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The Foundation of the University of Ceylon

THE 'Battle of the Sites' is part of the history of Ceylon as well as of the history of the University. The present writer was an undergraduate in another country when the Battle began, and a professor in yet another country when it ended. In the course of ten years, however, he read most of the documents in a dozen files, and it seemed a pity to put them away in the archives without trying to give a connected account of what took place. It cannot be entirely a complete account, for it has been derived from one source only. One result of publication may be to produce more material, in the form of pamphlets or personal recollections. There are, however, two very obvious gaps due to ignorance of the proceedings of the Board of Ministers and the Executive Committee of Education.

Some comment on the actions of persons still living has been necessary. It may amuse them to see how their actions appear to a more or less impartial historian who has had to rely on documents. If the comments are unjust we shall no doubt be informed so that the future historians may have better documentation.

I. The Foundation of the Ceylon University College

Just as Manchester is alleged to think today what the rest of England thinks tomorrow, so it is alleged that Jaffna thinks today what the rest of Ceylon thinks tomorrow. It has therefore been said, though the evidence is a little flimsy, that Jaffna suggested the creation of a University of Ceylon in the early years of the nineteenth century. There is, however, some evidence that in the latter part of the eighties, when the tea plantations were beginning to overcome the depression which had spread over the Island with the coffee blight, Colombo was beginning to talk of the need for a University. Early in the present century, too, the Ceylon University Association was established to propagate the idea of a University for Ceylon.

This agitation reached the official level when the question of higher education was referred to the Macleod Committee in 1911. The Colombo Academy (Royal College) had been affiliated to the University of Calcutta before 1870: but, on the recommendation of the Morgan Committee, this affiliation was

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broken. Some of the Jaffna schools were affiliated to the University of Madras until 1907 or 1908, when the London External examinations were introduced. Meanwhile the Law College and the Medical College had been established. The Law College was placed under the statutory control of the Council of Legal Education, a demi-official body representing the judges and the legal profession. The Medical College was established in 1870 to train medical assistants, but in 1888 it was recognised by the General Medical Council of the United Kingdom as a colonial medical school authorised to confer diplomas whose holders were entitled to registration on the Colonial Register maintained by the Council in accordance with the Medical Act of 1886. Consequently, legal and medical education of full professional standard was available in Ceylon. University education, as such, was available only to those who went to universities in India or the United Kingdom. Most of the Ceylonese graduates teaching in the schools in 1911 had Indian degrees, but a few Ceylonese had been able to afford university education in the United Kingdom and a few had been sent to the United Kingdom on Government University Scholarships. Up to 1880 there had been only one scholarship, open to the pupils of the Colombo Academy (Royal College). In 1880 it was thrown into open competition on the result of the Cambridge Senior Local Examination, and by 1911 there were two such scholarships.

The London Intermediate Examinations were started in Ceylon in 1907, and between 1907 and 1911, 32 passed the Intermediate in Arts, while 10 passed the Intermediate in Science. Most of these came from Royal College, St. Joseph's College and St. John's College, Panadura. These students were said to take an unconscionable proportion of the time of the teachers. Whether any had passed a Final Examination and taken London degrees is not recorded but Mr. A. G. Fraser said that the numbers could be counted on the thumbs.[1] This was the position when the Macleod Committee was asked to report[2]:

> 'Whether it is desirable to continue the present system, under which the older pupils of the Royal College and the more prominent grant-in-aid schools continue their studies by preparation for the external examinations of the University of London, or to replace it by a system under which higher education is provided by means of courses of instruction at a single institution, either a university or a university college. If the first of these alternatives is recommended, the Committee should advise as to whether the staff of the Royal College should be strengthened, so as to enable students to be prepared for degrees in Arts and Science. If the second alternative is preferred, the Committee should advise as to the constitution and staff of the institution, as to the continuance of the present

1. *S.P. XX* of 1912, p. 4.
2. *S.P. XIX* of 1912, p. 3.

system of university scholarships, and as to the question whether the institution may be utilized to provide any part of the special education required by medical students, law students, and students in training for the profession of teachers '.

There was not complete agreement among the witnesses about the need for an institution of university rank, nor was there complete agreement about its nature. There was wide agreement that it should be at first a university college and not a university. Mr. A. G. Fraser, Principal of Trinity College, Kandy, was however anxious that it should frame its own curricula and not be ' tied to the wheels of London's chariot '. Mr. A. F. Joseph, Professor of Chemistry and Acting Registrar at the Ceylon Medical College, thought that provision might be made for holding the London examinations ' if it did not interfere with the more important business of the college '; but his evidence did not suggest that he knew exactly what he meant. Mr. M. U. Moore, Principal of Ananda College, wanted an affiliating university of Indian type and was utterly opposed to having a single institution for higher education ' A Government college being to some extent removed from, and independent of, competition, the principal and professors are generally satisfied with the perfunctory performance of their duties, and so long as they are able to keep up fairly well with other colleges, as far as success in examination goes, they do not greatly care '.[3] The public were not likely to give support to a Government college. Mr. J. G. C. Mendis, Principal of Prince of Wales College, Moratuwa, thought that the present arrangement should continue so long as the London examinations were held. Dr. J. Pearson, Director of the Colombo Museum, objected to the conversion of Royal College into a hybrid institution, half secondary school and half university college and wanted a separate university college, incorporating the Medical College. It should award diplomas and not teach for London degrees. The Rev. G. G. Brown, Principal of Jaffna College, while agreeing with the proposal for a university college, wanted liberty for other bodies to take part in higher education. Mr. G. Shiva Rau, Principal of Jaffna Hindu College, wanted an affiliating university and, until this was possible, affiliation to the University of Madras. The Rev. W. M. P. Wilkes, Principal of the Jaffna Central College, wanted the Royal College to become the university Mr. C. A. Jansz, Principal of St. John's College, Panadura, wanted the London examinations continued for at least twenty years. Mr. L. E. Blazé, Principal of Kingswood College, was entirely opposed to the creation of a university, which would confer valueless ' degrees ': but Royal College should be strengthened and made the centre of higher education, teaching for London degrees. The Rev. P. T. Cash, Acting Principal of Wesley College, wanted a separate university college with a normal school attached to it. Warden

3. *S.P. XX* of 1912, p. 91.

Stone of St. Thomas' College wanted Royal College strengthened to teach for London degrees, but considered that the Roman Catholics should conduct their own higher education. The Very Rev. Father Lytton, O.M.I., Rector of St. Joseph's College, was utterly opposed to any university institution under Government control, described the proposal as ' tyranny ', and suggested that the real purpose of all the proposals for reform was ' to deprive us of the right of giving our children an English education '.

The committee had no difficulty in reaching the conclusion that a university college was desirable, on the following grounds :—

(*a*) An inordinate amount of the time of the best teachers was devoted to preparing a few pupils for London examinations.

(*b*) Those who could not send their children to Europe needed provision for continued education and ' part of such provision should take the form of a residential institution, with proper playing fields and scope for a healthy corporate life '.[4]

(*c*) Medical students would benefit by having their pre-medical training in the university college. Overlapping could be prevented by spending the money voted for new laboratories at the Medical College on the enlargement of the new Science laboratories at Royal College.

(*d*) Higher teaching could be provided for teachers in training at the Government Training College. ' Secondary teachers in Ceylon are too often only a few chapters ahead of their pupils '.[5]

The Committee suggested that the higher work at the Royal College should be done by the University College, while the remainder of the Royal College work should be done by the Government Training College School. The Government should provide facilities for hostels to be established.

In the light of later discussions and the tradition in England, it is remarkable that there was no discussion whatever of the propriety of putting the University College under Government control. It was simply assumed that it must be so, because of the absence of endowments.[6] The general direction of affairs should be in the hands of a Council of sixteen persons (including the Principal). From the point of view of a modern university administrator, it was an astonishingly sketchy proposal, which discussed none of the fundamental issues and very few of the subordinate proposals. The fact is that none of the members of the Committee, nor the witnesses before the Committee, knew much of university education. Some of the defects of the Univer-

4. *S.P. XIX* of 1912, p. 5.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid., p. 25.

sity College which came into existence in 1921 were due to this extraordinarily haphazard manner in which these proposals were developed.

It will be noted, too, that there was no real discussion about the suitability of the site. It was assumed that the university college ought to grow out of the Intermediate classes at Royal College. It was thought to be convenient to have it near the Government Training College. It was apparently never asked whether even the whole of the 'Education Triangle' would be large enough for a university. There was no suggestion that the university might not be located in Colombo at all. It is not surprising that fifteen years later the 'Battle of the Sites' developed.

In sending the views of the Executive Council to the Secretary of State, Sir Henry McCallum said[7] that doubts had been expressed (1) whether the majority of parents who sent their sons to England for a university education would not continue to do so, and (2) whether, in that case, it was justifiable to spend a necessarily considerable sum of public money on providing a university college for the sons of those parents who, though fairly well to do, were not sufficiently wealthy to send their boys to an English university. It had been urged that there were no suitable careers for such boys. The Executive Council nevertheless agreed with the Macleod Committee. Some such institution was urgently desirable to obviate the dissipation of higher educational forces and to provide the necessary mental equipment of future generations of teachers.

The Executive Council had therefore agreed that a university college, to be called the Ceylon University College should be established; that in the first place it be organized to provide for higher education generally, courses in arts and science for teachers in training, and pre-medical training in pure science; that in the first instance no provision be made for law students; and that hostels be provided by the Government and leased to religious bodies. It was suggested that teaching be provided for London degrees, and detailed proposals for staff and expenditure were made. It was thought capital expenditure would be about Rs. 233,250 and annual expenditure about Rs. 186,840, of which Rs. 57,600 was already provided for existing institutions. The Governor regretted the practical disappearance of Royal College, which had had a long and honourable history.

The reply of the Secretary of State has not been published, and is not in the University files, but the following summary of the matters raised by the Board of Education has been given[8]:

'They were, briefly stated, the questions of its locality, its status, the scope of its studies, and its administrative head. The first question

7. *System of Education in Ceylon, S.P. XXVI* of 1913, p. 3.

8. *S.P. XIV* of 1916, p. 2.

was as to its locality,[9] that is to say, whether it should be situated in Colombo or at Kandy. The second was as to its status, that is to say, whether it should be a University College or a University, and in this connection there was a new material fact, viz., that the Royal Commission on University Education in London had recommended the abandonment of the colonial examinations for the London University Degree, a possibility already foreshadowed in Sir Henry McCallum's previous despatch. It became important to consider, therefore, whether an effort should be made to secure affiliation with some English University with a view to maintaining the standards of the examinations of the new institution, and whether, assuming that its status was to be that of a University College, arrangements ought not to be made for the recognition of its diploma for local purposes and for the purposes of further studies at the affiliating University.[10] The third question was whether special provision ought not to be made for oriental studies. And the fourth, whether the Principal of the College should hold a Professorship, or whether he should confine himself to purely administrative duties '.

Sir Robert Chalmers, who had become Governor, replied to the Secretary of State in a despatch dated January 20, 1914.[11] The diplomas awarded by the university college could be converted into degrees when the university was created. On the question of site, the Governor said that he was driven to the conclusion that, despite advantages which might be gained by combining it with the proposed College of Tropical Agriculture at Peradeniya, the college should be located in Colombo. ' To place it at Kandy would have the effect of cutting off from it not only the medical students, but also those in training for the teaching profession, and of confining it almost entirely to the richer classes. Further, no suitable buildings exist in the neighbourhood of Kandy, whereas in Colombo the new buildings erected for the Royal College can be utilized, and the University College can thus be brought into existence with little delay and relatively small expense '. Sir Robert agreed that there should be adequate facilities for oriental studies, and he recommended the immediate appointment of a Professor of Sanskrit and Pali.

As regards affiliation, he preferred Oxford and asked that the necessary steps be taken. The staff would consist in the first instance of a Principal and eight professors, together with what are now called visiting lecturers paid by fee. He was in complete agreement with Sir Henry McCallum that the university college should, as far as possible, be a residential institution,

9. See the quotation in *S.P. V* of 1927, p. 4.

10. This was, of course, not affiliation in the Indian sense.

11. Despatches relating to the Establishment of a University College in Ceylon, *S.P. XVI* of 1915.

and that, under proper safeguards, hostels should be built by the Government and leased to educational (? denominational) organizations. He was anxious to establish something corresponding to the Oxford tutorial system. Admission should be allowed to women, though as a non-residential basis at the outset. There was no reason to suppose that their presence would cause any difficulty of management.

Finally, Sir Robert said that 'if any section of the community seeks further provision beyond that afforded by the University College and decides to have an institution of its own, such an institution should, of course, be allowed on equal opportunity of affiliation to the university to which the Ceylon University College will be affiliated, and will have equally to satisfy the university that its staff, equipment and courses of study came up to the appointed standard'. In this connection he forwarded a letter, dated September 2, 1913, from the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church to the Officer administering the Government.[12] They could not consent to send Catholic boys to the proposed university college. 'It is a fundamental principle of the Catholic Church that the claim of a right, on the part of any persons or Government, to educate Catholic youth under systems of non-Catholic education, whether elementary, secondary, or higher, is incompatible with her own inherent right and duty, which she possesses by her Divine commission, of watching and guarding the education of Catholic youth of all classes. She cannot therefore give her assent to any form of monopoly in education which excludes her from the free exercise of this right'. Further, since the proposed university college would exclude religion from its education, it would not only 'present very grave dangers intrinsic to such an education, to the faith and morals of our Catholic youth, but also expose them to the evil of absolute indifferentism in religious matters'. They could not be satisfied with the offer of a special hostel for Catholics. The Catholics were entitled to support from Government in proportion to the share they contributed to public funds. They therefore claimed to have a Catholic College affiliated to the university college, together with such financial support, conditions and guarantees as would be required on the part of the Government to put the students of the affiliated Catholic College in a position in no way inferior to that of the students of the university college.

It will be seen that Sir Robert Chalmers was not very clear what it was he wanted. There was to be a university college in the Royal College buildings, in Colombo; but it was to be 'as far as possible a residential institution' and accordingly hostels should be built by the Government. He was thus proposing the remarkable innovation of a residential university college not far from the centre of a capital city, on a site which was quite inadequate even

12. *S.P. XVI* of 1915, p. 3.

for academic buildings. This residential university college, erected on the most expensive site in the Island, was somehow to be cheaper to students than a residential university college erected in, say, Peradeniya because the latter, for some reason which he did not explain, would be accessible only to the 'richer classes'. It seems impossible to understand why the poor boy from Jaffna (for instance) should be excluded from a residential university college in Peradeniya because of expense, but not excluded from a residential university college in Cinnamon Gardens.

Sir Robert wanted the university college to be affiliated to his own University of Oxford, but it is not clear whether he knew what he meant. Indeed, there seems to have been much local confusion about 'affiliation'. In the Indian sense an affiliated college may present students for the degree examinations of the affiliating university. In the English sense, if the phrase is used at all, it means that students qualifying in the college may go into residence in the university as affiliated or senior students and graduate in two years from matriculation. Possibly Sir Robert Chalmers, who was a distinguished member of Oriel College, knew that Ceylon diplomates would have to keep six terms before they could graduate: but the Ceylonese, who understood the Indian system, thought that they could sit for Oxford examinations in Ceylon and obtain Oxford degrees.

Sir Robert went on to say, however, that any body of persons who wanted to establish a university college of their own, at their own expense, could do so and be affiliated to the same University. Presumably he intended that the University of Ceylon, when established, would be an affiliating university in the Indian sense, but he did not say so; and if he did so assume it is surprising that he should decide so important an issue on a subordinate proposal. The only point on which he was quite definite was that a Roman Catholic College, if established, would not receive financial support from the Government.

On March 30, 1915, the Secretary of State forwarded correspondence with the Board of Education. The University of Oxford had been approached, and Convocation had on October 27, 1914, passed a decree requiring the Hebdomadal Council to appoint a committee of not more than seven persons, being members of Convocation, for the purpose of co-operating with the Government of Ceylon in the establishment and maintenance of a college of university rank in Colombo in accordance with the following regulations:—

(1) The majority of the Committee shall be members of the Hebdomadal Council.

(2) The Committee may advise the Government of Ceylon on any matters connected with the curriculum and examinations of the said college which may be submitted to them by the Government.

(3) No expenses incurred by the Committee in the conduct or supervision of any examination on behalf of the Government shall be defrayed out of the funds of the University.

(4) The Committee shall make a report of its proceedings every year to Convocation.

(5) Unless their decree shall have been previously rescinded, the power of the Committee shall cease on October 1, 1920.[13]

In communicating this decision the Board ' understood that the University was willing to appoint the Committee but was not prepared until they have had some experience of the examinations conducted under the present scheme, to take into consideration the questions of the affiliation of the University College at Colombo to the University of Oxford '.

At the same time the Board sent an outline of a curriculum for the University College. This had been prepared by the Board of Education in consultation with Mr. Harward, Director of Public Instruction. It seems to the writer to be a very odd curriculum, such as one might expect to be made by people who had never taught undergraduates. However, it was to be discussed between the University College and the Oxford Committee and never was discussed.

Before Sir Robert Chalmers left the Island he summoned a conference at Queen's House. He emphasised that its status as a college was to be regarded as a preliminary status only, and the ultimate aim was to develop it into a degree-granting university. It was to comprise, as an integral part of itself, hostels under wardens who would guide and mould their students' characters out of college hours. Any responsible religious body would be qualified to manage a hostel, and such a hostel should contain a chapel. These hostels would be Government buildings, leased out at a low rental to the organizations responsible. The proposal to take over the Royal College buildings had been abandoned and he asked the conference to consider, as the only practicable scheme, the land to the north of Royal College. Two sub-committees were appointed. One on hostels agreed that four hostels, each holding fifty students, should be built facing Thurstan Road. The sub-committee on buildings worked out details for buildings, including laboratories.

The war intervening, nothing much was done, and in any case the correspondence is not in the University files. It seems, though, that Sir Robert Chalmers' decision was reversed. New buildings were erected for Royal College in Racecourse Avenue and it was decided to transfer the old buildings to the University College. ' Regina Walauwa ' in Thurstan Road, now called College House, was purchased, though later when Mr. Marrs asked how much

13. Ibid., p. 5.

it cost he could not find out. The initiative, seems to have come from Mr. E. B. Denham, Director of Education, who on March 17, 1920, summoned a conference of principals of schools. It was then agreed that a minimum age of eighteen be fixed, that the intermediate classes in the schools be dropped, and that the course for the College diploma should be one of three years. A committee on courses was appointed. Its recommendations were based on the assumption that many of the students would want to take London examinations in addition to or in substitution for the diploma examinations.

The Oxford Committee had been re-established and had had two meetings in 1919, when Mr. Denham was present. The Committee would help in selecting professors, of whom five were to come from England—(*a*) English Language and Literature, (*b*) Classics and Philosophy, (*c*) Modern History and Economics, (*d*) Physics and (*e*) Chemistry. One, in Mathematics, was to be obtained locally or from India. Men between twenty-five and thirty, with Oxford or Cambridge Honours degrees, should be appointed. Lecturers in the various subjects should be appointed locally. A Principal was not recommended at the opening of the College, but one of the lecturers should act as Registrar and there should be a College Council presided over by the Director of Education.

Mr. Denham did not at present propose to recommend the building of hostels, though he considered that if the youth of Ceylon was to derive the full benefit from a university training, the University College should be residential and full encouragement should be given to the different religious bodies to provide hostels for their students. He thought that 'Regina Walauwa' would make an admirable hostel when it was no longer needed for teaching purposes.

The University College was opened in College House in January, 1921. Classes in Arts were held in that building, while the Science work was conducted in the Government Technical Schools, pending the completion of the Science Block. That Block was in fact opened by the Governor on October 1, 1921.

