helpless situation and decided to withdraw with all haste. He made for Gannoruwa and thence to Balana, but at Danture Wimaladharma fell upon the helpless victims (8th October, 1594). The rout was complete, and the Portuguese received their first great defeat. Wimaladharama took Dona Cathrina to his wife on the spot. The Portuguese expedition had only served to give their arch-enemy what he most needed, an indisputable title to his crown as the consort of the lawful Queen. It must have been mortifying to the Portuguese to see the erstwhile Don Juan of Austria, now a declared apostate, sitting firmer on his throne while Dona Cathrina herself gave up the practice of the religion in which she was brought up. The young Queen, she was only fifteen, sank into domestic insignificance as the chief wife of the ruler. When the ghastly train of the earless, noseless, and mutilated Portuguese survivors reached Colombo 'holding each other by the hand, with only one eye for each five men' (Rajavaliya 98), the Portuguese of Colombo felt that all was over. The career of Dona Catherina, however, was not over yet.

In May, 1604, Wimaladharma died a most horrible death. The Queen had borne him three children, Mahastana Bandara and two daughters. The guardianship of these children gave rise to the inevitable intrigues. Wimaladharma had appointed his half-brother Senarat, a disrobed monk, as regent. Mayadunne, Prince of Uwa, contested the regency; Widiya Bandara watched operations and the Portuguese General. Azevedo tried to fish in troubled waters while Dona Catherina tried to rule. Senarath was however, the strongest of the lot and Mayadunne paid for his temerity with his life. The Queen was indignant at the outrage, but was not strong enough to act. Senarat's influence prevailed in the long run, and Dona Catherina accepted him for husband. For the second time the lawful Queen retired into obscurity.

Senarath now ruled, nominally in the name of Mahastana but really on his own account. The Queen bore him three sons, the future Raja Singha II, Kumara Singha, who died young, and Wijayapala, who afterwards became a Christian and died at Goa. Their education was entrusted to the Franciscans (Q.580), who instructed them in reading and writing, as well as in Latin, music, and horsemanship; in fact 'they were skilled and well versed in the humanities'. (Ribeiro) But Dona Cathrina did not live to see all that. Her death was ~~very~~ due to a sad cause. Her married life does not seem to have been a happy one. The awful fate of Wimaladharma was ever before her eyes, and

and memory brought recollections of her Christian girlhood, but no peace of mind. She communicated with the Portuguese with a view to fleeing to them for refuge with her children but the plan came to nothing. Her daughter subsequently tried the same with similar result.

What embittered the last days of the Queen was the death of her eldest son, Mahastana. Senarat looked upon this stepson with ill-favour. He was neglected and untaught, and busied himself with cockfighting at Matale, and died under suspicion of foul play (22 August 1612). He 'was sent to play in the river Mawwela Ganga, without the knowledge of the Queen, his mother and those who were sent with the boy to take care of him were directed to smother him in the water,' which was accordingly executed' (11). The Queen thought that Senarath wanted to make room for his favourite son, and reproached her husband with it even from her death bed. In short, she took the boy's death so much to heart that she sickened. She was then only thirtyfive years of age.

At that time there was in the court of Kandy a Dutchman named Marcellinus de Boschouwer, who was high in royal favour, and had been made 'Prince of Migone' or Migomuwa Rala. This Boschouwer was present at the bedside of the dying Queen, and according to him (12) on the 29th July, 1613, the luckless and broken-hearted Queen of Kandy, Dona Catherina, known to her subjects as Maha Biso Bandara, died a penitent Christian.

NOTES

1. These names and many of the following details are from the 'Conquistan de Ceylao' of Father de Queiroz, S.J. It was the late Father J. Cooreman, S.J., who discovered the existence of this work in manuscript. He communicated the information to Mgr. Zaleski and to Mr. P. E. Pieris, C.C.S., both of whom procured copies from Rio de Janeiro. It was published by the Ceylon Government in 1916 and forms a bulky volume of nearly a thousand pages, royal octavo, of heavy Portuguese. It is here referred to as Q.
2. So named after the commander of the Crusaders, who defeated the Ottoman fleet of Sultan Selim in the Straits of Lepanto, 7th October, 1571. By a strange coincidence it was on the twentythird anniversary of this victory that Konappu Bandara triumphed over the Portuguese.
3. D.W. Ferguson in the Journal, R.A.S., xx p. 392.
4. He has been mistaken for a brother of Dona Catherine (Ribeiro's Ceilao p.180 note, and Journal, R.A.S., xxi. p. 92). from Mannar Don Juan passed to Colombo, where he attended the College of the Fathers. In 1597 he went to Goa, and attended the College of the Magi till 1611, when he sailed for Lisbon in the 'S. Boavetura.' from Lisbon he went to Madrid, renounced his claims to Kandy in favour of the King of Portugal, was ordained priest, made a Grandee of Spain, and accorded the privilege of remaining covered in the royal presence with a seat on the bench of Bishops. Returning to Lisbon, he lived in great state on an allowance of 8000 cruzados and died in April, 1642, at the age of sixtyfour. He lies buried in the Orotorio of Telheiras, which he built for the Franciscans. Cf. Q. 578-9.
5. In baptism he received the name of Don Philip. From Colombo he went to Goa and Lisbon with Don Juan. The King of Portugal (and Spain) sent him to the University of Coimbra to study for orders with the view of making him (and Don Juan) bishop. He joined the College of St. Paul, but died shortly afterwards, and was buried in the Convent of S. Francisco da Ponte. He was about 24 years of age at the time of his death (circa 1612).
6. Thus when they supported Jamasingha they made him promise per petual vassalage to Portugal, and a public instrument was drawn up and duly signed gifting the kingdom to Portugal in case of his death without issue. Q, 567.

Contd:N O T E S

m 7. Q. 387 says that the Sinhalese will have none but a descendant of the Sun for King.

8. Philalethus 65 according to Q. it was for his brother-in-law that Jayawira solicited this honour.

9. Baldeus ch. iv. According to Philalethus 66, this was Sousa's answer to Jayawira when he pressed the suit and charged the Portuguese with ingratitude.

10. Rajavalia Ribeiro; according to Baldeus and Q. Jayawira was not guiltless.

11. This is from E. Upham's "Sacred and Historical Books of Ceylon" (1833). Vol. ii. The Rajavaliya there translated is the copy of Sir Alexander Johnson. Cf. also Baldeus ch. xii.

12. From Walther's Tamul Historia Ecclesiastica (Tranquebar 1735) as quoted by Hoole "Madras, Mysore, and the South of India" (1844) p. 119. It is also related by Baldeus, by Valentyn Philalethus, Courtenay etc.

HULFTSDORP'S STONE ENIGMA

by Vernon Grenier.

F. 208

That Hulftsdorp owes its name to the fact that it was the Headquarters of General Gerard Hulft when the Dutch besieged Portuguese Colombo is well known to most people, but only few can know that its judicial area has sheltered (for how long nobody knows) a massive bowl, hewn of stone, the history of which has posed a problem which has proved to be insoluble not only to Her Majesty's Judges but to all antiquarians.

