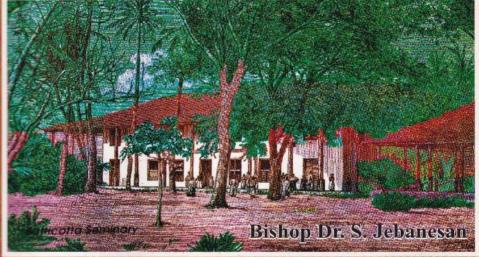
THE AMERICAN MISSION SEMINARY (1823-1855) AND MODERN EDUCATION IN JAFFNA







The American Congregationalist Missionaries arrived in Jaffna in 1816. Seven years later they established the "Seminary" the first Western University type of Institution in Asia at Vaddukoddai.

Sir Emerson Tennant the accomplished Colonial Secretary who visited the Seminary during the Principalship of H.R. Hoisington wrote "The knowledge exhibited by the pupils was astonishing and it is no exaggerated encomium to say that in the course of instruction and in the success of the system for communicating it, the collegiate institution of Batticotta is entitled to rank with many an European University."

In the Book "American Mission Seminary (1823 – 1855) & Modern Education in Jaffna," Bishop Jebanesan is making a critical analysis of its achievements, its place in the history of tertiary education in Sri Lanka and its impact on Jaffna Society.

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THE AMERICAN MISSION SEMINARY (1823-1855) AND MODERN EDUCATION IN JAFFNA

Bishop Dr. S. Jebanesan

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Typesetting & Printed by: Jochithra Printers,

ALG. 1 & 2, Dias Place, Gunasinghepura, Colombo-12. Sri Lanka. Tel/Fax: 544825

FOREWORD

The significance of this work lies in that it goes beyond the old historiographical formula of the contributions of the Missionaries and goes into the deeper questions of the interplay the missionary activities had with the "Modernization" of the Sri Lankan Tamil Community in particular and Sri Lanka in general. Thus it inaugurates a very useful trend of going into the historical foundations of the 'Formation' of modern Jaffna Society.

The interesting fact is that the American Missionaries were not colonialists in the sense the Methodist Mission and Church of England were. In fact the American Missionaries who were much open and were sympathetic to the traditions of the Orient. However, the use made of the education that flowed out from this tradition was used by the local community and the Sri Lankan community at large to gain places within the overall colonialist frame work. The date of the Batticotta Seminary is significant (1823 to 1855). This was the time when Arumuga Navalar conditioned as he was by the Weslyan Methodist tradition was also going beyond it to develop ways and means of absorbing the

modernization without any injury to the traditional ways of life of the Tamil community in Jaffna. In its more mature years Navalar did formulate a socio- political and intellectual way out of integrating Tamil with Saivism (that form of Hinduism practiced by the articulate sections of the Jaffna community), which was later taken over the other two major communities, Muslims (Siddik Lebbe) and the Sinhalese (Anagarika Dharmapala).

This work, a revision of the dissertation presented to the University of Jaffna in 1987 by the author, goes very deeply into the whys and hows of what the American Missionaries did in the field of education, thus throwing light on the beginnings of a socio educational process which has had a major impact on the politics of modernization in Jaffna & Sri Lanka. The author, then a Vice-Principal of Jaffna College, had delved deeply into the archives of American Missionaries and brought to light hitherto unpublished materials. The bringing out of this material defies the formulaic treatment of the work of the American Missionaries and sets out itself on the path of "dis-covering" the manner, the Jaffna Society – not only benefited by it but also influenced the course of American Missionary history in Jaffna of having to close the Seminary in 1855 and start Jaffna College with a new orientation in 1872.

From a Vice-Principal of Jaffna College (1986 to 1988) he became the Principal of the Institution (1988 to 1993) and is now the Bishop of the Jaffna Diocese of the Church of South India. This is a laudable stride by any standards.

This revised work reflects the maturity of a man who today heads the church with distinction inheriting the bishopric from one of the most dynamic bishops of the American Mission in Sri Lanka the Rt. Rev. Dr. D.J. Ambalavanar, who expanded the American Mission from within the Jaffna Peninsula to an all Island Church. Bishop Jebanesan is providing better breadth and more depth to his inheritance and in intellectual terms this work shows out, how he sees the historical role of

the congregational church and its contemporary potentialities as a part of the Church of South India.

Bishop Jebanesan, whom I know personally, has earned great respect in South Indian Church circles. He is today a respected Tamil scholar both in South India and Sri Lanka and his great asset is that he is accepted as a scholar beyond the confines of religion. In a way Bishop Jebanesan reflects in his own way the positive role the church especially the Protestant Church is trying to view developments in Sri Lanka and help promote a more balanced development for the country as a whole.

To me, it is a matter of great personal satisfaction that I was associated with him at the time he was sharpening himself as a research scholar of distinction.

It is very rarely that one's research student becomes a Bishop and I would like to congratulate myself for this achievement of Bishop Jebanesan for in him I see what sincerity of purpose and devotion to the search for truth can bestow.

I am sure the intellectual and spiritual journey of Bishop Jebanesan will over the years to come be a great asset to the church, the community and the nation.

Karthigesu Sivathamby, M.A (Sri L.); Ph.D. (Birm.); D.Litt (Honoris Causa) Jaffna Professor Emeritus University of Jaffna 2/7 Ramsgate Apts. Wellawatta Colombo 6, Sri Lanka

PRELUDE

The present evaluation of the Batticotta Seminary, the first-ever-Western type of institution for higher learning in English in Sri Lanka, had its origins in a doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of Jaffna for the Ph.D degree. There is presently an urgent need to record the origins. development and achievements of that institution. The Batticotta Seminary was one of the leading institutions established by the American Mission in the East. It has made a distinctive contribution to the educational and social upliftment of the population of Jaffna in particular and Sri Lanka in general. The data for this study was found scattered only among reports, correspondences, and biographical accounts of some Missionaries. All valuable information in published and unpublished records had been assembled together, scrutinized and analyzed and conclusions arrived at, on the basis of systematic and methodical examination of the data. The Seminary which was established in 1823 was closed in 1855 on the recommendation of the Anderson Commission after a 23 year period of existence. However, the American Ceylon Mission could not ignore its responsibilities in regard to educational services for the Tamils of Jaffna and they decided to establish Jaffna College in 1872.

The new institution was qualitatively different from the Seminary but had an unimpeded growth as it catered to the needs of a larger community. It had to compete with other colleges established by other denominations. Yet, it was maintained and developed as a leading senior secondary school in the Northern Province. In its operations it had some similarities with the Seminary. It provided English education of an advanced character to an increasingly large number of students from diverse backgrounds in the country.

As an educational institution inspiring modern knowledge, the Batticotta Seminary was of a unique character in the whole island during the 19th century. European officials of exceptional learning and ability who observed the educational operations of the Seminary had expressed their view that it was comparable to some of the contem porary Western Universities. Because of the significant contribution in educational progress and social advancement, we selected the history and activities of the Seminary as the subject for the dissertation submitted to the University. The present book is a revised version of the dissertation for which the author was conferred a Ph.D Degree in 1987.

Subsequently the author had adequate time to reflect further and with greater depth on some of the key issues, which were highlighted in the original dissertation. During the early part of the 20th century, problems such as those relating to the institution with which we are concerned were viewed from the perspective of Church History. Nowadays, on account of the changes in historiographic thought, it has to be viewed in the larger context of colonialism and the process of modernization.

The Batticotta Seminary was of course a product of the American Ceylon Mission. It was conceived and administered by the Mission and it was not totally isolated from evangelical goals and activities. The impact it had on society transcended church barriers. Although the institution was controlled, funded and maintained by the Missionaries, the education imparted by the Seminary had unforeseen consequences. In certain ways the objectives of the founders were more than fulfilled.

It provided the impetus for social change, modernization and the revival of a consciousness of identity based on language. The Seminary was an agent of modernization as well as an agency for disseminating modern knowledge among a significant segment of the Sri Lankan population. It laid the ground for raising successive generations of enlightened class who were bilingual and competent in transferring Western knowledge to the local population. The alumni of the Seminary played a very active role in modernizing local society, in providing leadership and in implementing modern and Western method of critical analysis in the field of academic investigations and development of scientific knowledge.

The work of investigation by the teachers and professors at the Seminary led to the discovery of the rich literary and cultural heritage of the Tamils. It was a bilateral process. The Missionaries who were ignorant of oriental civilization, languages and cultural traditions became informed more and more about those matters by their own exertions and investigations. In the meantime the local Tamils who were in depression on account of rigid control imposed by the earlier colonial powers, the Portuguese, and the Dutch, were able to experience a measure of a freedom in respect of religious beliefs and observances. Through the Seminary the students and others gained some knowledge of the cultural heritage of their ancestors. They discovered that they had a rich heritage. Some of the Missionaries attached to the Seminary studied Saiva Siddhanta, Hindu Astronomy and Logic and on the basis of their work published editions, manuscripts and texts or translated them into English. The debates which took place during the early 19th century between the Missionaries and local Hindus also led to an awareness among the Hindu population of the fundamentals of their cultural traditions.

The Missionaries made a significant contribution to the development of the Tamil Language. They established primary schools most of which were providing instruction in Tamil. The American Missionaries had made a great contribution to the progress of literacy in Tamil in the Jaffna Peninsula during the 19th century. In the development of Tamil prose their contribution was not insignificant. They wrote several tracts, books and journals in Tamiul prose while at the same time

initiated the tradition of Tamil journalism. The "Morning Star" in its initial stage of publication, carried articles written by seminarians and those were academically and stylistically of a high standard. They also made a contribution to the progress of secular knowledge by introducing subjects such as History, Geography, Ethics, Astronomy, Physics, Physiology and Hygiene in the curriculum of subjects. The alumni of the Seminary made a distinctive contribution to the progress of education, journalism and Tamil learning in the 19th century. Caroll Viswanathapillai and C.W. Thamotharampillai became the first two graduates of the University of Madras in 1857. Both of them had a distinguished career and imparted the spirit of the new learning that was developed in Jaffna as a result of the missionary contribution to education. Thamotherampillai earned a great reputation as an editor and publisher of Tamil classical works. The first edition of Tamil grammar "Tolkappiyam," a complete work of great erudition and antiquity, was the work of Thamotharampillai. He edited several other classical texts. Now, it would be possible, more than in the past, to assess the contribution of the Batticotta Seminary objectively although it was an institution which arose in the context of Christian Evangelism and during the period of British colonial rule. The decisive impact of the institution had a multifaceted character. It has helped to generate the values of a multi cultural society in the context of religious pluralism. Its significant contribution to the progress of learning and Tamil Studies and in spreading enlightenment had considerable effect in promoting and consolidating the spirit of tolerance and co-existence which are of the utmost importance for the survival of a modern society.

Dedicated to

Paul & Jackie Clayton

who by their piety and zeal made me "the Missionary who staye<mark>d at ho</mark>me"

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Almost a decade ago many of my friends suggested to me that I develop my doctoral dissertation into a book. Though several attempts were made to translate my work from Tamil to English for wider reading it was not possible until 2002 due to the uncertain situation prevalent in the North of Sri Lanka. Jaffna changed hands five times during these years. However, now with rays of hope for a lasting solution appearing and travel to Colombo becoming painless, the book is seeing the light of the day.

Needless to say that the task of producing books is a collective venture. In relation to this book, there are many people to whom I would like to express my gratitude. I express my profound thanks to Prof. K. Sivathamby, my guide, for his understanding and sustained help during these ten years. He not only gave freely of his time and wisdom but also made concrete suggestions, which improved the tone of the text.

I would like also gratefully to acknowledge the valuable advice, necessary prop and unstinted help rendered by Professors S.Pathmanathan, A. Velupillai and S.Vithiyananthan

to reach the goal. I am grateful to my secretary Suresh Thampoe for his support throughout the process and to A. Balendra for typing the first draft. I owe a great sense of gratitude to Arul Joseph, proprietor of Jochithra Printers for bringing this book out on time.

My thanks go to Revd Dr Daniel S. Thiagarajah and Thaya Thiagarajah for spending much of their time amidst their hectic work in order to correct the proof to enable me to finish mine on time.

Finally, my thanks also go to my wife Vimala, a well qualified Western Music teacher and pianist, who, as ever, encouraged me to pore over Tamil Classics and Saiva Philosophical works, and looked after my Tamil books and notes during the years of armed conflict.

Last but not the least, I want to thank the Regional Solidarity Fund for Theological Education for its financial support to make this publication possible.

INTRODUCTION

The period 1823-1855, during which the educational institution set up by the American Ceylon Mission under the name Batticotta Seminary was in operation, constitutes an important landmark in the educational upliftment of the Tamils of Jaffna enabling them to function as teachers and subordinate level administrators all over the Island. The American Missionaries who had come from the new world with a view to propagate Christianity in the Jaffna Peninsula undertook to establish a college which was basically similar in its objectives and in the courses of instruction provided at the centres of advanced learning in Europe. The college, which they established, had many distinctive features and was unique in the whole Island. It is considered as the oldest among the institutions of higher learning in Asia devoted to imparting a "modern" education. As an institution of higher learning it was unrivalled in the whole Island during the nineteenth century. Besides, it was also the oldest among the institutions of higher learning in Asia providing instruction in English. Long before the British Colonial Government made definite policy decisions regarding English education, the pro

moters of the Batticotta Seminary had foreseen the value of education in British Ceylon. Although instruction at the Seminary was in English, adequate attention was paid to the study of Tamil and Sanskrit languages and their literary traditions. One of the principal objectives of the Seminary was to disseminate western knowledge and science and introduce them to Tamil language to enable it to confront challenges.

Although similar centres of higher learning were set up in India even before the establishment of the Seminary, those institutions were not comparable to the Western Universities. Marquis Wellesley, the Governor General of India, had established Fort William College in Calcutta in 1800. Although the courses of study provided and the teaching staff employed were of university standards, instruction was provided only to officers of the British Government.¹

In 1812, a similar college had been established in Madras by the joint efforts of Colonel Mackenzie and Lord Ellis. The College of Fort St. George, which was thus established principally for the purpose of educating British Officers in Dravidian languages, was closed in 1854.²

The Baptist missionaries who established themselves in Bengal towards the end of the eighteenth century set up a college at Serampore in 1818. Those who were associated with its management were steadfast in their conviction that instruction should be provided in the medium of the mother tongue.³

The Serampore College therefore became an institution whose influence, which was confined to the Bengal region of India. The Indians who had an attraction for English Education, established the Hindu College in Calcutta in 1816. But these enthusiasts were anxious to provide instruction in European sciences and European literature only. The founders of this institution advocated the view that Hinduism and Hindu Philosophy should not be taught in this college. It could not therefore develop as an institution of the university model. It became the Presidency College of Calcutta in 1855.

After 1830, some full-fledged university colleges appeared in India. In that year Alexander Duff of the Scottish Mission founded the Scottish Church College in Calcutta. In 1832 John Wilson of the same Mission established a College in Bombay which was later named after him and was referred to as Wilson College. Another such missionary, John Anderson established a college called the Institution of Madras in the year 1837. It later developed as the Madras Christian College. There have been several studies on these Institutions and on the services they rendered to society. Their contributions have been examined and evaluated from different points of view.

In spite of its significance, the Batticotta Seminary has not received an exclusive in-depth analysis with regard to the nature of the courses taught and the intellectual widening, it brought about in the Jaffna Tamil Community, particularly in confronting modernity. However, from time to time, brief historical accounts about the American Mission have been published. "A History of the American Ceylon Mission," written by C.D. Veluppillai in Tamil was published in 1922.5

It briefly surveys the history of the American Ceylon Mission from 1816 to 1916. But the educational work of the American Ceylon Mission has not received adequate attention. The author has given only brief notes about the Batticotta Seminary. He has not made use of materials in Mission reports and other sources. If he had taken pains to make citations and bibliographical references the work would have been of considerable value to modern scholarship.

In "A Century of English Education," J.V. Chelliah attempts to provide a historical account of the Batticotta Seminary and Jaffna College. This book was also published in 1922.6

Although he had access to materials relating to the Seminary he had failed to make proper use of them. The Seminary's contribution to social progress and for the advancement of Tamil studies has not received adequate attention. In this book there are no references to sources of information. His account of the Seminary is essentially superficial and in some instances faulty.