II. The Colombo Plan

It will be seen that the Royal College site in Thurstan Road, Colombo, was selected for the site of the University College without any real consideration of its suitability. It was a proposal which did not involve much expense. The Royal College building—now the Arts Block—could be used for lecture rooms. The funds intended for a Biology Block at the Ceylon Medical College could be diverted to the erection of a Science Block. The whole area, including playing fields, was 18½ acres, but this figure was not mentioned until the Battle of Sites began. In the early documents the only suggestion of a possible

alternative site was contained in the views of the Board of Education (London), obtained in 1913 as a result of a despatch from Sir Henry McCallum[14] recommending the adoption of the proposals of the Macleod Committee :

> ' If the Ceylon Government were to decide on a further consideration of the whole matter that it was desirable to give a larger place in the new institution to the study of oriental languages, literature, and history, the decision to locate the College in the buildings of the Royal College, Colombo, would very possibly need revision. It seems likely that a University College intended to appeal to those interested in Eastern learning would be more suitably located in such a place as Kandy than Colombo, and if this were done there would be strong arguments for giving the higher teaching in other art subjects and in science in a place which is probably more healthy and more suited to the student's life and less expensive than residence in Colombo can be. No doubt such a solution would entail a division of the work of the University College between Kandy on the one hand and Colombo on the other hand, for it would not be possible for the clinical instruction of medical students or for the professional part of the lawyers' education to be given elsewhere than in Colombo. But after all the disadvantages entailed by such an arrangement would not exceed those which at present exist in the case of Oxford and Cambridge men who are intending to become doctors or lawyers, for the clinical part of the medical course in both these English Universities is taken in London, and the work in chambers or in a solicitor's office for those studying law is also as a rule done in London. It would no doubt be preferable for the work of the new College to be concentrated if possible at all its stages in one place, but the question is one of balance of advantages and disadvantages, which can only be made if a decision upon the fundamental question of the scope of the College has been determined '.

It was said in the course of the Battle of the Sites that this question was raised ' at the instance of some gentlemen in Ceylon ',[15] but no other evidence of this assertion is known to the present writer. In any case the new Governor, Sir Robert Chalmers, expressed decided views.[16] ' Despite advantages which might be gained by combining the institutions of the proposed College of Tropical Agriculture at Peradeniya, the College should be located in Colombo. To place it at Kandy would have the effect of cutting off from it not only the medical students but also those in training for the teaching profession and of confining it almost entirely to the richer classes. Further, no suitable buildings exist in the neighbourhood of Kandy, whereas in Colombo the new build-

14. Quoted *S.P. V* of 1927, p. 4.
15. *The University Controversy*, by E. V., undated, but apparently written in 1926.
16. *S.P. XVI* of 1915, p. 1.

ings erected for the Royal College can be utilized and a University College can be brought into existence with little delay and relatively little expense '.

He did not meet the argument that removal to Kandy would assist in the development of oriental learning. Nor is it easy to see how the argument could be sustained. The temples in and near Kandy might perhaps provide some inspiration, and even a little manuscript literature, but the libraries of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Colombo Museum would have been even more useful, not only for oriental learning but for occidental learning, too. The case for Peradeniya might have been put on much stronger grounds. The real case for Colombo was that the Faculty of Medicine could not easily be moved, though later experience has shown that it must in any case be in large measure distinct unless a new University Hospital is built—and such a hospital would be more useful in Peradeniya than in Cinnamon Gardens. It will be noted, too, that while the Board of Education thought that Kandy would be less expensive for students, the Governor thought that a College there would be ' confined almost entirely to the richer classes '. The Governor's assertion can be justified only if it be assumed that in Colombo the College would not be wholly residential and that full fees would have to be paid. In that case Colombo would be cheaper for Colombo students and more expensive for out-station students. The Governor nevertheless said that the College ' should, as far as possible, be a residential institution '.[17]

The truth is, probably, that Sir Robert Chalmers did not welcome the idea of finding the money for an entirely new set of buildings. He thought that the Royal College buildings could be used and so save a great deal of expense. At a later stage he appears to have given up the idea of using those buildings. At the conference at Queen's House in November, 1915[18] he said that the proposal to take over and adapt the Royal College buildings had been abandoned and asked the conference to consider ' as the only practicable scheme ' the utilization of the land to the north of Royal College, bounded by Serpentine Road (now Reid Avenue), Racecourse Avenue and Thurstan Road.

In the end this, ' the only practicable scheme ', was itself abandoned. When the end of the war enabled action to be taken the new Director of Education, Mr. E. B. Denham, persuaded the Government to purchase ' Regina Walauwa ', which was renamed ' College House ', in Thurstan Road and to agree to the transfer of the Royal College buildings. A new Royal College was built on the Racecourse Avenue site, where it flourishes to this day.

It will be seen that all this discussion proceeded without any real consideration of the extent of land required for a university. Sir Edward

17. Ibid., p. 2.
18. *S.P. XIV* of 1916, p. 2.

Denham's scheme resulted in the University College being established on 18½ acres of land, including playing fields, and one bungalow. This was the position when Mr. Robert Marrs, who had had seven years university experience in India, assumed duties as Principal in October, 1921. It appears clearly from the subsequent discussions that he read more into the published documents than could be found in them after the controversy developed. He believed that the Government had decided to establish a unitary university in Thurstan Road. It is, however, plain that Sir Henry McCallum had contemplated the possibility of an affiliating university and that Sir Robert Chalmers had completely neglected to ask himself where the University was to be placed and how much land it required. In fact, when Mr. Marrs began to look into the problem in 1923 he found that the 18½ acres in Thurstan Road were insufficient. In a letter to the Colonial Secretary in February, 1923[19] he said that from the decision of the Government to build what is now the Science Block and to hand over what is now the Arts Block, he assumed that ' Government had definitely resolved that the university should be situated in Colombo on and around the site of the present University College . . . Though sections of public opinion still regard it as an open question, the site of the University appears by these signs to be a *chose jugée* '. He added that he was personally of opinion that the University should be situated in Colombo, but he thought it necessary to make sure that the site chosen was large enough to contain all that was required. It seemed to him that all the available land in the ' educational triangle ' would have to be appropriated, and also the vacant land between Racecourse Avenue and Guildford Crescent. This arrangement would be unsatisfactory for Royal College and the question whether the new Royal College (i.e. the present Royal College) ought not to be appropriated for University purposes ought to be discussed.

After a conference with the Principals of the two Colleges, Sir Cecil Clementi, Colonial Secretary, minuted that though probably no progress could be made unless a private benefactor appeared, the best solution would probably be to remove the Royal College to the site of the Lunatic Asylum in Buller's Road (which was to be moved to Angoda) and to hand over the new Royal College buildings (in Racecourse Avenue) to the University. After some difference of opinion, the University College Council agreed in August, 1923. At a conference in the following month, attended by the Colonial Secretary, the Director of Education, the Principal of the University College, the Principal of Royal College, and the Director of Public Works, it was however agreed that the Lunatic Asylum site should be allocated to the university, and Mr. Marrs undertook to work out the minimum needs for university buildings

19. See *Report of the University Site Committee, S.P. V* of 1927, which has been checked against *S.P. IX* of 1927 and the files.

on that site. Then in October, 1923 Mr. W. J. Thornhill, of the Public Works Department, in a conference with Mr. Marrs, suggested a third possibility, the taking over of the land south of Buller's Road, for which flood protection works were in progress and from which the Infectious Diseases Hospital was being removed.

Mr. Marrs brought the site question before the University College Council on November 12, 1923. Three possibilities were under consideration :—

(*a*) The expansion of the College in the educational triangle, taking in Royal College ;

(*b*) The taking over of the Lunatic Asylum, a site of 13 acres, with additional land, making in all 52 acres ;

(*c*) The site of the Infectious Diseases Hospital south of Buller's Road, the whole area being 95 acres.

The Council appointed a sub-committee consisting of Mr. Marrs, Sir Marcus Fernando, Mr. James Peiris, Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam and Dr. Rutherford, and when the sub-committee reported on November 28 the Council agreed emphatically that the Buller's Road site of 95 acres should be selected. In informing the Colonial Secretary Mr. Marrs pointed out that the change of opinion since August was due to the fact that the intention of the Government to move the Infectious Diseases Hospital, which occupied part of the site, was not known to the Council at the earlier meeting. In February, 1924 Mr. Marrs informed the Council that there was a possibility of getting some of the surplus balances of the Island for erecting buildings. The Council promptly reaffirmed its decision in favour of Buller's Road. Sir Cecil Clementi moved in the Legislative Council accordingly on March 20, 1924, and Rs. 3,000,000 were voted to what came to be known as the University Building and Equipment Fund.

Meanwhile Mr. Marrs had indicated, in a letter dated 1st March, 1924, what the requirements of the University would be. The reader will find them grossly inadequate, but that is because he has some knowledge of the present size of the University. A Principal who had suggested in 1924 that by 1950 the University would have over 2,000 students, would have been regarded as a visionary if not a fool. The main requirements were :

Convocation Hall for 800 persons.

Library for 60,000 volumes.

Arts Block for 300 to 500 students (including a lecture theatre for 150 students and two smaller theatres for 100 students each).

Science Blocks (apparently for about 250 or 300 students—the size was specified but not the numbers, quite correctly).

Hostels—three men's hostels for 60 students each.

Cricket ground with cinders track for Athletics, two football grounds and eight tennis-courts.

Quarters for 30 servants.

Space was to be left for a women's hostel for 20 students and a space of two acres for additional laboratories.

It was also suggested that several of the Government bungalows in the neighbourhood might be allocated to members of the staff, but it was not suggested that housing be provided for the whole staff.

After discussion with the architect on October 24, 1924, in which evidently something was said about the heavy cost of these proposals, Mr. Marrs suggested certain modifications which involved reducing the Convocation Hall so as to seat only 600, the omission of the lecture theatre for 150 students, and the deletion of the women's hostel.

Meanwhile the Managing Committee of the Colombo Museum had suggested the transfer of the Museum to the administration of the University, and the Colonial Secretary summoned a meeting of the Finance Committee of the Legislative Council, the University College Council, and the Managing Committee of the Museum. When it met on January 28, 1925, the conference had a full report on the proposed plans (evidently based on the letter of 1st March, 1924 not that of October 24) showing a cost of Rs. 4,500,000. It was assumed that the number of students would be between 500 and 600 (including Law and Medicine) and that if residential accommodation was provided for two years for all persons not residing with parents or guardians hostels for 200 would have to be provided. The Conference agreed that—

(1) The Building and Equipment Fund need not be limited to Rs. 3,000,000 but, if necessary, Rs. 4,500,000 or even more, should be spent.

(2) Competitive designs should be called for.

(3) The Public Works Department should construct.

(4) At the outset there should be hostel accommodation for 180 students under the direct control of the University.

(5) The Government should give facilities to denominational bodies to erect hostels in the neighbourhood, with assistance from public funds.

(6) Colombo Observatory should be transferred to the University.

(7) Colombo Museum should be transferred to the University.

The Government accepted these proposals and instructed Mr. Marrs to refer the plan to the College Council in order that the exact sum of money

required might be worked out. Mr. Marrs reported to the Colonial Secretary in a letter which was published as *Sessional Paper X* of 1925. The proposals made by Mr. Marrs in October, 1924 were approved by the Council and certain alterations made. Excluding the cost of bungalows and stone-facing, which had been included in the estimate of Rs. 4,500,000, the estimate had been reduced to Rs. 3,714,650. But meanwhile building costs had risen by at least 10 per cent., and accordingly the new estimate was Rs. 4,086,115. Additional funds, would be needed for Medicine, Agriculture and Engineering. The Council requested the allocation of an additional Rs. 1,500,000. When this proposal was referred to the Legislative Council, that Council agreed to vote Rs. 1,500,000 as and when required.

It should be added that while these discussions about the site were proceeding from 1923 to 1925, other aspects of the University project had been carefully worked out by Mr. Marrs and the College Council. A scheme of studies had been prepared by a large and representative Academic Committee and Boards of Studies had been set up. Since the Boards had not reported, the scheme had not been approved by the College Council when Mr. Marrs went on leave in 1926. The Council had also appointed a Constitution Committee to settle the University Constitution. This had met twice and had authorised Mr. Marrs to prepare a draft. He had in fact done so, basing his scheme on the recommendations of the Sadler Commission for Dacca and Lucknow, and he had the draft ready for discussion with the Oxford Committee when he went on leave.

(*To be continued*).

Basis of the Neoclassical Theory of Poetry

THE pattern described in this article may seem too simple to be true ; but the neoclassicists were people who liked everything simple. In their hands even the universe fell readily into a simple pattern, fixed for all time :

> All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
> Whose body Nature is, and God the soul ;
> That, chang'd thro' all, and yet in all the same ;
> Great in the earth, as in th' ethereal frame ;
> Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze,
> Glows in the stars, and blossoms in the trees,
> Lives thro' all life, extends thro' all extent,
> Spreads undivided, operates unspent ;
> Breathes in our soul, informs our mortal part,
> As full, as perfect, in a hair as heart :
> .....
> Cease then, nor ORDER Imperfection name :
> Our proper bliss depends on what we blame.
> .....
> All Nature is but Art, unknown to thee ;
> All Chance, Direction, which thou canst not see ;
> All Discord, Harmony not understood ;
> All partial Evil, universal Good :
> And spite of Pride, in erring Reason's spite,
> One truth is clear, WHATEVER IS, IS RIGHT.[1]

Hence neoclassical literary theory is easy to follow. It did not have the insubstantiality of romanticism nor the diversity and complexity of literary movements of this century. It may indeed be summed up in a word : moderation. This moderation could be achieved by making sure that fancy and judgement (imagination and reason as they were termed by the philosopher) shared equally in the creation of poetry.

Moderation was the dominant urge of the Restoration.[2] Charles II was welcomed back in England " for the moderating of Extremities, the Reconciling of Differences, and the satisfying of all Interests ".[3] England was tired of extremes, of novelty, excess and caprice, of the individualism and comparative lawlessness of the Puritan interregnum, and so turned towards constituted authority in church, state and society, as well as in literature. The turning was from the individual to the general : in place of multifarious individual whims people sought a single objective standard ; and they found

1. Alexander Pope, *Essay on Man*, Epistle 1 : 267-276, 281-2, 289-294.

2. See P. S. Wood, " Native Elements in English Neo-Classicism ", M.P. XXIV, 1926, 201-8.

3. The Earl of Manchester's Speech to His Majesty . . . At his Arrival at Whitehall. The 29th of May, 1660.

it in the general opinion, or common sense. Sprat expresses faithfully the mood of thê times in his *History of the Royal Society* :

> The late times of *Civil War*, and *confusion*, to make recompense for their infinite calamities, brought this advantage with them, that they stirr'd up men's minds from *long ease*, and a *lazy rest*, and made them *active*, *industrious* and *inquisitive:* it being the usual benefit that follows upon *Tempests*, and *Thunders* in the *State*, as well as in the *Skie*, that they purifie, and cleer the *Air*, which they disturb. But now since the *Kings* return, the blindness of the former *Ages*, and the miseries of this last, are vanish'd away : now men are generally weary of the *Relicks* of *Antiquity*, and satiated with *Religious Disputes* : Now there is a universal *desire*, and *appetite* after *knowledge*, after the peaceable, the fruitful, the nourishing *Knowledge:* and not after that of antient Sects, which only yielded hard indigestible *arguments*, or sharp *contentions* instead of *food:* which when the minds of men requir'd *bread*, gave them only a *stone*, and for *fish* a serpent.[4]

Common-sense was the new signpost, pointing always to the middle way. Accordingly, the reconstructed monarchy was a compromise between the extremes " Of popular sway and arbitrary reign ".[5] The Church of England was a compromise between the Roman Catholic Church and the dissenters. The Roman Catholic Church stood for absolute authority and centralised church government ; the dissenting sects advocated private judgement and decentralised government. On the one side there was tradition and a set form of service ; on the other, disrespect for tradition and varying degrees of spontaneity in public worship. In all these respects the Church of England followed the mean. It held to tradition but at the same time called for a measure of private judgement. In church government it rejected the autocracy of Rome and the anarchy of decentralisation. It retained a set form for its service but reduced ceremonial. The Roman Catholics accused it of forsaking truth, and the dissenters, of retaining error. And meanwhile Anglican preachers railed against both Puritan and Papist, those who sought revolution as well as those who shunned reform, all, in short, who departed from the middle way.

Singularity in anything was out of favour. In dress for instance. Thus Richard Head says sarcastically of the dissenters :

> Their speech and habits they cannot indure should be like their Neighbours, and are very curious to be in all things contrary to the common mode, that they may be taken notice of for singular men.[6]

In *Hudibras* Butler satirizes fanaticism, eccentricity, enthusiasm and unconventionality. The Overdoer, for example is always wrong because he is always immoderate. Butler drives this point home in his note on the Overdoer :

> for Those that Use *Excess* in any Thing never understand the Truth of it, which always lies in *the Mean*.[7]

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4. 1667, pp. 152, 153.
5. J. Dryden, *The Medal.*
6. *Proteus Redivivus*, 1675, p. 236.
7. *Characters and Passages from Notebooks* ed. A. R. Waller, Cambridge, 1908, p. 273.

In *Absalom and Achitophel*, Part I, Dryden finds that the solution to one of the major political crises of the times lies with " the moderate sort of men ". Even parties in this age of moderation should avoid extremes :

> We have, like them [poets of the age of Augustus], our Genial Nights ; where our discourse is neither too serious, nor too light ; but alwayes pleasant, and for the most part instructive : the raillery neither too sharp upon the present, nor too censorious on the absent ; and the Cups onely such as will raise the Conversation of the Night, without disturbing the business of the Morrow.[8]

Matthew Prior hoped that he might be neither mournful nor frivolous

> Democritus, dear droll, revisit earth,
> And with our follies glut thy heightened mirth ;
> Sad Heraclitus, serious wretch, return,
> In louder grief our greater crimes to mourn.
> Between you both I unconcerned stand by :
> Hurt, can I laugh ? and honest, need I cry ?[9]

And a landlady was applauded because,

> With a just trim of virtue her soul was endued,
> Not affectedly pious nor secretly lewd,
> She cut even between the coquette and the prude.[10]

Literature, like everything else, had to achieve a balance between extremes. It must be neither too bright nor too dull, neither too deep nor too shallow, neither too hot nor too cold, and so on. In must attain the classical equipoise, the silver mean of the neoclassicists. This worship of moderation accounts for the neoclassicists' penchant for coupling contraries. After 1660 almost all critical statements on the nature of poetry contain lists of coupled contraries. Worth in poetry, they would lead us to believe, can come only from an even blending of such-and-such qualities with their opposites.

> The true wonder of Poesy is, That such contraries must meet to compose it : a Genius both Penetrating and Solid ; in Expression both Delicacy and Force ; and the Frame or Fabrick of a true Poem must have something both Sublime and Just, Amazing and Agreeable. There must be a great Agitation of Mind to Invent, and a great Calm to Judge and correct ; there must be upon the same Tree, and at the same Time, both Flower and Fruit.[11]
>
> for in fine, to accomplish a Poet, is required a temperament of wit and fancy, of strength and of sweetness, of penetration and of delicacy : and above all things, he must have a sovereign eloquence, and a profound capacity.[12]
>
> where is that sparkling Wit, and that solid Judgment ? That flame and that flegm ? That rapture and that moderation which constitute that Genius we enquire after ?[13]

Many poets in the past did not possess these opposite faculties in equal measure and so failed to achieve a just balance in their poetry.

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8. J. Dryden, " Dedication of *The Assignation, or Love in a Nunnery* ", 1673, sig. A3.
9. " Democritus and Heraclitus ", in W. P. Ker, *Restoration Verse*, 1660-1715, p. 304.
10. Matthew Prior, " Jinny the Just ", in Ker, ibid., p 308.
11. Sir William Temple, " Of Poetry " 1690, in *Seventeenth Century Critical Essays* ed. J. E. Spingarn, Oxford, 1909, III. 81.
12. R. Rapin, *Reflections on Aristotle's Treatise of Poësie*, tr. Thos. Rymer, 1674, p. 3.
13. ibid., pp. 7, 8.

> *Lucan* often in his *Pharsalia* grows flat for want of Wit. And *Ovid* in his *Metamorphosis* sometimes loses himself through his defect of judgment. *Ariosto* has too much flame. *Dante* has none at all. *Boccace's* wit is just, but not copious; the Cavalier *Marino* is luxuriant, but wants that justness . . .[14]

Not so Virgil, however, who " maintains Majesty in the midst of plainness; he shines but glares not; and is stately without ambition, which is the vice of *Lucan* ".[15] Richard Blackmore in his *Creation* also achieves the desired balance :

> The Reader cannot but be pleased to find the Depths of Philosophy enlivened with all the Charms of Poetry, and to see so great a Strength of Reason, amidst so beautiful a Redundancy of the Imagination.[16]

There must be a balance between the pleasing and the profitable :

> As the Inventions of Sages and Law-givers do please as well as profit those who approve and follow them, so those of Poets Instruct and Profit as well as please . . . and the happy mixture of both these makes the excellency in both these compositions.[17]

> To instruct delightfully is the general end of all Poetry.[18]

Another essential balance was that of probability : the mean between the historical and the fantastic.