As depicted in the illustration the bowl stands in a corner of the inner quadrangle of the Supreme Court. To the left are to be seen the steps which lead down from the back verandah of the main Court Hall. In the angle is the entrance to the Law Library, while in the background are the Chambers of the Solicitor-General and Crown Counsel. (The Attorney-General's Chambers do not come into the picture). The bowl had originally - so far as Hulftsdorpien memory goes - stood in the front quadrangle but in 1919 Sir Anton Bertram, Chief Justice, had it shifted from there to its present position as, to quote from a note contributed by him to the Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register (Vol. IV. p. 166) " the front courtyard was so choked up with untidily grown trees and unnecessary structures", the ancient bowl not being supported by any pillared plinth, as it now is, but " planted in a mass of cement and merely serving as a receptacle for rubbish."

The bowl, which is 48 inches in diameter at the rim and 35 inches deep has also, said Sir Anton, " some ancient carving now very indistinct running round the circumference. " All these features so impressed the Chief Justice that he sought to discover the origin and history of the bowl, but with little success. Amongst those whom he consulted was Dr. Paul E. Pieris, who admitted that he had himself been searching in vain for some 30 odd years for an answer to the question. He had, however, no doubt that the bowl had originally " belonged to a Buddhist Temple and that it was used there for the purpose of collecting offerings." He also thought its original home must have been Kotte or Kelaniya and not any Colombo temple " as there does not seem to have been any temple of importance there when the Portuguese came in 1505." Sir Anton had also received " an interesting communication from an old and respected member of the legal profession, Mr. J. R. Loos," This gentleman was then in his 80th year and had been admitted to the profession in the 1860's, so that in some respects his memory may have been at fault when he wrote to the Chief Justice. In his letter he refers to the bowl as an " urn " which (apparently according to legend) had " with another " been at Hulftsdorp since the days of the Dutch Governors who " (he mistakenly states) " had

had resided there and had used them as "drinking troughs for a large number of deer roaming about the grounds", the water for this purpose having been supplied by "a large well which was in existence till fairly recently and stood 40 feet from the present roadway." He added that in 1852 or 1854 "during the vacation of the Supreme Court" a P.W.D. Officer had removed these two "troughs" without the permission of the Judges and that for^a long while their whereabouts were not known, till in 1856 Chief Justice Rowe during a visit to the Governor casually discovered one "urn" in the Queen's House Garden! "The Governor promptly ordered it to be returned No one to this day knows what happened to the second one which was long-shaped." Mr Loos' reference to the well and two "urns" - whether they were vase-shaped or bowl-shaped or trough-shaped - may have some factual foundation, but what was returned to the Supreme Court must certainly have been the bowl shewn in our illustration.

Where Mr Loos got his information about any "deer roaming about the grounds" it is difficult to say, but it may well have been that there were such pets or semi-tame ones in Dutch times at Hulftsdorp, where it was the Provincial Chief (or Dissave) resided, and not the Governor, whose residence was within the Fort on the sea-front (V. Heydt's Ceylon pp.1-5). But how any "troughs" came to be there at all is the question. If they had not been brought to Hulftsdorp from any Buddhist temple it may even be that they - and not any bowl or urn - had been hewn or even constructed on the spot for some special purpose, as for holding drinking water for deer or cattle?

As for a second "Urn" Dr. Paul Pieris himself in his letter to Sir Anton expressed his belief that "a similar but somewhat smaller bowl" was at the Colombo Museum. He had obviously not verified this possibility when he wrote, but there is now certainly no such bowl there, except for a considerably smaller one, no more than inches in diameter and deep and mounted on a square pillar. There also long-shaped trough inches in length and inches across.

Sir Anton in his reference to the Bowl in the "Ceylon Antiquary" had requested that anybody in possession of further information should communicate with him, but sufficient publicity had apparently not been accorded to this request, with the result that he had no replies on the subject. This was most regrettable for in 1919 there was very much alive the late Mr. E. W. Perera, Advocate, who lived in Kotte and who, according to an article entitled Kotte by Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara and published in the "Ceylon Daily News" of 1957, had acquired valuable information regarding certain archaeological relics of the Kotte Kingdom and had corresponded with the Archaeological Commissioner on the subject in 1909. The ancient Bowl was mentioned in this article as having been found in the garden of Mundiram J. Fonseka "at the bottom of a tank with beautiful granite

granite steps which have been sold. It is believed that this particular tank was a bathing pool for the ladies in the Palace." The article implied that the date of this important discovery was 1909, but this cannot be correct, for if the bowl had reached Hulftsdorp in that year there would in 1919 have been many who could have remembered the fact. The year 1909 is also negatived by the what Dr. Paul Pieris and Mr. J. R. Loos had to say on the subject. Further, the Archaeological Commissioner himself, in reply to the present writer has informed him that he can trace no letter from Mr. E. W. Perera regarding the Bowl. Anyway, it is much to be regretted that Sir Anton's request for information apparently did not come to Mr. E. W. Perera's notice.

When then did the Bowl reach Hulftsdorp and how did it come to be sent there? Could it be that Muhandiram J. Fonseka had some connection with the Supreme Court or with the Attorney General's Department and therefore thought those precincts would be an honourable home for such an Ancient Bowl? Mr. Gunasekera himself cannot now give one any further information, unfortunately.

If the origin and history of the Bowl must continue to be a mystery the least that can be now done is that the Archaeological Department should seek Their Lordship's permission to move it to the Stone Gallery of the National Museum, for it is now no longer as prominent as our illustration shows, it being obscured by a number of new buildings which have in recent years sprung up on the old quadrangle's verdant sword.

F. 241

Present: Shaw J. and De Sampayo A.J.

BASNAYAKE NILAME v THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

245- D.C.Kandy, 22,466

Kandyan convention of 1815, Article 5-subsequent legislation relating to processions and music- Actions in Municipal court to enforce rights under the convention.

Article 5 of the Kandyan Convention does not invalidate the provisions of subsequent legislative enactments relating to processions and music.

The facts appear from the judgment.

Anton Bertram K.C., Attorney General and VanLangenberg, K.C., Solicitor General (with V.M.Fernando, C.C.) for defendant appellant.

Bawa, K.C., (with him E.W.Perera and D.R.Wijewardene) for plaintiff, respondent.

Cur.adv.vult.

February 2, 1915. Shaw J.-

The plaintiff brought this action in his capacity as Basnayake Nilame of the Wallahagoda dewale against the Attorney General as representing the Crown, claiming a declaration that he as such Basnayake Nilame is entitled to the right and privilege of holding and conducting a perahera procession, by which the Basnayake Nilame of the Wallahagoda temple, with the retainers and tenants of the said temple, has the right and privilege of marching to and from and through all the streets of the town of Gampola, including that part of Ambagamuwa street with which this action is concerned, with elephants, to the accompaniment of tom-toms, drums and other musical instruments. He further claimed a declaration that he was entitled to damages Rs.25/-, and further damages of Rs.25/- per year until the said right and privilege should be granted. The plaintiff alleged that the right and privilege claimed is very ancient one, enjoyed in connection with the temple prior to the cession of the Kingdom of Kandy to the British Government, and that the rights and privileges of the temple were acknowledged, recognized, and confirmed to the temple when all the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Kandy were by the Crown, on the cession of the Kingdom of Kandy under the Kandyan Convention of 1815, confirmed in and allowed to enjoy the rights and privileges they had enjoyed under the Kandyan Government: that the rights and privileges claimed were, after the Kandyan Provinces came under the British Government, enjoyed and exercised by the temple through its various Basnayake Nilames, and are necessary for its proper dignity and prestige and for the proper conducting and carrying out of the ceremonies to be performed by the temple, and further claimed that the temple has acquired a right by prescription to the performance and enjoyment of the said rights and privileges.