"American Education in Ceylon 1816–1875: A Century of English Education – An assessment of its impact," is a dissertation submitted by C.H. Piyaratne for his Ph.D. degree at the University of Michigan in 1968.⁷ The educational work undertaken by the American Ceylon Mission has been discussed in detail but the social changes brought about by the Seminary have not been discussed adequately. The author has utilized only the sources that were available in America. The manuscript sources available locally and Tamil publications relating to the work of the Mission have not been used by him. The Triennial Reports of the Batticotta Seminary were also not accessible to him.

In 1973, R. Rajapakse wrote a thesis on "Christian Missions," Theosophy and Trade: History of American Relations with Ceylon 1815–1915" to the University of Pennsylvania.⁸ As he had attempted to study the work of the American Mission during a period of a hundred years and tried to evaluate its significance in the context of development in the whole Island, there was no detailed study of the Batticotta Seminary in his work. Even in this work the sources that are available locally have not been used.

Some of the American Missionaries who served in the Jaffna Peninsula have written a few treatises on the work of American Ceylon Mission. Those were generally intended for the reading public in the United States of America. It may therefore be assumed that they were not written with a view to evaluate the contributions of the Mission from the standpoint of examining developments in the Tamil society. Among those written by the Winslows, the Lietch Sisters (1880–1886) and Miss. Helen I. Root (1899–1907) are the most remarkable from the point of view of our study. These are basically in the form of diaries.

A detailed study of the American Mission and the Batticotta Seminary with special reference to their contribution to the modernization of Tamil society in Sri Lanka has not yet been attempted and as such there is inadequacy in the history writing of that society. S. Vithiananthan, K.E. Mthiaparanam, S. Kulandran and others have written on the contribution

of the American Ceylon Mission to the development of Tamil. ¹² They indicate the need of making a detailed study of the Batticotta Seminary. In the course of a lecture delivered at the Annamalai University in 1963, T.P. Meenakshisundaram emphasized that the Tamils are indebted in considerable measure to the American Mission for the progress of Tamil learning in the nineteenth century and that the publications of the Batticotta Seminary should be reprinted for the benefit of modern Tamil scholarship. ¹³

There are adequate source materials to evaluate the contribution of the Batticotta Seminary to the advancement of Tamil learning and its impact on Tamilian thought and culture. The American Missionaries who came to Ceylon have written the minutes of their meetings systematically from the time they set sail from America by the ship "**Dryad**" in 1815. These minutes are preserved in the office of the Jaffna Diocese of the Church of South India. The Batticotta Seminary published triennial reports of its activities from the time of its inception. The triennial reports give sufficient information about the curriculum and course, the social backgrounds of the students, the qualifications of the teachers and examinations they conducted and the contributions of its benefactors. ¹⁵

Before establishing the Seminary in Batticotta the American Missionaries published a prospectus outlining the need, the purpose and the anticipated results of this institute. This publication elucidates the aims of the American Missionaries and explains the circumstances, which led to the setting up of this seat of learning. ¹⁶

"Missionary Herald: A Century of English Education" is a monthly Magazine of the American Board of Foreign Missions. It was published from 1817 in Boston, USA¹⁷ This Journal gave reports of the various mission fields of the American Congregationalist Missionaries. The American Congregational Church missionary activities were not confined to Jaffna. They also served in Tamilnadu, Maharashtra, South East Asia, West Indies and among Red Indian settlements in North America.

The reports of these missions were written by missionaries who served in those areas and were published in "The Missionary Herald." The issues of this journal carry some very valuable information of the Batticotta Seminary.

The American Ceylon Missionaries who served in Jaffna published a newspaper called "The Morning Star" from the year 1841. 18 This paper was bilingual and the Tamil name was "Uthaya Tharakai" and was released fortnightly. Since the faculty of the Batticotta Seminary edited this paper, it helps to understand the religion and the educational philosophy of the Seminary. 19

The American Mission also published annual reports of its activities in Jaffna. These publications also help to understand the aims and objectives of their educational enterprise. Between 1823 and 1855, some eminent scholars of America had served in Jaffna Peninsula. Some were attached to the Seminary, others served in parishes. The writings of these scholars namely Daniel Poor, H.R. Hoisington, Levi Spaulding, Samuel Green and Miron Winslow help us to make a critical analysis of their work. These articles also help us to understand the religion and culture of the Tamil people and the missionary assessment of them.

The writings of the teachers and old students of the Batticotta Seminary also help us to view the seminary in objective critical terms. Tom Peter Hunt, Nevins Sithamparappillai, Evarts Kanagasabaipillai, Wyman Kathiravetpillai, Dashiel Somasekerampillai, Arnold Sathasivampillai, C.W. Thamotharampillai, Henry Martyn, Gabriel Tissera and Nathaniel Niles are some of the important Jaffna Scholars of this period.

There are also some valuable biographies of scholars who were educated in the Seminary as those of Wyman Kathiravetpillai, Peter Hunt, J.S. Christmas, C.W. Thamotharampillai, S. Nathaniel, Nevins Sithamparapillai and Henry Martyn. They gave vital information about the values and culture of the Tamil Society of that time. Most of the biographies were written by the students of the Seminary. Most of these sources are

now available in the libraries of Jaffna College, Jaffna University, United Theological College Bangalore and the Jaffna Diocese of the Church of South India Vaddukoddai.

A thorough going examination of the nature and the work of the Batticotta Seminary are bound to throw much light on the educational, intellectual & cultural dynamics of the Jaffna Society in mid and late nineteenth century.

Some questions emerged in bold outlines: Why did the American Missionaries who were concerned with evangelical work give prominence to the advancement of scientific knowledge? What was the purpose of the study of the basic Saivaite texts at the Seminary? What were the consequences of such studies? Why did the American Missionaries who were eminently successful in the educational work fail to achieve a similar degree of success in evangelical work?

The Seminary was responsible for the production of some very useful standard texts in Logic, Geography, History, Mathematics and Astronomy in Tamil. It provided a stimulus for writings on History of Tamil Literature. Poetry and Dramas too received attention. Most of the scholars from the Seminary were well versed in Tamil and Sanskrit. The students of the Seminary seem to have developed a sense of skepticism about traditional mores and modes of conduct.

Such a situation resulted in an intellectual ferment involving most of the scholars living in Jaffna. When considered in the light of these developments one would see that the American Missionaries and the local Scholars produced by the institutions they established in Jaffna occupy a prominent position in the modernization of the Jaffna Society. Why were the graduates of the Batticotta Seminary steeped in the traditions of Tamil culture? Why were not the Seminary students attracted by the cultural traditions and ideals of the West to the same extent as the students trained in other missionary institutions? What type of students received education at the Seminary? Why did the education

provided by the Seminary fail to attract people of the lower ranks of the society? What was the impact of the Seminary on the attitudes and thinking of the Tamils in the Island? These questions have to be discussed in the light of new findings.-

The modern history of the Tamils in Sri Lanka in general and their educational and cultural progress in particular have not been studied in depth. The present study would explain the great progress achieved in English education and science education in the Jaffna Peninsula. Besides, it could also be seen how the Seminary contributed towards the modernization of Jaffna Society through social changes, political consciousness and employment opportunities.

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THE AMERICAN CEYLON MISSION AND ITS VISION

The Episcopalian, the Presbyterian and the Congregationalist are taken as the principal denominations of the Christian Church. Each of these denominations claims that it conforms best to the teaching of Christ. The Congregationalists consider themselves more democratic than the other two.

The Puritanist view of the Bible should be taken as essentially a fundamentalist one. As the Puritans of the day operating especially within the Anglo-Saxon tradition were not exposed to other religions and religious traditions they tended to take other religions as based on superstition as indicated in the letter sent to the American Ceylon Missionaries by the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission on the 26th May 1816.

The great object of your mission is to impart to those who

use their language; but you still give yourselves wholly to your work and use all care for its furtherance and success. The deplorable ignorance of the poor heathen will continually be on your minds, and deeply affect your hearts.²

Covenant was an important aspect of Congregationalism. All those who were admitted to the Congregational Church had to accept it. The following is the text of the covenant:

We make covenant with God and with each other. We make covenant to bind ourselves in the presence of God and to live in unity according to His teachings which He in His great mercy revealed to us through his holy word.³

The social outlook of the members of the Congregationalist church to a large extent was shaped by the covenant. The spiritual consciousness of the Congregationalist according to R.H. Tawney exerted a profound influence on their social outlook. He asserts:

Like a man who strives by unresisting activity to exorcise a haunting demon, the Puritan, in the effort to save his own soul sets in motion every force in heaven or in earth beneath. By the very energy of his expanding spirit he remakes not only his own character and habits and way of life, but family, of church, industry and city, practical institutions and social order.⁴

The Congregationalists accepted John Calvin's views about the Bible, that it was divinely ordained and that God accomplished His work through it. Therefore it is a duty and privilege of everyone to know the message of the Bible. The Bible is authentic but those who explain and interpret its message could err.

Though a sense of humanitarianism outlook and spirit of service were intrinsic to this religious tradition it was in the latter part of the eighteenth century these became the principal motivating forces of the Congregationalist Church. The Theologian Samuel Hopkins was largely

responsible for this trend of development. Disinterested benevolence was the basis of his theology. He held that the happiness of all human beings is the aim of religion and everyone should strive towards that goal. Hopkins who worked hard to send missions to Africa was the first Congregationalist thinker to denounce slavery. He was of the firm belief that the spread of Christianity would lead to sense of dedicated service and the furtherance of humanism. The Congregationalist Churches, which hitherto emphasized the values of spirit and ethics, acquired a new dimension under the inspiration of Hopkinsion theology, which provided inspiration for social service. This new outlook is well reflected in the private diary of Harriet Winslow who wrote:

When I reflect on the multitudes of my fellow creatures who are perishing for lack of vision and that I am living at ease without aiding in the promulgation of the Gospel I am almost ready to wish myself a man, that I might spend myself with poor heathen. But I check the thought and would not alter one plan of Infinite Wisdom. I can however cheerfully think of enduring pain and hardship for them and my dear Redeemer.⁵

Though the fundamentalists in faith and matters of theology, in politics and government, they were opposed to conservatism. In the opinion of R.H. Tawney they were republicans on account of their religious beliefs. He observes:

Feeling in him that which make him more fearful of displeasing God than all the world, he is a natural republican for there is none on earth that he can own as master.⁶

The Puritans who disliked the monarchical form of government and resented episcopacy, zealously guarded their independence in matters of politics and religion. When the Episcopalians migrated to America and attempted to establish their control, the Puritans confronted them and asserted their rights. A stringent and uncompromising commitment to the cause of religious liberty is considered to have been one of

the inspiring factors in the American Revolution. The sentiments expressed in the letters written by Samuel Adams , the father of the American Revolution to the representative of the British Government in America are worthy of consideration in this context:

The persistent attempts of English Bishops to establish a Protestant Episcopate in America were very alarming to a people whose fathers from the hardships they suffered under such an establishment were obliged to flee their native country into a wilderness.⁷

The Congregationalists made a great contribution to the political thought of independent America.

They felt that they were fighting the same battle which had long been and was still being waged by the Puritans in old England against the prelatical rule and against its insistence on the divine right of Kings and the religious duty of passive obedience, and they hope to win under the same government with their brethren in England.⁸

Thus a close connection seems to have existed between the Evangelical Movement and the ideas of Thomas Jefferson whose thinking left a profound impression on the development of American political thought.

A major Evangelical movement arose in the United States at the beginning of the 19th century influenced by Methodist preaching. It arose also as a direct reaction against nationalism and as a product of frontier conditions. Despite the difference in Philosophy there was a close relation between Evangelism and Jeffersonian and Jacksonian democracy.

The concept of "the government of the people by the people and for the people" seems to have originated in the Congregationalist Church. The Congregationalists provided practical model of the conception. Liberty was among the things to be desired most and attained even at the cost of life. By their preaching and attainments the Congregationalists impressed upon the people that liberty could be obtained by submission to the will of God.

The idea of government 'of the people by the people and for the people' was conceived in Congregational Churches; was by them urged and developed into a practical scheme, and without them would never have been realised. The blessing of our republic have come to us through Congregationalism and through the men who found in its faith and polity the principles of self-government, together with unswerving loyalty to God. 10

A vast literature came into existence in consequence of Congregationalist activities. As a sect emerged in the 16^{th} century there was a constant need to publish tracts in abundance indicating their standpoint and defending it. Publications of tracts were an important aspect of Congregationalist activities. When Unitarianism originated in the Congregationalist Church in America, a large volume of literature condemning the new movement was produced. They also published journals and books periodically for their believers. The following journals were established during the first quarter of the nineteenth century:

Connecticut Evangelical Magazine (1800), Massachusetts Missionary Magazine (1802), Panoplist (1805), Missionary Herald (1816), Christian Disciple (1813) and Christian Examiner (1824).

John Bunyan's "The Pilgrim's Progress" ran through several editions. Theology, Evangelism and Church Organization were the principal themes of Congregationalist literature. The journals published by them were also generally dedicated to these subjects. The large volumes of Puritan literature of 18^{th} and 19^{th} centuries afford clear evidence to the literary attainments of the Congregationalist Society. Their literary tradition became an important part of World Christian Literature.

The missionary movement that sprang up during the nineteenth century in the Congregationalist Society was remarkable on account of its ardent faith and spirit of adventure.

The emergence of the Pietist movement was between 1795 and 1812. It successfully arrested the tendency towards atheism in American Society and was responsible for an increasing trend towards faith in religion. The Methodist and Baptist propagandists of the eighteenth century were chiefly responsible for the growth of this movement. The effect of their teaching was the refinement of pietism and ethical thought. The Evangelical Movement may be considered as a continuation and development of the one in England. The Missionary Societies, which had by this time developed in England had chosen India as their field of operation. The Baptist Missionary Society was established in 1792, which was followed by the London Missionary Society in 1795 and the Church Missionary Society in 1799.

The Christians in America observed with great interest the missionary activities of William Carey in Bengal. "The inquiry into the obligations of Christians to use means for the conversion of the heathens" written by William Carey was read with enthusiasm by the Christians in America.¹¹

Claudius Buchanan, the military Chaplain of the East India Company displayed great concern for the cause of evangelism. The lecture he delivered on "The Star in the East" was printed in 1809 and distributed in Massachusetts in the same year. In his lecture, Claudius Buchanan spoke on the opportunities for evangelical work in Asia and recapitualted the impressive achievements of the Roman Catholics in India. The publication provided a strong inspiration for the evangelical movement in America. In this connection it may be mentioned that Adoniram Judson, the first American Missionary to proceed to India joined the Mission was inspired to do so by this publication.

The people of Massachusetts supported the British Missionaries in India with substantial donations. Between 1806 and 1810, the people of America had sent over 10,000/- Dollars to support the missionary activities of William Carev in India. The students of William's College in Massachusetts were mainly responsible for inaugurating a movement to send mission to foreign lands and its development. Those students of William's College who were noted for their piety were brought together and transformed into a vital force by Samuel Adams, one of their colleagues. He joined William's College as a student in 1806. He and four of his friends used to assemble for prayer in the haystack in the College premises. Mission Historians reckon this gathering as the beginning of the American Congregationalist Mission. After two years these students organized a Society with a view of establishing a mission for the heathens. For the sake of achieving their objectives they joined the Andover Theological College and studied Divinity. At Andover Theological College some other students also joined these enthusiasts.

When the Congregationalist Churches assembled at Massachusetts in 1810 these students submitted a memorandum requesting that they should undertake the work of organizing a mission for evangelical work in foreign countries. The convention of the Churches appointed a Committee of three members in response to this memorandum and to examine the possibilities of undertaking such a work. The Committee accepted the proposal contained in the memorandum and recommended that a mission should be instituted for this purpose by the Congregationalist Churches. Consequently the Congregationalist Mission came into being on the 29th of June 1810. A Directorate of nine members was set up to organize the mission. The political and economic climate as well as the influence of the Pietist Movement in Massachusetts provided the impetus for the successful organization of Foreign Missions by the Congregationalist Churches.