> *Poetry* has no life, nor can have any operation, without *probability;* it may indeed amuse the People, but moves not the *Wise*, for whom alone (according to *Pythagoras*) it is ordain'd.[19]

> For what there is in any Poem, which is out of Nature, and contrary to *Verisimilitude* and *Probability*, can never be *Beautiful*, but *Abominable*.[20]

Finally Bouhours' clever definition of wit, " C'est un corps solide qui brille "[21], is a statement of balance between contraries.

The basic balance was that between fancy and judgement. Once this was established all other desired balances would follow naturally. If fancy and judgement concurred in the production of poetry, the resulting poetry would be instructive and delightful, probable without being prosaic, neither too fantastic nor too dull, and so on.

The opposition between fancy and judgement, or between imagination and reason as these faculties were called by the philosophers, was one of the determining conceptions of seventeenth century thought. The thought of the century was directed towards a subjugation of imagination to reason.

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14. ibid., p. 2.

15. J. Dryden, " Preface to *Sylvae* ", 1685, sig. A6.

16. J. Addison, *Spectator*, No. 339, 29th March, 1712.

17. Sir William Temple, op. cit., in Spingarn, op. cit. III. 74.

18. J. Dryden, " Preface to *Troilus and Cressida* ", 1679, sig. A2.

19. T. Rymer, " Preface to the Translation of Rapin's *Reflections on Aristotle's Treatise o jPoesie* ", 1674, in Spingarn, op. cit., II, 165.

20. Charles Gyldon, " An Essay on the Art, Rise and Progress of the Stage in Greece, Rome, and England ", in N. Rowe, *Works of Mr. William Shakespeare*, 1709, VII, viii

21. *Les Entretiens d 'Ariste et d'Eugene*, Amst. 1671, p. 211.

According to Bacon, the scholars had been locked up in their own little worlds and committed to subjective speculation within these worlds. Weary of the confusions this had created, seventeenth century thinkers turned away from the subjective faculty, imagination, to the objective faculty, reason, the faculty which had most to do with establishing truths about the world outside oneself. "Things, not words" became the motto of the newly-founded Royal Society. Bacon had warned that reason may be seduced by the vehicles of the imagination, poetry and eloquence, "which do paint and disguise the true appearance of things".[22] And from Bacon's time on scientists and philosophers joined in lowering imagination and elevating reason.

Reason was supreme in Stoicism and the Cartesian philosophy, two of the dominant philosophies of the latter half of the century. Another popular school expounded the theory of the two worlds in man, one consisting of the higher powers, will, understanding, and mind, and the other consisting of lower powers, sense, imagination and "bruitish Affection", which can acquaint him only with things "Terrene and Earthy".[23]

In a century whose main intellectual movements were concerned with lowering the status of imagination, it is no wonder that poetry, an imaginative creation, should be distrusted except by the few; and that even the few who kept faith in it should come to distrust its imaginative element. Bacon had noted the antinomy between poetry and reason—poetry submits "the shows of things to the desires of the mind; whereas reason doth buckle and bow the mind unto the nature of things"[24] —and realisation of this antinomy grew during the century into a dilemma; as such it is well described by Henry Barker in 1700:

> If we respect only the Senses, and their Pleasures, the Imagination, and its Charms, the Passions and their Motions; a good *Poet*, I confess, is really inestimable, because amongst the other Pleasures of the Mind, the Talent of Poetry is the most exquisite, especially to Persons of a delicate Fancy.
>
> But if we guide ourselves by our Reason and its Decisions, this Quality becomes on a sudden contemptible; the pretended Charms and Excellencies of a *Poets* Wit being like those dull heavy Beauties we look on with Indifference.[25]

Those who put reason first, the philosophers and the scientists, naturally took the second of these two alternatives and had a poor opinion of poetry. They regarded it as mere trifling, at best a refined sort of trifling.

> I that am too simple or too serious to be cajol'd with the frenzies of a bold and ungovern'd Imagination cannot be perswaded to think the Quaintest plays and sportings of wit to be any true and real knowledge.[26]

22. Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, Everyman edn., 1915, pp. 82, 83.

23. Benjamin Whichcote, *The Works of Reason*, 1660, n E. T. Campagnac *The Cambridge Platonists*, Oxford, 1901, pp. 51, 52.

24. op. cit., p. 12.

25. *The Polite Gentleman*, p. 80.

26. Samuel Parker, *A Free and Impartial Censure of the Platonick Philosophie*, 1670, p. 73.

Poets and critics of poetry could not of course afford to think so lowly of their profession or pet interest, whichever it happened to be, but they were nonetheless impelled by the trend of opinion in their times to call for more judgement and less fancy in poetry. They blamed fancy for the excesses of metaphysical and Italianate poetry, and claimed that such excesses might be avoided if fancy were controlled by judgement.

> I was transported [Dryden of his *Eleonora*] by the Multitude and Variety of my Similitudes ; which are generally the Product of a luxuriant Fancy ; and the Wantonness of Wit.[27]

> Into what Enormities hath *Petrarch* run in his *Africa: Ariosto* in his *Orlando Furioso;* Cavalier *Marino* in his *Adonis*, and all the other *Italians* who were ignorant of *Aristotle's* Rules ; and followed no other guides but their own Genius and capricious Fancy . . .[28]

> Fancy with them [the Arabians] is predominant, is wild, vast, and unbridled, o're which their *judgment* has little command or authority : hence their conceptions are monstrous, and have nothing of exactness, nothing of resemblance or proportion.[29]

Addison looks upon writers of this kind " as *Goths* in Poetry, who, like those in Architecture, not being able to come up to the beautiful Simplicity of the old *Greeks* and *Romans*, have endeavoured to supply its Place with all the Extravagances of an irregular Fancy ".[30]

The neoclassicists could not, like earlier ages, willingly enter into the fantastic world of Italianate poetry. They did not feel at home in enchanted woods where trees were bewitched and turned into people, where gossamer maidens precipitated bloody duels, where horses flew, where dragons vomited their young from innumerable heads, and where knights had magical swords as well as valiant hearts. All this world of " *Chimerical* and *Romantick Knight-errantry* "[31] seemed spurious to them. Moreover with all these extravagances of subject went the other excesses of poetry, incoherent plots, involved witticisms, forced metaphors, and the rest.

For all these excesses fancy was held responsible : it contained the sparks of all excess ; even of madness.

> when once the Imagination is so inflam'd, as to get the better of the Understanding, there is no Difference between the Images, and the Things themselves ; as we see, for Example, in Fevers and Madmen.[32]

> Every man who is not absolutely beside himself, must of necessity hold his Fancys under some kind of Discipline and Management. The *stricter* this Discipline is, the more the Man is rational and in his Wits. The *looser* it is, the more fantastical he must be, and the Nearer to the Madman's State.[33]

A near-madman writes to Mr. Spectator saying that his fancy is out of hand. He frequently sees castles rising out of nothing or dissolving in mists and gusts

27. " Dedication of *Eleonara* ", 1709, p. 3.
28. Rapin, op. cit., p. 15.
29. Rymer, op. cit., in Spingarn, op. cit., II. 165.
30. *Spectator*, No. 62, 11th May, 1711.
31. Rapin, op. cit., p. 82.
32. J. Dennis, " The Advancement and Reformation of Modern Poetry ", in *The Critical Works of John Dennis*, ed. E. N. Hooker, Baltimore, 1939 I, 2.
33. Anthony Ashley Cooper, *Soliloquy : or Advice to an Author*, 1710, p. 164.

of wind. He begs Mr. Spectator to suggest a means of cooling his brain-pan (that is, of curbing his fancy. Neoclassicists held the quaint belief that heat quickened the imagination. An overheated imagination, they thought, inevitably produced excesses. It was no wonder that the Egyptians, living as they did in a very hot country, called their ruler " Nutmeg of Delight ! ")[34].

It was clear that this faculty, which if allowed complete freedom, stimulated the hallucinations of madness or created a poem like " a continuance of extraordinary Dreams, such as excellent Poets and Painters, by being over-studious, may have in the beginning of Feavers ",[35] must be controlled. Poets and critics, like all other intellectuals of their day, turned to the sovereign corrective, reason.

> Love Reason, then: and let whate're you Write
> Borrow from her its Beauty, Force and Light.[36]

Reason must restrain fancy if poetry were not to become extravagant and ridiculous.

> As all is dulness, when the Fancy's bad,
> So without Judgment, Fancy is but mad ;[37]

> for though *Poesie* be the effect of fancy, yet if this fancy be not regulated, 'tis a meer Caprice . . .[38]

> Imagination in a Poet is a faculty so Wild and Lawless, that like an High-ranging Spaniel, it must have Cloggs tied to it, least it out-run the Judgment.[39]

Fancy was frequently likened to a bird which should fly high but never out of sight. Dryden remarks of Settle's fancy that it never flew out of sight but often sank out of sight.[40] Wesley talks of fancy as " *Headstrong Coursers* " which must be kept in rein.[41]

Detailed analyses of the mental processes of fancy and judgement were made. Hobbes' analysis is too famous to need quotation, and Wesley's is merely a variation of Hobbes', with a fuller description of judgement's function :

> *Judgment's* the *Act of Reason ;* that which brings
> Fit *Thoughts* to *Thoughts*, and argues *Things* from *Things*,
> True, Decent, Just, are in its *Balance* try'd,
> And thence we learn to *Range, Compound, Divide.*[42]

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34. J. Addison, *Spectator*, No. 160, 3rd September, 1711.
35. Sir William Davenant, " Preface to *Gondibert* ", 1650, in Spingarn, op. cit., II, 6.
36. Sir W. Soames and J. Dryden, *The Art of Poetry*, by the Sieur de Boileau, Made English, 1683, p. 3.
37. John Sheffield, " An Essay upon Poetry ", 1682, in Spingarn, op. cit., II, 287.
38. Rapin, op. cit., p. 7.
39. J. Dryden, " Epistle Dedicatory to *The Rival Ladies* ", 1664, sig. A4.
40. " Preface to Notes and Observations on *The Empress of Morocco* ", 1674, in Scott and Saintsbury, *Works of John Dryden*, XV, 406.
41. Samuel Wesley, *An Epistle to a Friend Concerning Poetry*, 1700, p. 2.
42. ibid.

The subtlest analysis was that given by Dr. Walter Charleton in his *Two Discourses*, 1669 :

> By *Judgment* we distinguish sublity in objects neerly resembling each other, and discerning the real dissimilitude betwixt them, prevent delusion by their apparent similitude . . .
>
> By *Imagination*, on the contrary ; we conceive some certain similitude in objects really unlike, and pleasantly confound them in discourse : Which by its unexpected *Fineness*, and allusion surprising the Hearer, renders him less curious of the truth of what is said.[43]

A caution must be added. At no point in neoclassical criticism is it suggested that fancy should be debarred from poetry. Judgement was to correct, not to replace, fancy. Neoclassical poetry was not a " poetry of reason " (though this phrase may be of some use in comparing neoclassical poetry with that of certain other movements). The neoclassical critics, no less than romantic theorists, gave pride of place in poetical creation to fancy ; but at the same time—and this is where they differ from the romantic theorists—they insisted that fancy should share this pride of place with judgement. Most believed that fancy and judgement were of about equal importance, although there was some show of favouritism. Critics like Rymer, Le Bossu and Rapin, seem to attach more importance to judgement than to fancy, while others, like Dryden, Wolseley and Pope, clearly favour fancy. Pope prefers Homer to Virgil because Homer has more fancy than Virgil. " A cooler Judgement ", he says, " may commit fewer Faults, and be more approv'd in the Eyes of *One Sort* of Criticks : but that Warmth of Fancy will carry the loudest and most universal Applauses which holds the Heart of a Reader under the strongest Enchantment ".[44] George Farquhar goes so far as to say that Homer was too much a Poet to give Rules to that, whose excellence he knew consisted in a free and unlimited Flight of Imagination.[45] Farquhar, however, is an exception. As has already been stated, the majority were in favour of a fairly even blend of the imaginative and rational elements. The mean in this as in everything.

PETER ELKIN

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43. p. 19.

44. " Preface to the Translation of *The Iliad* ", 1715, in *Critical Essays of the Eighteenth Century* (1700-1725), ed. W. H. Durham, New Haven 1915, p. 341.

45. *A Discourse upon Comedy*, 1702, in Durham, op. cit., p. 271.

Society and Ideology in Ceylon during a 'Time of Troubles', 1795-1850. (1)

THE FIRST PHASE: EXPERIMENT AND REVOLT

'No collection of facts is ever complete, because the Universe is without bounds. And no synthesis or interpretation is ever final, because there are always fresh facts to be found after the first collection has been provisionally arranged'.

(A. J. TOYNBEE: *A Study of History*).

THE vicissitudes of the expression 'culture', as used in the social and historical sciences, are indicative of a significant reorientation in our attitude to social phenomena in recent times. In the usage of archaeologists in particular, the term 'culture' at one time referred almost exclusively to tangible and observable things, notably technological devices such as firearms, axes, and ploughs. The term was subsequently used in a much wider sense and included such intangible and invisible phenomena as religion, magic, and ideologies, and finally became an all-inclusive abstraction referring to all things relating to human beings. The significance of this latter connotation of 'culture' is that we now recognise the fact that even material items of 'culture' can never be properly appreciated in terms of their physical constitution alone, without a knowledge of their non-material coefficients. An idol, a flag, or a crucifix, have no cultural significance except in terms of the meanings attributed to them and the beliefs which they symbolize.

This attitude to 'culture' has had its effects on the historical studies. For very often certain concrete events have repercussions which are not immediately apparent. Thus the Black Death in Europe reduced the populations of countries like England and France by one-third within eighteen months; the consequent scarcity of labourers, by changing the existing social relations of Lord and Vassal, was instrumental in destroying the *status quo* of feudal society. Likewise, the process which Maine characterised as the transition from status to contract, the emancipation of the individual from the restraints of a feudal society in which man was conscious of himself only through some general category, such as a corporation, race, or family, gave rise to a profound sense of drift in the face of the a-moral freedom of a bleak laissez-faire ethos.[1]

1. Cf. Sir H. Maine's account of 'the gradual dissolution of family dependency and the growth of individual obligation in its place' (Ch. v. *Ancient Law*, 1861, C. K. Allen's edition, Oxford, 1931, p. 140). For an exposition of the group-conceptions of mediaeval society, cf. Jakob Burckhardt's *Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (1860, Tr. S. G. C. Middlemore, Oxford, 1945, p. 81 et. seq.), and for an excellent analysis of the consequences of the rise of individualism, *vide* Erich Fromm: *The Fear of Freedom* (London, 1942).

Our interests have shifted from the external manifestations of wars and revolutions *per se*, to the less obvious repercussions of such events in the human mind. Even the historian engaged in archivist research reaches a stage when he is beleaguered by a mass of facts and has perforce to resort to synthesis and interpretation. ' If history is to regain its place in the general intellectual movement of our time, it must restore to the full its erstwhile connection with social generalisations '.[2]

There are innumerable historical instances of societies confronted with various social stimuli to which they respond in different ways. These responses, whether they take the form of surrender or revolt, can be properly analysed only in the context of the total social situation. The Protestant Ethic in Europe, for instance, is not wholly intelligible save in the context of secular stimuli such as nationalism, capitalism, and democracy.[3] The sociological significance of that Ethic lies in the fact that it was a potent lever in extricating European society from feudal stasis. Released from mediaeval parochialism, the expansive polities of Europe were not content with confining their energies within their national boundaries. In the industrial civilization of the Liberal Age, the market was increasingly the arbiter of economic expansion, and the market was not limited by the boundaries of nationality. Improved means of communication was one significant aspect of the Industrial Revolution and linked the economies of far-flung countries.[4] Men were compelled to think in terms of a ' world economy ' from whose tentacles no country could escape completely. Sooner or later inter-national economic forces made their impact on those ' blind alley civilizations ' of the Eternal East which, having reached a point of social and intellectual stasis, were governed by a *vis inertiae;* they were content to derive their inspiration from the Past. Having remained for centuries at this stage of Archaism, ' the usual *denouement* is for some alien empire-builder to step into the breach and to perform for the ailing society the service that ought to have been performed by native hands '.[5] Marx long ago posed the pertinent question: ' Can mankind fulfil its destiny without a fundamental revolution in the social state of Asia ? If not, whatever may have been the crimes of England, she was the unconscious tool of history in

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2. M. Postan : History and the social sciences (in The Social Sciences : their relations in theory and in teaching, London, 1936). A classic sociological approach to historical data is represented in the work of the fourteenth century Arabic historian Ibn Khaldoun (Les Prolegomenes, Tr. de Slane, Paris, 3 vols. 1934-1938).

3. cf. H. R. Niebuhr : Protestantism (in *Enc. Soc. Scs.*, Vol. 12), and P. C. Gordon Walker : Capitalism and the Reformation (*Econ. Hist. Review*, November, 1937).

4. It is interesting to note, however, that even at the close of the eighteenth century, Governor North arrived in Bombay after a ' short and prosperous voyage ' of four months ! (North to Dundas, British Museum Wellesley Mss. No. 13866).

5. Toynbee : *A Study of History* (Vol. 5, p. 341).

bringing about that revolution '.[6] The Eternal East had perforce to adapt itself to the ideology of an industrial civilization. In Ceylon, the process of ideological transformation set in motion social forces which made the first phase of British rule, the period of experiment and revolt, one of unprecedented social and intellectual ferment.

Under the Portuguese and the Dutch, the traditional social and economic system of the Sinhalese continued unimpaired in its significant aspects. The Portuguese colonizers in Asia were scrupulous in their observance of caste distinctions. A Bull of Pope Gregory XV went to the extent of sanctioning the observance of caste distinctions in the seating arrangements in South Indian churches.[7] And Queyroz contends that one of the chief causes of discontent in the latter decades of Portuguese rule in Ceylon was the callous indifference to caste on the part of officials.[8] The Dutch also rigidly adhered to the caste system as the basis of social and economic organization and numerous *placaats* were concerned with the enforcement of caste obligations: thus a decree of October 11th, 1759 ordered 'that natives shall perform such government services as they on account of their castes are obliged to perform notwithstanding they dress themselves like Europeans', while a Resolution of March 23rd, 1753 was designed 'to prevent the irregular copulation of Chalias and the inconveniences arising therefrom'.[9] Indeed, as Codrington contends, land tenure and economic organization of the Littoral under the Portuguese and the Dutch was more representative of the traditional economic system than that which functioned contemporaneously in the Kandyan provinces. For under the latter Kandyan Kings the traditional system of land tenure was in process of disintegration: a growing sense of individual rights in land gave rise to a great deal of litigation.[10] In contrast to their imperial predecessors, the British had little sympathy for the odious restraints of caste and feudal economic relations.

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6. Karl Marx: *The British Rule in India* (New York Tribune, June 25th, 1853, rep. in E. Burns: *A Handbook of Marxism*, London, 1935, p. 187).

7. cf. C. S. Ghurye: *Caste and Race in India* (London, 1932), p. 164.

8. De Queyroz: *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon* (tr. Rev. S. G. Perera), Colombo, 1930, Vol. 3, pp. 1024-5.

9. The Dutch regulations as to caste were extremely detailed, and some of their Resolutions were concerned with such details as fixing the dress and the marriage ceremonies of barbers and washermen. These are enumerated in a codification of decrees made by G. L. de Costa (*Description of the Dissave of the Province of Colombo*, Hultsdorf, December 15th, 1770; and Fritz's *The Class and Castes of the Natives*, Galle, 20th August, 1793, etc. in C.O. 54/124). These translations were made at the instance of Sir Alexander Johnstone.