It then proceeded to allege that the Government Agent for the Central Province, on August 27, 1912, wrongfully and in breach of the said Kandyan Convention and agreement and of the rights and privileges enjoyed by the temple, refused to allow the plaintiff permission to proceed through that portion of Ambagamuwa Street within a hundred yards of either side of the Muhammadan mosque in the town of Gampola, to the accompaniment of tom-toms, drums and other musical instruments, and still refuses to do so though thereto often requested, and went on to claim the declaration, damages, and costs.

The defendant by his answer submitted--

- (1) That the plaintiff discloses no cause of action against the defendant.
- (2) That, even if the Government Agent of the Central Province was guilty of any wrongful act, which the defendant denies, the defendant is not liable to be sued in respect thereof.
- (3) That the right claimed is not one which is ~~not~~ known to or recognized by law.
- (4) That the plaintiff is not vested with the said right, and cannot maintain any action in respect thereof.

carried over.

brought forward.

- (5) That, assuming such a right to exist, the present action is not maintainable against the defendant.

He further denied various allegation in the plaint, and submitted that all assemblies and processions in the public roads, streets, and thoroughfares of the town of Gampola are governed by the provisions of section 69 of the local boards ordinance, No. 16 of 1865, and section 64 of the Local Boards Ordinance No. 13 of 1898, and that the right, if any, of any person to hold and conduct the perahera ceremony of procession and to beat tom-toms in the streets of Gampola is subject to such provisions, however ancient such right may be, and that the licenses referred to in the Government Agent's letter of August 27, 1912, were the licenses referred to in the said Ordinances. That ~~for~~ many years past it has been thought necessary that music and the beating of tom-toms in all processions passing the Muhammadan mosque situated in Ambagamuwa street should be stopped, and licenses for processions have been issued subject to the condition that music and tom-toms should be stopped within fifty yards on either side of the said mosque.

The answer then admitted that in answer to an application made to the Government Agent asking for "the removal of the obstruction to beat tom-toms opposite the Muhammadan mosque in Ambagamuwa street, Gampola, on the occasion of the perahera of the Wallahagoda dewale", the Government Agent replied that licenses for the use of music and for the assembly of the body of persons joining the procession would be issued on condition that the music was so stopped in passing the said mosque, and submitted that the fact of the Government Agent sending such replies did not itself constitute an interference with any right, and further alleged that the right, if any, has been lost by prescription through non-user, and also submitted that plaintiff is not, as Basnayake Nilame, clothed with the right claimed, or with the right to maintain an action in ~~xxxx~~ respect of it.

The case put forward at the hearing on behalf of the plaintiff was as follows:

That at the time the Kandyan Kingdom was taken over by His Majesty King George III. in 1818 a convention was made between His Majesty and the principle chiefs of the Kandyan Provinces, acting on behalf of the inhabitants, agreeing to the terms of the cession of the kingdom and the rights to be enjoyed by the inhabitants of the Kandyan Provinces in the future, which Convention was given effect to by the Proclamation of March 2, 1815. It was contended that this Convention and the Proclamation ~~gkxk~~ giving effect to it constitute a treaty binding and immutable, which can neither be annulled or varied by His Majesty or by any legislative authority to whom he might subsequently delegate his powers of legislation, and that any subsequent legislation varying this proclamation or limiting any rights under it is consequently invalid. That by paragraph 5 of the Convention and Proclamation it is declared that "the religion of Buddho, professed by the chiefs and inhabitants of these provinces, is declared inviolable, and its rites, ministers, and places of worship are to be maintained and protected". That prior to 1815 and from time immemorial the Basnayake Nilames of the Wallahagoda temple at Gampola have had and exercised the right on the occasion of the annual Esala Perahera, on the occasion of the water-cutting ceremony, of proceeding from the dewale to a spot called Bothalapiji on the Mahaweli Ganga where the ceremony takes place, with elephants and tom-tom beating, and that it is an essential rite in the perahera procession that the route to be taken should pass through Ambagamuwa street, and that the music and beating of tom-toms should be continuous from the time the perahera starts until it arrives at the place where the ceremony takes place, and that this perahera with its necessary essentials is a rite of the religion of Buddha existing at the date of the convention of 1815, and therefore inviolable under the provisions of paragraph 5 of the Convention, and that there is no power to annul or abridge the rights granted by the Convention by an subsequent legislation.

The learned Acting District Judge having heard a large quantity of verbal evidence, and having received in evidence a large number of documents, found that this Esala Perahera was a rite of the religion of Buddha which was undertaken to be maintained and protected under the Convention and that the accustomed route of the perahera and the continuous performance of the music was an essential part of the rite, and held that the Kandyan Convention constitutes however urgent might be the motives, and however extreme the exigency demanding the urgency of it. He held that so much of the claim as claim damages against the Government could not be sustained, but that the plaintiff was entitled to maintain an action against the Government for a declaration of the rights claimed and that he was the proper person to sue. Accordingly he gave judgment for the plaintiff granting the declaration asked for, with costs against the defendant.

From this judgment the defendant appealed, raising many objections to the judgment, which I will not at the moment recapitulate, but the most important of which I will deal with later.

I am of opinion that the appeal must be allowed. The letter of the Government Agent of August 27, 1912, upon which the cause of action is based, is to the effect that the licenses and permissions required on the occasion of the perahera under section 69 and 90 of the Police Ordinance, 1865, for the use of music and to beat tom-toms in the streets and under section 64 of the local boards Ordinance, 1898, for the holding of a religious procession and the performance of music in the streets of the town, would only be issued on the condition that the music was stopped fifty yards on one side of the Muhammadan mosque in Ambagamuwa street and was not resumed before a point fifty yards beyond the mosque was reached. I think that this letter and the condition mentioned in it are amply justified by the terms of the Ordinance referred to. The sections apply generally to all occasions when it is desired to have religious processions and music in the streets, and there is no exception in favour of this or any other particular perahera.

On behalf of the respondent it was contended that these sections were not intended to, and did not in fact apply to, this particular perahera, because the Wallahagoda Esala perahera is a religious rite of the Buddhist religion which existed prior to the Convention of 1815, at which continuous music along a particular route is essential, and paragraph 6 of the Convention of 1815 must be read as giving a particular right to this special perahera, which the general terms of the sections of ordinances referred to did not take away, and even in fact they did not purport to take it away, they were to that extent invalid, because rights acquired under a Convention by which a territory is ceded to the Crown are inviolable and cannot afterwards be annulled or varied by the Crown by subsequent legislation. I am unable to accede to either of these of propositions. The enactments are in general terms, and include all occasions on which it is desired to hold religious or other processions in the streets accompanied by music; moreover, I do not think that the paragraph of the Convention referred to does in fact give any special right to this particular perahera. The paragraph reads: "The religion of Boodho, professed by the chiefs and inhabitants of these provinces is declared inviolable, and its rites, its ministers, and places of worship are to be maintained and protected."