The American Ceylon Mission

As the rulers of British India were inimical to missionary work in the early nineteenth century, the American Missionaries had to confine their activities in Ceylon. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions decided to send a team on Missionary Enterprise to India. In 1814, four Missionaries viz; Hall, Rice, Nott and his wife left for India by the sailing vessel "Harmony." In the same year Rev. & Mrs. Judson and Rev. & Mrs. Newell also set out for India. When they set foot on Indian soil they found that the British East India Company, which governed large parts of India was very much opposed to Missionary activities. The Directors of East India Company were inclined to believe that missionary activities would provide an inspiration for forces that would oppose British rule. Such an attitude seems to have been reinforced by the Sepoy Mutiny in Vellore in 1806. The interest in England, hostile to mission elements forcefully argued that the missionaries were responsible for the mutiny.

Moreover hostilities broke out in 1812 between America and England in the wake of result of Nepoleanic wars. When the American Missionaries reached Calcutta in these circumstances they were promptly ordered to leave the country. The missionaries, therefore, had to leave Calcutta and search for fields in other parts of Asia.

Samuel Newell who was amongst such missionaries desired to proceed to Mauritius. During the course of his journey to that Island he lost his wife and child. He, therefore, wanted to sail to reach Bombay but the vessel in which he sailed reached Galle in Sri Lanka and not Bombay. The Island of Sri Lanka, which had previously been under the British East India Company, was at that time a crown colony under the direct control of British Government. The Governor of the colony Sir Robert Brownrigg was an ardent supporter of the Missionary Enterprise. He claimed that the conversion of heathen's to Christianity was a work that was close to his heart. Sir Robert Brownrigg welcomed Newell and entertained his ideas. As it was still thought that the American

presence could be a source of potential anti-British sentiments, Newell was advised to select Jaffna far away from Colombo as a field of his operations. Newell sojourned in the Island for a period of ten months of which a month and a half was devoted for work in Jaffna. Newell was probably impressed by the peaceful atmosphere that prevailed in Jaffna and the concern her habitants displayed for learning. Newell came to the conclusion that Jaffna was the most suitable field for missionary work. In his letter to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions he outlined all the principal considerations for selecting Jaffna as the most suitable field for mission work. He wrote:

In the town of Jaffna there is a congregation of Protestant, native Christians under the care of the Rev. Christian David, a native of Tanjore, and a pupil and catechist of Mr. Swartz. He is a very capable man and much-engaged in plans for the instruction and improvement of the people in that part of the Island. He has lately obtained permission of the Governor to erect a free school in Jaffna, in which a number of native youths are to be supported at the expense of government and trained up for schoolmasters, afterwards to be employed in the native schools which the Governor is about to re-establish in the District of Jaffna.

There is a religious woman at Jaffna Mrs. Schrawder, of dutch extraction, who is very useful to the natives and half-castes, particularly to the rising generation. She keeps a school for children of both sexes and on Sabbath day she keeps a meeting which was originally intended for children and persons of her own sex, but which is now attended by great numbers of the people in Jaffna of all descriptions. In these meetings she reads the Scriptures in Dutch, and expounds in Tamil or Portuguese, which she speaks fluently and which are generally understood here. She also leads in the devotions of the meetings and conducts the whole with great propriety and modesty. Is this a violation of the apostolic prohibition? I suffer

not a woman to teach & c. She was first induced to engage in these exercises by the advice and persuasion of Mrs. Palm, who was a woman of uncommon piety and energy of character, and did a great deal of good, during her residence in Jaffna. Except this woman and Mr. David, there is no one in this part of Island to instruct these people. What a field is here for missionary exertions. Here is a little province, which the soldiers of Jesus once won from the God of this world and added to the dominions of their Lord, the people of God possessed but a little while. The prince of darkness has regained it. And reigns again in full power over these 120 thousand souls. Here is work for 120 missionaries.

And there is every facility we have for spreading the Gospel to these pagans. The Bible and many other religious books have already been translated into Tamil, the language of these people, and a supply of Bibles and Testaments has lately been provided by the Colombo Bible Society and sent to be distributed among them. But there is no one to say unto them, **hear the word of the Lord**.

The Governor is desirous that these heathens should be instructed, and would patronize and encourage every attempt of this nature. The people though heathens, have no peculiar objections to the Christian religion. Here missionaries may labor with perfect safely, the people will not molest them – the Government will protect them. On these accounts there is perhaps no portion of the heathen world, which possesses so many advantages for spreading The Gospel, as this. How desirable that a number of faithful and zealous Missionaries should be sent, together with the Bible, to this people. 12

Newell's letter impressed the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions so much that they displayed a great interest in undertaking work in Jaffna. In 1814, the war between England and America

was concluded by the Pacification of Ghent. The new situation was favourable for sending a mission to Jaffna. In 1816, Dr. Daniel Poor and four other missionaries reached Jaffna. The American Ceylon Mission began its work in the Island.

NOTES

The concept of priesthood of all believers forcefully articulated by Martin Luther (1483-1546) who initiated the process of reformation of the church facilitated for greater participation in church affairs by laymen. The English Protestants who were not satisfied with the Elizabethean Religious Settlement (1559) started a Puritan movement campaigning for further reforms in the church. R. Browne, the chief theoretician of the Puritan movement wrote a treatise called "A book which sheweth the belief and manners of all Christians and a treatise of Reformation without tarrying for any and the wickedness of those preachers which will not reform till the magistrate commands or compels them" in the year 1842 expounding the principal tennets of puritanism. These reformers were initially described as independants. The assemblies of independants in course of time developed into congregational churches. When the Government of England officially introduced measures to curb their activities they migrated to Holland. When they realized that they could not maintain their identity and freely practice their formal worship they desired to establish their own colony in America. In 1620, the Puritans who had strong religious convictions and were inspired by spirit of adventure obtained from the Crown a charter for the purpose of establishing a colony in the New World and consequently they set sail and the site where they landed was Plymouth in Massachusetts. These migrants were later called "The Pilgrim Fathers." In 1630 and 1640, different batches of Puritans migrated to the New World. The introduction of more and more rituals in worship by William Lord and the punitive measures adopted against the Puritans were the two principal causes for migration. The Puritan settlements were established at Salem, Boston, Watertown and Charlestown. Although the latter settlers did not exhibit anti-British sentiments in such a degree as the Pilgrim Fathers, they combined with the earlier immigrants to set up congregationalist churches.

- Letter by Sam Spring, Fed Morse, Sam Wanester, Feh: Evarts of the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to Revd. Messrs: James Richards, Edward Warren, Horatio Bardwell, Benjamin E. Meigs and Daniel Poor on 26th May 1816, Diocesan Library, Vaddukoddai.
- 3. Covenant: In the Bible, the word 'covenant' appears 105 times.
- 4. R.H. Tawney, "Religion and the Rise of Capitalism," Penguin Books Ltd., Hermodswirth, 1922.
- 5. Winslow Diary, p.23.
- 6. R.H. Tawney, op.cit., p.201.
- Albert E. Danning, "Congregationalists in America," A Popular History of their Origin, Belief, Polity and Work., J.A. Hill & Co. Publishers, 44 East 14th Street, New York, 1894, p. 268.
- 8. Ibid., p. 271.
- H.R. Niebuhr, "Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences," Vol. 13., Editor-in-Chief. R.A. Edwin Seligman., The Macmillan Company, New York, 1963, p. 629.
- 10. Albert E. Dunning, op.cit., p. 276.
- Sushil Pathak, "American Missionaries and Hinduism," (A Study of their contacts from 1813-1910). Munshiram Manoharlal Oriental Publishers and Book Sellers, P.O. Box 1165, Nai Sarak, Delhi, 1967, p. 23.
- H.A.I. Gunatilake, "Samuel Newell—Herald of the American Mission of Ceylon (1813-1814)," The Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies, New Series, Vol. V. Nos. 1&2, University of Ceylon, Jan.-Dec. 1975, p. 26.

2

THE EDUCATION IN JAFFNA AT THE TIME OF BRITISH TAKE OVER

The rule of the Dutch East India Company in the Maritime Provinces of the Island, which commenced in 1658, was terminated in 1796. The British who occupied those provinces made efforts to administer them through their political agencies of Madras Presidency. As this arrangement proved to be unsatisfactory and created unrest in the Island, the territory was made a Crown Colony and was placed under the direct rule of the British Government in 1802. In this context it should be noted that it was only after 1858 that India was relieved of the control of the British East India Company and brought under the direct control of the Government of Britain. The Jaffna Peninsula had been under European Colonial powers for a period of 175 years before the commencement of the British rule. But the Portuguese and Dutch rule over Jaffna did not lead to any far reaching social changes.¹

Although the Portuguese did not attempt to radically alter the traditional system of administration, Roman Catholicism began to spread widely, as it was the State religion. The impact of Portuguese rule was comparatively enduring than that of the other colonial powers in the sphere of religion. According to T.B.H. Abeyasinghe this was on account of their successful attempts at conversions:

Even to this day a thriving Catholic community and an active church remain monuments to Portuguese rule, though the connection with Portugal snapped in 1658. Whatever might have been the motives of the first converts, the devotion of their descendants to the Catholic Faith is not in doubt. This fact more than anything else reminds that the Portuguese who were the first Europeans in Asia also likely to be the last.²

Presently the Roman Catholic population in the Jaffna District amounts to approximately $11\ \%$ of the population.

The Dutch administration of Jaffna tended to reinforce the social stratification in the Peninsula. The customary laws chiefly concerning property rights were collected, codified and administered by the Dutch. The social organization based on caste and serfdom was recognized and left undisturbed by the Dutch. The economic organization also remained almost unaltered although the Dutch made efforts to stimulate local industry. The mode of production and the system of agriculture were traditional. The Dutch also established a net work of roads throughout Jaffna and introduced the Roman Dutch Law.

During the period of their occupation the Dutch took steps to propagate their version of Protestant Christianity viz., the ideology of the Dutch Reformed Church. Honors, lands, property rights, employment and right to participate in trade were conferred only on those who conformed to the Dutch Reformed Faith. The progress of evangelism could not achieve success as desired on account of two reasons. One was that they did not have sufficient number of clergymen to be engaged in this work. Secondly, even those who were entrusted with the work did not prosecute their work with vigor and efficiency. Among the Dutch clergy who were serving in this region from 1658 to 1725, only eight had attained some proficiency in the local languages.

In such a situation the people of the Maritime Provinces nominally professed Christianity while in their private lives they adhered to their

traditional religious practices.⁴ In the year 1760 there were according to official statistics 182,226 persons who were baptized but among them only 64 were members of the Church.⁵ Since The British Government made an official declaration in 1805 that in the matters of religion their policy was one of neutrality, Protestant Christianity became almost extinct in Jaffna.

During the days of Portuguese and Dutch rule there were two types of educational institutions. One was the system of Parish Schools organized and conducted by the colonial administration while the other was the traditional Tamil Village schools. The Franciscan missionaries who had arrived during the Portuguese period were the ones who inaugurated the Parish Schools where elementary instruction in reading, writing and religion was provided. Successive governments until the early years of British occupation maintained this system. The Catholic Parish Schools became the Parish Schools of the Dutch Reformed Church when the Dutch became masters of the Island. Commenting on the system of Education, Sinnappah Arasaratnam observes:

Education, crucial to the new policy of conversion for the children, had to be indoctrinated with the faith at an early age. The Dutch had more hope with the younger generation than with the older because the latter were too 'Rome minded and would not give up their precious practices.' School buildings were there in plenty, each church had a small school attached to it. In the Northern District of Jaffna and Mannar there was an impressive network of Schools in each village. The Galle District too had its several schools.

Elementary education was essentially meant to subserve the interests of conversion. The instruction here was primarily religious and consisted in the fundamentals of Christian Faith. Secular subjects were given a secondary place. The provision of school masters competent to teach Christianity was a great problem. It was usually the previous native schoolmasters who were continued

but they were instructed by PREDIKANTS in the new religion. The Predikants also did a considerable amount of instruction and the officials called "KRANK BEZOEKEREN" were also employed for this purpose. The statistics of children attending school are very impressive indeed.

Of the three important districts there were 34 schools in Jaffna, 23 in Galle and 14 in Mannar. In Jaffna alone it was estimated that about 20,000 children attended school.

In each of these schools two teachers were usually engaged. Boys and girls received instruction until the ages of 12 and 10 respectively. Although these schools were conducted with the objective of promoting the cause of evangelism, proper care was not taken to provide instruction in the elements of Christianity. They seem to have considered that the memorizing of a few verses would be sufficient to cultivate religious convictions.

Alongside the European Parish Schools, the local traditional schools continued to flourish with undeterred vigour. Native teachers conducted classes in the premises of their houses.

The account of Miron Winslow, the American Missionary who served in Jaffna between 1820 and 1836, gives some indication about the nature of education provided by the native schools:

The children, on their first attendance, did not usually know their letters, as only the sons of the more respectable men are taught in the small country schools, supported by the natives, and kept, perhaps, under a tree, or in the verandah of a small house. In these native schools, they learn the letters of the alphabet by forming with the forefinger of the right hand, each letter, again and again in sand spread before them, as they sit crosslegged on the floor. At first, the finger is guided by the hand of a monitor, the boy continues to make and obliterate the letters in

the sand, under the direction of the monitor, repeating each one in a chanting tone twice, as he made it, until able to name them all from an olla leaf, on which they are written with an iron stile. From this, they go on to repeating the letters joined, and to spelling easy words. Spelling is however, but little attended to, as all the letters have their own proper sound and none are silent. Short lessons in verse, containing some moral maxim, but being in the poetic dialect, quite unintelligible to the children are next taught principally by rote.

These are not explained, and a boy goes forward with all the elementary books, to the dictionary of synonymous words, arranged in verse committing them to memory, without understanding any thing of what he learns. The words are so run together, without any stops or capital letters and the letters so changed in the combination, and words are used so frequently, in a figurative sense, that the poetic dialect can be understood only by those who have the key to it. It is the practice of the natives to commit the elementary books and the dictionary to memory, to analyze the lessons, separate the words from each other, and understand their meaning.⁸

In the basement schools it would appear that along with the medicine, astrology and grammar, texts such as SATHURAHARATHI VALTHUMALAI, MEENADCHAMMAI PILLAI TAMIL, NIHANDOO, etc are taught.⁹

The traditional Tamil Education was confined to a narrow circle of families who had positions of influence and wealth in society. The system was transmitted from generation to generation.

There was a high standard of education in Jaffna since the development of an independent kingdom in the thirteenth century. In the fifteenth century the Tamil Kings had set up an Academy at their capital Nallur for the promotion of learning.

The Tamil Kings had taken steps to collect manuscripts relating to various fields of leaning and made provision for the systematic study of these texts by scholars. Sanskrit texts especially in the fields of medicine and astrology were among the priceless collection in the libraries they had developed. Some of these were translated into Tamil on the initiative of these Kings. The School of Ayurvedha, established by these kings, had continued to flourish without interruption until recently.¹⁰

Some Higher Centres of learning were established and maintained in the regions by the Portuguese. The Franciscan missionaries had established such a college and this was basically modeled on the lines of a Roman Catholic monastery. The Jesuits who were famous for their educational accomplishments arrived in 1602. In 1602, they had established a college in Jaffna. This institution had primary, intermediate and advanced classes. Instruction in literature and ethics was given to the children of the advanced classes. Financial support required for this college was provided by the DISSAWE, who was the highest Portuguese Official in Jaffna. From the annual revenues of parishes, an amount of 1,600 Pardaos was granted for the maintenance of this institution.¹¹

The contribution of the Dutch to the educational advancement of Jaffna was still more remarkable. They established a seminary at Nallur in 1690 and maintained it till 1722. In his Memoir, Hendrick Zwaadecroon, Commander of Jaffnapatnam (1697) observed:

With regard to the seminary or training school for native children founded in the year 1690 by His late Excellency Van Mydregt is another evidence of the anxiety of the company to propagate the True and Holy Gospel among this blind nation for the salvation of their souls. I will state here chiefly that your honors may follow the rules and regulations compiled by His Excellency as also those sent to Jaffnapatnam on the

sixteenth of the same month. Twice a year the pupils must be examined in the presence of the Scholarchen (those of the Seminary as well as of the other churches) and of the clergy and the Rector. 12

In the teaching programme of this seminary special attention was paid to the study of the Dutch Language and Christianity. The Tamil ethical works called "Athisoodi" and Kondrai Venthan and exegetical texts and Thivaharam were included in the curriculum of studies. When the seminary at Nallur was closed, the students were transferred to the seminary in Colombo. At the seminary in Nallur, which existed for a period of thirty years, a total of 51 students had completed the courses of instruction. The Seminary in Colombo, which was established in 1696, had an uninterrupted existence until 1795, and even in this institution the majority of the students were Tamils. Among the Tamil students who were educated at this seminary in Colombo a substantial proportion were "Chetties." Despite the restrictive regulations introduced against the natives by the Dutch Government, the Chetties managed to secure substantial concessions in matters of trade and therefore continued to hold positions of considerable influence in society.