10. H. W. Codrington: *Ancient Land Tenure and Revenue in Ceylon* (Colombo, 1938), p. 63.

When the Dutch possessions of the Littoral capitulated to the British forces, these Maritime Provinces were governed for three years from the British administrative headquarters at Madras (1795-1798). One of the first decisions of the Madras Administration was to replace the Sinhalese Mudaliyars by Madrassi Amildars and inferior officers sent over from Madras to establish the system of land revenue operating in India. In consequence, a formidable revolt broke out, and the Committee of Investigation which was appointed to inquire into the disturbances and to review the system of administration, came to the conclusion that the transfer of authority to foreign officials was ' a pregnant source of discontent '.[11] This impolitic arrangement had alienated the native officials who, under the Dutch government, had acted as liaison-officers between the European administration and the inhabitants.

The system of land tenure in Ceylon was the basis of the social and economic life of the people. It was unique in its structure and differed from that of ' the opposite coast '. The King was ' lord of the earth '. Hence the legal maxim current in the third century that ' ownerless land belongs to the King ' refers to the automatic escheat of vacant or abandoned holdings which *ipso facto* reverted to the Crown. The King was also entitled to revenue from the land, or to services from grantees of land. It follows that there were only two parties to the land, whose interests were reciprocal : the King, in whom ultimate property in land vested, and the subject who was required to pay a share of the gross produce, or a commuted tax, or perform specified or unspecified services, in return for the protection he enjoyed. Thus the system of land tenure was the foundation of a purely agrarian economy and was no more than an intricate web of rights and duties. The question of ownership of land hardly arises since grants were made not of land as such, but of revenue and other rights (e.g., exemption from taxes) on certain conditions (e.g., performance of services), for definite or indefinite periods. Private interests and rights were inseparable from political allegiance, and the duties of the subject were, in the last resort, compulsory. For the King could enforce these duties appertaining to the land by appropriate penalties.[12] In general, the economic system resembled the mediaeval European system of sub-infeudation except that in certain cases land was derived directly from the King who, as absolute lord of the land, granted a specific type of allotment (i.e. service tenures, or ' lands of favour ') to individuals, castes, or classes, for services ranging from meritorious military service, to lesser duties such as the running of court errands.[13] The system was extremely complicated

11. Proceedings of the Committee of Investigation on the Revenues of Ceylon, 1797-1798, (in Wellesley Mss., British Museum, No. 13864).

12. i.e. Expropriation in the case of service tenures, on which basis most of the land was held, cf. H. W. Codrington, op. cit. (p. 19).

13. E. Reimers : *Feudalism in Ceylon* (*JRASCB*, XXXI/81), and Ribeiro's *Historic Tragedy of Ceilao* (1685, Tr. P. E. Pieris, 1948 ed., Part I, Ch. x).

in its details but, in brief, it is true to say that it was based on three types of tenure : lands of which government retained immediate possession, i.e., ' the King's Villages '; non-service tenures, which in effect were allotments of land permanently alienated by the state on condition of receiving a share of the produce or a tax ; and service tenures, which could not be alienated or seized for debt, and included all lands temporarily alienated by government on condition of receiving the benefit of personal services performed by the grantees according to their castes.—' The land was divided into different portions, each of which was appropriated to the realization of one particular object of government, whether of religion, finance, justice or defence—personal service, variously modified according to this appropriation, thus constituted the tenure upon which land was occupied, and upon a failure of that service, the King resumed possession. No individual was therefore taxed but in the object of his possession. The soldier and civilian in their respective service, the cultivator of the land in its produce, the workman in his merchandise, and the daily labourer in certain portions of his labour '.[14]

Although liable to abuse, the economic system of Traditional Ceylon was one admirably suited to the disposition of the people, since their ' natural indolence ' made it impossible to obtain labour for wages, ' for no temptation of reward, within the bounds of reason, can induce a Sinhalese to labour while he can exist in idleness '.[15] Their land-holdings entailed a counter-obligation on their part to render to the state either a part of the produce of the land or personal service. Scarcity of specie did not permit the conversion of grain into money.[16] Hence there was no use storing an abundance of agricultural produce which was liable to perish, little inducement to labour unduly, or to over-work slaves.[17] Even undue exaction of tribute in such a barter economy was unnecessary. Thus statements to the effect that the peasants were ' oppressed ' must be appraised in the context of these circumstances. It can indeed be said without exaggeration that the system of regulated services linking lord to peasant, provided a self-regulating mechanism for preventing such oppression.

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14. Minute of the President of the Polit. Dept., February 16th, 1798 (Wellesley Mss. 13864). For confirmation *vide* Schurhammer and Voretzsch : *Ceylon* (Leipzig, 1928), Vol. I, p. 196.

15. Proceedings of Committee (Wellesley Mss. 13864, 16-8-1797).

16. Sir A. C. Lawrie remarked that the exorbitant rate of interest (120 per cent.) in the Kandyan country was proof of the scarcity of floating money (*Kandyan Law and History*. Materials collected for two projected works found among his papers after his death in 1914. 5 Mss. Vols. in Colonial Office Library, London).

17. Regarding treatment of slaves cf. D'Oyly : *Constitution of the Kandyan Kingdom* (L. J. B. Turner's ed. 1928, p. 79 : ' in no part of the world is slavery in a milder form ').

It was this complex political and economic system that the Madras Administration attempted to bring into line with the Indian system by substituting wages for service. Grants of land were now auctioned, and the highest bidder had the monopolistic right of 'farming' the revenues. But the people regarded this arrangement as 'an arbitrary deprivation of that property that they had enjoyed under the Kandyan, Portuguese and Dutch Governments'.[18] The Madrassi officers, in 'farming' the revenues, proved to be 'a set of wretches, whose speculations are plunder, whose interests are permanently foreign to the country, and whose rapacious dispositions are perpetually urged forward by the precariousness of their tenure'. There was universal discontent against the new administration, and Lord Hobart concluded that 'the system is so radically bad, that it cannot be sufficiently reprobated';[19]

> 'The renting or farming system is certainly the most convenient, and circumstanced as we are in Ceylon, perhaps the only one that can be successfully resorted to, but the evils to which that system must ever be liable, may be alleviated or aggravated, according to the manner in which it is conducted—Mr. Adam Smith justly observes that the farmers of the Revenue "have no bowels for the contributors, who are not their subjects and whose universal bankruptcy, if it should happen the next day after their farm is expired, would not much affect their interests"'.

Adam Smith certainly was emphatic on this point, and remarks that 'even a bad sovereign feels more compassion for his people than can ever be expected from the "farmer" of his revenue'.[20] And this was exactly what happened in Ceylon. The Madrassis had come over for the sole purpose of 'farming' the revenue and had no interest in anything but peculation and extortion: 'I am certain that no mode for destroying a country could have been devised, that was more completely calculated by the vexations with which it must inevitably be attended, to create amongst the natives and Resident Inhabitants, the most rooted abhorrence of, and disgust to the British Government', concluded Lord Hobart. The Committee of Investigation concurred with these views. As Brigadier General de Meuron commented in a perspicacious Minute;

> 'The Habits and Prejudices of a nation can only be changed by one of two Modes: Gradually, by *mildness* and a clear demonstration of the superior advantages they will derive from the proposed alteration,

18. Minute of Pres. of Polit. Dept, 16-2-1798 (Wellesley Mss. 13864).

19. Minute of the President in Council. June 9th, 1797 (Wellesley Mss. 13864).

20. Adam Smith: *The Wealth of Nations* (1776, Cannan's ed., rep. in Modern Library), p. 854. Hobart's quotation is from this same passage.

or *violently* by the compulsive efforts of superior Force. The distrust natural to an unenlightened People it is always difficult to remove, and every change excites their suspicions.

'Mildness and persuasion, it appears, were not the distinguishing features of our change of system; and our Force was inadequate to *compel* obedience'.[21]

The Committee found that the districts neighbouring Colombo were 'in open rebellion against the authority of government, and others were showing symptoms of discontent'. To prevent the spread of this smouldering unrest to areas that were relatively tranquil, the Committee recommended a reversion to the traditional system of economic organization. The Madrassi revenue farmers were to be replaced by a regular judicial authority in each Korale or group of villages forming an administrative unit. The chief magistrate or Mudaliyar, and his subordinate officers were 'to be selected from the Vellales, or superior caste of Cingalese exclusively'.[22] For these Mudaliyars had been the channels of communication between the Dutch government and the inhabitants, and their restoration was 'an object of political expediency':

'By vesting the Mudliars with all the authority that may be deemed advisable to entrust to the native servants, you confirm power to men who are remarkable for the value they set upon their situations; who have a thorough knowledge of the dispositions, prejudices, and customs of the people; to whose authority the Inhabitants have been in the habit of submitting; and whom ancient usage has taught them uniformly to respect'.[23]

Another consequence of the abolition of the traditional system of service tenures was that labour had become unprocurable. Although formerly, in a collectivist system, the people served according to their castes in various government 'departments', they now refused to work for wages. This was an unanticipated reaction, for the British officials assumed that the Sinhalese would offer their services for money wages in order to 'better themselves'. But that was an assumption based on experience of human behaviour in an individualistic society. In Traditional Ceylon commerce was at a minimum and the basic structure of the social fabric and the constitution of its ethos were such, that there was no inducement for individuals to exert themselves in accumulating wealth: 'For what should they do with more than food and raiment, seeing that as their estates increase, so do their taxes also... Neither have they any encouragement to industry, having no vend, by traffic and commerce, for what they have got' (Knox). Taxes were paid to the King,

21. Minute of Brig. Gen. de Meuron (Wellesley Mss. 13864).

22. Proceedings of the Committee of Investigation, 16-8-1787 (Wellesley Mss. 13864).

23. Minutes of Consultation in the Political Department, 16-2-1798, (ibid.)

' the preserver of the Law of the Buddha ', as a matter of religious duty.[24] But when they were released from the traditional obligation to serve the government, they were not prepared to work for money wages. As de Meuron complained, ' The people of Ceylon, the most indolent race in India, conceive that their release from the services they were formerly *bound* to perform is connected with a perfect freedom from all labour whatsoever ; and workmen are not to be procured at any Price '. The re-instituted native headmen were ordered to procure a specified number of labourers ' at a suitable and regular Price ', and a part of the demands on the produce of the land remitted by the government on that account.

Governor North reluctantly agreed that a return to the Dutch system was expedient ' though I have no scruple in declaring that under the Dutch and their predecessors, no one (system) could be imagined more directly hostile to Property, Industry, and Improvement, and to the Felicity of the People '. But the traditional felicity of the Sinhalese was something different to the Felicity of the Liberal Age in England. In Traditional Ceylon, Buddhism as the national religion, together with the institution of caste, the system of land tenure, Kingship, and King's Duty (*Rājakāriya*, the equivalent of the mediaeval European *regale servitium*), were elements of an ethos which presupposed social relations of reciprocity and mutuality of obligation. Hocart has explained that modern peoples have lost the secret of making it a joy to pay taxes, because religious belief is no longer the rule. As long as belief is unimpaired tithes are paid to the monarch in whom the spirit of the macrocosm resides. ' There is something to be said for a view of life which makes men so anxious to serve the public '.[25] In terms of such a scale of values, the struggle for existence in a ruthlessly competitive social order would have been considered odious, since it unleashed those selfish and avaricious impulses which Buddhism expressly strove to sublimate.

A classic instance of the transition from *gemeinschaft* feudal relations based on rights in land, to the *gesellschaft* relations of an industrial society in which cash payments had almost become the sole nexus between man and man, is provided by the Liberal ideology which dominated England in the early nineteenth century. Such an ideological transformation usually entails, *inter alia*, ' the victory of egoism, impudence, fa'sehood, cunning, and the ascendancy of greed of money, ambition, and lust for pleasure '.[26] In England,

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24. cf. A. M. Hocart : *Kings and Councillors* (Cairo, 1936) ' The spirit of the macrocosm resides in the King and so prosperity is attained by making that macrocosm prosperous and bountiful. A poor king is a contradiction in terms '. (p. 197).

25. A. M. Hocart, op. cit., p. 216.

26. F. Tonnies : *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (1935 ed. Tr. C. P. Loomis, New York, 1940).

an unique ethos contrived to reconcile untrammelled individualistic strife with the opposite ideal of social harmony, by means of the concept of duty. And that idea of duty in one's 'calling' in life was essentially a product of the Protestant Ethic—'It expresses the value placed upon rational activity carried on according to the rational capitalistic principle, as the fulfilment of a God-given task'.[27] Adam Smith's celebrated remark about the 'invisible hand' which guided an individual's actions to promote social ends which were frequently no part of that individual's intention, is a typical statement of the Liberal ideology.[28] The principle of self-love and self-improvement was kept within bounds by a judicious admixture of religious ideas, the doctrines of the Protestant Sects being subtly adapted to temporal developments outside the churches, such as capitalism, nationalism, and democracy.[29] In the absence of these moral restraints, unbridled individualism, 'the struggle to get on, that trampling, crushing, elbowing and treading on each other's heels', which John Stuart Mill considered to be merely disagreeable symptoms of industrial progress, would surely have been productive of acute industrial discontent, working-class agitation, and even revolution. That acute observer de Tocqueville, concluded that it was the religious factor that rendered English society immune to the convulsive spirit of the French Revolution.[30]

And it was this same Liberal ideology, the product of complex social forces extending over several generations, which the British officials hoped to superimpose on the feudal ethos of Ceylon. These well-meaning reformers were incorrigibly optimistic and never relaxed their endeavours to propagate what they called the 'enlightened' ideas of their age into Ceylon: in fact, they felt it to be their duty.[31] It is not surprising, therefore, that even the staid *Ceylon Government Gazette*, lapsing into poetry, printed a poem of nine

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27. Max Weber: *General Economic History* (Tr. F. H. Knight, 1927, p. 367). Also his *Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism* (Tr. Parsons, London, 1931).

28. Adam Smith: *The Wealth of Nations* (Modern Library, ed., p. 423).

29. Troeltsch contends that while Lutherism was only very indirectly influenced by social, economic, and political causes, the religious ethic of Calvin was largely determined by the conditions which governed the practical situation in Geneva; Calvin was convinced that the anti-Mammon spirit of Christianity could express itself in a society based on trade, industry and money (E. Troeltsch: *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*. Tr. O. Wyon, London, 1931, Vol. II, p. 642 et. seq.).

30. De Tocqueville: *L'Ancien Regime* (Tr. M. W. Patterson, Oxford, 1947, p. 163).

31. In Orr's proposal for land reform, he says: 'I have freely availed myself of the opinions and reasoning of *englightened men* on similar subjects'. (Letter to the Governor, 20th July, 1813, C.O. 416/2). One of the most quoted among these enlightened men was Adam Smith, who was once cited even by the practical Governor Maitland.

verses, an *Epistle to a Friend in England*, very reminiscent of Kipling :[32]

' No genial change of climate to supply
Health to the cheek, and lustre to the eye,
No nerve with agony or rapture glows
And mind and body stagnate in repose !

' Say what my Friend can scenes like this impart
To cheer the spirits, or to mend the heart !
Then shall I idly languish for my home
And let my thoughts o'er yonder billow roam ?

' No ! be a nobler resolution mine
Born for exertion, why should man repine ?
Since call'd by duty to this sultry strand
Where mighty forests stretch on every hand.

' To the poor pilgrim at the set of sun
His vow completed, and his journey done !
Friendship may boast with rapture unalloy'd
" His single tallent has been well employ'd " '.

This attitude continued throughout the early decades of British rule, and is gently satrized in a verse appearing in *The Colombo Journal* in 1832 :[33]

' This is, indeed, a wondrous age
Most rare of all we 've had :
Improvement now is all the rage,
Folks are improving mad '.

The spirit of that ' enlightened ' Liberal ideology is epitomised in a tract by R. Fellowes in which he states that ' the all-powerful, all-energizing principle which impels society forward in the career of improvement, is that which inspires every man with the desire of bettering his condition '.[34] It is a significant fact that this same writer had previously been resident in Ceylon and had published a few months earlier a History of Ceylon (1817) under the pseudonym ' Philalethes '. In it he suggested that the Liberal ideology should,

32. It must be mentioned that this poet admitted that the Sinhalese laws, customs, and religion, were not without interest :

' And haply in some barbarous code discern
What polished Europe might not blush to learn '.

The fact remained, however, that Europe was ' polished ' and ' enlightened ', while Asia was unenlightened and ' barbarous '. The poet probably was Captain Andersen (*Ceylon Government Gazette*, March 30th, 1814).

33. *The Colombo Journal*, March 10th, 1832.

34. R. Fellowes : The rights of property vindicated against the claims of universal suffrage, with an analysis of the principle of property and new views of constitutional interest and general policy (London, 1818).

as it were, be an article of export into the British colonies. And he chose Ceylon as the ideal field for the experiment :

> ' Ceylon offers the most auspicious theatre and the most favourable opportunities for the gradual emancipation of the people from that state of degeneration in which they are kept by the institution of castes . . . For the wisest purposes, and the most glorious ends, the father of spirits has implanted in the bosom of every individual a desire to better his condition, and to add to his stock of enjoyment, but the elastic energy of this principle is relaxed by the institution of castes, which is equally at variance with the laws of God and with the welfare of man '.[35]

The line of reasoning pursued by the British officials in Ceylon during this period of reform was that the Sinhalese did not differ from the great mass of the human species and were ' alive to the same feelings and are influenced by the same motives that sway their fellow men under happier auspices and more propitious governments '.[36] But in their anxiety to introduce the Liberal ideology under the ' happy auspices ' of their ' propitious government ', they overlooked the fact that the religious foundations of individualism, which held in check its least desirable aspects of strife and unfair competition, were absent in Ceylon. Moreover, individual improvement through increased industry was unknown to the ascetic ethos of Buddhism whose ideal was the attainment of *Nirvāṇa* through abstention from the temptations of this transitory existence. Buddhism, in its pure form, provided no worship for life, no protection from the machinations of nature, manifested in the form of flood, disease, and famine. Hence that remarkable dualism in Buddhistic practice even in this stronghold of Hīnayānism, which resulted in two sorts of ceremonies, ' some belonging to their Gods that govern the Earth, and all things referring to this life ; and some belonging to the Buddou, whose Province it is to take care of the Soul and the future well-being of Men ' (Knox). The common people, whose lives were dominated by superstition, were obliged to incorporate Hindu deities, the ' lapsed intelligences, or malignant dispositions ', who were propitiated in order to obtain health, good crops, and so on.[37]

The consequence of the imposition of the Liberal ideology upon the Buddhistic ethos of Ceylon was the manifestation of a ' schism in the body

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35. Philalethes (the British Museum catalogue gives the author as R. Fellowes, A. M. Oxford): *The History of Ceylon* (London, 1817) Knox's *Ceylon* is subjoined to it.

36. ' A Brief Appeal to the Government and People of Great Britain on behalf of the inhabitants of Ceylon' (London, 1835).

37. cf. Knox, p. 126 : L. Meerwarth-Levina : The Hindu Goddess Pattini in the Buddhist popular beliefs in Ceylon (*Ceylon Antiquary and Lit. Reg.* I, 1915), and the general account in A. M. Hocart : *The Life-giving Myth* (in *The Labyrinth*, ed. S. H. Hooke, London, 1935).

politic ', the product of the conflict of incongruous traditions. In the traditional social order, each individual entered at birth into his appropriate social role, in a system of intricately balanced rights and duties. In contrast, the mental climate of the Liberal Age was permeated with individualistic ideas which assumed that individuals would labour to accumulate worldly riches and so ' better themselves ' and ' make good '. This ethos has been aptly labelled ' Integral Liberalism ', because it successfully reconciled the apparently contradictory ideals of social competition and social harmony through the medium of the religious idea of duty in one's ' calling '.[38] But in Ceylon the individualistic ideology was introduced without reference to the corresponding moral and religious notion of duty (which was subtly equated with self-interest by Adam Smith and others, on the ground that men were by nature endowed with a rooted predisposition not to offend their fellows.[39])

Since moral duty was incompatible with competitive individualism in the values of Traditional Ceylon, the emancipation of the people from their customary economic services to the King, led to a disintegration of the social and economic fabric. Governor Maitland found that ' The Servant . . . refuses to obey his master ; the master consequently refuses to support his Servant ; the ancient system of subordination is done away : numbers of the lower castes, without the means of subsistence are daily turned upon the Public and uniformly commit those enormities which for the last few years have disgraced the Province of Jaffna '.[40] Something was wanting in the Liberal system as it operated in Ceylon. Captain de Bussche contended that what the Island lacked were ' Capital, Labour, and a Spirit of Enterprise '.[41] It is worth quoting at length an admirable statement by Boyd, one of the Commissioners of Revenue, as to why the people of Ceylon were not amenable to the enlightened ideas of Liberal Europe :

> ' The inhabitants of Ceylon are by no means exempt from that indolence which is so prevalent in warm climates, and until they can be brought to such a state of moral improvement as to contend successfully against that disposition to inactivity, which is the predominant feature of the generality of Asiatics, it would be vain to expect any

38. cf. J. H. Hallowell : *The Decline of Liberalism as an Ideology* (London, 1946); for the religious aspect, Max Weber : *The Protestant Sects and the Spirit of Capitalism* (in Essays Tr. Gerth and Mills, London, 1948).