In my opinion the paragraph means that the religion of Buddha generally as practised in the ceded provinces will be maintained and protected, not that every local custom of particular towns or districts should for ever remain unaltered; and I do not think that the paragraph gives, or was intended to give, this particular perahera any right to be conducted in a manner different to other religious processions in the Colony, or to be for ever conducted apart from the ordinary police supervision for the protection of the public peace and safety which may appear to the Government to be necessary. But even supposing that the particular right claimed was reserved by the Convention to this particular perahera, such right is now controlled and varied by the Police and the Local Board Ordinances, and I am unable to agree with the argument that the Kandyan Convention of 1815, whether it be considered as a treaty of cession or as a piece of legislation, is immutable and not subject to alteration by subsequent legislation.

The sovereign powers of legislation delegated by the King to the Imperial Parliament and to local Legislatures, to be exercised with his content as to matters within their competence and subject to the control of the Imperial Parliament, are absolute and unlimited. "If" says Blackstone at Volume 1., Comm., p.91, "Parliament would positively enact a thing to be done which is unreasonable, there is no power in the ordinary forms of the Constitution that is vested with authority to control it". And as to the power of Colonial Legislatures, Willes J., in delivering the judgment of the full Court of King's Bench in Phillips v Eyre! says: "We are satisfied that it is sound law and that a confirmed act of the Local Legislature lawfully constituted, whether in a settled or ceded Colony, has, as to matters within its competence and the limits of its jurisdiction, the operation and force of sovereign legislation, though subject to ~~the~~ be controlled by the Imperial Parliament.

It was suggested that under the Royal Instructions regulating legislation by the local legislature in this Colony the authority to legislate contrary to any obligations imposed by treaty was restricted. When, however, we look at the Royal Instructions of 1833, which were in force when the Police Ordinance was passed, we find they contain no such restrictions: and those of 1889, which were in force when the Local Board Ordinance was passed, merely contain instructions to the Governor not, inter alia, to assent to any bill the provisions of which shall appear inconsistent with the obligations imposed upon the sovereign by treaty, unless the bill contains a suspending clause. As however, the Royal assent has been given to both the Ordinance referred to, the objection seems to have no force.

The only authority I know of which may appear to in any way to restrict the powers to legislate in abrogation or derogation of rights conferred by treaty are the much quoted dictum of Lord Mansfield in Campbell v Hall and the case of White and Tucker v Rudolph. In Campbell v Hall Lord Mansfield says; The articles of capitulation upon which the country is surrendered, and the articles of peace upon which it is ceded are sacred and inviolable according to their true intent and meaning.

This dictum was in no way necessary for the decision of the point involved in the case. The facts of that case were that the island of Grenada was taken by British arms from the French King. The island surrendered on capitulation, one of the terms of which was, that the inhabitants should pay no other duties than what they before paid to the French King. After the capitulation His Majesty appointed a Governor, with power to summon an assembly to make laws with the consent of the Governor in Council, in the same manner as the other assemblies of the King's Provinces in America. Having done this, and before any legislative assembly met, the King purported by letters patent to impose an export duty of 4½ per centum on all produce exported from the island in lieu of all customs and export duties hitherto collected.

The decision in the case was that His Majesty having delegated his power of legislation in the island to an assembly, the subsequent legislation by the King himself was invalid, and that the plaintiff, who had paid certain duties to the collector of customs, was entitled to recover them back. The dictum of Lord Mansfield did not, and was never intended to mean, that the articles of capitulation could never be altered by competent legislation, and this, I think, appears clear from the words used by him at the end of the judgment: "it can only now be done by the Assembly of the island, or by an Act of the Parliament of Great Britain".

As a matter of fact I know, as having been at one time Acting Chief Justice of the Island of Grenada, that the duties have been frequently altered by the local Legislature, and now stand at a very much higher rate than at the time of the capitulation. The decision in White & Tucker v. Rudolph turned on practically the same point as Campbell v. Hall. There the crown, by Proclamation dated April 12, 1877, proclaimed that the Transvaal should remain a separate Government "with its own rights and Legislature," and that "the laws now in force in the State should be retained until altered by competent legislative authority." After the Crown had done this and given up all claim to legislate in the ceded country in favour of the Legislature to be appointed for the separate government of the Transvaal, the Administrator sought by an order to alter

alter the licensing laws of the country; this it was held, following *Campbell v. Hall*, he had no power to do, the Crown having given up all claim to legislate for the territory. Looking at the Kandyan Convention itself, we find it has been varied in several respects by subsequent legislation, apart from the Ordinances bearing on this case, and no question has ever been raised as to the validity of such legislation. I refer as instances to the Proclamation of May 31, 1816, which was prior to the time when His Majesty had delegated his powers of legislation in the Kandyan Provinces to the Legislative Council of this Colony; also to the Buddhist Temporalities Ordinance and to various other Ordinances passed by the local Legislature relating to the administration of justice which apply to the Kandyan Provinces.

Another example of treaty rights being altered by subsequent legislation will be found in this Colony in the alteration of Article 15 of the Treaty of Colombo as to the payment of the clergy, by Ordinance No. 14 of 1881. In my opinion it is clear that it was within the competence of the Legislature of the Colony to vary any rights acquired under the Convention of 1815.

The view I have taken on this point renders it unnecessary for me to go to any length into the other points raised in the case, and without reviewing the whole of the evidence, I will only say that I do not agree with the finding of the Acting District Judge on the facts. I do not think that the evidence satisfactorily shows that it is an essential part of the rite of the water-cutting ceremony either that the perahera should pass down Ambagamuwa street, or that the music should be continuous during the whole of the route; all that it seems to me to show is that, in the opinion of the witnesses called for the plaintiff, the route and continuous of the music was essential because they were customary, and the evidence shows that similar customary proceedings in respect of the similar ceremony in the town of Kandy, the headquarters of the Buddhist religion, such as the purification of the town prior to the ceremony and the continuance of the ceremony for fifteen days without a break, have been discontinued without demur; and even in the town of Gampola itself the evidence seems to me to satisfactorily establish that since the year 1907, although there have been protests from the persons having the management of the perahera, the route of the procession has either not passed the mosque concerning which the present dispute arises, or the music has stopped when passing the mosque.

In the course of the appeal the Attorney-General pressed upon the Court the contention that the claim in the case, involving as it does the construction of a treaty and the acquisition of personal rights under it, was not within the jurisdiction of the Court.

There can be no doubt that the law on this point is as laid down by Lord Alverston in *West Rand Central Gold Mining Co. v. Rex*, where he says: "There is a series of authorities from the year 1793 down to the present time holding that matters which fall properly to be determined by the Crown by treaty or as an act of State are not subject to the jurisdiction of the Municipal Courts, and that rights supposed to be acquired thereunder cannot be enforced by such Courts;" and a little lower down on the same page, where he says: "it is a well-established principle of law that the transactions of independent States between each other are governed by other laws than those which Municipal Courts administer."