Phillip De Mello, the Principal of the Seminary in Colombo, Gabriel Tissera, the first Tamil Professor of the Batticotta Seminary and Simon Casiechetty who wrote for the first time a history of Tamil Literature were all leading members of the chetty community.

It is also to be noted that during the Portuguese and Dutch periods there had developed a rich indigenous literary tradition. Quite a number of works relating to grammar, poetics and religious theme of local vintage were written during this period. During the period of Portuguese occupation Roman Catholicism had provided inspiration for the composition of literary works devoted to new themes. "Gnana Pallu" and "Yahapar Ammanai," which were written during this period provide some indications of the attempts made to assimilate local traditions to Roman Catholicism and indigenized Christianity. Texts in genres

called "Pallu," "Ämmanai," "Kuravanchi" and "Nondi Nadakam" which had attained prominence in Tamil Nadu were studied here and works of such types were written by local scholars too. These texts used effectively by the Roman Catholics to popularize Christianity in local society. ¹⁶ Although the Dutch Government promulgated laws forbidding the practices of indigenous religions, the Saivaites privately practiced their traditional religious observances without any effective restrictions. In the Hindu Temples, which had been reconstructed during the last years of Dutch rule, Puranic texts expounding the tenets of Saivaism were recited with exposition to public audiences. ¹⁷ The Tamils of Sri Lanka had developed distinctive literary tradition before the advent of British rule. That the education had attained a high level of development in Jaffna is indicated by the large number of manuscripts that were available during that period.

All the major literary texts in the Tamil Language were studied by the people in Jaffna in the nineteenth century. Editions of these works by South Indian scholars testify to the fact that manuscripts available in Jaffna were also obtained and consulted in the process of editing and printing these works. Texts such as "Kambaramayanam," "Tholhappiam" and "Naminatham" were also found in the collection of manuscripts maintained by learned families in Jaffna. 18 The fact that "Kanthapuranam," "Thirukkural," "Koormapuranam," Auviar's ethical works, Nigandoos and Nannool were taught at the Batticotta Seminary suggests that these works were held in high esteem by the people of Jaffna.¹⁹ The tradition and cultivation of learning were confined to families of rank and means, as printed versions were non-existent. The manuscript texts were preserved with great care, copied and handed down from generation to generation. As these were in the possession of a few families there was no means of popularizing knowledge and learning. Such a manuscript could seldom be purchased and whenever it was possible to do so, it would be at a very high cost as evident from the following observations made by the biographer of T.P. Hunt, a graduate of the Batticotta Seminary:

In a particular family, the father was very keen that his children should take interest in learning. His youngest son was Sathasivam, who was probably born in 1831. At that time manuscripts "ola book" and not printed books were the sources of studies. The father Murugappah was so much concerned about his children's education and as he had no means, he sold out his pair of ear-rings to buy a manuscript copy "ola book" of the "Mahabharatha" for his children.²⁰

Although the vast majority of the people had no high educational attainments and could not have access to libraries, they had obtained a minimum standard of literacy. As indicated by the accounts of the missionaries who served in this region the women were generally illiterate but most men of the upper caste had cultivated the ability to read and write but had no opportunity of furthering their interest in learning because of the non availability of books. The Missionary Herald observed:

A Printing Press we consider absolutely necessary to the prosperity of our mission. A large portion of this people are able to read. Many of them would willingly read the Bible if they could obtain it. We have frequent calls for it, which we cannot satisfy. There is no Printing Press in the District of Jaffna. But few books in the Tamil Language have been printed in the Island and there are none for sale. Tamil books imported from the Continent are excessively dear at the first cost and duties here are twenty -five per cent.²¹

The same idea is expressed by Miron Winslow:

In going this afternoon from house to house, I came to an obscure place in a tope of palmyras, where I unexpectedly found a very decent house of the better sort and several women who were evidently of the higher classes of natives. When entering in conversation with them I was surprised to learn that one of them, a younger looking woman, the wife of the owner of the house could read a little. When inquiring I learnt that her husband had taught her. He was probably excited to this by the progress of education among the females in our schools. 22

The facilities for education in Jaffna was undoubtedly restricted by the lack of printed books. Printed books could be provided at cheap rates and made accessible to a large number of people. The fact that a manuscript of "Sathur Aharathi" was purchased in 1835 at a cost of Ten Sterling Pounds (Rs.1,550/-) by Peter Perceivel was sold in print for two and a half Shillings (Rs.2/-) in 1865.23 This provides a sufficient indication of the extent to which printing could facilitate the distribution of books to large number of persons at reasonable costs. The attainment of literacy by the men of Jaffna in the midst of such forbidding circumstances was achievement of the European Parish Schools and the Tamil Basement Schools("Thinnai Padasalai"-These schools were constructed on a outer verandah called the 'Thinnai.' The 'Thinnai' would be raised from anything between one foot to about three to four feet and just from the front wall of the house. This front wall should not be confused with the fence). These two types of schools continued to flourish until the end of the Dutch rule. When the British occupied the Maritime Provinces at the Island, the Parish Schools were closed and the Predikants, the Dutch Priests were arrested. As the native school masters and the catechists were not remunerated for their services whatever system of European elementary education, which flourished until that time, collapsed. The Lieutenant Governor who was responsible for the administration of the territories disclaimed any responsibility for general education on the ground that it was not his concern. The native Tamil schools however continued to flourish. These schools remained as the only means for communicating knowledge.

Fredrick North, who was appointed Governor of the British possessions of the Island made an attempt to revive the system of education. The Predikants were released and were permitted to teach in the Parish Schools. But his efforts proved to be unsuccessful. Sir Thomas Maitland who succeeded Fredrick North as Governor in 1805 stopped the payment of wages to Parish School teachers. The Parish School teacher was given the status of a mere liaison officer. Consequently the Dutch reformed Churches, their schools and parsonages fell into decay.

By this time it was not considered that the education of peoples in colonies was the responsibility of the British Government. It may be noted here that the Church at Chundikuli was converted into a cattle shed of Barbot, the chief British Officer in Jaffna.²⁴

In Britain however, considerable progress was made in education and commerce. The nineteenth century is usually described as the great century in the history of the Anglo Saxon peoples on account of the outburst of Evangelical enterprise among them.²⁵ Political advancement, industrial progress, capitalist enterprise colonial expansion and a spirit of adventure, inquiry and self assurance were among the leading characteristics of European Societies in that century. It was in this context, where the traditional society of Jaffna interacted with the ideals and values of a vigourous and flourishing European civilization, the American Missionaries, the descendants of Pilgrim Fathers entered the scene.

NOTES

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3

THE ORIGINS OF THE BATTICOTTA SEMINARY

The establishment of the Batticotta Seminary was an event of utmost importance in the history of education in South Asia. In "A Century of English Education," which is a history of the Batticotta Seminary and Jaffna College until 1922, J.V. Chelliah says:

That the small sandy peninsula of Jaffna situated in a remote corner of the Island of Ceylon should enjoy the privilege of having one of the pioneer institutions of higher western learning in the East can only be accounted for by the inscrutable ways of providence.¹

The Political Conditions in Sri Lanka

A combination of religious historical and social considerations led to the formation of the Seminary. The British Government in Sri Lanka except under Edward Barnes extended warm support to the activities of the American Mission. The religious sentiments prevailing in England and influence wielded by the Evangelicals in the British Parliament were factors that led to the positive responses to the missionaries from the government of the Colony. When the charter of the East India Company was revived in 1813, the Evangelical interests laboured

succeeded in including clauses in the charter which accommodated their interests. It was incorporated in the charter that the East India Company should be responsible for furthering the cause of evangelism, permit the establishment of missions in the territories under its jurisdiction and assume responsibility for the remuneration of Bishops and Archdeacons. However, this clause did not permit missionaries, who were non-British.

Robert Brownrigg, the Governor of the Colony from 1812 to 1820, was deeply interested in the Evangelical movement. The colonial office in London provided all support for Brownrigg in the promotion of evangelical work. In a communication to the Governor in 1812, the Secretary of State for Colonies says:

His Majesty's Government are most anxious to afford means of Education and Religious Education.²

All the Christian Missions received support from Brownrigg. In matters of rights and privileges all the missions were placed on an equal footing. Because of the great support extended by the Governor, all the missions gained a foothold in the Island. With reference to the support he extended to the missions, Robert Brownrigg observes:

It has been a matter of peculiar satisfaction to me that I have seen under my government Wesleyans, Presbyterians and Baptists uniting with regular clergy of the Church of England.³

In the second decade of the nineteenth century conditions in England and Sri Lanka favoured the development of educational institutions by the missions. However, it is a matter for investigation that the American Ceylon Mission alone among the Protestant Missions was able to establish an institution of higher learning.

Puritans Love for Learning

The religious conceptions of the American Mission gave pride of place to learning. The Congregationalists, since their inception, had taken a

great interest in the cause of learning. As the Congregationalists, who were Puritans, were denied admission to the old established universities in England, they set out to establish universities of their own. The University of London was one of such institutions. Commenting on the Puritan concern for education, Church Historian R.W. Dale observes:

Congregationalists for many generations were accustomed to assert the claims of the intellect in religion more earnestly than other evangelical churches.⁴

It is noteworthy that almost all the American Missionaries who came to the Island during the nineteenth century have had a University education. Levi Spaulding who came as a missionary in 1820 had completed his education at the Cornell University with distinction and had come first in the M.A. examination. Cliffton Phillips, who had done research on the work of the American Mission in foreign countries, says:

It was in collegiate circles that the missionary enthusiasm flamed high creating societies like the secret brethren and producing the sense of vocation that called forth the youthful evangelists to foreign lands.⁵

The Congregationalists settled in America established many Universities for educating their clergymen. The University of Harvard was thus established in 1638. William and Mary College were set up in 1693 and the Yale University was established in 1701. These three institutions were designed as Puritan models of centres of learning. But during the late eighteenth century, religious sentiment fell into the background at these universities. Their connection with the church became only nominal one. Rationalism and scientific inquiry which gained an overwhelming importance in education and knowledge in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries pervaded the Puritan citadels of learning. During the early nineteenth century, the Americans attached an unusual importance to education and believed that knowledge was power. Although the American Missionaries considered that education was a

vital agent of evangelization, they were also inspired by the ideal that the imparting of knowledge was an act of charity. They shared with Thomas Jefferson the firm belief that education was the only avenue to all kinds of progress. It was their conviction that economic prosperity and social progress were dependent on, and inextricably connected with the advancement of learning.

The American passion for education is a logical outgrowth of their background in the enlightenment. Like their contemporary Jefferson, they believed that education was the only avenue to all forms of progress and that social and economic develop ment went hand in hand with growth of the spirit.⁷

Instrument of Evangelization

The American Missionary James Richards, who came to the Island in 1816, makes the following observation in relation to the importance of education:

What in our minds can be so good a substitute for the society of beloved brethren, sisters and friends whom we have left behind as a presence of a circle of males and females bearing their names snatched from their ignorance and misery of idolatry, through their instrumentality and placed in circumstances favourable for cultivating the same virtues which our brethren and friends possess.⁸

The American Missionaries in the Island published a prospectus outlining the objective aims and relevance to social needs of a collegiate institution and made it available for distribution among their associates in Sri Lanka, India and America. The ideas they expressed about education in their prospectus are worthy of consideration. They said:

"Knowledge is power." This maxim, so justly celebrated, so steadily kept in view by the philosopher and statesman, is not

less practical or important to the Christian Philanthropist. When those who are engaged in meliorating the condition of their fellow-men have knowledge or means of disseminating knowledge they have the power of doing well. To extend the blessings of the most favoured countries of Europe or America to almost any section of the globe, we need only carry thither the literary and religious institutions of those countries. Whatever may be said of the influence of the soil, climate or even government upon national character and happiness it cannot be doubted that these depend principally upon causes more exclusively intellectual and moral. Man is an intellectual and religious being and under the combined influence of pure science and true religion and of these only attains the moral dignity of his nature.

All the Protestant Christian Missions established in the Island considered education the most effective medium for prosecuting evangelical work. It was on account of this consideration that the missionaries established native primary schools in India and Sri Lanka in several thousands.

Viscount Torrington, British Governor of Sri Lanka (1847–1850) made the following observation about the scheme of education:

Education is the best preparation for conversion to Christianity.... Experience has taught every church whose clergy officiate among the natives of Ceylon that preaching makes but a transient impression if any, unless the way has been first prepared by the process of mental conversion.¹⁰

The system of education initiated by the American Missionaries with the opening of primary schools at Mallakam and Tellippallai developed into a stable one in 1823. The system provided satisfaction and a sense of achievement to them. In 1824, there were ninety primary schools with an attendance of 2864 boys and 613 girls.

In their programme of educational development the boarding schools came next to the primary schools. Students with a capacity and desire for learning were selected for schooling and were provided free board, lodging and clothing in the boarding schools. Boarding schools were set up in five mission stations viz., Pandateruppu, Tellippallai, Manipay, Uduvil and Vaddukoddai. The missionaries, who had observed the low cost of living and the comparatively less rigid observance of caste rules were more favourable for the development of those schools in Jaffna than in South India. In 1823, there were one hundred and fifty boys and twenty eight girls receiving instruction at those five boarding schools.

The expenditure incurred for the maintenance of these children was met from the grants supplied by the donors in Massachusetts. As a gesture of goodwill for the help rendered by the donors, their names were applied to the children for whom grants were allocated. In the boarding schools, instruction was provided both in English and Tamil. Christianity, Mathematics, Grammar and Geography were among the subjects included in the curriculum. Gradually the prejudices against mission boarding schools began to fade out. A considerable number of students showed a keen interest in joining these schools.

The unusual interest and intelligence displayed by these students vindicated the need for the establishment of a centre of higher learning. In this context it should be noted that all the Protestant Missions working in South Asia became involved in the educational activities and initially with the primary schools. Once these were developed by necessity they had to institute centres of higher learning. In 1799, the Baptist Missionary William Carey established a native school at Serampore. Subsequently in 1818, he instituted a college providing instruction in the Bengali language. Like the American Missionaries of the Congregational Church, the Anglicans and the Methodists also started their educational work with primary schools in Jaffna. They also established centres of higher education. The Anglican Seminary at Nallur was inaugurated in 1823. The Methodist established their Seminary

in Jaffna Town in 1848. But the educational standards of these institutions were much lower in comparison with the institution set up by the American Missionaries.

The College Plan

When the American Missionaries had decided to set up a College and drew up a Plan, they appealed to their beneficiaries in America and India for support. They prepared and published a Prospectus styled:

Plan for a College for the Literary and Religious Instruction of Tamil and other Youths. 11

This was widely distributed locally and abroad. It may be mentioned here that this was in pursuance of a tradition initiated by William Carey in Bengal.

In a letter which they wrote to the mission headquarters in Boston in 1824, the members of the American Ceylon Mission made the following observations about their plan of work in relation to the Seminary:

In our last letter we mentioned that we had a contemplation to establish a Central School or College. We have made the plan of such an institution, and had it printed. As soon as circumstances will admit we hope to carry this plan into execution. For particulars upon this head we refer you to a separate communication which will soon be sent to you. In order that the most favoured boys at our respective stations may be better proposed to reap the benefit of such an institution. We are about to establish an Academy, into which they will be received and put under the care of one of the brethren who will devote his time almost exclusively to their improvement. Batticotta has been considered the most eligible place for its location, and the Brother who has been unanimously chosen to take charge of it is Brother Poor. He will in a short time move to Batticotta and his place at Tillipally will be supplied by Brother Woodward. 12

It is an undeniable fact that the education had been a monopoly of the religion in the countries of Asia and Europe from ancient times. The history of mediaeval Europe is inextricably bound with that of the monasteries. In the Indian sub-continent, Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism had promoted the cause of learning with the objective of furthering their religious ideologies. It is difficult to find instances where educational institutions were maintained outside the control of religious agencies.