39. cf. Adam Smith : *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759, Dugald Stewart's ed., London, 1907): ' Nature, when she formed man for society, endowed him with an original desire to please, and an original aversion to offend his brethren '.

40. Maitland to Windham, 28-2-1807 (in C. R. De Silva : *Ceylon Under British Rule*, I, 259).

41. L. de Bussche : *Letters on Ceylon* (London, 1826). He suggested the importation of Chinese labourers to make good the lack of cheap labour in Ceylon.

permanent increase of cultivation, let the encouragement be what it may. If a man can secure as much from the produce of one crop as will be sufficient for the subsistence of himself and his family until the next Harvest, no prospect of making an addition to his income will, I fear, stimulate him to any further exertion—should he however chance to have more than sufficient for the purpose specified, instead of laying it out in extending the cultivation of his land, he would probably either convert it into some gold ornament or expend it in procuring to himself almost the only luxury on which an Indian sets any value, the luxury of being idle—that is of neglecting his cultivation for the season or of hiring some one to work in his stead.

'. . . Another apparently insurmountable bar to the success of the proposed measure (a new system of taxation) is the difficulty, nay almost impossibility of convincing a poor unenlightened cultivator, totally ignorant of the subject, and who, having never heard either of Adam Smith, or the author of *Political Economy* (James Stewart), can only reason upon these matters from past experience . . . ".[42]

Even the sanguine Governor North was forced to concede that ' abrupt and total revolutions in Property, Laws, and Civil Polity are not the means by which an enlightened government can improve the understanding, stimulate the industry, and increase the Prosperity of a people long accustomed to Poverty, Idleness and Submission to vexatious and undefined authority '.[43]

But in North's long-term scheme of British policy in Ceylon, this singularly unenlightened system of landholding by Service Tenure was always earmarked for repeal. It was repugnant to ' men of liberal sentiments and enlightened minds ' ; it was onerous, and placed the cultivators in servitude to the headmen ; above all, it was contrary to Adam Smith. Since the native chiefs exacted more services from the people than they were strictly entitled to, North considered that the bulk of the population was anxiously awaiting the abolition of the system.[44] Two years after its re-institution in consequence of the experience of the disasters brought about by its abolition by the Madras Administration, North decided that it was ' absolutely necessary ' to abolish Service Tenures again, which he did by a Proclamation of 1801. Lord Hobart was apprehensive of this change on the ground that ' ancient customs are suited to the manners and dispositions of the people where they are in use '. And he was correct. North found that the people were not attentive to their own advantages. He had hoped that the abolition of the system of Service

42. Boyd's Report on Orr's Plan, July, 1813, (C.O. 416/2).

43. Wellesley Mss. 13864.

44. C.O. 54/6, March, 1802.

Tenures would demonstrate to the people the value of time and labour, by which alone a nation could become wealthy and independent of external assistance. Maitland, his successor, was extremely cautious of reform, and characterised North's policy as theoretic: 'It would have been a most strange and unaccountable measure . . . when we were in this state of society, if one of the Ancient Barons had pulled out of his pocket Adam Smith, and said, I will apply to you vassals, whose situation renders it impossible to carry into Effect, all the Rules and Regulations laid down by him for a society in the last state of Civilization and Wealth'.[45] Burnand, in his Memorandum of 1809 pointed out that an increase in crime had resulted from North's reforms: 'In a word, more crimes have been committed in one year than were formerly in twenty'.[46] A Proclamation (No. 18) of 1806 reads: '. . . it appears however of late years measures have been adopted inapplicable to the situation of the country, shaking in a considerable degree the tenure on which various species of property rested, and destructive of the Police and Tranquillity of the People'.[47] For these measures of Reform had given rise to a type of *declasse* individual who resorted to robbery and lawlessness. As Maitland complained, 'every town in the Island was full of Outcasts of every description, without any means of livelihood, and living upon the plunder of the Public'.[48]

It is to be expected then that these decades of social and economic experiment were punctuated by numerous revolts against the new social order. The smouldering discontent and unrest which provides the background to the Great Rebellion of 1817 is a reflection of that profound sense of drift which men experience when torn between two incompatible cultural traditions. For, as Toynbee points out, 'a schism in the souls of human beings will be found at the heart of any schism that reveals itself in the surface of society'.[49]

45. cf. W. F. Lord: *Sir Thomas Maitland* (London, 1897) Chaps. V to IX. It may be said here that Lord's characterisation of North's governorship as the inefficient maladministration of an idealist, is unjust and due to lack of perspective. Judged from the standards of contemporary social philosophy there is much to admire in North's ideals, in relation to which Maitland was merely a competent reactionary. Cp. the more recent account by C. W. Dixon (*The Colonial Administrations of Sir Thomas Maitland*, London, 1939) for a more balanced view.

46. Burnand's *Memoir in Asiatic Journal*, XI and XII and in *Monthly Lit. Reg.*, 1894.

47. *Ceylon Government Gazette*, January 14th, 1807.

48. C.O. 54/25.

49. Toynbee, op. cit., Vol. 5, p. 341. This is no mystic revelation. It is merely an impressionistic statement of the sociological concept of cultural marginality. (cf. R. E. Park: Human migration and the marginal man, *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIII/6, 1928; E. Stonequist: *The Marginal Man*, New York, 1937; and Ralph Pieris: Bilingualism and Cultural Marginality, *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 2; 1951).

These considerations have assumed heightened significance in Ceylon at the present time. We have so far detailed the early attempts of imperial reformers to bring the feudal ethos into line with social and economic developments which were rapidly engulfing the entire world. In the process of cultural adaptation, there appears a schism in the body politic, which presages a schism in the souls of human beings. Even today we have not been able to achieve a satisfying cultural synthesis, and the schism in the soul continues to manifest itself in sporadic outbursts of Archaism.[50] The nationalists and the Pundits seek inspiration in the Past. But they are well aware that it is impossible to reinstate the traditional culture of the Sinhalese in its totality, since aspects of it such as the monarchy, *Rājakāriya*, and caste, all of which were vital elements of society in Traditional Ceylon, have few defenders today. We want it both ways, and we vacillate uneasily between extolling the glories of the Past, and exhorting our countrymen to plan for the future.

RALPH PIERIS

50. The recent agitation for a restoration of Buddhism as the state religion, the current hysteria regarding the national languages, are all part of the movement towards Archaism, which, according to Toynbee, are characteristic features of a society in decline. There has even been a proposal to restore the monarchy!

Horace's Cleopatra

A GOOD way of enjoying Horace is to be a bit lazy. Laboured search for recondite meaning, persistent tracking down of implication, the care that with superfluous burden loads each line—these gild but to flout ; these stiff approaches let him shun who would drink of the delight there is in Horace. *Linque severa.*

Horace's Cleopatra ode (No. 37 of the first book of the Odes) is followed by one which Professor T. E. Page described as an extremely slight and cheerful drinking-song, *Persicos odi, puer, apparatus.* This is in accordance, the Professor claimed, with Horace's characteristic dislike to end on a high-pitched note. But is it not remarkable that the Cleopatra ode also, though far other in sort, is yet a drinking-song ? It opens on a note of carousal, *Nunc est bibendum,* copied from Alcaeus : it closes on a chord, uncopied and uncopiable, of which one note, *ut atrum corpore combiberet venenum,* peals still of grand carousal. And from that opening to that close the theme that keeps developing, in passage after passage, is of carousal.

On two of these intermediary passages Professor Page looked with disfavour. One is line 5, *Antehac nefas depromere Caecubum;* the other is line 14, *mentemque lymphatam Mareotico.* ' The ode seems ', the Professor considered, ' to bear traces of being hastily written in a moment of enthusiasm. Its vigour and power are undeniable, but in his more finished odes Horace would hardly have admitted such lines as 5 and 14 '.[1] But why judge these lines singled out and apart from their context ? Why go far afield to seek the rose's lurking-place ? Sit and wait ; let but myrtle and vine-bower weave their spell, and those lines fall into place as fugues in a fugal context.

For that rising Rome of Horace, Cleopatra's fall was a great occasion. The fate of the world had been at stake. East and West had faced each other in deadly combat. As had been at Marathon—and as may come to pass yet again—the fight was for survival of one of two opposing modes of life. In Cleopatra's defeat and death Rome saw the end of the struggle ; saw the voluptuous indulgence, the magnificent wantonness, of an Oriental court sprawl in the dust before the honoured *gravitas* and *pietas* of the Seven proud Hills. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and Mr. S. L. Bethell have in turn shown how the opposing themes, one Egyptian and the other Roman, meet in Shakespeare's ' Antony and Cleopatra '.[2] In Horace's ode the opposition is between Roman

1. *Horace—Odes* 1, Macmillan (1935), page 98.

2. *Cambridge Lectures,* Everyman's Library Series (No. 974), page 194 ; *Shakespeare and Dramatic Tradition,* King and Staples (1948), pp. 120 et seq.

and Egyptian wines. Opposed to old Latium's Caecuban, time-mellowed in Roman cellars, is Egypt's Mareotic that maddens Egypt's queen. And this opposition between wines extends to contrasted modes of wine-drinking. At another time, with Cleopatra scheming the Capitol's ruin, indulgence in even the good Caecuban would have been heinous. But this differs from that. This is no indiscriminate drinking. It is prudent; deliberate; after the Roman fashion. At the Salian banquet are to sit also the Roman gods.

Antehac nefas depromere Caecubum cellis avitis is the opening passage of the second stanza. Second in a series of potationary impressions, it catches up the echo of *Nunc est bibendum* and passes it on. Next in the fugal sequence is the passage *fortunaque ducli ebria*, in the next stanza: it is the third of the series. In indicating contrasted wines and contrasted modes of wine-drinking, the first two stanzas state the subject. The third begins to develop that material: Cleopatra drinks after the un-Roman, voluptuous fashion; drinks vintage upon vintage that grows more and more damning with each draught.

'Sweet fortune' merely inebriates. In the fourth stanza, in that other disparaged line, the 14th, is a vintage that does more: it 'maddens' her—*mentemque lymphatam Mareotico*. Cleopatra begins as an unmoral creature. Swayed solely by her affections, never does she pause, as the prudential moralist must, to consider whether by the satisfying of one desire she may be frustrating some equal or more important other. Sweet fortune inebriates her, only to make her the less restrained in fancy—*quidlibet impotens sperare fortunaque dulci ebria*. Recognising no conflict of desires, she feels no practical need of morals—until an inexorable law forces her to face the consequences of her actions.

And then—*redegit in veros timores*. By becoming damned, the unmoral Cleopatra is made moral. She takes her damnation in a series of draughts. The last of them, *ut atrum corpore combiberet venenum*, is one that more than inebriates and more than maddens. She drinks death; drinks it up with her whole body; drinks it deliberate, in that grave Roman fashion which reckons before it carouses. The high Roman echo of that opening *Nunc est bibendum* rings in this last of Cleopatra's libations. No longer is she the unmoral, inchoate, rough-hewn Cleopatra of the earlier vintages.

With look serene as of finished marble, now she is 'brave to face fallen grandeur and void palace'. This 25th line, *ausa et iacentem visere regiam*, echoes again, but this time in a different way, that 5th line, *Antehac nefas depromere Caecubum*. While the potationary figure is maintained, there is in these two lines a notable likeness of rhythm. The three syllables of *Antehac* count in the scanning as two. But in the actual pronunciation, the ordinary utterance of a Roman of Horace's time, the extra syllable would not be wholly

cut out. Sounded lightly, it gives a tremor to the line, causing it to quake as though in recollection of the awe that had hung over the Capitol. To borrow a phrase Miss Edith Sitwell has used more than once, ' it is not a weak shaking—it is the shaking of a huge and smoky volcano '.[3] Now there is in this ode one other line, and one only, that repeats just this tremor of an extra syllable : *ausa et iacentem visere regiam.* The prosodically elided but lightly sounded ' a ' of *ausa* gives this line the same tremor, and it recurs at precisely the same syllabic point in the line.

With all this likeness, there is yet an unlikeness ; and in the unlikeness is the best of the tale. It is a difference of accentual rhythm : in the one line the accentuation contradicts, while in the other it accepts, the fundamental rhythm of the metre. That fundamental rhythm has sounded and resounded in the opening lines of the first stanza ; and on coming to the first line of the second stanza, this is the rhythm the ear presupposes :—

Ānt'hāc nĕfās dēprōmĕrĕ Cāēcŭbum

This, in fact, is how the line scans, the mark (′) denoting the fall of the metrical stress or ictus. But this presupposed rhythm is not the word-rhythm of every-day speech, which gives :—

Ántehac nefas depromere Caecubum.

Here the mark (′) indicates the syllable on which the word-accent falls. In the pronunciation of Horace's contemporaries, whether the word-accent overrode the ictus, or the ictus the word-accent, is a matter on which modern theorists disagree. Sir Henry Newbolt and Dr. Robert Bridges, each a practitioner too in the art of poetry, were among those in whose reading of Latin verse the stress-rhythm of common speech supersedes the fundamental metrical pattern.[4] That, however, is a by-path it will not be feasible to enter here. For the present purpose, it is enough to show that, in this particular line, there is in fact antagonism between the one rhythm and the other. One prevails, and is therefore heard in the reading ; the other, thwarted and unheard, still exists in the memory and haunts the ear. Between the heard rhythm and the unheard, there is a conflict in the line *Antehac nefas depromere Caecubum.* But there is not this conflict in the answering line, *ausa et iacentem visere regiam.* Here every one of the word-accents of common speech coincides with a metrical stress or ictus. Still that tremor of an extra syllable is there, and because of it the line still rocks and shakes. But the mode of rocking and shaking has altered : where that challenged and contradicted,

3. *The Pleasures of Poetry*, First Series, Duckworth (1930), page 20 ; *A Poet's Notebook*, Macmillan (1943), page 144.

4. *A New Study of English Poetry*, Constable and Company Limited (1919), pages 32 et. seq. ; *Milton's Prosody*, Oxford University Press (1921), pages 3 and 85.

this reconciles and stabilizes. And this serves to express the superb calm with which she who prepared the crash of ruin for the Capitol now looks, *vultu sereno*, on the heart-quaking ruin of her own fallen kingdom.

Yet this is not all: the ode has a wider swoop. It is true Cleopatra is driven to become moral; true she acts 'after the high Roman fashion'—yet only up to a point. Never is she quite as her conquerors are. Always she is either less or more than they.

The climax that has been developing is not Cleopatra's death: it is the grandeur, the live unpaling grandeur, of her high, pulsating resolve. *Deliberata morte ferocior saevis Liburnis*—what do these words really mean? My reading will not, I fear, find ready acceptance with readers accustomed to the traditional interpretation. Apart from a minor divergence in regard to the precise meaning of the word *Liburnis*, all translators and editors, so far as I know, appear satisfied that *saevis Liburnis* is a Dative governed by *invidens*. In this belief they insert a comma between *ferocior* and *saevis*, and take the words to mean that Cleopatra grudged something to the fierce Liburnians. The word *Liburnis* is taken by some as Dative of *Liburni*, meaning Liburnian tribesmen, and by others as Dative of *Liburnae*, meaning Liburnian ships. In regard to the object Cleopatra grudges, there is no doubt: expressly, it is *privata deduci superbo . . . triumpho*—in proud triumph to be dragged unqueened. But that triumph is a thing of the land, not of the sea. When her hand is on the serpent, and οὐ Θριαμβεύσομαι is in her heart, the sting she feels in the thought of Rome: that shouting varletry is of censuring Rome; that 'imperious show of the full-fortuned Caesar' is to reek and glitter in the streets of Rome. To Octavian's navy, to its Liburnian units or their personnel, there is nothing Cleopatra grudges now.

Is it not better to read *saevis Liburnis*, not as Dative with *invidens*, but as Ablative of comparison governed by *ferocior*?

deliberata morte ferocior
saevis Liburnis, scilicet invidens
privata deduci superbo
non humilis mulier triumpho.

Read in this way, the words mean in effect that Cleopatra, by resolving to die, shows herself now fiercer than the fierce from whom she fled in shame at Actium, and who may, if she lives, be warders of her voyage in shame to Italy. It is not merely an expression of the poet's generous admiration for a fallen foe. Those words, read in this way, mean that she, the impulsive Egyptian voluptuary, now proves, and in a deliberative, Roman fashion, sterner than her stern conquerors.

But would such glorification of Rome's great enemy, one may object, be compatible with the spirit of this Roman ode, whose avowed purpose is to celebrate a Roman victory? In the very flush of patriotic feeling, could a Roman poet suffer his admiration for a foe to carry him that length? It is not impossible. This involution of one moved with another, this 'complexity of impulsions', is surely within the compass of a true poet. Opposing strains balance; the fountain curves and arches—*unde loquaces lymphae desiliunt*. And presently, in that brightest heaven of invention, Shakespeare's stage, a coursing star marks the sweep and learns the curve of Horace's fountain.

Horace's Cleopatra ode is patriotic. *Non semel dicemus:* sincere patriotic feeling is strongly there. But with all its strength and sincerity, the patriotic is a primary impulsion, and becomes subordinated. The loud, full-fortuned day-beam—*O pulcher! O laudande!*—goes its imperious way: *io triumphe! io triumphe!* But it declines; the great flame fails, and a young moon takes the sky in her third night. Patriotic and nothing else is the opening note, *Nunc est bibendum*, resuscitating a patriotic opening note of Alcaeus. For Cleopatra the close of Horace's ode is yet another *Nunc est bibendum:* she who drank the wine of sweet fortune, she who quaffed of the mad Mearotic, now deliberately turns to carouse on the fulness of death. But this is something more than resuscitation. It echoes; but the echo, transmuted and purified, floats free of the clash and clatter of practical politics. 'A strain rather than a composition', it sings Cleopatra up through weakness into strength and through damnation into triumph. She is overthrown, yet *non humilis;* dethroned, yet not conquered; discrowned yet august and royal with a royalty not of the things that are Caesar's . . .

Is this a whimsical, Quixotic view to take of Horace's Cleopatra? Some, perhaps, will deem it the outcome of too long a sitting *sub arta vite.*

A. C. SENEVIRATNE

Christian Missions: X. Some aspects of the work of American Missionaries in Jaffna District from 1827-1866.

ONE of the most noteworthy features of the American Ceylon Mission which began its work in this country in 1816[1] was that it showed the long-term advantages to be obtained both in education and in evangelism when a religious society concentrates on a small area of work with zeal and devotion. The period 1827-1866 was marked by several difficulties and disappointments for this mission but the manner in which they were met secured very fruitful results for both Church and Country in later years. The general state of the mission in this period can be judged from the statistical abstracts given later in this article.

At the beginning of this period the mission conducted its work in five chief centres: Vaddukoddai, Uduvil, Tellipallai, Pandeterippu and Manipay with a smaller mission station at Kayts in charge of a local evangelist. There were six missionaries working under the auspices of the mission with two Ceylonese preachers and fourteen other local assistants ministering to a general membership with ninety in communicant status and conducting seventy free vernacular schools.[2]

In the earlier period among the more serious difficulties of the missionaries was their inability to get an adequate number of workers from America. Besides preventing the establishment of the Printing Press which the missionaries had brought with them, restrictions had been placed by the Governor, Sir Edward Barnes, on further recruitments to the mission.[3] As one of the missionaries in Ceylon wrote, the Governor was so averse to any increase of the number of Americans in Ceylon that after the Printer, Mr. James Garrett was ordered to leave the island an injunction was subsequently obtained from His Majesty's Secretary for the Colonies against any future additions to the Mission. This was in force for eleven years until after the arrival of a new governor, Sir Robert Wilmot Horton, by whose representation to the Home Government, the injunction was removed.[4] Colonel Colebrooke and Mr. C. H.