Similar principles were applied in *Rustomjee v. The Queen*, *Cook v. Sprigg*, and other cases quoted by the Attorney-General. It does not seem to me, however, that these cases or the principles laid down in them apply to the present case. What the Court was here asked to construe and to enforce were alleged rights under the Proclamation of March 2, 1815. In my opinion this Proclamation is not a Treaty. The Treaty or Convention was entered into prior to the Proclamation, and is contained in a separate document signed by the various chiefs of the Kandyan Provinces. The original bulletin of March 2, 1815, printed at page 180 of Legislative Acts of the Ceylon Government printed in 1856, sets out the preamble to the Proclamation

Proclamation, which concludes as follows: "On those grounds His Excellency the Governor has acceded to the wishes of the chiefs and people of the Kandyan Provinces, and a Convention has in consequence been held, the result of which the following Act is destined to record and proclaim."

The Proclamation affirming what was agreed to by the Convention appears to me to be a piece of legislation by His Majesty, who then had the sole power of legislating in the ceded Provinces, to give effect to the agreements arrived at, and is subject to be construed and enforced by the Courts in the same manner as any other act of legislation.

Three other points were taken by the Attorney-General and argued before us :-

- (1) That no action lies against the Crown in respect of the cause of action alleged;
- (2) That the plaintiff has no cause of action as Basnayake Nilame and trustee of the Wallahagoda temple; and
- (3) That the letter from the Government Agent of August 27, 1912, did not constitute any infringement of a right, even if such right existed.

At the conclusion of the case the Attorney-General stated that he did not wish to take any technical points, and withdrew his objections to the judgment on these grounds. I will, therefore, not deal with them beyond saying that nothing in this case must be construed as inferring any acquiescence on my part to any view that a claim of this character lies against the Government of this Colony or could be enforced in England under a Petition of Right.

In my opinion the appeal should be allowed, and judgment entered for the defendant with costs.

De Sampayo A.J.

The plaintiff is the Basnayake Nilame and trustee of the Wallahagoda dewale within the Local Board limits of the town of Gampola. It is customary for the annual Esala perahera or procession of that dewale to march through the streets of Gampola, including what is known as Ambagamuwa road, with elephants, to the accompaniment of tom-toms and other music. For some years the procession has been conducted on license issued by the authorities under the provisions of the Police Ordinance, No. 16 of 1865, and the Local Boards Ordinance, No. 13 of 1898. In the Ambagamuwa road is situated a Muhammadan mosque, and some trouble having arisen between the Muhammadans and the Buddhists in connection with the beating of tom-toms when the procession passed the mosque, and a riot having taken place in consequence, a condition came to be insisted on that music should be stopped within a certain distance on either side of the mosque, and in order to mark the distance the authorities in 1911 placed two posts with signboards notifying that the beating of tom-toms should be stopped between these two posts. On August 17, 1912, when the procession of that year was about to take place, the President of the District Committee, appointed under the Buddhist Temporalities Ordinance wrote to the Government Agent at Kandy, a letter in which he claimed for the dewale the right to conduct the procession without any interruption of music, and requested the Government Agent to remove the posts, which were described as an "obstruction" to the beating of tom-toms opposite the mosque. Apparently the Government Agent was addressed either in his capacity as Chairman of the Local Board of Gampola or as having police authority. In reply, the Government Agent informed the President that the licence would be issued as usual, subject to the condition above referred to. Thereupon the procession was abandoned and the plaintiff brought this ^{action} against the Attorney-General as representing the Crown. The plaint asserted that the right of the plaintiff as Basnayake Nilame of the dewale to conduct the perahera without any

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any restriction was acknowledged and confirmed by the Kandyan Convention of 1815, and stated as a cause of action that the Government Agent had wrongfully, and in breach of the Kandyan Convention and of the rights and privileges of the said temple, refused to allow the plaintiff permission to conduct the Esala procession within one hundred yards of either side of the mosque in Ambagamuwa road, and proceeded to pray that "the plaintiff, as Basnayake Nilame of the Wallahagoda temple, may be declared entitled to the right and privilege claimed by him, together with Rs.25 as damages already incurred, and Rs.25 as further damages per year until the said privilege and right is granted." The plaintiff's case was put in the Court below as a matter of contract constituted by Article 5 of the Kandyan Convention, but the District Judge, rejecting the theory of a contract, but purporting to act on what he considered the analogy of an action rei vindicatio, which was held to be maintainable against the Crown in *Le Mesurier v. The Attorney-General*, declared that the plaintiff as Basnayake Nilame and trustee of the Wallahagoda temple was entitled to conduct the procession with elephants, to the accompaniment of tom-toms, drums, and other musical instruments, through all the streets of Gampola, including that portion of Ambagamuwa road with which this action is concerned, and he entered judgment for the plaintiff accordingly with costs of action, but without damages. From this judgment the Attorney-General has appealed.

Among other defences the Attorney-General pleaded that this action, being one *ex delicto*, was not maintainable against the Crown, that the plaintiff as Basnayake Nilame or trustee had no right to sue on the alleged cause of action, and that no cause of action had in fact arisen. These points were argued before us at great length on both sides. But on the last day of argument the Attorney-General intimated to us that for the purposes of the present appeal he waived these points and desired a decision on the other questions involved in the case, and it is therefore unnecessary to express any opinion on them, though I would have been quite prepared to do so. The questions remaining to be considered are: (1) whether the evidence satisfactorily shows the Buddhist rite in connection with the Esala perahera to extend to the use of an unvarying route and continuous beating of tom-toms; (2) whether such a privilege can be said to have been secured by Article 5 of the Kandyan Convention; (3) whether on the footing that the Kandyan Convention is a treaty the plaintiff is not bound by subsequent legislation relating to processions and music; and (4) whether the rights under the treaty, whatever they are, can be enforced by action in a Municipal Court.

The District Judge has gone at length into the history of dewales and the institution of the Esala perahera, but his citations are remarkable only for the absence of any statement that any particular route or the unceasing beating of tom-toms during the whole course of the procession is essential to the ceremony. The District Judge chiefly relies, however, on the oral evidence of the dewale tenants, such as the kapurala, tom-tom beaters, and trumpeters, who speak of the practice during their period of service and of the tradition in regard to the matter. They add that unless the perahera proceeds along the Ambagamuwa road, and unless the tom-toms are beaten continuously without any interruption for any cause whatever, the god in whose honour the ceremony takes place will send great calamities upon the people, and they even attribute to this cause the recent floods at Gampola and the sudden death of a certain kapurala. The District Judge seriously accepts all this evidence, though he himself says in a moment of critical exercise of judgment that "all this sounds artificial, unreal, forced for the purposes of this case," but he rejects his own doubts, and adds that the matter has to be judged, not according to modern standards, but according to the ideas of a Sinhalese Buddhist before 1815. The problem of a sick person lying at the point of death, or of a restive horse or elephant becoming dangerous to the processionists themselves is considered by him, and is disposed of by the remark that it was "utterly impossible for the Sinhalese mind to conceive