In England, even in the nineteenth century, educational institutions were maintained by Christian denominations for promoting their interests. The concept that education was meant for promoting the welfare of the people had not developed in Asia and Europe, even in the nineteenth century. The organization and working of the educational institutions, therefore, had a religious orientation.

The ideas expressed by the American Missionaries in their plan reveal that they also were motivated by similar considerations. They said:

The light of erudition and science is always favourable to Christianity. It courts inquiry and the more it is examined the wider it will be disseminated.¹³

Although like other Christian denominations they considered education as medium of evangelism yet they were also of the view that education was the basis for cultural and economic advancement.

Agriculture and Mechanic Arts will be improved, learning will rise in estimation and gradually obtain a dominion over wealth and caste, the native character will be raised and the native mind freed from the shackles of custom which now confine all in the beaten track of their ancestors will imbibe that spirit of improvements which has so long distinguished and blessed most Christian countries. It is not want of mind which leaves Asia so great a distance behind Europe in the march of improvement.

It is the want of a spirit of inquiry and of willingness to improve. A College such as this is intended to be, would give a new tone to the whole system of education in the district and exert an influence which would be felt in every school and village. ¹⁴

It was also pointed out that such a scheme would provide a number of benefits to the colonial government of the Island. The improvement of the judicial system, the availability of competent interpreters, the raising of English teachers and high ranking officers were among the developments that would emerge in this connection. They observe:

The advantages of this must be appreciated by all these gentlemen in the Civil Service who in their official duties have intercourse with the Tamul part of the population. Among a people so litigious as the Malabars and at the same time removed for the observation of their rulers by difference in situation, customs and language, the impartial administration of justice becomes a most perplexing and difficult concern. The mass of the people are so bound together by the ties of caste and family interest and hate at the same time so regardless of the obligation of an oath, that those of the same class cannot be madeto testify against each other. A native of influence can, therefore, scarcely be brought to justice.

His course of life however bad is known principally by those who are under his influence. He may be the leader of a gang of robbers and it may be known, even particular acts of his depredation may be pointed out while the most active magistrate is unable to convict him for want of evidence. How much then must course of justice be impelled in its descent to the lower classes, when in addition to all this, the interpreter at any court may give what colouring he pleases to the evidence, which he is the medium of transmitting with little danger of its being discovered, if he is not above the influence of a bribe. The cause of truth will be sacrificed to his love of gain. Were the

knowledge of English more common among the natives, they would act as checks upon each other and the practice of bribing less common.¹⁵

The Name of the Institution

The American Ceylon Mission had not come to any definite decision regarding the name of the Institution, which they wanted to establish. They referred to it as variously as Central School, Seminary and College. There was also some debate among them about the site. Although they first decided to establish it at Vaddukoddai, they were indecisive, and later toyed with the idea of establishing it within the limits of Jaffna town. They, therefore, made a decision to purchase the residential premises of Anthony Mooyart, who was previously an official serving under the Dutch government, for a sum of one thousand five hundred and six dollars. However, it was finally decided in 1827 that this institution should be at Vaddukoddai. In the same year it was ceremoniously named American Mission Seminary. In the Constitution which was revised in 1846, the institution was referred to as the Batticotta Seminary.

The local missionaries published the plan of the institution in March 1823 and set up the institution at Vaddukoddai on the 22nd of July 1823. This was done on their own initiative without the express permission from the Mission Headquarters in Boston or the consent of the British Government in the Island. Forty eligible candidates, selected from five boarding schools, were admitted to the new institution. Daniel Poor, M.A., D.D. assumed responsibility as its Head with the approval of his colleagues. Gabriel Tissera was placed in charge of the departments of English and Tamil. Besides them, two teachers were appointed to the institution.

Although the missionaries had set out to found an institution, which would confer degrees, circumstances were prohibitive in that respect. Generally a theological institution providing training for

clergymen is spoken of as a "Seminary," the term commonly applied in the Roman Catholic and the Protestant traditions. Such seminaries were under the direct supervision of the churches. During the Portuguese and Dutch periods, the seminaries established in the island were meant for clergymen.

In America, the educational institutions which had the right of conferring degrees were referred to as Colleges. In 1827, the Baptist Missionaries, who established a College in Serampore applied for and obtained a charter from the King of Denmark who had political jurisdiction over Serampore. Since 1826, the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions communicated to the Secretary of State for Colonies in London for the purpose of obtaining a charter for the institution at Vaddukoddai. In the meanwhile, the local missionaries made efforts to obtain permission for their project from the British Government in the Island.

Robert Brownrigg, the British Governor in Ceylon Relinquished office in 1820. Edward Barnes, Lieutenant Governor at that time was quite powerful. He had fought under wellington at waterloo and therefore. had a sentimental hatred for the Americans as America was at war with Britain during the Napoleanic wars. He viewed with suspicion the activities of the American Missionaries. He took up the position that the number of the American Missionaries should not be increased and if a College was to be established, it should be managed by British personnel and as the British Government had the intention of establishing such an institution, there was no need of the Americans establishing a College. When the Church Missionary Society inaugurated a Seminary at Kotte in 1827, Edward Barnes participated at the function and expressed support for it. Undaunted by the refusal of the government to grant a charter, the American Missionaries were steadfast in their decision to sustain the Institution. With a view to over come the restrictions of the British Government they decided to name it Seminary, on the advice of the mission headquarters in Boston.

NOTES

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4

THE STAFF AND THE STUDENTS OF THE BATTICOTTA SEMINARY

When the Christian Missionaries and other Europeans endeavored to establish institutions of higher learning in Asian countries, they encountered the problem of finding competent and adequately qualified staff to conduct the courses of studies. When the Marquis of Wellesley established the Fort William College in Calcutta in 1800, he was able to appoint only Claudius Buchanan as an eligible teacher. Claudius Buchanan who obtained his degree from the University of Cambridge was also the Chaplain of the East India Company. He was entrusted with the responsibilities of teaching European History and Western Classics. All the eight others who were appointed as teachers were not highly qualified. They were either Chaplains, or Government officials or translators in the service of the Company's government. William Carey, the Baptist Missionary, who was formerly denied support by the East India Company was made the Professor of the Department of Indian Languages.¹

Although there were many native scholars with a thorough knowledge of local languages they were altogether unfamiliar with the principles of Western education. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the British Indian Empire was at the threshold of its development. The English Society in British India consisted of soldiers, government

servants and priests. From such a society it was not possible for the Governor General to select suitable men for appointment as teachers at Fort William College.

When the Baptist Missionaries established their college in Serampore in 1818, they were also confronted with the same problem. The founders of that institution William Carey, William Ward and Joshua Marshman assumed responsibilities as Heads of Departments. Among them only Joshua Marshman had a regular University education. William Carey started life as a cobbler and became an industrious and sedulous scholar through his own efforts. As far as the American Missionaries in Sri Lanka (Jaffna) were concerned there was no difficulty in finding suitable persons for appointment but the British Government imposed constraints, which could not be overcome. Almost all the American Missionaries had undergone a course of university education. Even the concept of instituting the mission for Evangelical work had its roots in the University community. Those who established the Batticotta Seminary made the following observations about the staff:

Officers: a president who shall have the principal direction of the Seminary and also give lectures on Natural and Revealed Religion. Three European or American Professors viz., a Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, a Professor of the Greek and Hebrew Languages and a Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic, each of whom shall deliver lectures, and superintend the studies in his department — also one na tive Professor of Sanskrit and one of Tamil with three tutors.²

Although it was possible for them to invite from America eminently qualified and competent scholars for their purpose, they were not allowed to do so by the government of the Island Colony. When William Carey established the Serampore College, the restrictions imposed by the East India Company on missionary activity had been waived. Since Fort William College, which was established in 1800, was for government officials it was not affected by the restrictions on missionaries.

The political conditions in the Island in the year 1823 were unfavourable to the American Missionaries. Edward Barnes, who became Governor in 1821, was hostile to the missionaries and did not consent to issue them a charter for establishing a college. When the American Missionaries set up the institution on a modest scale he continued to restrict its developments. He imposed a ban on the arrival of American Missionaries to the Island during the period of his Governorship (1821–1832). When James Garrett, the American Missionary, came to the Island with a printing machine, he was promptly ordered to leave the Island. Under these circumstances like the Baptist Missionary at Serampore and the founder of Fort William College, the American Missionaries had to face the problem of being unable to find learned and competent teachers and had to wait till the retirement of Edward Barnes from Governorship.³

The teaching programme at the Batticotta Seminary had to be done by those Missionaries who were already here. During this period, the American Missionaries in the Island were Daniel Poor, B.C. Meigs, Miron Winslow, Levi Spaulding, Henry Wood Ward and John Scudder and of these Daniel Poor was at Tellippalai, Miron Winslow and Levi Spaulding were at Uduvil, Wood Ward was at Manipay, John Scudder was at Pandateruppu and Meigs was at Vaddukoddai. All of them became the Trustees of the Seminary. Daniel Poor became the Principal. He was also the Professor of Mathematics, Natural Philosophy and Christianity. Gabriel Tissera was appointed Instructior of English and Tamil. Although B.C. Meigs who was serving at Vaddukoddai did not join the Batticotta Seminary as a full-time teacher, he did some part-time work as a teacher of English. Some of the Munshees who were teaching Tamil to the missionaries also became associate teachers, among whom the most important was the one called Shanmugachattambi (Nathaniels). These men constituted the inaugural staff of the Seminary.

At the beginning the missionaries may have been frustrated on their inability to appoint three professors. Even after the restrictions imposed on them by the government were removed they did not appear to have made those three appointments. In the triennial report of the Batticotta Seminary published in 1839, the following observations were made about the appointment of the three professors:

This name has been adopted for convenience; the Seminarists had not, till quite recently, made such attainments as to require that distinct Professorships be designated. It has been deemed expedient rather to aid the Native instructors, with a view to bringing them forward as competent teachers and to teach in branches with which they are not acquainted. This is desir able on the ground of economy and because pupils will aim at the standard of native attainments rather than those of a European, and because other things being equal, natives are better teachers than foreigners. It must however be some years before those can be obtained of sufficient character and attainments to conduct the business of instruction in the Institution. Still there is much ground of encouragement from this quarter.⁴

During the 31 years of its existence altogether a total of 13 American Missionaries had served as Professors of courses of studies. All of them, with a single exception of Dr. Nathan Ward, had a University education and a formal theological training. But most of them served for brief periods not exceeding three years. Most of the American Missionaries served as professors during the period 1833–1847. Since then there was a decline in their number as the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was disinclined to support the principles and objectives for which the Seminary was formed.

Even under such circumstances the missionaries serving locally were not willing to concede a position of eminence to native scholars. None of the indigenous scholars was able to attain the rank of a professor. The native scholars employed at the seminary were classified into two categories: Tutors and Teachers or Instructors. In 1839, they decided to appoint tutors for certain subjects:

The Trustees believing it of great importance that there be connected with the Seminary a number of permanent native teachers, and that there be held out to them suitable inducements to vigorous and continued effort, have adopted the following resolutions:

- The tutors be appointed in the following Departments so soon as suitable persons shall be found. viz.,
 - 1. Mathematics and Natural Philosophy
 - 2. Sacred literature, including Evidences of Christianity
 - 3. Hindu Astronomy, Sanskrit, and Native Arithmetic
 - Tamil Literature
 - 5. Geography, History and Chronology
 - 6. English Language and Literature
 - 7. Chemistry and Natural History
- II. That the standing of the native instructors shall be determined on the ground of merit, by examinations before the Seminary Committee.⁵

It was also decided that the monthly remuneration would range from

- 1) Pound 1 17 Shillings 6 d
- 2) Pound 3 15 Shillings

and that the salaries of individual teachers would be fixed by the Management of the Seminary within this range. Unmarried teachers were to be paid remuneration ranging from 18 shillings to 30 shillings. Of this amount, two third would be paid, the balance was to remain a deposit to be released after marriage. This step was adopted with a view to prevent the teachers from relapsing to Hinduism after marriage as they were tempted to marry Hindu girls with substantial dowries. The missionaries also said that teachers would get a 25 % salary increase in case the marriages they contracted were to be the entire satisfaction of the mission. It could be said without reservation that

native teachers employed at the Seminary were certainly among the most educationally accomplished men in the whole peninsula. A teacher at the Seminary was highly respected in the community and the position gave him a high status and recognition in the country. When the Saivaites strongly reacted against Christian Evangelism, the native teachers took up the challenge creditably. When the Seminary was closed in 1855, the native teachers who were its employees went to other parts of Jaffna and to South India in search of employment. They engaged themselves in educational work and in the study of literature and secure a wide reputation on account of their achievements. Like the academics of olden times the Batticotta Seminary provided a setting for the encounter between Oriental and Western traditions. Presentation of original treatises and tracts and the diffusion of knowledge developed through these courses. In this context it is useful to recall the observation of Kula Sabanathan, and eminent Hindu Scholar of Jaffna:

The students of the seminary attained a high standard of scholarship in English and Tamil. Some of them studied Sanskrit also. Therefore they were proficient in these two languages, viz., English and Tamil. Therefore they could not be overawed either by the Tamil Pundits or Scholars educated in English.

DR. DANIEL POOR

On the 30th of May 1823 Daniel Poor was appointed Principal of the Seminary. Because of the educational training he received during the days of his youth in America he was most suited to head a newly founded institution. He had his collegiate education at Dartmouth College, which was established for the purpose of training evangelists intended for service among the Indians in America. The ancient ideals of Batticotta Seminary were basically similar to those of Dartmouth.

Like most of the American Missionaries, Daniel Poor had his theological education at Andover Theological Seminary. Daniel Poor was a man of very strong religious convictions, liberal education and broad outlook. Like the great missionaries of nineteenth century such as William Carey, Alexander Duff and Peter Percival, Daniel Poor also believed that the cause of evangelism could be best served by education. Although he was handicapped by the opposition of the British Colonial Government and the lukewarm support of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions it is to his credit that he was able to manage the Seminary amidst the most difficult circumstances for a period of 10 years. Apart from being the Principal, he also assumed responsibilities for the courses in Natural Philosophy, Mathematics and Christianity.

In order to convince the unsympathetic American Board of Commissioner for Foreign Missions he had to demonstrate the achievements of the Seminary. When Rufus Anderson who was consistently hostile to the objectives of the Seminary came to Bombay in 1854, Daniel Poor had the difficult task of presenting his arguments in defense of the Seminary. When he realized that Rufus Anderson had already decided to close the Seminary he wrote the following letter from his death bed:

Tell Dr. Anderson, I have the impression that the Deputation is sent of the Lord, and I have anticipated meeting them with great pleasure. But I have written him freely and all of you know my views. It may be better that I should not be here when they come. Truth may have a better hearing. This is all I would say to Dr. Anderson.⁸

The sentiments expressed in this letter revealed the depth of his concern for the principles and objectives of the institution of which he was one of the principal founders.