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1. *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, pp. 110-115.
2. *Missionary Register*, 1828, p. 123
3. *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, p. 114.
4. Winslow, Miron: A Memoir of Harriet W. Winslow combining a sketch of the Ceylon Mission [London, 1838] pp. 135-136, cp. figures given in the *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, p. 114.

Cameron who were in the island about this time on their Commission of Enquiry had also visited the mission stations and having seen and admired the work of the missionaries had represented matters to the authorities in England to the same end. Among the earliest missionaries who came as a result of the new policy were Dr. Nathan Ward, M.D. in 1833 and the Revd. J. R. Eckard in 1834.[5]

What Sir Emerson Tennent called the ' first embryo of instruction ' was given by the American missionaries in a network of free vernacular schools of which in 1827, ten years after the mission started, there were seventy in the Jaffna District. A general view of the conditions in which the missionaries worked in 1838 is given by Miron Winslow in the following words :—

> ' The five stations of which the Mission was for many years composed were now occupied ; though at Manepy only bungalows of mud walls covered with leaves were then erected. The walls of the old house being entirely destroyed, a dwelling house was after sometime prepared by taking off a part of the old church. None of the churches except that of Tillipally, which was only covered with leaves and had a floor of earth, were as yet repaired ; but with all the other stations large bungalows composed of a slight roof on two rows of taller and two of shorter posts and a half wall of unburnt brick, were soon built for worship. The delapidated houses at Oodooville and Pandeteripo as well as at Tillipally and Batticotta were gradually made comfortable dwelling places. Boarding schools containing in all eighty-seven children were in successful operation at the different stations except Manepy, where one was commenced at the beginning of 1822 ; and native free schools in most of the villages near each station. The whole number of these schools in 1821, was twenty-four, in which were one thousand, one hundred and forty-nine children '.[4]

Tennent stated in 1850 that :

> ' the children of the Tamils are taught [in these free village schools] in their own tongue the simplest elements of knowledge, and the earliest processes of education ; to read from translations of the Christian scriptures, and to write their own language, first by tracing the letters upon the sand, and eventually by inscribing them with an iron style upon the prepared leaves of the Palmyrah palm. It will afford an idea of the extent and perseverance with which education has been pursued in these primitive institutions, that, in the free schools of the Americans alone, four thousand pupils of whom one-fourth are females, are daily receiving instruction ; and upwards of ninety thousand children have been taught

4. Winslow, Miron : A Memoir of Harriet W. Winslow combining a sketch of the Ceylon Mission [London, 1838] pp. 135-136, cp. figures given in the *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, p. 114.

5. Tennent, Sir J. E.: *Christianity in Ceylon* [London, 1850] pp. 144-145.

in them since their commencement ; a proportion equal to one-half of the present population of the peninsula '.[5]

Further steps in the ladder of education were the establishment of boarding schools, elementary fee-levying English schools, and the secondary schooling provided at the girl's English boarding school at Uduvil and the Seminary for boys at Vaddukoddai. The girl's school at Uduvil was started on land where originally there was a Portuguese Church and the residence of a Franciscan Friar. It was described by Tennent in words which are true of the school premises even today—' a beautiful spot, embowered with trees, and all its grounds and gardens are kept in becoming order with the nicest care and attention '.[6]

Although for several years there had been a reluctance on the part of parents to send girls for education in these schools[7] and for about eight years after the school was established the maximum number of girls between five and eleven years of age was only thirty, the school later grew in popularity. Even if one does not agree with Tennent's views on the state of Tamil society in his day, his remarks on the early problems of the missionaries who conducted the school are of interest :

> ' The first pupils of the American mission at Oodooville were enticed to come by presents of dress—by the prospect of reward at each stage of their progress—and by the promise of a dowry of five or six pounds in the event of their remaining in the institution, till married with the approval of their teachers. Yet even when allured by these encouragements, so strong was the prejudice against female instruction, that the parents who had yielded and allowed their daughters to attend were visited with reproaches for their folly, and the children themselves evinced a sense of shame and confusion when, for the first time, they engaged in the novelty of learning to read '.[8]

He pointed out, however, that on his visit to the school he found that it had grown much in popularity and that there were one hundred pupils ; and, further, out of sixty new applicants only seventeen could be selected for admission. He also stated that :

> ' the earliest inmates of the institution were of low-castes and poor ; whereas the pupils and candidates now are many of them of most respectable families ; and the daughters of persons of property and influence in the district '.[9]

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5. Tennent, Sir J. E.: *Christianity in Ceylon* [London, 1850] pp. 144-145.
6. Tennent, p. 159 ; Winslow, pp. 119, 172.
7. *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, p. 113.
8. Tennent, pp. 156-157.
9. Tennent, pp. 160-161.

Of the curriculum Tennent wrote that :

> ' along with a thorough knowledge of the scriptures and the principles of the Christian religion, it embraces all the ordinary branches of female education which are communicated both in Tamil and in English ; and combined with this intellectual culture, the girls are carefully trained conformably to the usages of their country in all the discipline and acquirements essential to economy and domestic enjoyments at home '.[10]

One of the difficulties of the education of girls was reported as early as 1828 to be that of ' finding any employment for them, compatible with cultivation of mind or elevation of character : But such employments will be found '.[11] Indeed those in charge of Uduvil girls' school found even in those early days a way out of the difficulty ; as at least one missionary summed it up, the chief object of the school was that of ' furnishing suitable partners [in marriage] for the native preachers and other assistants in the mission '.

At a time when so much is said about ' free ' education it is good to know that in those early days the American mission went so far as to provide the pupils of Uduvil on their leaving school even a part of their dowry. As the school report of 1856 has it each pupil who needed it was given—

	£	s.	d.
1 fine cloth valued at		4	0
2 coarse cloths at 1-6		3	0
1 coarse cloth 14 cubits		2	3
1 wedding jacket—fine		1	6
1 fine jacket of bleached cloth			9
4 ordinary wearing jackets		2	6
1 ordinary sized pillow		1	0
1 round pillow covered with print		2	0
3 pillow cases of country cloth			9
1 veil for wedding		2	0
comb, needles, thimble, bodkin			9
sewing cotton (thread)			3
1 patch work quilt		4	0
1 mat (sleeping)			9
1 brass plate		2	0
stationery valued at		1	0

It was however not the hope of getting this dowry that made parents continue to send their girls to Uduvil. The dowry from the school was discontinued from 1856. But even earlier their parents knew that the education

10. *M.R.*, 1828, p. 123.

11. Winslow, pp. 221-222.

their children received was dowry enough. In 1848 a special class had been started on the condition that no dowry would be given to its members at their marriage although only twenty-two could be selected owing to lack of accommodation. As many as seventy-five girls had applied for admission to this class. Then in 1852 the mission went a step further by asking boarding fees either wholly or in part from those able to pay and yet the school found no difficulty in getting the number of pupils desired. In 1855 there were seventy-three pupils in residence at Uduvil in six classes. Forty-three of these were children of Christian parents and twenty-one members of the Church. By its Jubilee year (1874) five hundred and thirty-two had been connected with the school since its inception.

At the time of its foundation Uduvil was in charge of the Revd. and Mrs. Miron Winslow who continued until 1833 when they left owing to ill-health and were succeeded by the Revd. and Mrs. Levi Spaulding who were in charge until 1840, after which, for the last portion of this period, Miss Eliza Agnew officiated as its virtual head.[12]

The chief educational centre of the mission was at Vaddukoddai where the Central English School had been established on July 22, 1823[13] with thirty-six pupils selected from the boarding schools. From its foundation the Revd. Dr. Daniel Poor was Principal until 1836. As Dr. Poor knew Tamil, during his time special stress appears to have been laid on the study of the vernacular. In 1836, the Revd. H. R. Hoisington became Principal and continued till 1849 except during his absence due to ill-health from 1841-1844 when Dr. Ward who had joined the school as Professor of Medicine, Chemistry, and Geology acted for him. Other prominent Faculty members during the period under review were the Revd. Edward Cope who was Professor of English from 1840-47 ; the Revd. Robert Wyman, Professor of Sacred Literature and Biblical Interpretation from 1843 to 1845 when he died and was succeeded by the Revd. S. G. Whittlesey (1846-47). The Revd. Dr. E. P. Hastings served as Principal from 1849 and also for short periods in 1851, 1854 and 1855. In 1846 the school was called the Batticotta Seminary by which name it was popularly known for many years.[14]

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12. Historical Sketch read at the Jubilee Meeting at Batticotta, May 24, 1866—Mss. Address to the Former Pupils of Batticotta Seminary and other schools of the American Mission—(Jaffna: Ripley and Strong, Printers, 1886). Historical Sketch read at the Jubilee meeting, May 24, 1866 (Mss. Records at Bishop's House, Vaddukoddai) p. 3 following ; Minutes of the special meeting of the Ceylon Mission held in April and May 1855 on the occasion of the visit of the Deputation from the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (Madras, Printed by J. Tulloch, American Mission Press, 1855) hereinafter called the *Anderson Report*, pp. 50 ff.

13. *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, pp. 112-113.

14. *Anderson Report*, pp. 57 ff.

A special class was formed in 1840 for those who having completed the usual course at the Seminary wanted to continue higher studies for a period of three years. It became the nucleus of the Theological Department of the Seminary in 1843.

In 1843 the course of studies appears to have been as follows :

First Year

English Studies—Arithmetic, New Testament, Analytical Reader, Grammar, Child's Book on the Soul, Geography of Hindustan.

Tamil Studies—Grammar, etc.

Second Year

English Studies—Geography (Woodbridge), Grammar, Arithmetic, Analytical Reader, Good's Book of Nature.

Tamil Studies—Same continued, Blind Way, Evidence from Hinduism.

Third Year

English Studies—Algebra, Sequel to the Analytical Reader, Selections of Poetry, History, Book-keeping, Greek.

Tamil Studies—Nannool.

Fourth Year

English Studies—History, Euclid, Watt's on the Mind, Gallaudet's Natural Theology, Greek, Young or Pope's Poetry, Mundy's Evidences.

Tamil Studies—Nannool.

Fifth Year

English Studies—Mundy's Evidences, Theological Class book, Logarithms, Mathematics, Mensuration, Surveying, Navigation, Greek, History, Enfield's Philosophy.

Tamil Studies—Sanskrit, Kural.

Sixth Year

English Studies—Astronomy, Chemistry, Logic, Political Economy, Alexander's Evidences, Greek, Church History.

Tamil Studies—Sanskrit and Tamil works, Kural, etc., Hindu Astronomy.

Throughout the school the pupils had the reading of scriptures, Tamil and English literary works, Penmanship and Composition.

The three-year course of the Theological Department consisted of the following curriculum :—

First Year

Dwight's Theology, Geology, Church History, Biblical Antiquities, Hebrew.

Second and Third Years

Dwight's Theology, Abercrombe's Moral Feelings, Hebrew, Exposition of the Scriptures, Writing Sermons.

All the pupils in the school had not only their tuition free but also free board except a very few who were allowed to live outside and attend school as day pupils. Till 1840 all pupils were provided with books, stationery and clothing.

After 1840 those who could afford it were asked to pay for board at the rate of 4s. 6d. per month, some were allowed to pay half and about one-fourth the pupils were educated completely free.

In 1845 the Seminary was reorganised in two departments (i) Normal and (ii) Academical each of which had a four-year course of studies. The curricula prepared for the two departments were as follows :

I. The Normal Department

English	*Tamil*
The English Bible	The Bible
Town's Analysis	The Indian Pilgrim
Analytical Reader	Rhenin's Evidences
Selections of Poetry	Body of Divinity
Geography of Hindustan	Church History
Grammar	Grammar
Parley's History	Tamil Classic Reader
Marshman's India	Elements of Hindu Astronomy
Gallaudet's Natural Theology	
Joyce's Arithmetic	
Thompson's Algebra	
Good's Book of Nature	
Introduction to Sciences	
Penmanship	
Book-keeping	

II. The Academical Department

Religious and Literary	*Scientific*
The Bible	Day's Algebra
Greek New Testament	Playfair's Euclid
Evidences of Religion	Day's Mathematics
Parley's Natural Theology	Conic Sections
Compendium of History	Olmstead's Natural Philosophy
Church History	Chemistry
Hodge's Logic	Natural History
Rhetoric	Astronomy, Eclipses, European and Hindu Astronomy Compared
Classical Tamil	Bacon's Novum Organum
Classical Sanskrit	Intellectual and Moral Philosophy
Mason on Self-knowledge	Construction of Maps, Charts, Plans, etc.
Keith on Prophecy	
Dwight's Theology	
Butter's Analogy	

During Dr. Hoisington's time, he took a great deal of interest in promoting the studies of the sciences and also of Tamil literature. He wrote a book on Hindu Astronomy which was later prescribed for the M.A. Examination of Calcutta University and he made translations of well-known Tamil works of Saiva Siddhanta Philosophy.[15]

15. Address to the Former Pupils op. cit. p. 10 ; J. V. Chelliah : *A Century of English Education* (Tellipallai, 1922) pp. 42-61 ; *Anderson Report*, pp. 57 ff.

In 1850 Sir Emerson Tennent made the following comment on the work of the Batticotta Seminary :[16]

> ' Batticotta, the headquarters of the mission, stands about six miles westward of Jaffna, in the midst of well-cultivated rice farms and groves of palmyra and cocoa-nut palm. The whole establishment is full of interest, and forms an impressive and a memorable scene—the familiar objects and arrangements of a college being combined with the remarkable appearance and unwonted costumes of the students ; and the domestic buildings presenting all the peculiar characteristics of Oriental life and habits. The sleeping apartments, the dining hall, and the cooking-room are in purely Indian taste, but all accurately clean ; and, stepping out of these, the contrast was striking between them, and the accustomed features of the lecture-room with its astronomical clock, its orrery, and transit instrument ; the laboratory with its chemical materials, retorts and electro-magnetic apparatus, and the Museum with its arranged collection of minerals and corralines to illustrate the geology of Ceylon. But the theatre was the centre of attraction, with its benches of white-robed students, and lines of turbaned heads, with upturned eager countenances, " God's image carved in ebony ". The examination which took place in our presence was on History, Natural Philosophy, Optics, Astronomy, and Algebra. The knowledge exhibited by the pupils was astonishing ; and it is no exaggerated encomium to say that, in the extent of the course of instruction, and in the success of the system of communicating it, the Collegiate Institution of Batticotta is entitled to rank with many an European University '.

The special committee appointed to enquire into the work of the Seminary at the time of the Anderson Deputation wrote that—

> ' there is a core of able and well-qualified native teachers, fitted to give instruction in all important branches, and the attainments of those under their charge we such as in many cases to do honor both to the teachers and pupils. It [the Seminary] has attained a commanding influence in the community as a literary and scientific institution, and is a stepping stone by which many have been able at a cheap rate, to rise to posts of influence and emolument '.[17]

The same committee reported on the results of the work of the Seminary by providing the following statistics :—

The whole number who have sustained membership is	670
The whole number of students now living who have been educated is	454
Of these there are in mission service	112
Of whom there are employed by the American Ceylon mission ..	81
The number in service of Government in Ceylon and India ..	158
The number in different kinds of business in Ceylon and on the continent	111
Those whose employment is unknown and who are not to be employed in any useful business	73

16. Tennent : p. 178.
17. *Anderson Report*, pp. 61-2.
18. *Anderson Report*, pp. 62-63.

The whole number of church members	352
Number ex-communicated	92
Whole number who have died ; [eight of whom after ex-communication]	72
Present number connected with Protestant churches	196
The number now connected with the American Mission churches ..	185

The institution has raised up a class of native assistants who have greatly aided the mission in carrying on their work, and who will, we trust, be of still greater service as preachers and pastors in different parts of the field. Many of them are the fruits of the revivals to which allusion has been made, and are indeed the most promising fruit of the institution.

There are also some among those who are not connected with us, but are engaged in government and other service, who we hope, are Christians, and honor their professions by a humble and consistent life.

Aside from the above results, the seminary has exerted an influence in the land which cannot be mistaken, in waking up the native mind, in diffusing useful knowledge, and creating a power, which, if directed into the right channel, will do much for the elevation of this people. There is a class in the community who have in a measure, been freed from the bondage of superstition, whose views have been liberalized by science, and who may do much for the improvement of their countrymen '.

The Batticotta Seminary and the Uduvil Girls' School were at the apex of the Educational structure of the American mission. At the base were the free vernacular schools which they opened at nearly every mission station and the state of these schools during the period under review can be seen from the following table[19] :—

Period	*Number of Schools*	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Total*
1815-1820	11	427	4	431
1820-1825	42	1,584	256	1,840
1825-1830	83	2,643	628	3,271
1830-1835	103	3,481	698	4,179
1835-1840	105	3,297	680	3,977
1840-1845	89	2,453	1,149	3,602
1845-1850	95	3,144	1,089	4,233
1850-1854	74	2,371	1,075	3,446

The number of English schools established and maintained by the mission was of course much less but as it will be noted from this and the following table there was a gradual falling off of the numbers in both English and vernacular schools in the latter part of this period. Although the committees which

19. *Anderson Report*, p. 47.

were appointed at the time of the Anderson deputation to survey the educational system pointed out that this diminution specially in the English schools was due to stricter admissions to the asking of payments from pupils for books and stationery provided and to the reduction of admissions to the Batticotta Seminary, there is little doubt that the Home Committee's criticisms of the Ceylon missionaries and their policy of over-stressing education at the cost of evangelism and the reduction of grants from America also contributed to the lessenning of both schools and pupils.

The position concerning the English schools was as follows[20] :—

Year	*Number of Schools*	*Number of Pupils*	*Year*	*Number of Schools*	*Number of Pupils*
1830	1	45	1843	8	166
1831	2	51	1844	7	170
1832	3	45	1845	11	291
1833	4	95	1846	13	452
1834	1	25	1847	15	582
1835	3	97	1848	16	618
1836	6	225	1849	14	501
1837	5	150	1850	15	502
1838	5	185	1851	14	270
1839	8	268	1852	9	317
1840	8	290	1853	8	229
1841	9	437	1854	6	
1842	8	388			

Two other aspects of the work of the mission which deserve special notice are its medical and printing establishments. The work of the Reverend Dr. John Scudder, a missionary physician had consisted of giving medical assistance not only to the American missionaries in Ceylon but to all in need of his services. He even went so far as to train a few young men from the schools in the principles and practice of western medicine—thus being the founder of the first medical school in the island. In 1836 Dr. Nathan Ward who had been in Jaffna from 1833 took charge of this department of the mission including the training of students—a work which he continued till 1847 when Dr. Samuel Fiske Green took over. As a result of this pioneer medical missionary work on western lines many thousands of the people of Jaffna were given medical

20. *Anderson Report*, p. 44.

attention at little cost, a number of young people were educated in the principles of western medicine, and the Christian religion was once again shown to have a real social concern. In 1855 it was reported that the medical establishment run by Dr. Green with the assistance of three locally trained young men cost about £60 a year. There was a medical class of eight of whom seven were past pupils of the Batticotta Seminary. An average of about two thousand cases had been treated annually and for the two previous years it had received a very helpful grant of £50 per year from the Government of Ceylon.[21]

The printing press too did useful work both for the mission and the people. During this period it was under the supervision of a missionary printer but it gave employment in 1850 to about thirty-five local assistants. Its work consisted of printing elementary English and Tamil school books—any further requirements for schools being obtained from England and India—and undertaking Bible and Tract Society publications, mission and seminary reports and occasional work for the residents. Till the end of 1854 the Press had produced 171, 747, 198 pages of printed matter. In 1855 the whole establishment was transferred to Tamil management: the printing to Messrs. Ripley and Strong and the binding to Messrs. Dana and Winslow. Among its best known publications was the English part of *The Morning Star:* a semi-monthly paper published in English and Tamil and begun in 1841 under two Tamils. It became a mission paper and still fills a very important place in local journalism. It was ' devoted to education, science and general literature and to the dissemination of articles on agriculture, government and religion with a brief summary of important news '. With a refreshing catholicity of taste and in accordance with the best canons of journalism it welcomed articles even against the basic message it sought to propagate—that of the Christian faith—and so did a great deal to promote religious thought. In 1850 it had about seven hundred subscribers of whom five-sixths were Tamils. And it was not too great a claim that the mission made when it summed up the achievements of *The Morning Star* in 1855 by stating:

> ' As the number of educated natives has increased, and they have become more widely scattered, this periodical has seemed more and more necessary, as a means of retaining that influence over them, which is a result of their having been trained up under our fostering care, and which we have tried to make use of specially for their spiritual benefit '.[22]

C. N. V. FERNANDO

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21. *University of Ceylon Review,* Vol. VIII, No. 2, pp. 111. *Anderson Report,* p. 89 f; Manipay Records.