conceive of the stopping of the music for a horse or a sick man," and that "everything had to give way to the perahera." I confess that I find it difficult to believe that the religion of Buddha, which so insistently preaches the doctrine of gentleness and regard for life, has anything to do with this species of inhumanity. It is curious that even the more intelligent witnesses, like the Dewa Nilame of the Dalada Maligawa, the priest of the Niyangampaha Vihare, and the Secretary of the Buddhist Committee, proceed on the same lines as the dewale tenants. A possible and even probable explanation is that they are (to use the District Judge's expression) "forced for the purposes of this case" to give the evidence they have given, because any admission as to the stoppage of music on account of a special emergency, such as was put to them, would seriously prejudice the whole case. For, then, it may have to be logically admitted also that the necessities of public order and peace would be a good ground for such stoppage. Moreover, these witnesses who were apparently called as experts, have not been able, any more than the illiterate dewale tenants, to point to any religious or historical work for the proposition that an unvarying route and unceasing music are of the essence of the Esala perahera. Taking the oral evidence as bona fide, it seems to me that it amounts to no more than saying that, so far as the knowledge of the witnesses goes, the custom has been such as they describe, and that they argue from what has been to what ought to be. Even this, as will presently be seen, is negatived by facts proved in the case; but before alluding to these facts, I may mention a bit of evidence which has been given by Mr. Ekneligoda, the Kachcheri Mudaliyar of Anuradhapura, but which the District Judge has failed to notice. The Mudaliyar says that at the Ellala Sohana (the tomb of King Ellala at Anuradhapura) Buddhist processions stop their music as a mark of respect in accordance with an order made by Dutugemunu. The allusion no doubt is to the story recorded in the Mahawansa, how that King Dutugemunu, having killed King Ellala in single combat, erected a monument in honour of the dead king, and ordained that all processions when passing the monument should as a mark of respect stop the music. The order appears to be observed to this day. So that ancient authority shows that the custom in connection with the Esala or any other procession is not "adamantine," as the learned District Judge puts it, but is subject rather to regulation by those in power, and that the unvarying character claimed for it is not founded upon any rule of religious obligation, for otherwise King Dutugemunu, the great patron of Buddhism and himself a pious Buddhist, would hardly have interfered with it for a mere sentimental or personal reason. Quite in harmony with this view of the matter is the practice under the British Government. The evidence indicates that for a great many years, probably ever since the provisions of the Police Ordinance relating to processions and street music were put into active operation, the Wallahagoda dewale authorities have applied for and obtained a licence, and the procession has been conducted under the supervision of the police, and for some years - certainly since 1902 - the licence has been granted subject to the condition that the procession shall stop the beating of tom-toms when passing the Ambagamuwa road mosque, or shall take another route. In 1912 - the year with which we are particularly concerned - the plaintiff himself applied for and obtained a license to conduct the procession avoiding the Ambagamuwa road, though the procession was abandoned, it is said, owing to the protests of the dewale tenants. It is true that in a previous year also the procession was abandoned for the same reason, but that does not diminish the force of the effect of the imposition and observance of the condition on the general question. The plaintiff's very case is that he has an absolute right, secured by the Kandyan Convention, to conduct the procession, and that no license to do so is required. And yet Basnayake Nilames of

of the dewale, including plaintiff himself, have hitherto acknowledged the necessity of a license being obtained from the constituted authorities. The power to grant a license necessarily implies the power to withhold it or to impose conditions. Similarly, in Kandy, where the great perahera is participated in not only by the various dewales, but by the Maligawa itself, it has been the practice, not perhaps to obtain a license, but to inform the Government Agent, who thereupon takes the necessary steps to keep order by means of the police. To bring elephants into the town for the purpose of the perahera a license is absolutely required, and is invariably applied for, and the chiefs of the Maligawa and the dewales even enter into a security bond to answer for any injury or damage that may be caused by the elephants. Here it may be noted that the claim being to have a procession with elephants as well as tom-toms, the circumstance just mentioned seriously affects the plaintiff's case. One important admission made by the Dewa Nilame is that, though according to the right contended for it is imperative that the perahera should take place during fifteen consecutive days without interruption, the perahera has, at least since the seventies of the last century, been intermitted on all Sundays during the period of the festival. The Dewa Nilame explains that this originated from the fact that Mrs. Parsons, wife of the then Government Agent, was ill, and the procession was stopped on a Sunday at the request of Mr. Parsons. Why Mrs. Parsons's illness should require the stoppage of noise on a Sunday only does not appear. But this explanation, such as it is, does not account for the intermission ever since. The District Judge, however, suggests that the Anglican Church of St. Paul being in the neighbourhood of the temple, and the Church of England being at one time the established church, the representatives of the Government were able to interfere with the perahera in that manner. The suggestion does not adequately explain the matter either. I have no doubt that the Sunday procession was stopped at the desire of some Government official, but I entertain a serious doubt that, if the right claimed is of vital importance as represented, the Dewa Nilame, the four Basnayake Nilames, and the numerous worshippers would have complacently agreed for the last thirty-five years and more to perform a maimed rite. The same departure from the alleged unvarying and invariable custom is exhibited at Anuradhapura, the sacred city of Buddhism. In 1905 certain arrangements were agreed upon in conference by the High Priest with the Government Agent, and were embodied in a notification by the Governor (see Document D 10), whereby various restrictions were laid down with regard to the beating of tom-toms in connection with the Esala and other annual festivals; inter alia, that "in case of processions having to pass any place of public worship in which service is proceeding, the beating of tom-toms, music, and all noise likely to disturb the service must cease within one hundred yards of such building". This, again, shows that the High Priest of the sacred shrines and the Buddhist generally, who have since acted up to the arrangements so made, did not consider that the cessation of tom-toms and other music in front from places of worship was a violation of the rites of the Esala perahera. After examining the whole evidence, I have come to the conclusion that the plaintiff has failed to establish the claim for the unceasing use of tom-toms during the whole course of the procession, and that the evidence rather proves the contrary.

This being my view of the facts, it is, perhaps, hardly necessary that I should deal with the legal points involved in the case, but as they were debated at great length on both sides, and as they are in themselves important, I think it is right for me to do so. The Convention of March 2, 1815, was entered into between the British Sovereign and certain chiefs on behalf of the people in connection with the establishment of His Majesty's Government in the Kandyan Provinces. The nature of the instrument is a matter of some difficulty to determine. The official bulletin of that date calls it a "Public Instrument of Treaty", and the Attorney-General was willing that it should be so treated in this case. I shall deal with the case on that footing, though I am bound to say that there is good ground for thinking that the instrument, whatever it may be