Daniel Poor was of the view that the ideals and objectives of the Seminary should be broad based. He strongly believed that their mission was not merely one of creating a band of evangelists but also one directed toward creating a wide impact on society. In the Triennial Report of the Batticotta Seminary of 1833, he wrote:

It is further evident that though the Seminary is not confined to raising up and preparing men for Mission Service only, it is yet decidedly a Mission Institution. Its influence is diverse and extensive, and if in some respects it is indirect as to the propagation of the Gospel, it is not therefore the less beneficial.⁹

On matters of religion, Daniel Poor was a Puritan and had very rigid views. He believed that the Holy Bible was literally true in its entirety and that Christianity was the only true revealed religion. It was his firm conviction that instruction in Christianity should be made compulsory to all native students. In a letter he wrote in 1832, he said:

No substantial and permanent advantages can reasonably be anticipated from the diffusion of general knowledge among the Hindoos excepting so far as it is accomplished with a knowledge of Christianity.¹⁰

Daniel Poor was a man of exceptional ability, talent and perseverance. He made efforts to get acquainted with the learned men of Jaffna with a view of obtaining some knowledge of Hinduism. He had close contacts with a native Mathematician called Theagar¹¹ and with Visvanathan, who had a reputation for his knowledge of Astronomy and Astrology. The American Missionaries believed that the Brahmins in Jaffna could be approached only through him and therefore requested Daniel Poor to prepare some tracts addressed to them. Daniel Poor is known to have written five tracts addressed to the Brahmins. The text of these tracts provides a sufficient indication of the extent of his knowledge in Tamil and his profound knowledge of Christianity:

At the close of the last term, I furnished each member of the Seminary, with one or more copies of a printed tract of 12 pages containing an address to the Brahmins from the Missionaries in this District. They were directed to read these tracts as opportunity permitted during the vacation and to present them to the Brahmins in their respective villages. It is

very evident from the account given by the church members that our recent attention to the Brahmins is a pleasing advance in the work of enlightening the minds of the people. The Brahmins generally are far more ignorant of the nature and merits of Christianity than other classes of the community. They are with few exceptions quite beyond the sphere of missionary operations and more than others decidedly hostile to the establishment of Christianity in the country. ¹³

The ideas expressed in these tracts show the extent to which he was influenced by the ideology of John Calvin. He tried to show that the tenets of Hinduism have no validity and his opinion on this matter was determined by his uncompromising faith in the ideas expressed in the Holy Bible. Most of the graduates of the Seminary also tried to evaluate Hinduism on the basis of the Biblical verses. ¹⁴ Although he had fundamentalist views on religion he was undoubtedly a man of great scholarship and learning. He excelled as a teacher on Natural Philosophy, Mathematics and Christianity. The publication of "Standard Reader" in Tamil began under his auspices:

In 1835 the missionaries established the Jaffna School Book Society, which further helped to publish Tamil books on new areas of study such as Geography. Among the most significant publications was the series on Tamil Instructors. From one to five, known by the name of Pala-Potham, which were the forerunners of Arumuga Navalar's Pala-Padam series. This was perhaps the first time that a modern Tamil Reader series was prepared for use in primary schools. ¹⁵

After serving the Seminary for 12 years, Daniel Poor went to Madurai in 1835. For six years he was engaged in evangelical and educational enterprise in Madurai District. He returned to Jaffna in 1841 in which year "The Morning Star," the bilingual fortnightly newspaper of the American Ceylon Mission began to appear. He wrote essays meant for old students of the Seminary and for Brahmins. In 1848, he returned

to America and during his stay there conducted a series of lectures on the work of the American Mission and the spiritual needs of Asian countries. He returned to the Island in 1851 and took charge of the mission station at Manipay. In 1855, he died of cholera at the age of 66. B.C. Meigs was at his bedside when he passed away and had subsequently left an account on this sad event. That account runs as follows:

His last word, pronounced in a whisper, were, "Joy! Joy! Hallelujah" the two first having been spoken in Tamul. He lived just twenty-four hours after his first attack, and at half past four o' clock on Saturday morning his happy spirit was released from its earthly tabernacle to join the holy throng above. ¹⁶

HENRY RICHARD HOISINGTON (1801 - 1858)

H.R. Hoisington, who became the Principal of the Batticotta Seminary in 1836, was remarkable on account of his piety, missionary zeal, scholarship and administrative ability. He had his education at William's College and subsequently learned theology at Auburn Theological Seminary. Subsequent to his ordination he served as presbyter for two years in New York. He was selected by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to serve as missionary in Jaffna where he arrived in 1833. On his arrival in Jaffna he was sent to Manipay to undertake evangelical work. In the following year he was appointed Professor of English at the Batticotta Seminary. In 1835, he succeeded Dr. Daniel Poor as Principal of that institution. He served in that capacity till 1849 except for a brief period between 1841 - 1843. He went to America in 1841 on account of ill health and during his stay there he made efforts to collect funds for his project of setting up an observatory at Vaddukoddai. In 1844, he returned and resumed his responsibilities as Principal of the Batticotta Seminary. He also became Professor of Hindu Science and Literature.

A remarkable contribution of Hoisington to the Seminary was his reorganization of its courses and curriculum. The pure academic courses were separated from the normal courses. Considerable number of students left the seminary on completion of the course in the normal department. A few brilliant students entered the pure academic department to study medicine, theology, philosophy and natural history. He cultivated an interest in Astronomy and Hinduism. His astronomical studies resulted in the regular publication of the annual calendar called "THRIYANGAM." Although these were published in the name of Vannarponnai Vellalan Mylvaganar Somasekarampillai, as testified by his wife Nancy in her letters to her son, they were in fact written by Hoisington. Besides making Almanacs he compiled a treatise on Hindu Astronomy, the Oriental Astronomer that contained the translation of "Sothidasathiram" with extensive commentaries and critical notes. It was prescribed by the Calcutta University as a Text Book of the M.A. Course on Mathematics. Hoisington's interest in Hinduism let him to a deep study of Saivaite religious texts. His English translation of three principal Saiva Siddhanta Texts namely, 'The Tattuwa Kattalei,' 'Siva Gnana Botham' and 'Siva Pirakasam' are of a remarkably high order that bear witness to his erudition and scholarship. The industry and the honest perseverance of Hoisington can be seen from the following note:

In making the first rough translation of these treatises I was much aided by three of the native teachers of the Batticotta Seminary. But in completing the translations and in preparing the notes I have relied solely on my own repeated examination of the several texts, and on a somewhat extensive comparison of these texts with other standard works – a labor in which many an hour of hard study has been employed. 17

Dravidian philology was also one of the fields of study, which attracted his attention. He anticipated the epoch making discoveries of Bishop Caldwell in the realm of Dravidian Philology. The close inter-relationship among the South Indian languages was recognized and commented upon Hoisington for he says:

The Tamil is spoken by about 8 millions of people in Ceylon and on the adjacent continent. It is believed to be the radix of the Telungu, the Canarese, the Malayalini, the Tuluva and other dialects, which constitute the speech of some twenty and thirty millions of people. So that it may be well be considered as occupying Southern India. It is denominated by the Tamilars "the Southern Speech" by way of distinction from the Sanskrit, which they call the Northern Speech. 18

During his career in Jaffna, he had made a successful effort to learn the Tamil language and study its principal literary texts. As observed earlier he had obtained a mastery of the spoken idiom as well as the literary tradition. He had developed a great liking for the sacred Kural (Thirukkural). In 1832, in a letter to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission, he wrote:

He was in general suspicious of Hinduism, though he taught the ethics of Kural to his Seminary boys. He called it one of the most eminent moral poems of India – the highest Tamil Classic adding, 'It is taught only under my immediate inspection when everything is examined in the light of revealed truth.'

Failing health made Hoisington to resign his position at Batticotta Seminary and return to America. While he was in his mother country he taught Hinduism at William College. He died in 1858.

DR. NATHAN WARD

Among the teachers of the Seminary, Dr. Nathan Ward occupied an important position, as he was the only one among them who was a qualified physician and had obtained a degree in medicine. He was one among the seven American Missionaries who came to the Island subsequent to the removal of the ban against them by the Government on the recommendations of the Colebrooke Commission. Until his arrival, the medical school and hospital managed by the Mission were

at Pandateruppu. When he joined the seminary provision was made for medical education at the institution. In 1834, there was a change in the curriculum. After the completion of six years of education, the best students were selected for certain specialized courses including medicine. Nathan Ward seems to have taught medicine for a class of 10 students of whom only 4 managed to complete the course successfully and became medical practitioners.²⁰

The medical studies were of three-year duration. One among those was Jeremiah Evarts Kanagasabaipillai who was also reputed for his talents in Tamil poetical composition. ²¹ Besides medicine, Nathan Ward taught Chemistry and Geology. ²² After the arrival of Samuel Fiske Green in 1847, the Hospital was shifted to Manipay where a medical school was established by him. On account of this development the Seminary ceased to provide medical education.

OTHER AMERICAN TEACHERS

After 1850, the behaviour and attitude of students especially in matters to religion became an issue of great concern to the teachers at the Seminary. The teachers who served at the Seminary during this period were also responsible in some measure for the decision to close the Seminary. M.D. Sanders, J.C. Smith and E.P. Hastings, who were teaching at the Seminary were instructed by the Anderson Commission to submit reports about the work done by the institution. E.P. Hastings who came to the Island in 1847 was the brother-in-law of Grover Cleaveland who was elected twice as the President of the United States of America. In 1847, he was appointed as a Professor and he became the Principal of the Seminary in 1850. M.D. Sanders who arrived in 1852 served as Professor and Principal of the Seminary during the years 1853 and 1854. J.C. Smith who came to the Island in 1842 spent 30 years in the Island. But he served as a teacher at the Seminary for only one year in 1852. M.D. Sanders, J.C. Smith and E.P. Hastings were very much dissatisfied with the atmosphere that prevailed at the Seminary. The reports submitted by them provided the arguments to

the Anderson Commission to make the fateful recommendation that the institution should be closed.²³ These three men who did not have the correct perceptions about the ideals and the objectives of the Seminary, later lamented the demise of the institution²⁴ and subsequently, when efforts were being made to inaugurate an institution, they worked enthusiastically for the success of the new venture. When Jaffna College was established in 1872, M.D. Sanders was selected as its first Principal, but he died before he could assume duties as Head of the new institution and that E.P. Hastings was appointed to that post.

AMERICAN TEACHERS WHO SERVED AT THE BATTICOTTA SEMINARY

Name of Teacher	Period of Service	ce Position Held
Daniel Poor	1823 – 1836	Principal. Professor of Mathematics, Natural Philosophy & Christianity
Nathan Ward	1833 - 1846	Professor of Mathematics
James Eckard	1834 - 1835	Professor
Henry R. Hoisington	1836 – 1841 1845 – 1849	Principal Professor of Hindu Astronomy & Literature
Edward Cope	1840 – 1847	Professor of English Language & Literature
Robert Wyman	1843 – 1845	Professor of Social Literature & Evidences of Christianity
Samuel Whittlesey	1845	Professor of Social Literature & Evidences of Christianity

E.P. Hastings	1847 – 1850	Professor, Principal 1850 & 1855
C.T. Mills	1847 – 1853	Professor, Principal 1851 & 1853
J.C. Smith	1852	Professor
W. Howland	1853	Principal
M.D. Sanders	1853 – 1854	Professor, Principal

NATIVE TEACHERS

It appears that 25 native teachers had served at the Seminary. All of them except Gabriel Tissera, Shanmuga Chaddampi and Nicholas Permander were old students of the Seminary. The names of native teachers and their respective periods of service may be tabulated as follows:

Name of Teacher		Period of Service		
1.	Gabriel Tissera	1823 - 1831		
2.	John Griswold	1828 – 1832		
3.	Shanmugam	1838 – 1845		
4.	Nathaniel Niles	1828 - 1836		
5.	Henry Martyn	1832 - 1843		
6.	Samuel Worcester	1828 - 1834		
7.	George Dashiel Somasegarampillai	1828 - ?		
8.	Parker K. Hasseltine	1831 – 1849		
9.	Wiseborn Volk	1835 - 1848		
10	James Gregorie	1838		
11	William Tennent	1837 - 1841		
12	Edward Warren I	1832 - 1838		
13	Nicholas Permander	1835 - 1844		
14	Edward Warren II	1832 - 1844		
15	I.W. Patnam	1828 - ?		
16.	A. Philip	1838		
17	Elisha Rockwood	1839 – 1844		

18	Daniel Carol Viswanathapillai	1842 - 1855
19	Jeremiah Everts Kanagasabaipillai	1844 - 1846
	Nevins Sithamparapillai	1846 - 1855
21	Elias Cornelius	1843
22	Asa Lyman	1846 – 1855
23	B.H. Rice	1849 – 1855
24	R. Breckenridge	1848 - 1855
25	Wyman Kathiravetpillai	1848 - 1855
26	W. Clarke	1849
27.	William Nuns	

GABRIEL TISSERA

Gabriel Tissera was discovered by the Missionaries as a bright student in his boyhood. After his arrival in Colombo, B.C. Meigs was assigned the task of teaching English to Gabriel Tissera and Mary Twisletson, the daughter of Rev. Twisleton, a colonial Chaplain. Gabriel Tissera was by birth a Roman Catholic and belonged to the Colombo Chetty Community. Impressed by his educational attainments and talents, the American Missionaries enlisted his support for their cause. He became a Tutor of the Seminary at the age of 16 after becoming a Protestant. He served as a teacher of English and Tamil for a period of 15 years.

Among the teachers of the Seminary only Gabriel Tissera and Henry Martyn had Catholic background. Gabriel Tissera's essays on Hinduism were published in the issues of the "Missionary Herald" and these essays provide some glimpse of Hinduism of the early 19th century.

He had profound knowledge of Tamil Language and Literature. After his demise, Joseph Knight who was compiling a Tamil–English Dictionary informed the American Missionaries that he was unable to pursue his work on the project. After the death of Gabriel Tissera, his son Anton Tissera was employed at the Seminary as a Clerk. But his descendants relapsed to Roman Catholicism and inevitably their connection with seminary was severed.

SHANMUGA SADDAMPI

(Literally, the teacher Shanmugam)

The word 'Saddampi' means a teacher, a pedagogue. The honorific use would be Saddampiar. Shamnuga Saddampi was one of the Tamil Pandits of Jaffna with whom the American Missionaries established contacts after their arrival in the Island. He served as a translator to the Missionaries and as a Tamil teacher to the Seminary. He was born in 1794 and was a devout Saivaite in his youth. Subsequently he was converted to Christianity and received the Baptismal name Nathaniel. The American Missionaries in their Annual Report of 1852 stated:

Died at Batticotta on Saturday (Jan. 6th 1849) Nathaniel more generallyknown by the name (Sanmuham) aged 55 years. He had been for a long time in the employ of the American Mission, for many years as principal Tamil Teacher in the Batticotta Seminary, and at different times as Monshe by the Missionaries. With them he read and assisted the translation of Scriptures, became familiar with their Doctrines, which he often pronounced Excellent, but still held fast to his shastras.²⁷

He was a good scholar of Tamil and a man of deep piety. In the galaxy of Tamil Poets Arnold Sathasivampillai says that Shanmugam Saddampi learned Tamil under the guidance of Senathiraya Mudaliyar of Irupalai and that Sathasivampillai himself had studied Tamil under him. He taught Tamil language and Tamil Literature to the Missionaries and students of the Seminary according to the methods of traditional oriental society. ²⁸

NICHOLAS PERMANDER

Christian David who was doing Evangelical Work at Chundikuli converted Nicholas Permander to Christianity. His original name was Paramananthar, which was anglicized by the Missionaries into Permander. He was a man of deep faith and strong conviction. He was teaching Christianity at the Boarding school at Tellippalai before he

joined the Seminary. Permander was steadfast in his attachment to Christianity amidst many hazards and therefore many eulogies were recited acclaiming the courage of his conviction.²⁹

HENRY MARTYN

Henry Martyn was born in 1811 at Chundikuli to Roman Catholic parents. He started his elementary education at the parish school in the locality and then joined the preparatory school of the American Ceylon Mission at Tellippalai. In 1826, he was admitted to the Seminary where he studied Mathematics and Physics as his main subjects. He also cultivated an interest in Art, Painting and Woodwork. In 1832, he completed his course of education and thereafter he was appointed as a tutor of Mathematics and Physics at the Seminary. When the publication of the "Morning Star" was commenced in 1841, Henry Martyn was appointed as its first English Editor. By this time he had become a licensed preacher of the American Ceylon Mission. Although the main fields of his study were confined to Mathematics and Physics like many other eminent scholars of his time he had cultivated his talents in Tamil poetical compositions. He wrote "Esther Vilasam," a drama based on the Book of Esther in the Holy Bible. The Text is now lost as it was not printed.30 After the death of his first wife, he married Mariapillai, a Roman Catholic in the year 1842. In 1843, he left the Seminary and gradually shifted towards Roman Catholicism. Subsequent to that event he engaged himself in the task of writing tracts against Protestant Christianity. He wrote the "Lamentations of Mary Under the Cross." It gives a poetic description of the lamentation of Mary at the crucifixion 31

NEVINS SITHAMPARAPILLAI

Nevins Sithamparapillai was born at Sanguvely in 1820. He joined the Seminary in 1832 and graduated in 1839. Subsequently, he was appointed as a teacher at the American Mission School at Manipay. He was appointed as a tutor at the Seminary in 1846 and became a reputed teacher of Mathematics, Logic and Tamil Grammar. When the

Seminary was closed in 1855, he went to South India where he assisted Miron Winslow in the preparation of the Tamil-English Dictionary. He also assisted Peter Percival in translating the Bible into Tamil. He wrote a text book on "Logic in Tamil-"NIYAYA ILLAKKANAM." "Illakiya Sangraham," a compendium of Tamil Poetry and Tamil "Viyaharanam," a Tamil Grammar book were two of his other main contributions. When the Seminary was closed, he went to India and seems to have engaged in literary work.