22. *M.R.* 1827, p. 113; 1840, pp. 214-5; Tennent, pp. 162-4; Address to the Former Pupils of Batticotta Seminary etc. Jaffna (1866); *Historical Sketch*: Manuscript Records at Bishop's House, Vaddukoddai.

Reviews

The Legislatures of Ceylon. By S. Namasivayam. Published under the auspices of Nuffield College by Faber & Faber Ltd., 1951. pp. xxii + 176. 18s.

This work is a study of the three legislatures which functioned in Ceylon between 1928 and 1948—the Legislative Council, the State Council and Parliament. This is introduced by a brief survey of the country and its peoples and the earlier history of the Legislative Council.

It was first prepared as a thesis for a research degree at Oxford and has been re-written for publication as the fifth volume in the valuable series of Studies in Colonial Legislatures edited by Miss Margery Perham. In preparing it for publication the writer has borne in mind the rather different needs of two classes of readers—those in Ceylon and those outside. He has on the whole struck a fair balance between them, but if he has erred it is more probably on the side of neglecting the advice of the General Editor and taking too much local knowledge for granted. Be that as it may, neither class can complain of an insufficiency of interesting material. Those outside Ceylon will find their main interest in the broader aspects of the study of a Colonial Legislature at stages somewhat in advance of those described in the earlier volumes of the series though chronologically more or less contemporaneous. The Ceylon reader will find his in the patient and on the whole successful effort to reach a just appraisal of the Donoughmore experiment, as well as in the close analysis of the present constitution which is directed mainly to examining—in view of the criticism sometimes advanced—whether it does in any way fall short of the complete autonomy implied by the term Dominion Status.

The Introductory chapter is the only part of the work which does not find the writer properly at ease. It certainly would not be fair to judge the book by it for it is not its main theme, but in view of the care and exactness which generally prevails in the later chapters it is perhaps necessary to notice some slips and doubtful phrases which occur in this. On p. 7 the use of the phrase ' pattern current in seventeenth and eighteenth century Europe ' in connection with the benevolence that at times characterised the rule of Sinhalese Kings, instead of adding correctness and giving precision, is more likely to mislead. On the same page the Portuguese are said to have ' retained suzerainty ' over the coastal provinces ' for a period of 130 years from the beginning of the sixteenth century '; actually their power cannot be said to have been dominant, except within their forts, until 1581 and their rule began only in 1597. The statement on p. 10 that the Executive Council ' throughout the nineteenth century consisted exclusively of Englishmen ' is not correct; and the appointments of Sir Richard Morgan (1863-1876) and Sir Samuel Grenier (1886-1892) besides the acting appointments of James Stewart (1849-1850) and J. J. Staples (1840) as Queen's Advocate, Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan (1894-1895, 1896 and 1898) as Attorney General and J. H. de Saram (1902) as Colonial Treasurer were notable—perhaps more so at the time than now—not merely as exceptions which ' proved the rule ' in Ceylon, but still more because of the comparisons which the earlier ones especially evoked with the practice in India and other tropical dependencies. Careless reading of the authority cited is the cause of the slip on p. 11 regarding the date of the victory, notable because so rare, which the unofficials gained in the Council: actually the amendment referred to was carried on 20th August, 1864 and the sequel of reverse and resignation was complete within three months, but the agitation which followed was not

entirely barren. More interesting perhaps, in view of what is said later in the book regarding the position of the official members in the Council, is the fact that in 1863 the officials were divided and some voted with the unofficials in rejecting or reducing a number of the votes for military expenditure as well as with regard to the wording of a petition submitted by the Council to the Queen on the subject of the Military Contribution, the raising of which was to provoke the spirited action of 1864. The list on p. 12 of European members who were friendly to native interests is not intended to be complete, nor is it very discriminating, the reasons given for the inclusion of some of the names being not very convincing. The account given on p. 13 of the position of the official member is likely to convey the impression that there was far more regimentation and greater uniformity of practice than was the case : a better picture of the fluctuations in the attitude of the higher authorities in this matter is conveyed as regards Ceylon in the account of Lennox Mills (*Ceylon under British Rule*, pp. 108-111) and as regards the Colonies generally in the analysis of Martin Wight (*The Development of the Legislative Council*, pp. 108-112).

Much surer is the handling of the main topic—an account of the structure and operation of the novel and by no means easy machinery which served this country in its transition from Representative to semi-Responsible Government on the recommendations of the Donoughmore Commission.

Stress is very rightly laid on those features, such as universal franchise and the abolition of communal electorates, which have proved generally acceptable and of more lasting value, for the tendency has been to overlook them in discussing the Donoughmore Constitution as the agitation for further constitutional advance led to a focussing of attention upon its less successful features. And in treating of the merits of the scheme there has been no tendency to shirk controversial issues ; on the contrary the treatment of the communal factor in Ceylon politics in the thirties and forties is full and frank and though not everybody, particularly of the minority groups, can be expected to agree with the author's conclusions, no one can fail to acknowledge the scrupulous fairness of his general approach and the nice discrimination with which he exhibits the occasions and issues over which communal differences were most marked. The discussion of communal politics might perhaps have been the better had the writer distinguished more between communal representation and communal electorates. The need for the distinction has been better recognised in the study of the more acute and complex form of the problem in India, but even in this discussion the distinction is so often implicit that one is surprised at the failure to state it expressly.

Similarly in the latter part of the book the author writes exhaustively and convincingly in disposing of the arguments of those who maintain, sometimes by a perverse construction of the enactments, that Ceylon's position falls short of true Dominion autonomy. In doing so, however, he more than once makes use of the expression ' sovereign Parliament ' with reference to the Ceylon legislature and so presents to his opponents a target from which not all his analysis of Sections 29(2) and (4) can deflect their shafts—not to mention Section 39 which he must needs concede. The crux of the matter is whether the Ceylon Parliament, as a sovereign legislature, can by a simple majority do away with the clauses which require a larger majority in certain cases—as has been claimed recently in South Africa regarding the ' entrenched clauses ' there. Here again the discussion would have been clearer had he made use of the distinction, often used though perhaps not with acceptance to the Austinian purist, between a sovereign legislature and a sovereign state. The former our Parliament is not, at least in the sense in which the term is commonly understood ; but surely all that the author need be concerned about is to establish that Ceylon is the latter.

Two minor lapses in this part of the work need to be noticed : the use of the term ' civil service ' on p. 94 may mislead the overseas reader, especially as it has been spelt in that way with both initial letters simple ; while the statement on p. 132 that (in making appointments) ' the Governor-General would consult the Prime Minister ' may likewise puzzle the reader who remembers that this is the phrase used in the Soulbury Report (para. 343) in connection with the appointments which formerly lay 'within the discretion of the Governor-General '.

In discussing the more controversial features of the Donoughmore Scheme, and notably the Executive Committee system, the writer tends to stress the merits and value of the device in his conclusion, but he does so only after a full and fair summary of the arguments that were used for and against it during the time it was in operation. Even today, when the defects of the Executive Committee system are only an unhappy memory, most people in Ceylon will consider his claims in its favour to be overstated. But he finds valuable support for his views in the recommendations of the West India Royal Commission, whose Report was prepared in 1939 and of which, it will be remembered, Sir Edward Stubbs was a member. That body advised the creation of statutory committees differing considerably from the Executive Committees of Ceylon both as regards composition (heads of departments who were not members of the Legislative Council and possibly other persons were to be included, though the majority were to be elected members of the Legislature chosen by that body) as well as regards powers and functions (they were to be purely advisory and consultative and vested with no executive powers). The advantages to be expected are summarised from the Report, but by making it the first item in the list (p. 111) the matter of enabling ' the legislature to have a fair control of administrative matters ' is given, doubtless quite unintentionally, an importance it does not have in the Report, where the extent of expected advantage would appear to be merely that heads of departments could answer questions in the privacy of the committee room instead of publicly in Council. And one cannot help a sense of misgiving that the writer has adopted too readily the view expressed in the Report (p. 375) that the system outlined was a ' repetition in the West Indies of an experiment which, notwithstanding those differences, bears much resemblance to one which may now be abandoned, after a full and fair test, in another part of the Colonial Empire '. To this reviewer the system described appears fundamentally different from that with which we were familiar, and the Ceylon experiment would appear to have provided more by way of warning than by way of inspiration.

This reference to the West Indies may serve as an excuse for a digression on a point not actually discussed in the book under review, though dismissed with a distant glance towards the bottom of p. 21. West Indian colonies were the scene of the evolution of a more orthodox line for adjusting relations between Executive and Legislature during the advance from representative to responsible government. The first stage was that of allowing unofficial members of the Legislative Council to retain their seats there though appointed as executive councillors. What might have been the first step towards evolution on these lines was actually taken in Ceylon just before the Donoughmore Commission arrived in the island, but with the adoption of their scheme and the consequent abolition of the Legislative Council any further development was prevented. In the account of the inconvenience arising from the absence of any connection between the Executive Council and the unofficial majority in the Legislative there is reference to a rule that ' unofficial members recruited to it had to give up their seats in the Legislative Council before they could function as Executive Councillors ' (p. 20); but the writer, who is thinking only of elected seats, would seem to have overlooked either the fact or the significance of one of the last of the appointments of an unofficial to the Executive Council for Mr. D. S. Senanayake,

who was appointed in 1927 to fill a temporary vacancy there, was allowed to retain his territorial seat in the Legislative Council. The next stage in the evolution along those lines would have been to allow the legislative council itself to elect (and recall by a majority of two-thirds) its representatives on the Executive Council, and this device, which Mr. Martin Wight (*Development of the Legislative Council*, p. 97) terms 'the quasi-cabinet of the semi-responsible system' represents a half-way house on the road. The same writer suggests that its adoption in Jamaica in 1944 may be regarded as an admission of the failure of the novel experiment of Executive Committees which had served for the stage of semi-responsible government in Ceylon. He further characterises it as the 'more restricted, and therefore perhaps a more effective attempt to educate unofficial members in the work of administration'. But it could fairly be argued in reply that the effectiveness (in the form of greater co-ordination of policy and better knowledge at the level of the front-bench) is dearly bought at this stage at the price of the restriction, for the political education of the rank and file was an urgent need, especially where local self-government was so little developed as in Ceylon.

The present reviewer does not mean to endorse this conclusion, but it is by far the best argument that might have been used in support of the introduction of the Executive Committee system here, and the case for the Committees might have been stated more soundly if, instead of seeking to establish a permanent or survival value for them, the writer had been content to stress, even more than he has done, their immense educative value during the transitional period for which the system had been devised. The great need which then existed was to alter the whole outlook of the ordinary member, and not merely the elected member on the front bench, from that sense of permanent hostility and suspicion of the executive and the public service which had grown up in the days when the majority of the legislature felt or found itself in permanent and frustrated opposition to the Government. Be that as it may, having served their purpose the Executive Committees had to disappear because, quite apart from other and accidental defects, their character as Executive Committees necessarily and inherently made them a hindrance to the evolution of a co-ordinated policy and constituted them an added obstacle in the task of fixing political responsibility.

Indeed the slightness of the attention paid to this evolutionary aspect of the question arises from the one fault of which the historian has cause to complain in this otherwise admirable study. It is even more apparent in the discussion of the Mooloya incident. Here, after defining the issues neatly under three heads—viz. encroachment by an Officer of State on the functions of a Minister, the Governor's use of an obsolete Order-in-Council for executive and administrative action without ministerial advice and in the face of popular opposition, and the relation between Ministers and Heads of Departments—the writer startles his readers by dismissing the second of these heads as 'not important' (p. 86). This illustrates more clearly than anything else in the book how far the main interest of the author lies in the task of lucid legal analysis and exposition. He performs it indeed in no narrow way, and pays ample attention to administrative practice and precedent. But he seldom goes on to ask questions beyond those which a lawyer needs to ask, and seldom dwells upon the wider historical factors which cause the situation he analyses, or the wider historical trends that issue from it.

But in the direction in which his interest lies he has discharged his task admirably, and it is scarcely fair to complain that he has not undertaken much more. His book is most useful, not only to the student of Ceylon history but to the student of British colonial history generally, for its exposition of the machinery of government in the period of Ceylon's transition from colonial to dominion status.

W. J. F. L.

The Commonwealth in Asia. By Sir Ivor Jennings. pp. xi + 124. Oxford University Press. 10s. 6d.

This work may be looked upon as a completion of a cycle of thought contained in the series of books and documents on the problem of India which began with the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. From the days of James Mill and Macaulay up to 1917 British Liberals and Conservatives held the view that India was not fit for a parliamentary system of government owing to the heterogeneousness of its population. But in 1917 Montagu reversing the British policy hitherto followed decided to grant responsible government to India by gradual stages. Montagu and Chelmsford in their Report did not deny the diversity of Indian society, but they took the view that this obstacle would not be insuperable, as thought before, if the Indian leaders confronted it and grappled with it themselves. And they justified the action they proposed to take on the Liberal principle that the capacity for government could only be fostered and enlarged by freedom. Now that the aim of Montagu and Chelmsford has been realized and India and Pakistan have attained Dominion status, the question naturally arises how far the three Dominions in Asia, India, Pakistan and Ceylon, with their plural societies, are capable of adapting themselves to a satisfactory parliamentary system of government.

In the Waynflete Lectures delivered at Magdalene College, Oxford, in 1948, Sir Ivor Jennings deals with this question besides referring to other problems connected with these three Dominions. He makes Ceylon the basis of his study, as in many respects it is but a miniature of India, and proceeds to deal with the more complex problems of India and Pakistan. He approaches his subject from the angle of this plural society, the main cause of difference between the Commonwealth in Asia and the other Commonwealth countries. In the first four chapters he describes the social and political divisions of the peoples of India, Pakistan and Ceylon as affected by race, religion, caste, education, language and class which hinder the process of democratic government. In the next three chapters he discusses how far the system of responsible government which is now in operation in all the three countries meets the requirements of their heterogeneous social units and how far the new constitutions of Ceylon and India have sought to overcome the difficulties that arise from their existence. Finally he discusses the relations of these three countries to one another and to others in the Commonwealth, and the reasons for their different attitudes to the Crown.

The first four lectures were undoubtedly necessary to acquaint a British audience with the nature and problems of this plural society. Even to others they are useful for an understanding of the inherent difficulties that affect the successful working of the democratic form of government in these three Dominions. The most valuable chapters of this work, however, are those on Responsible Government and the Constitutions of India and Ceylon, where Sir Ivor brings his profound knowledge of the problems of constitutional government to bear upon the subject. Analyzing the constitutions of India and Ceylon he vividly sets forth their weak and strong points and the problems raised by the peculiar social conditions of each country.

Though the work as a whole cannot but be commended, a few criticisms may be offered with regard to matters of detail. The introductory section contains some statements which, if not inaccurate, are at least questionable. The author seems to think that the Mohenjodaro civilization is Dravidian. He suggests that the practice of agriculture came to India with the Dravidians (p. 1) and that Hinduism if not mainly Dravidian is at least a product of the fusion of Aryan and Dravidian ideas (p. 2). The Portuguese are said to have begun to exercise powers of government in the Maritime Provinces

early in the sixteenth century (p. 6) and one of the four causes that led to conversions to Christianity is said to be its virtual enforcement by the Inquisition under Portuguese rule (p. 7). A group of Sinhalese of the west coast are said to speak Tamil because it has for centuries been the dominant language of the area (p. 11). It is considered possible that the great majority of people of the sea coasts of India and Ceylon are biologically Eurasian (p. 14).

The chapter on communalism is an illuminating one but here again it is difficult to agree with the author in a few matters of detail. Sir Ivor is no doubt correct when he regards communalism as arising from the diversity of the peoples of these countries, the weakness of nationalism and the strength of ancestral loyalties. It may also be argued, as he does, that communal representation by election grew out of communal representation by nomination. But it is a striking fact that when the principle of representation by election was adopted in 1892 in India communal electorates were not introduced, though the diversity of India was emphasized at the time. Nor can Minto be so easily exonerated from the charge of *divide et impera*. He was undoubtedly too much of a gentleman to follow any crude form of it. But that he did follow a refined form of it is not based merely on the views of a high official (p. 29). The *Constitutional Proposals of the Sapru Committee* (p. 101) provides other circumstantial evidence to show that the Muslim deputation was not altogether spontaneous and received some inspiration from Simla. Besides the correspondence between Minto and Morley makes it clear that Minto was trying to create a balance of power in favour of British rule, which was being challenged then for the first time after the Indian Mutiny, and was thinking at the time in terms of a counterpoise to Congress (*India: Minto and Morley*, p. 29). It is also not generally assumed, as the author thinks, that communal representation by nomination was a mistake (p. 29). Both Montagu and Chelmsford and the Donoughmore Commissioners as well as Hindus and Sinhalese have as a rule objected only to communal electorates.

Another minor point. Sir Ivor shows the similarities between the conditions in Ceylon on the one hand and those of India on the other, but he does not make even a passing mention of the chief reason—the peculiar organization of Buddhism, the religion of the majority of the people of Ceylon—which accounts for the absence in Ceylon of anything like the Hindu-Muslim problem in India. Buddhism is essentially a monastic religion, and exercises little or no direct control over the laity. Many, if not most, Sinhalese social customs, even if they are of religious origin, are not Buddhist, and therefore have not the sanction of an organized body of priests or monks. This has prevented any serious religious acrimony in Ceylon and enabled the introduction in South Ceylon of modern institutions without disturbing the religious susceptibilities of the people. It was the realization of this fact that made C. H. Cameron remark in 1832: ' The peculiar circumstances of Ceylon both physical and moral seem to point it out to the British Government as the fittest spot in our dominions in which to plant the germ of European civilization, whence we may not unreasonably hope that it will spread over the whole of these vast territories '.

But this omission and the inaccuracies referred to are matters of detail and do not affect the main theme of the book. They do not detract from the value of the clear-cut analysis or the striking conclusions drawn from the facts presented. Apart from the great value of the book for a study of the constitutions of India and Ceylon it could also be recommended for the enjoyable reading it provides. It is rarely that such a complex problem is presented in such a simple and lucid manner.

G. C. M.

The 'Nuh Sipihr' of Amir Khusrau. Persian Text with introduction, notes, index, etc. Edited by Dr. Muhammad Waheed Mirza. Islamic Research Association Series No. 12. pp. liii, 30 and 409. Oxford University Press—1950. Rs. 15/-.

Nuh Sipihr (lit: Nine Spheres) is the fourth of the famous five historical Mathnavi poems composed by the celebrated poet, 'The Parrot of Hind', Amir Khusrau of Delhi (1253 A.D. 1325 A.D.), one of the most profilic poets that the world has ever produced.

This poem has not been published before. Students of Persian and Indian history owe a debt of gratitude to the editor, Dr. Waheed Mirza, for the scholarly work and immense labour that he has put in in preparing a critical edition of this long poem consisting of not less than 4,487 couplets, as recorded in the present edition. The editor is a distinguished scholar of Arabic and Persian. During the last two decades his name has been associated with the study of the works of this great poet. His book on the life and works of Amir Khusrau, published in 1935, is indeed a very useful contribution in the direction of a profound study of the poet and his times.

The Persian text of this edition is based upon three different valuable manuscripts, with the help of which the editor has been able to surmount the numerous difficulties referred to in the Preface. There is however a small number of couplets which the editor has left unsolved. It is hoped that a scholar of his calibre will in course of time be able to find solutions for these couplets too, and that the next edition of the work would be of a still better quality.