it may be called, derives all its efficacy and virtue from its being recorded and proclaimed by the Proclamation of the same date. Now, Article 5 of the Convention runs thus: "The religion of Boodho, professed by the chiefs and inhabitants of these provinces, is declared inviolable, and its rites, ministers, and places of worship are to be maintained and protected." What does this mean? Does it rigidly provide that, even in matters touching the general peace and safety of the country and the various classes of its people, the hands of the British Government should ever after be tied? Does it necessarily mean that the rites of the Buddhist religion in all their external details, even where they affect public order, should be invariably maintained? I think it will appear otherwise when the matter is regarded in the proper historical perspective. It is an invariable rule of British policy to respect the religion of a conquered country. Quite the contrary policy had been followed by the Governments of the Portuguese and the Dutch, who preceded the English, and the Buddhists of those parts of the Island which were occupied by them had various causes of grievance in that respect. This state of things was doubtless in the minds of those who entered into the Convention, and it seems to me that the essence of the article in question is to assure freedom of worship to the Buddhists of the Kandyan Provinces which were then annexed to the British territories. This freedom cannot, however, be absolute, but must necessarily be subject to higher considerations of State and the fundamental principles of government. This is so in all cases. For instance, the practice of suttee had by inveterate custom acquired the force of religious obligation among the Hindus of India, and was even protected by the provision of the Statute Geo. III., c. 142, s. 12, and yet it was by the Regulation 18 of 1829 declared illegal and made punishable as an offence, the preamble to that Act reciting that the Legislature did not intend to depart "from one of the first and most important principles of the system of British Government in India, that all classes of the people be secure in the observance of their religious usages, so long as that system can be adhered to without violation of the paramount dictates of justice and humanity." Applying these considerations to the present case, I cannot think that Article 5 of the Kandyan Convention according to its purpose and meaning justifies the conclusion that if the Esala perahera, in the course which it pursues or the manner in which it is conducted, threatens danger to public health or safety, the duly constituted authorities shall not have the power to regulate it. The first article of this very Convention recites that the oppressions of the King of Kandy "in the general contempt and contravention of all civil rights" had become intolerable, "the acts and maxims of his Government being equally and entirely devoid of that justice which should secure the safety of his subjects," and by the second article the king was accordingly "declared fallen and deposed from the office of king." It would be strange if this same Convention be construed as introducing a new species of tyranny under the protection of the British Government, namely, the tyranny of processions conducted without any regard to the safety of the processionists themselves and the common rights of all other classes of the subjects. That this is not the effect of Article 5 is shown from what was declared almost immediately afterwards by the British Government. In the year 1817 some of the chiefs became unfaithful, and the insurrection which arose having been put down, the Proclamation of November 21, 1818, was issued laying down various regulations for the government of the Kandyan Provinces. Clause 16 of this Proclamation declared that "As well as the priest as all the ceremonies and processions of the Budhoo religion shall receive the respect which in former times was shown them; at the same time it is in no wise to be understood that the protection of Government is to be denied to the peaceable exercise by all other persons of the religion which they respectively profess", &c. This, indeed, is the spirit guaranteed to the people of Kandy the right of free exercise of their religion; that is to say, that it should be exercised consistently with the performance of the supreme duty of Government towards the rest of His Majesty's subjects. The precaution of requiring a license and of imposing a condition in the license for the Esala perahera of the

of the plaintiff's dewale was to conserve public order and to prevent riots between the different religious bodies, such as took place at Gampola in connection with this perahera. For the British Government to have bound itself by the Convention not to take such precautions would be to have deliberately abandoned one of the chief and essential functions of sovereignty. It is obvious that such could not have been the true intent of the Convention.

The next point to consider is the effect of subsequent legislation relating to processions and tom-toms. The argument on behalf of the plaintiff is that Article 5 of the Convention is fundamental law, and that any legislation inconsistent with it is unconstitutional and inoperative. Before I refer to the chief authority upon which this argument is founded, I should like to say that, in my opinion, there is within the four corners of the Convention itself sufficient reservation of power to the British Government to effect alterations and reforms. After providing that the Kandyan shall enjoy their civil rights "according to the laws, institutions, and customs established and in force amongst them" (Article 4), and that the religion of Buddha and its rights shall be protected (Article 5), and after prohibiting every species of bodily torture (Article 6), and any sentence of death except by the warrant of the British Government (Article 7), the Convention proceeds in Article 8 to provide as follows: "Subject to these conditions, the administration of civil and criminal justice and police over the Kandyan inhabitants of the said Provinces is to be exercised according to established forms and by the ordinary authorities. Saving always the inherent right of Government to redress grievances and reform abuses in all instances whatever, particular or general, where such interposition shall become necessary." It is clear to my mind that herein is contained an express reservation of power to introduce changes in respect of the matters provided for in the previous articles. Even if the saving clause, which I have italicized, is limited, as I think it should not be, to Article 8 itself, the regulation of public processions and street music is a matter touching the "administration of Police," and, therefore, the provisions in question in the Police Ordinance, 1865, and the Local Boards Ordinance, 1898, are quite within the purview of the saving clause. The larger operation of that clause, however, is illustrated by the laws enacted and applied without any demur from the date of the Convention down to the present time, I have already referred to the Proclamation of November 21, 1818, by which the jurisdiction conferred upon the ancient tribunals of Kandy by Article 8 was entirely swept away. As to other instances, I need only mention the Ordinances which interfere with or modify the Kandyan law, the tenure of lands, including those of the temples themselves, the system of marriages and their solemnization and dissolution, and the administration of the Buddhist temporalities. These are Ordinance No. 5 of 1852, Ordinance No. 13 of 1859, now superseded by Ordinance No. 3 of 1870, Ordinance No. 4 of 1870, and, lastly, Ordinance No. 3 of 1889, now superseded by Ordinance No. 8 of 1905. This last is the most important in this connection, because it relates to matters intimately affecting the Buddhist priesthood, who under the Buddhist ecclesiastical laws were the rightful administrators of the affairs of the temples and their property and offerings, but from whom, though the Convention provided for their protection, the right was wholly taken away and vested in popularly elected by committees and trustees. Not only so, but the Ordinance by one of its clauses prohibits the acquisition, by purchase, gift, or otherwise, of immovable property by the temples except with the consent of the Governor, though the temples equally with the priests were to be maintained and protected under the Convention. It is interesting to note that the plaintiff in this action is himself a creature of the Buddhist Temporalities Ordinance, No. 8 of 1905, and would have no right to sue at all but for his status as Basnayake Nilame and trustee appointed under that Ordinance. It was stated at the Bar, in avoidance of the difficulty arising from the enactment and acceptance of this Ordinance, that the Buddhists themselves had asked for it. If so, the fact makes the matter worse for the plaintiff, because then it would appear that in the estimation of the Buddhists themselves Article 5 of the Convention has not the

not the inviolability which is now claimed for it. The course of legislation to which I have referred seriously interferes with other articles of the Convention, e.g., Article 4. If one article of the Convention is sacred, so must another be, and yet no one has said or can say that Ordinance No.5 of 1852 and Ordinance No.3 of 1870, which according to the argument contravene Article 4 of the Convention, are invalid and inoperative. It was in this connection suggested that mistaken acquiescence in all this legislation did not disentitle a party to take the objection when it arose in an action. I should say rather that the course of legislation for a whole century which has been uniformly and freely accepted and acted upon by the Kandyans in their relations amongst themselves and with the Government throws a reflex light upon the nature of the Convention itself, and shows it not to be of the inviolable character claimed for it.