In his 'History of Tamil Poets,' Coomarasamipulavar makes the following observations about Nevins Sithamparapillai:

He was one who attained a profound knowledge in Math ematics and Logic and many other fields through the me dium of English. He became a profound scholar in Tamil Grammar and Literature through intense study. He had a razor sharp mind. He had a mastery of the vocabulary in two languages English and Tamil. He had an exceptional skill for translating from English into Tamil and he used the most appropriate combination of Sanskrit and Tamil words in the construction of sentences. He compiled a bilingualdictionary giving the meanings of the English words in the most appropriate Tamil vocabulary in such a manner as to be intelligible to learned men.³²

Nevins Sithamparapillai returned from India in 1866 and took charge of the Wesleyan Mission Central School in Jaffna as Headmaster and served in that capacity for 6 years. Later, he started a school of his own at Second Cross Street, Jaffna. In 1889, he established the Native Town High School at Vannarponnai, which later developed as the Jaffna Hindu College.

WYMAN KATHIRAVETPILLAI

Kathiravetpillai was the son of Coomaraswamy Mudaliyar of Udupiddy, was born in 1829. In his youth, he was profoundly influenced by his

father who was one of the most eminent scholars of Tamil in Jaffna. He was admitted to the Seminary in 184133 and in 1846, he completed the normal course and thereafter the academic course by which time he became a Christian. When he was baptized he was named after his teacher Wyman. He assisted H.R. Hoisington in translating into English the three Saiva Siddhanta texts viz., "Sivagnana Potham," "Tattuva Kattalai" and "Sivapirakasam." In 1848, he was appointed as teacher of the Seminary. In 1851, he left the Seminary and became a teacher at the Wesleyan Mission School in Jaffna. While he was serving at that institution he began the publication of the Journal "The Literary Mirror." Later, he became a pleader at the judicial court of Point Pedro. In 1856, he went to Colombo to follow a course in legal education. He practiced as an advocate for sometime. In 1872, he was appointed as a Magistrate of the Judicial Court of Kayts which position he retained till 1898. In 1863, he started the publication of the journal called "The Ceylon Patriot."

A Tamil treatise in Logic, "Tharkkasoodamany," was written by him in 1862 when he was 33 years old. However, his major contribution to learning was his monumental Tamil Dictionary. He died before this project was completed. The Madurai Tamil Sangam followed it up and the Association published the full text in several parts and the work came to be called after that Association. Kathiravetpillai was a vegetarian throughout his life and it appears that when he died his body was cremated.

DANIEL CAROLL VISVANATHAPILLAI

The most outstanding product of the Seminary, Daniel Caroll Visvanathapillai was born in 1820 at the village of Chankanai. In 1832, he gained admission to the Seminary and completed his course of education in 1839. He underwent a course in Theology at the Seminary and was appointed as a teacher of Mathematics and Tamil. He was a man of versatile talent and had acquired a profound knowledge in many branches of learning. He had mastered Christian Theology, Mathematics

and Logic and proved himself to be a Tamil Scholar of great renown. He had a sound knowledge of English and could speak and write in that language with almost unrivalled skill among the native scholars of his time. On account of his religiosity, competence and attainment he enjoyed the confidence of the missionaries in ample measure. In their estimation, he was the ideal person who could implant Christian values among the native population.

The encounter between Hinduism and Christianity were led respectively by Arumuga Navalar and Daniel Caroll Visvanathapillai. The fact that he wrote the "Veesakanitham," a textbook of Algebra in Tamil provides sufficient indication of his attainments in Mathematics. When Arumuga Navalar published his "Saiva Dhushana Pariharam" in response to Christian tracts attacking Saivism, Daniel Caroll Visvanathapillai wrote the "Subratheepam" as a reply to Navalar's work.

However, he succumbed to Arumuga Navalar in a public debate at Sithamparam in South India and as a mark of his discomfiture pricked his tongue with a hot golden needle.

Daniel Caroll Visvanathapillai was appointed to the Seminary as a teacher of Mathematics and Logic in 1842 and continued to remain in service until the institution was closed in 1855. He also served as the Tamil editor of the "Morning Star" for one year in 1857. He had taught C.W. Thamotharampillai at the Seminary. When the University of Madras was established in 1857, C.W. Thamotharampillai and Daniel Caroll Visvanathapillai sat simultaneously for the B.A Degree examination and had the distinction of becoming its first graduates.

The foregoing account of each of the major teachers and students of the Seminary brings out in full outline, the type of intellectual interaction, the Batticotta Seminary generalized in Jaffna. While it performed its intended task of taking modern knowledge, it also rediscovered the intellectual and scholastic tradition of the Tamils. More

importantly, as we could glean from the names of the students, it was responsible for the emergence of a Tamil intellectual elite, who could with the training they received at the Batticotta Seminary engaged in Tamil to face the challenges posed paradoxically by the missionaries themselves. It is indeed very stimulating to note that the concept of a Dravidian Identity which was to shape the Tamilian psyche in the ensuing century was first identified by an American Missionary. The American Mission States brings into Tamil a system of rigorous learning, not only in terms of the discipline concerned, ranging from Mathematics to Natural History, but also in the manner they studied or indigenous literature from points of view hitherto not known to the traditional scholars.

When we consider the history of the individual teachers at the Seminary and the activities of the students in that institution, it becomes very clear that it was the native teachers and students who were very much concerned about the progress of the institution. The missionaries of the first generation were dedicated to the cause of the institution and taught with great enthusiasm. But their successors especially the ones who were serving in the late 40° and early 50° did not exhibit such characteristics. It may be recalled that they were largely responsible for the closure of the Seminary.

Although the students who were admitted to the Seminary at the very beginning were from poor families, in the course of time, students from well-to-do and influential families swelled the ranks of students. Such students were more interested in the educational training provided by the Seminary and not so much in the religious ideology propagated by the missionaries. Such a situation brought about a gulf between the teachers and students at the seminary. Even some of the teachers renounced their faith in Christianity after 1855. Such a development was peculiar to Jaffna and was not evident in other countries of Asia where missions were established.

THE STUDENTS OF THE SEMINARY

The exceptional intelligence and desire for learning displayed by the students was undoubtedly one of the principal factors, which contributed to the development of the Seminary. The American Missionaries who came to the Island in 1826 at first set up primary schools. Their programme for primary education began with only 2 schools. But in 1824, they had 90 schools under their management. There were altogether 1864 males and 613 females in these schools. Encouraged by the progress made by these schools, the missionaries sought to provide a comprehensive education. As a first step in that direction, they established secondary boarding schools. It was observed by the missionaries that they found in Jaffna a far more suitable environment than in India for the establishment of a College. They wrote:

They have also in consequence of their local situation in a country where living is cheap and where the restraints of caste are less than in most parts of India been able to collect under their imme diate care and to support and educate connected with their families a considerable number of heathen children of both sexes.³⁵

As these schools had progressed to their fullest satisfaction, the missionaries considered that they were obliged to provide further education to the students of exceptional ability studying at these schools. As they had no facilities to provide such education by developing every one of such schools, a decision was made that the most accomplished students of all these schools should be gathered at one centre of higher education.

As mentioned, the philanthropists and benefactors in America paid the fees of the students of the Boarding Schools. The beneficiaries were given the names given by the benefactors in America. But there is no evidence that all those who were supported by the philanthropists in America became Christians. There were many with christian names but had not come into the church. H.R. Hoisington in his letter to his son, dated 3-7-1846, said:

Young Ebanezer Kellog is a pretty good boy, but he has not become a Christian.³⁶

Although children of depressed classes did not join the boarding schools, boys of different castes lived together in these boardings. Children of Vellala Community, which was considered to be high in the Jaffna Society, came in large number. "Missionary Herald" had published a list of students in the boarding schools in 1823 indicating their caste. From this list it is clear that the Brahmins and the Pandarams did not join the boarding schools. The missionaries explained the advantages of the boarding schools as follows:

- It removes the children of heathen parents from the direct influence of idolatry and brings them under constant Christian instruction.
- It secures regular and prompt application to study, in place of the most desultory and indolent habits.
- It brings children under a course of instruction, which
 may be continued so long as fully to answer the end
 designed instead of leaving them to be interrupted, when
 perhaps they have but just begun to make successful
 progress.
- 4. As they are usually supported by individuals or associations, who appropriate funds for each specifically by name, there is an individuality and a definiteness in charity, which is mutually interesting to the benefactor and the beneficiary. There is often a correspondence maintained between them, which affords evidence to the former that his money is not misapplied, and to the latter that there are those who care for him, even in a distant land. While, therefore, it costs as much to support and educate one child in the boarding schools, so as to teach reading and writing to twenty in the village schools, the money is equally well expended.³⁷

The expenses incurred in maintaining one child in the boarding school was equal to educating twenty children in the primary schools. But the missionaries held boarding schools brought much benefit to the church. In the college plan they published on the 4th March 1823 they said that 105 boys and 28 girls were educated in the boarding schools. Among these students 20 were able to read and write in English Language. They found the need for higher educational opportunities for these children. Since it was difficult to provide higher education at every boarding school they resolved to have a central institute of higher education. ³⁸

BURGHERS OF PORTUGUESE AND DUTCH DESCENT AND SINHALA STUDENTS

In the plan of the college it was specifically stated that the projected institute was meant for "Tamul and other youth". Although the population among whom they served was predominantly Tamil, they did not fail to notice the presence of people of Portuguese and Dutch descent in considerable numbers. They also expected the Tamil population of South India to benefit by that institution. In the plan, they said:

They might say indeed that a large Tamul population on this island and some millions on the continent need the aids of a literary seminary – that there are many native youth of good talent who would prize its privileges and employ them for the good of their countrymen and that there are respectable young men of Portuguese and Dutch descent who might by means of such an institution be made capable of conferring most important benefits on that class of inhabitants in Ceylon.³⁹

Although there were no institution of higher learning in the Southern part of Sri Lanka the missionaries had not said anything about the prospects of Sinhalese students joining in these institutions. The

missionaries after their arrival in 1816 had lived in Colombo for a few months and taught Sinhalese students. In a letter which he wrote to his mother on the 20^{th} of June 1816, Daniel Poor said:

Immediately on our arrival, we obtained a commodious house for \$12 per month, which is very convenient for our large family. As a body, we have enjoyed better health than persons generally do on their arrival in this country. When we arrived here we supposed that in consequence of the prevailing monsoon, we should be unable to leave this place short of five or six months. We immediately applied to the Government and obtained permission to open English and native schools, and preach to the natives by Interpreters. We issued proposals for schools. pledging ourselves to continue them six months, if we had sufficient encouragement. Application was made to us by Hon. and Rev. T.J. Twistleton, that we would take under our institution 15 or 16 Malabar and Cingalese Scholars, who for several years have been attending to the English language, under the care of the Rev. Armour. 40 These persons Mr. T. wished us to instruct in the principles of Theology, with reference to their entering on the work of the ministry. The brethren appointed me to take charge of them; and in this important and pleasing business I have been hitherto employed. It seems like entering at once on the immediate object of the mission.41

Although the Missionaries had known the needs of Sinhalese students they did not admit them on account of some important considerations. It was extremely difficult for people from South of Sri Lanka to travel to Jaffna in those days. In this connection it may be relevant to recall the observations of B.C. Meigs:

Oct. 5, 1816. On Tuesday evening the 24th of Sept., we together with our wives went on board a dhony at Colombo for Jaffna. Brothers Chater and Griffiths who took a very affectionate leave of us accompanied us to the dhony. We sailed

about 3 o' clock the following morning. On Wednesday we were all very seasick. It was a distressing day, especially to Mrs. Meigs. We were much alarmed about her on Wednesday evening, but the Lord supported her, and on the following day we were all better. We lay at anchor on Thursday night, for fear on the Pearl Banks; and on Friday noon we arrived in safety at the mouth of the river at Mannar. Here the water is so shallow that dhonies are obliged to unlade and occupy several days in passing through. On Saturday, we all went up to the fort, about two miles, in a boat which Mr. Orr, the Collector, was so kind as to send us; and we spent the day at his house, and were treated very politely. We tarried at Mannar till Tuesday, Oct 1st. in a house near Mr. Orr. We had been unable to get away before that time, having been obliged oversee the unlading of all our furniture, and that of our brethren, and having it safely lodged in the custom-house till the dhony could get over the bar at the mouth of the river. We did not wait for this as the season was far advanced, but hired two boats, in which we put a few of our most necessary articles, leaving the rest to be brought on in the dhony, and between 11 and 12 o' clock a.m. set sail for Jaffna, a distance of about forty five miles, where we arrived the same day, but so late that did not go on shore that night, but slept in the boat.42

In the letter he wrote in 1816, he says that he left Colombo on 24th September and reached Jaffna on the 1st of October. The difficulties in transport and communications between Jaffna and the Southern parts of Sri Lanka may have been one of the considerations, which prompted them to exclude the Sinhalese.

The American Missionaries set out from America and came to Jaffna with a specific purpose of spreading Christianity among the Tamil people of both India and Sri Lanka. Jaffna was considered to be a base from which they could advance their operation into the thickly

populated Tamil Districts of South India. Samuel Newell, one of the pioneer American Missionaries, stated that Jaffna was the most suitable field for evangelical enterprise. The various Protestant Missions which were working in Jaffna had come to a tacit understanding regarding their areas of operation.⁴³ Although the comity rule came into operation long afterwards as the other Protestant Missionaries, the Anglicans, the Methodists and the Baptists were permitted to establish their stations in the Southern part of Sri Lanka, the American Missionaries seems to have felt that the Sinhalese should be left under the care of those Missions. The American Missionaries had specifically stated that the millions of Tamils in South India also are in need of higher education. It cannot be denied that the Tamil people living in the districts extending up to Tirupathy in North attracted the attention of the American Missionaries. It may be recalled here that Daniel Poor, Miron Winslow and John Scudder attached to the mission stations in Jaffna went to Madurai and Madras in South India in 1836 for organizing mission work. Although the missionaries considered that the Portuguese and Dutch descendants would benefit by the Seminary they do not appear to have secured any benefit from the institutions. It would appear that repeated attempts were made to gain admission for them at the Seminary. The Governor of the island showed a keen interest in the matter and his appeal was considered at a meeting of the missionaries on the 22nd of February 1833. The Missionaries in their report to Governor stated that a school for the children of Portuguese and Dutch descent was already set up in the town and that they did not have an adequate number of missionaries to provide education for such children.44 This question was reviewed at a meeting held on the 18th of September 1834.45 In 1844, a special committee was set up to reconsider this matter.46 Yet there is no evidence of any student of European descent ever having studied at the Seminary. They expected a large number of students from India to seek admission but this expectation was not fulfilled as only a few students decided to receive education at the Seminary. Until 1834 there does not seem to have been a single application for admission to seminary from South India.

In 1834, at a meeting of the mission, a decision was made to make special efforts for attracting students from India. Daniel Poor was asked to write to the missionaries in South India about the prospects for South Indian Students in the Seminary.⁴⁷ It was only after 1836 when Daniel Poor opened a station at Madurai, a few students began to show interest in Seminary education.