Nuh Sipihr is an important work not only in the realm of Persian poetry but also as an original source of information about contemporary historical events that took place during the first part of the reign of Mubarak Shah, who ruled in Delhi between 1316 A.D. and 1320 A.D. In spite of the style of the poem (as all of Khusrau's works are), being full of poetical exaggeration, metaphorical descriptions, subtle quips, skilful puns and verbal artifices, the facts of history are given with fidelity. In fact few historical poems adhere more closely to the actual order and the character of events, and when one compares the historian Frishta's account with the poetical versions of Khusrau, one is struck to a great extent, by their remarkable agreement. The knowledge of astronomy was in his time a mark of the elite and scholarship. In order to raise the value of his work in the eyes of his contemporaries, the poet displays profound knowledge of the science by using the astronomical ideas then prevalent, most artistically. Even the division of the poem into nine sections, and calling each section, 'sipihr', (i.e. sphere) corresponds to the idea of the Nine Spheres of the old astronomers. In the text one gains a graphic picture not only of the court life, methods of warfare and hunting in those days, but also of general life outside the court. The most picturesque is the description of the King Kutbuddin Mubarak Shah's accession to the throne and the account of his coronation, the account of a birth of a son to the king, his horoscope and the festivities following his birth.

In the poem the third section (sipihr 3) is certainly the most interesting and the most informative of its nine sections. It deals mainly with India and the poet has crammed into it much useful information regarding its climate, flora and fauna, sciences, religious beliefs and languages. The poet has tried to prove India's superiority over other countries. He praises the fertility and fruitfulness of its soil and the temperate nature of its climate. He then proceeds to establish India's superiority over all countries in learning and knowledge. 'I know' he says, 'that in this land lie wisdom and learned ideas beyond compute'. According to him, in India, one could find all branches of philosophic knowledge, such as logic, dialectic theology, as well as the branches of the physical sciences

such as physics, mathematics and astronomy. It is only the science of 'fiqh', (jurisprudence) of which the Hindus are ignorant. According to him their belief about divinity is confused, yet owing to their belief in the unity and eternity of God, and his power to create from nothingness, their conceptions of the Creator are superior to those of the Atheists, anthropomorphists, those who believe in Father and Son and those who are Sabians (star worshippers).

The poet mentions that the numerical system specially the symbol zero originated in India. The wonderful book of wisdom Kalila wa Dimna (ref. Panchatantra) which was translated into Persian and Arabic and acquired fame all over the world, and the celebrated game of chess, both originally belonged to India. The Indian music which is like a fire that fires the soul is of a higher order than the music of other countries. Foreigners cannot even imitate a single melody properly.

While speaking of the languages of India he remarks that all stories and romances, literary books, etc. that require elegance of diction and display of talent are written in Sanskrit by the Brahmins and other cultured scholars. The language is pure like a lustrous pearl and although is inferior to Arabic, it is certainly superior to Persian. Persian is certainly a sweet and melodious language but Sanskrit does not yield to it in that respect as well.

The edition has an introduction in English beginning with a note on the historical background and followed by an analysis of the poem, and a note on the general features of the poem. The account of the life of the poet is not given for which the reader will have to refer, either to the editor's earlier work on the *Life and Works of Khusrau*, (which at the moment is out of print) or to other sources. In this work also (as in most of the works on Amir Khusrau) a great need of the ordinary student of Persian is not taken note of. Not having much knowledge of astronomy and implications of astronomical terms, the ordinary student on his own finds himself at a loss to comprehend the full significance of the couplets in which Amir Khusrau makes use of astronomical terminology skilfully and artistically. This is one of the most favourite pastimes of the poet. It is therefore necessary that important works on the poet should discuss this aspect of the style of the poet, with a view to help the student to understand and appreciate the works of this great poet more fully.

To the text has been appended a useful glossary which contains difficult words with annotations in Persian, and a Persian commentary of some of the most difficult and subtle couplets. The binding is quite good, the print excellent, and the general appearance most creditable.

A. J. HALEPOTA

Cultural Anthropology of the Rodiyas. (Ethnological Survey of Ceylon, No. 1). By M. D. Raghavan. Published by the National Museums of Ceylon. 40 pp. and 2 plates.

This is an off-print from Vol. XXVI, Part I of the *Spolia Zeylanica*, and is the first of the studies of the lower social groups that are being carried out by the Ethnologist of the Colombo Museum. It provides a fairly full account of this depressed class of people gathered from literary sources and during 'a number of field seasons' work'. It deals with the legends and traditions of the Rodiyas, their habitat and distribution, their social set-up and organization, their history and place in society, their habits and social customs, their material culture, their occupations, their name and its origin, their religion, their education, their genealogies and their dialect.

Though the author has thus put together a considerable amount of useful and interesting information, this survey falls short of the high standard of exact and scholarly treatment that one is entitled to expect from a Museum publication. The presentation is not orderly, and at times the author arrives at his conclusions in a surprisingly uncritical manner.

No uniform system of transliteration, for instance, is adopted in the work. Though the Sinhalese words in Section 6 are given in Roman characters with the necessary diacritical marks, in other places occur such forms as ambattaya (p. 5) *hette*, *bodiya* (p. 9) Maha Stupa, Pulathinagara (Pollonoruva) (p. 11) attiraha (p. 19) instead of *ämbäṭṭaya hätṭē*, *boḍiya*, Mahā Stūpa, Pulatthinagara (Poḷonnaruva) and *atiraha*. The word Roḍiya itself is spelt throughout with a dental *d* and Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and Iḷanāga as Duttagamini and Ilanga. The word Vädda is spelt as Vaedda (p. 4) as well as Väeddha (p. 24). On the other hand the name of Dr. Wijesekera who worked in the Colombo Museum just before the arrival of Mr. Raghavan is pedantically disguised in the Bibliography as Vijayasekere (p. 39).

This lack of thoroughness and of method is evident in other matters too. For instance on p. 22 it is assumed that the Roḍiyas held land under service tenure, but no authority is given for this assumption. Again, on p. 5 the authority of ' the Mahavamsa, the Raja-Ratnacari and the Rajavali ' is cited, without reference to chapter or page, for the statement that the concubines with whom the King happened to be displeased were handed over to the Roḍiyas. The *Mahāvaṃsa*, the *Rājaratnākaraya* and the *Rājāvaliya* do not refer to the Roḍiyas, and this fact is admitted by Mr. Raghavan on p. 11 with regard to the *Mahāvaṃsa*. The reference obviously is to Upham's *Sacred and Historical Books of Ceylon* though it is not included in the Bibliography on p. 39. This work includes translations of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, *Rājaratnākaraya* and the *Rājāvaliya*, which are far from accurate, and of a number of so-called Buddhist tracts. The reference is not to the translations of these three works but to the Tract on the Castes of Ceylon (Vol. III, p. 351).

Similar weaknesses are sometimes to be seen in the way the sources are handled. As much importance is attached at times to legends and comments of people as to reliable works. It is clear from the Survey itself that the earliest reliable reference to the *Roḍiyas* is in the seventeenth century work of Knox. But Mr. Raghavan traces their origin to the Taraccha and the Kulinga clans who according to the *Mahāvaṃsa* legends are said to have accompanied the Bo-branch to Ceylon. He comes to this conclusion partly by assuming that these were hunting clans, probably from the recesses of the hills of Orissa, and by equating *ludda* and *rudda* with *Roḍi* though he does not show how the dental *d* in the former two changed into the cerebral *ḍ* in the last. He considers the *Janavaṃsa*, from which he draws material, a work of the fifteenth century, as the *Taprobanian* did in 1887, but does not take into account the summary of the work which makes it clear that it has later additions and that the statements he refers to may also be of a later date.

It is not possible in a review like this to discuss adequately the defects referred to or to examine critically all the other aspects of the survey. However interesting the survey may be its defects are such that it cannot be recommended to the student as a safe and reliable authority on the subject of the Roḍiyas.

G. C. M.

Buddhist Dictionary. A Manual of Buddhist Terms and Doctrines. By Ven. Nyanatiloka Thera: Island Hermitage Publication No. 1. Frewin & Co., Ltd., Colombo 1950.

The author's claim in the preface that this book fills a big gap in the field of the study of Buddhism is amply justified. The book contains traditional and modern definitions of Pali terms ranging from the Suttanta period to the Commentarial epoch. Greater

attention, however, is paid to terms and theories of the Abhidhamma as is expected of the author whose special leanings are in that direction. The book appears to be primarily intended to the student of Buddhism who is not equipped with a knowledge of Pali. The student invariably has to depend on interpretations furnished by translators of the original Texts, and the Venerable Nyanatiloka has done a great deal to prevent mistakes arising from mistranslations—especially those of his countryman the late Karl Neumann—and has provided as far as possible the nearest equivalents in English to the technical and philosophical terms in Pali. Mistranslations in themselves are of no consequence, but once students begin to adopt them there is no solution to it at all. One such instance is 'trance' for *jhāna* and the tacit acceptance of this translation, in spite of the lucid explanation furnished in the book, tends to defeat the very purpose which it is intended to serve. Similarly the term Dependent Origination is none too happy, but the Art makes it quite clear that the law refers to inter-dependent causal origins. Often the interpretation of a term may vary according to the context in which it is used and it invariably happens that a wrong translation may produce an entirely different picture in the mind of the reader as in the instance of the reference to *sati* and *sampajañña* by an eminent British philosopher of our times.

The value of this Dictionary to the student of Pali would have been increased if the author had given more references from the original Texts in the chronological order in which they occur as is done in the case of the P.T.S. Dictionary. The appendix, an afterthought, proceeds somewhat in that direction, but it is by no means adequate. The arrangement of the terms separately in English and in Pali would have made the work more systematic without allowing English and Pali terms to lie cheek by jowl resulting in a total lack of co-ordination. However, the terms for the most part are in Pali and the entries in English more often than not refer the reader to the Pali. Under these circumstances preference should have been given to the Indian alphabetical order and English terms should have come as a separate part of the book. The attention paid to psychological concepts and other terms of the Abhidhamma is so great that there is a tendency to dismiss lightly even philosophical terms of the early Nikāyas, specially those that were restricted in their application in the scholastic period ; e.g. *visattikā* finds no mention at all. The interpretation of *uposatha* is altogether modern. It is strange how the author missed *abbuda* the *niraya* when he already informs us of the embryonic stage by that name.

Though the book does not boast of perfection in lexicography, it serves as a useful compendium of Buddhist philosophy in lexical form. Nearly four decades of labour has gone to produce this work and as regards scholarship and information the Buddhist Dictionary ranks very high. It serves as a guide to the greater truths of the Teachings of the Sakyan Sage.

N. A. J.

Preliminary Report on The Economic Survey of Rural Ceylon, 1950. Department of Census and Statistics. *Sessional Paper XI*—1951, July, 1951, Ceylon Government Press. 40 cents.

There are few matters of greater urgency in Ceylon than the accurate measurement and evaluation of the economic trends and problems of the villages. Full and objective appraisal of tenure statuses, family budgets, and farm management practices are essential for sound economic planning. With the avowed purpose of providing the public the broad general results of the surveys of 106 representative villages prior to the consideration of the national budget for 1951-52, this preliminary report was produced. It apparently covers, however, only about one-half the villages actually included in the sampling, i.e. those for which field work happened to be complete. The report provides statistical tables and some comments on gainful employment, land tenure, family budgets, indebtedness, literacy, family size, and other matters. In no sense is it an integrated analysis of any phase of rural life, economic or otherwise. Rather, it is a heterogeneous collection

of inadequately analyzed data, the most significant of which would demonstrate the improving well being of the rural population. While the rural population may indeed be enjoying a rising prosperity, the evidence is not entirely convincing.

Statistics regarding the indebtedness of villagers may be taken as a case in point, since the problem is of particular importance and the findings appear impressive. It is claimed that 'in rural Ceylon as a whole, 33·5 per cent. of the families in all occupational groups were found to be indebted'. Further,

> 'There is statistical evidence to show that the peasant has been able to divest himself of a good portion of his indebtedness in recent years. The evidence is furnished by a comparison with the figures of indebtedness collected in 1936-38 and those collected in 1950. The percentage of debt free families in 1950 was 66·5, which compares with an average figure of about 25 in pre-war days'.

Statements such as the above would seem to imply that the studies of 1936-1938 had some claim to representativeness and that the present sample of about fifty villages has also. There is no indication that the villages undergoing comparison are even from the same economic regions. No distinction is made between indebtedness for consumption purposes as against capital debt. (It is conceivable although quite unlikely that a reduction of debt signifies contraction in the economy). We do not know whether or not the compared studies were conducted at identical seasons, although we may surmise, not that any hint is given here, that peasant indebtedness fluctuates seasonally. If instead of superficial concern over presenting the 'bright side', the report had been restricted to a comprehensive analysis of rural debt, its usefulness for economic planning might have increased in about the same ratio that its political effectiveness decreased.

Similar comments are justified in regard to family budget analysis. In this connection we are provided with some detail on family income and expenditure without being informed whether or not one or both of the studies compared assigned monetary value to home produced goods consumed by the family. Even more seriously, we must conclude that costs of farm and craft operation had no claim against family income. This is patently ridiculous, yet if the net income figures were indeed used, there is no evidence that this is so. Such analytical shortcomings give infinite room for statistical jugglery and for interpretations which might or might not be borne out by adequate analysis.

The publication of this preliminary report was obviously a matter of expedience, but recognition of that fact makes the report no better than it is, nor more useful. The Department of Census and Statistics is a highly competent organization and in this instance have in their hands data of vital significance for Ceylon. It is most unfortunate that analytical work of this importance need be subject to politically induced abortion.

B. R.

Selections from the Nagpur Residency Records—Vol. I. (1799–1806). Edited by H. N. Sinha, pp. xxxii, 565. Published by the Government of Madhya Pradesh. 1950. Rs. 12 or 18*s* net.

The volume under review is the first of a series of seven volumes which the Government of Madhya Pradesh (former C.P. and Berar) intends to publish in the course of seven years. The volumes will fill up a gap which has so long existed in the published Records, pertaining to Maratha history. The documents on Maratha history so far published, such as *The Selections from the Peshwa Daftar, The Poona Residency Records*, etc. deal mainly with the affairs of the Peshwa; and it is hoped that the present series when published will give us a more complete picture of the affairs of the Bhonsla State in the nineteenth century.

The present volume contains selections from the Records of the Residency at Nagpur during the incumbency of H. T. Colebrooke (18th March, 1799 to 19th May, 1801) and the first three years of Mountstuart Elphinstone's Residentship (21st December, 1803 to end of December, 1806). The gap of a little over two years in the Records is due to the fact that during this period no Resident was appointed at the court of the Bhonsla.

The Editor in his introduction rightly traces the history of British relations with Nagpur from the time of Warren Hastings. It was, however, not merely the natural enmity of the Poona Government towards Mudhoji Bhonsla and the contiguity of British possessions to Nagpur territories, as the Editor suggests, but also the extensiveness of the Bhonsla's possessions, their strategic position, as well as the outbreak of the First Maratha War, which necessitated a close alliance with the Bhonsla. The Editor might also have pointed out that the form of alliance which Hastings at first envisaged resembled, in many respects, the subsequent Subsidiary Alliance of Wellesley. This plan, however, did not materialize. During the Governor-Generalship of Cornwallis the decadent nature of the Nagpur State was so apparent that the idea of forming an alliance was given up ; but George Forester was sent to the court of Raghoji obviously to prevent him from going over to the hostile camp or creating any other mischief.

It was, however, with the arrival of Wellesley as Governor-General that the policy of appointing regular Residents was adopted. It was not merely the ' political situation of the British in India ' as stated by the Editor, but also the grand design of the new Governor-General of bringing the leading Indian States under British influence through a vast net-work of Subsidiary Alliances that caused a change in policy ; and it was in pursuance of this new policy that H. T. Colebrooke the eminent Orientalist was sent to the court of Raghoji. Colebrooke supplied Wellesley with valuable information about Raghoji's administration, his resources, both military and financial and other matters of importance, but he failed to persuade Raghoji to enter into a Subsidiary Alliance and left his court on 19th May, 1801. The documents bearing upon the negotiation between the British and the Bhonsla make interesting reading and give us a good idea of Indian diplomacy at this period.

After Colebrooke's departure no Resident was appointed until the backbone of the Maratha confederacy had been broken and the Bhonsla had been forced to sign the treaty of Deogaon in December, 1803, when Mountstuart Elphinstone was appointed to act as Resident pending the arrival of Webbe. Webbe never came and Elphinstone became the permanent Resident. The Editor might have pointed out that although Raghoji and his territories lay at the mercy of the British, no Subsidiary Alliance was concluded with the Bhonsla State till 1816.

Elphinstone's correspondence is not only extensive but also of great diplomatic importance ; and besides dealing with the affairs of the Nagpur State, they also deal with the negotiations of the British with the Holkar, the Sindhia and the Nizam. The affairs of the Peshwa also incidentally come in. There are also documents of importance which depict British policy towards the Indian rulers and throw light on the internal affairs of the latter.

From a perusal of the documents contained in this volume we also get a clear picture of the nature of the administration and the resources of various important Indian States. Raghoji who struck Elphinstone as ' rather mean in his appearance ' (p. 18) is described by Colebrooke as ' attentive to business '. Colebrooke also tells us that he did not ' entrust any of his Ministers with chief direction but reserves it in his own hands ', but he was ' chiefly but not exclusively swayed by Cooshaba Chitnavis '; that his abilities were ' more solid than brilliant ', and he appeared to be ' possessed of great prudence ' (p. 9). It

is, however, well known that Raghoji's administration was both corrupt and inefficient and much depended on the whims and caprices of the ruler and his favourites. The inefficiency of administration was clearly manifested in the state of the army, which according to Colebrooke was 'neither well appointed nor properly disciplined'; the Sepoys could not be said 'to have learnt the use of firearms' and were 'wholly ignorant of manoeuvres' (p. 14); they were 'ill paid' and 'want of punctuality pervades every department of expenditure' (p. 11).

The affairs of the Sindhia were in a hardly better condition. We learn from Malcolm, the Resident at his court that Dowlat Rao preferred 'indulgence in pleasure to occupation in business and pursuits of amusements to the cares of Government, and consequently leaves the administration of all public affairs in the hands of Ministers, agreeably to whose acts he at times appears mild and generous and at another cruel and avarious' (p. 378). We also find that confusion reigned both in his civil and military administrations (p. 379). The pay of the soldiers was always in arrears (p. 379) and cases of disloyalty were not rare. Many of the European officers on whom Sindhia had put so much faith deserted on the eve of battle (p. 375).

Corruption, of course, more or less, was a common feature in the administration of most of the Indian States at this period. The greed, corruption and treachery of those who held positions of power and influence in the Indian courts were fully exploited and utilized by the British who proved to be the true inheritors of the tradition of Clive and Doyle. We know from the Records that the Residents were appointed not merely to maintain diplomatic relations and to keep the authorities acquainted with the ever shifting trends of Indian diplomacy, but also to collect information of all sorts regarding the resources and conditions of the various states, their strength and weakness, in order to serve the purpose of the British; and this they achieved by lavish presents (pp. 4, 5, 28, 29, 33). It may be interesting to note that some of Raghoji's ministers were in the regular pay of General Wellesley.

This debasement of Indian officials and their administration together with the mutual jealousy and hostility of the Indian rulers paved the way for their destruction. Even the component units of the Maratha confederacy were mutually hostile and sought each other's destruction. Even the Peshwa, the head of the confederacy, remarked to Captain Sydenham, the acting Resident at his court, 'the Holkar is a bad man from his heart . . . He is a monster who must be destroyed', (p. 496). By trying to destroy each other they only helped their own destruction.

The documents are well selected and their publication is also very timely as the originals are in a pretty bad condition and are 'practically crumbling to pieces'. Moreover the publication of these selections will make them easily available to a large number of research workers and students, who otherwise might never have had any access to them. The documents are first classified according to subjects and then arranged chronologically, thereby making them easier to handle. An important feature is the small but very useful prefatory notes attached to the documents, explaining their contents, thus greatly helping the readers to assimilate the materials contained in them.

The Editor has done an excellent piece of work and it is hoped that the subsequent volumes will bear the same mark of excellence.

D. P. S.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

Rămya Kathā (second series). By N. D. Wijesekera and K. D. de Lanerolle. The Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd.

This series consists of five Sinhalese booklets, each containing one or more stories for children. Everyone is illustrated in colour, and the prices vary from cents 40 to cents 65.