In this part of the case Mr. Bawa, for the plaintiff, mainly relies on the judgment in *Campbell v. Hall*, in which Lord Mansfield referring to the consequences of the conquest of a country, lays down six preliminary propositions, the third of which is in the following terms: "That the articles of capitulation upon which the country is surrendered, and the articles of peace by which it is ceded, are sacred and inviolable according to their true intent and meaning." The Attorney-General, however, points out that this is an obiterdictum, and contends that it is therefore not binding. The point of the decision in that case is undoubtedly different, but as to those propositions, Lord Mansfield says that they were propositions in which both sides were agreed, and which were too clear to be controverted. The proposition above quoted is reproduced as indisputable in recognised text books on the Royal Prerogative and Constitutional Law, and I think we ought to accept it as absolutely correct. I have already ventured to state what, in my opinion, is "the true intent and meaning" of the Kandyan Convention, and the proposition in question may, I think, be applied to this case without the plaintiff being able to derive any benefit from it. But further, when the articles of capitulation and of peace are declared to be "sacred and inviolable" according to their true intent and meaning, there remains the question whether they are so in the domain of law as administered by the Courts, or only in the international and political sphere. In the former case the Court must interpret the treaty, and ought to have the power to hold that any legislative act is ultra vires as being a violation of the treaty. No case has, however, been cited to us in support of the contention that the Court can do so. There are indeed cases, such as *In re Adam*, in which it has been decided that on a question as to what system of law governs a particular subject-matter, the treaty, if it contains a provision on the subject, determines the matter. This may be illustrated in the present case by reference to Article 4 of the Convention, by which it is agreed that the civil rights of the Kandyans shall be governed by the Kandyan law. But for the Court to enforce the treaty as against subsequent acts of the Sovereign or of the Legislature is quite a different matter. Mr. Bawa referred us also to the South African case of *White & Tucker v. Rudolph*, but that case by no means supports his contention. There, in 1879, after the first annexation of the Transvaal, the defendant as Landdrost of Utrecht had, upon the order of the Administrator of the Transvaal, forcibly entered the plaintiff's shop and seized the stock of liquor therein, in order to prevent sale of liquor to the soldiers then engaged in the Zulu war, notwithstanding the fact that the plaintiff had taken a license to deal in wine and spirits issued to him by the Government of the Transvaal, and it was held that the Administrator had no authority to issue the order to the defendant, and that the defendant's acts were illegal, inasmuch as it was provided by the Annexation Proclamation that the Transvaal should remain a separate Government with its own laws and legislature, and inasmuch as the Crown, whom the Administrator represented, had no longer any legislative authority by reason of the existence of the Legislature which had been confirmed and continued by the Proclamation. This is, in fact, the point decided by Lord Mansfield in *Campbell v. Hall*, namely, that

that when the king delegates to a legislative assembly in a conquered country the power of legislation vested in him, he thereby deprives himself of the right of exercising it again. It will be seen that these decisions have no bearing on the present case, except so far as they uphold the supremacy of a local legislature. The cases cited by the Attorney-General further confirm the view that the laws enacted by a competent legislature in a conquered or ceded colony have force and validity, even though they may be inconsistent with the provisions of a treaty. The local case of *Government Agent v. Suddhana* is a direct authority bearing on this case. For there also, in answer to a charge of beating tom-toms without a license in contravention of section 90 of the Police Ordinance, 1865, Article 5 of the Kandyan Convention was invoked as justifying the beating of tom-toms without a license on the occasion of a Buddhist religious ceremony, and *Layard C.J.* held, *inter alia*, that the Convention did not, and could not, control the Legislature so as to exempt the Buddhists from the operation of the Police Ordinance, and the learned Chief Justice suggested that, if there was any grievance on the subject, the remedy should be constitutional and not judicial. On the general question of the power and authority of a local Legislature, it is sufficient to quote the following passage from the judgment in *Phillips v. Byre*: "A confirmed act of the local Legislature lawfully constituted, whether in a settled or conquered colony, has, as to matters within its competence and the limits of its jurisdiction, the operation and force of sovereign legislation, though subject to be controlled by the Imperial Parliament." The matter of competence and jurisdiction of a local Legislature is to be determined by the act constituting it. The Legislative Council of Ceylon was constituted by the Letters Patent of March 19, 1833, with plenary power to make laws subject only to Royal Instructions, and subject to the power and authority of the King to disallow any such laws, and to make, with the consent of Parliament or with the advice of the Privy Council, such laws as may appear necessary. The Instructions of 1833 were those in operation when the Police Ordinance, 1865, was passed, but they contain nothing which may affect the validity of that Ordinance. In the later Instructions of December 6, 1889, which were in force at the time of the enactment of the Local Boards Ordinance, 1898, there is a provision which requires notice. Clause XXV directs that the Governor shall not assent to certain specified classes of Ordinances unless they contain a clause suspending their operation until the signification in the Island of the King's pleasure. One of the classes specified is any Ordinance "the provisions of which shall appear inconsistent with obligations imposed upon Us by treaty." The reference is, I think, to treaties with Sovereign Powers, and not to such instruments as the Kandyan Convention. However that may be, the Local Boards Ordinance, 1898, though it contains no suspensory clause, was duly sanctioned, and no question can now arise as to the validity of section 64 of the Ordinance, which, notwithstanding Article 5 of the Convention, gives power to the Board to grant permission for religious or public processions and street music and to regulate and restrict such processions and music. The Attorney-General reminded us of another instance of an Ordinance over-riding the articles of an instrument similar to the Kandyan Convention. In Article 18 of the Dutch Capitulation it was provided "that the clergy and other ecclesiastical servants should receive the same pay and emoluments as they had from the Company," and yet the Ordinance No. 14 of 1881, providing for the discontinuance of ecclesiastical stipends, equally effected the chaplains of the Dutch Presbyterian Church. The authorities show that treaties and legislation are on quite different and independent planes; in other words, a treaty is a political and not a legal document, and its sanctions are other than those which a court of law recognises or enforces. In harmony with this is the principle that the ordinary civil courts have no jurisdiction in such matters as rights founded on treaties. In *Cook v. Spragg* it was successfully argued that as between the treaty-making Powers the acts done are acts of State not to be interpreted or enforced by Municipal Courts, and that the same principle applied as between either Sovereign Power and its own subjects in respect of the same matters; and the Privy Council observed: "It is a well-established principle of law that the transactions of independent States between each other are governed by

by other laws than those which Municipal Courts administer"; and again, even as regards private property, their Lordships said: "If there is either an express or a well-understood bargain between the ceding potentate and the Government to which the cession is made that private property shall be respected, that is only a bargain which can be enforced by Sovereign against Sovereign in the ordinary course of diplomatic pressure. "Further in *West Rand Central Gold Mining Co. v. Rex* it was observed: "There is a series of authority from the year 1793 down to the present time holding that matters which fall properly to be determined by the Crown by treaty or an act of State are not subject to the jurisdiction of the Municipal Courts, and that rights supposed to be acquired thereunder cannot be enforced by such courts". The same principle was laid down by the Privy Council in the Indian case of *Rajah Salig Ram v. The Secretary of State for India*, which was concerned with the effect of the arrangements made with Shah Allum, the King of Delhi, on the annexation of that kingdom to the British Crown. In the judgment of the Privy Council this important passage occurs: "If shortly after the arrangements had been made, the British Government had found it necessary as a matter of political expediency to alter without the consent of Shah Allum, the arrangements introduced into the assigned territory, it is impossible to conceive that a court of law would have had jurisdiction to enforce the arrangements in a suit brought by His Majesty (late King of Delhi) either by granting a specific performance or by awarding damages for the breach of it." This observation has special application to the circumstances of this case, and it should, I think, be held that, if the provisions of the Police Ordinance, 1865, and the Local Boards Ordinance, 1898, in respect of licenses for processions and tom-toms in any way contravene the Kandyan Convention, which, as I have already ventured to express my opinion, they do not neither the District Court nor this Court has jurisdiction to enforce the Convention as against the Ordinances.

For the above reasons, I am of opinion that the judgment appealed against is erroneous, and I would set it aside, and dismiss the plaintiff's action with costs in both Courts.