ADMISSION REQUIREMENTS OF THE SEMINARY

The conditions for admission were stated in the Plan as follows:

Students – Youth of any Caste, Sect, or Nation, between the ages of twelve and twenty five may be admitted to the privileges of the semi nary; the terms of admission for native youth to be, a facility in rendering the English New Testament into Tamul, a knowledge of the Tamul Dictionary called Negandoo, and a good acquaintance with the leading principles of English Grammar, and the Ground rules of Arithmetic. In cases of extraordinary promise, youth may be entered without any knowledge of English, and pursue the Tamul studies only, but such Youth cannot be admitted on the foundation, or take regular standing in a class.⁴⁸

The facilities of English Education were provided only by the Boarding Schools under the Mission Management. They wanted to admit even those students who did not show interest but had capacity for higher education probably with a view to bring them under their influence. But they were not prepared to place on an equal footing the students who had received education in Tamil with those who had English education. In the scheme formulated by them the missionaries made no reference to female students. They were reluctant to admit girls to the Seminary as another institution exclusively for females was to be established. In a communication to the prudential committee in Boston on the 20th of June 1823, the missionaries explained the difficulties they faced in relation to female education and of their plan

to provide education for them:

Day School for Girls - Our day schools have been increased. Since we last wrote, the prejudices of the people have been so far removed that we have been enabled to es tablish day schools for girls. We have now five such schools under our care. Independently of these, there are girls attached to a number of our other schools. We have much reason for thankfulness that our long continued exertions to promote this desirable object has been attended with a partial success and we hope that before long female education will become general. We con sider that if the almost insuperable prejudice, which the Heathen have entertained against having their female children taught, be broken down, it will afford us an additional ground of hope that the appearing of the son of man to reign over this people isnear. Should we succeed in the general establishment of the day schools for girls we shall require much larger funds for them than for boys schools. At least this will be the case until we can impress upon them to a much greater degree the importance of educating females. Most of what we have hither to done has been effected by the prospect of small rewards, which we have of fered to those who attend these schools. 49

The courses of study they planned to provide at the Female Boarding School at Uduvil were inferior in standard to the education provided at the Seminary. But it should be noted that there were some basic common features. At Uduvil, the Tamil and English courses were conducted separately as at the Seminary.⁵⁰ At a meeting of the Missionaries held on the 10th of April 1851, the following syllabus for Uduvil was adopted:

TAMIL COURSE

ENGLISH COURSE

6th Class

Palapotham Bible - the Gospels, writing on Ola, Scripture Catechism

English alphabet, English Instructor Nos. 1 & 2 Pictorick Primer

5th Class

Genesis and Psalms Reading Tamil Instructor Nos. 4 & 5. Mrs. A.P. Geography 'Palavahai Kalvyium Vethap-Polippum' First Lessons, Part 1 & 2 Writing Slates & Olas

Pictorial Reader Nos. 2 & 3 Reading book

4th Class

Reading: Indian Pilgrim Pilgrims Progress Wards Geography with Maps. Arithmetic, Manak-Kanitham Writing on paper from Dictation. Phrase Book, Diglot Psalms Webstor's special Book

3rd Class

Reading Rise & Progress Beschi's Ins. Catechism Geography of India with Maps. Tamil Elementary Arithmetic Rhenius' Tamil Grammar (Abridged) Tamil Bible, Tamil Composition.

English, Ins., No.3 Parlev's General History Chaps. 7 & 12 Writing English & Tamil.

2nd Class

"Thiruchchathakam" Arnold's Poem Barth's Church History Analysis of the Bible

Rhenius's Grammar (finish) Negandu II the part, Tamil Arithmetic Complete Tamil Composition.

Reading - Child's book on Soul. Gallantdit's Natural Theology, Swift's Natural Philosophy, Smith Grammar (Begin) Writing,

Writing English & Tamil.

1st class

Rhenius's Divinity Negandu Contd. ArithmeticalExercises by the teacher. Smith's Grammar (Contd.) Analysis of the Bible by Miss. Agnew, Parley's History, Writing composition in English & Tamil.

Students between the ages of twelve and twenty five were admitted at the Seminary but those admitted at Uduvil were between seven and twelve years of age. As regard to qualifications in English, they said; a good acquaintance with a leading principles of English grammar. Such a degree of competence in English required study over a long period of time at suitable monetary expenditure. Yet they felt that withstanding the economic background of a student, who was eager to acquire knowledge of English could have without any difficulties joined one of the Boarding Schools and attain the minimum standard required. In course of time they reduced the standard of requirement for English and instead raised that for Tamil. This was probably due to the fact that they could not obtain students who were up to the standard expected by them. The requirements for admission are listed in the triennial report of the Batticotta Seminary, 1839, as follows:

Terms of Admission to the Seminary

- 1. An ability to read the English New Testament intelligibly.
- 2. An ability to bear an examination in the "First Lessons."
- An ability to write a fair hand in English at least on the black-board or slate.
- 4. An ability to write well with the style.
- An ability to read the Tamil New Testament with ease and correctness.
- A good knowledge of the 'Gnana-pal,'
 'Gnanatheepikai' and the 'Vethappolivu,' or an equivalent.
- 7. A knowledge of the Tamul Arithmetical Tables, or the ground rules of English Arithmetic.
- A knowledge of 'Ouvyar Muthu Moli,' 'Moothurai,' 'Urichchol,' 'Negando,' 'The IIth part, and 'Illakkanasurukkam.'

Among the Tamil books mentioned in the list "Gnanapal", "Gnanatheepikai" and "Vethappolippu" are the books relating to Christianity. The text called "Urichchol" was actually a work on glossary written in the 17th century. It is not possible to determine the exact identity of "Negandoo" included in the list as there were a number of works, which were classified as "Negandoo" text on glossary. In the list of Tamil books they compiled one of the items is "Negandoo" about which it was said a poetical work similar to "Tevagarum". It differs from Tevagarum in that it contains poetry only whereas Tevagarum is written in poetry and prose. The author's name was Veramadalevan. He was Contemporary with Tevagarum.⁵²

The "Ilakanasurukkam" is a grammatical work written by Rhenius, a Danish Missionary in order to facilitate the study of Tamil. 53 Two of the other books, which were expected to have been studied by prospective candidates for admission, were Auviyar's "Muthumolizhi" and "Moothurai." What is now considered as "Nalvazhi" seems to have been referred to as "Muthumolizhi" by the missionaries. The "Muthumolizhi" doest not figure as an item in the list of Tamil books the American Missionaries had compiled but in that list "Nalvazhi" is mentioned.

Although they were prepared to admit to the Tamil course, students who studied only in the medium of Tamil, such students did not seek admission to the Seminary. In 1828, they decided to provide a Tamil class for the purpose of training Tamil teachers:

Resolved to select a few students from the Seminary prepara tory school "Tellippalai" and from the native free schools and to conduct a Tamil class in the Seminary to make them Tamil Instructors of Geography, Arithmetic and Grammar.⁵⁴

The Missionaries were very concerned that the standard of English Education at the Seminary should be maintained at any cost. They repeatedly emphasized that the students should cultivate a sound knowledge of English:

Particular attention should be given by those who hope to enter the Seminary to the reading and pronunciation of EnglishCandidates for the Seminary are also often very deficient in ability to trans late from English to Tamil and Tamil to English and in the knowledge of Catechism. It was the intention of the faculty to be more and more strict in their examinations of candidates and those who would enter the Seminary must not be disappointed if rejected for deficiency in any one of the required studies.⁵⁵

They required the services of men proficient in English for undertaking mission work. Besides, the Seminary provided opportunities for acquiring sufficient knowledge in order to enable them to seek employment under the agencies of Government. As noticed earlier, in 1840, the curriculum and courses of study were revised and elaborated. A three-year advanced course was introduced and this was to be followed after completing the normal course. English and Theology were two essential components at the advanced course. There were two sections in the advanced course. One specialized in Medicine while the other specialized in Greek, Hindu Astronomy and Sanskrit. Daniel Caroll Visvanathapillai, the author of "Subratheepam," followed the latter course. ⁵⁶

In 1845, the education program was once again reviewed and revised and thereafter two courses, each of which was of four years duration was provided. They were referred to as the normal course and the academic course. The normal course was primarily meant for producing teachers. The other one, which was an advanced course, was followed after the normal course. Students of extra-ordinary ability and attainments were selected among those who passed the normal course and were provided instruction in Theology, Science and Tamil Literature

TUITION FEES

The missionaries did not want to levy fees from the students of the Seminary. The expenses of the Seminary were met from the proceeds of the donations provided by pious philanthropists in America. A sum of \$ 120- was sent to meet the expenses of a student for six years. The annual expenditure for supporting a student (Rs.60/-) assessed to be \$ 20/-.57 Education at the Seminary was free for all students until 1840. They were provided with lodging, food, clothing and textbooks. When the students left the Seminary after graduation there was a credit balance of 15 shillings on his account.58 In 1840, it was decided to charge fees from those of means and free education was restricted to the class of poor students. This decision was taken in response to pressure from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions since that Board was complaining of excessive expenditure on education. A monthly fee of four shillings six pence was imposed for boarding.⁵⁹ During this period the monthly remuneration for a tutor was 13 shillings. It would appear that the boarding fees charged from students were very high. Some students, however, who could not find the means of paying the boarding fees gave an undertaking that they would pay the fees after completing the course of education at the Seminary. An admission fee of 10 shillings had to be paid by all the students.

SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF THE STUDENTS

It is necessary to consider the social background of the students who were educated at the Seminary. During the 31 years of its existence, a total of 670 students had completed the course of education at the Seminary. A large majority of them were Tamils from Jaffna peninsula. Although men of Portuguese and Dutch descent living in Jaffna studied under the missionaries in an individual capacity, none of them seem to have sought admission to the Seminary. Among the Tamil students most of them were from the Valigamam division of the Peninsula and particularly from the mission station where boarding schools were established. They were mostly from Vaddukoddai, Pandateruppu, Tellippalai, Uduvil and Manipay. After the commencement of the Seminary

the Boarding Schools at all stations except Tellippalai were closed. The Boarding School at Tellippalai was converted into a preparatory school for the Seminary. The activities of the American Missionaries were mainly concentrated in these five villages. The map of Jaffna provided in the appendix clearly shows the areas where the American Missionaries were engaged in evangelical and educational work. 60

Chart indicating the birthplaces of the Seminary Students in 1831:61

Name of Village	No. of Students
Manipay	27
Tellippalai	20
Uduvil	09
Vaddukoddai	26
Pandateruppu	06
Корау	06
Mallakam	07
Vannarponnai	08
Puttur	05
Chankanai	08
Kayts	01
Karaidhive	03
Nallur	06
Uduppiddy	02
Chundikuli	02
South India	03
Calpentine (Katpiddy)	01
Jaffna Town	03
Analaidhive	01
Navatkuly	01
Myliddy	<u>04</u>
rigiday	149

In the course of time, students from other places in Jaffna also gained admission to the Seminary. Chart indicating the birthplaces of the Seminary students in 1846.62

Name of village	Number of S	Students
Tellippalai	12	1.97
Manipay	15	
Uduvil	12	
Vaddukoddai	28	
Pandateruppu	03	
Vannarponnai	08	
Mallakam	08	
South India	05	
Kayts	01	
Uduppiddy	03	
Chundikuli	03	
Chankanai	03	
Sandilipay	02	
Chavakachcheri	04	
Chunnakam	09	
Alaveddy	03	
Colombo	03	
Varany	01	
Point Pedro	01	
Palaly	<u>01</u>	
	128	

A comparison of these charts with one for Uduvil relating to the year 1846 would give a sufficient indication of the localities in the Jaffna Peninsula which felt the imprint of the American Ceylon Mission.

Female Students at Uduvil in 1846: 63

Name of Village	Number of Students
Uduvil	27
Manipay	21
Tellippalai	17
Vaddukoddai	09
Pandateruppu	08
Kopay	01
Mallakam	01
Point Pedro	01
Nallur	02
Chavakachcheri	04
Varany	02
Uduppiddy	03
Chundikuli	01
Chankanai	01
Jaffna Town	01
	99

As at the Seminary even at Uduvil there were very few students from the divisions of Vadamarachchi and Thenmarachchi. The Wesleyans were well established in Vadamarachchi. It was only in 1833 that the American Missionaries opened up a station at Chavakachcheri in Thenmarachchi division. Dr. John Scudder was the first American Missionary to work in that area.

CASTE DIVISIONS AT THE SEMINARY

It was proclaimed by the Missionaries that Youth of any caste, a sect or nation between the ages of twelve and Twenty five could be given admission to the Seminary.⁶⁴ The creation of a casteless social order was one of the objectives of the Seminary education. But it was a goal, which they could not realize. It should also be admitted that the missionaries themselves were not very serious about this objective because in the first Triennial Report of the Batticotta Seminary they record with apparently a sense of achievement:

The first year, forty-eight Tamil lads of good caste and promise were admitted as members of the school having passed a satisfactory Examination in English and Tamil. 65

However, they were firm that the caste differences and conflicts should not be exhibited at the seminary. At that time when the seminary was founded they made an attempt to study the complicated problem of Casteism and are known to have been of the conviction that caste prejudices should not be allowed to mar the progress of this institution:

After the opening of the Central School, the brethren adjourned for business and the first subject discussed was the importance of using all proper means for the suppression of caste. After a long dis cussion (during most of which Brother Knight was also present), it was voted that no boy refusing to eat on the premises on the ground of caste shall be allowed to remain in any of the boarding schools or in the school at Batticotta; also voted that no distinction of caste be allowed in the school at Batticotta after which adjourned.⁶⁶

At the beginning they had to make concessions to local prejudices, for the students of high caste who did not want to have their meals within the mission premises, permission had to be granted for providing cooking facilities outside and to use separate wells. From the very beginning the students who entered the seminary were from families which were already involved in the process of education. The Christians and non-Christians who came to the Seminary had educational background. Jeramiah Evarts Kanagasabaipillai who studied at the Seminary and subsequently became a teacher there, was from Alaveddy. His mother was one of the only two women in the Jaffna Peninsula who accordingly had an elementary education at the time when the missionaries arrived in Jaffna. The father of Wyman Kathiravetpillai, another student of the seminary was the celebrated poet Coomaraswamy Muthaliar, who was the author of "Indrakumara Nadagam," "Arulampala Kovai," etc., Students from families of scholarship and learning joined the Seminary

on account of their eagerness for English education. Most of the students of the Seminary belong to the community of Agriculturists, the Vellala. It is of some significance that they came from the leading families of that community. This is more or less confirmed by the statistics relating to the social background of the students at the Seminary. Except a couple of students, who belong to the maritime community all others belonged to agricultural community. As the Protestant Missionaries believed that education was the principal instrument of conversion their evangelical work became confined to the people of one caste only. The programme of evangelism of the American Missionaries was in some ways different from that of the Protestant Mission, which labored in India. The following statistics given in the "Missionary Herald" of May 1824, affords striking illustration to this fact:⁶⁸

Boarding School		Velalla	Covia	Chitty	Fisher	Madapally	Not known	washer
Tellippalai	Male	28	2		1		1	
	Female	e 4					4	
Vaddukoddai	Male	18	2	3		1		
	Female	2 1	1					
Pandateruppu	Male	20			1	2	1	1
	Female	2 8						
Uduvil	Male	19	2	3		4		
	Female	3	1	1		1		
Manipay	Male	13		1		1	1	
	Female	3				1	•	
Total	Male	98	6	7	2	8	3	1
	Female		2	1	0	2	4	0

The following statistics given in the "Missionary Herald" of August 1825 show the caste groups in the American Mission Church:

Vellalas	29
Chitty	08
Pallas	01
Seviar	01
Nalavar	01
Dutch	01
Madapally	15
Karaiyar	05
Coviar	03
Chandalas	01
Portuguese	01

THE RELIGION OF THE STUDENTS OF THE SEMINARY

The students in the Batticotta Seminary were not obliged to pay fees at the beginning. Each student was supported by a benefactor in America whose name that particular student was obliged to adopt. Later, they were baptized either during their period of studentship or after completing their course of education.

There were 139 students in the Seminary in 1839. All of them except one had Christian names. Among them only 46 had become Christians.⁶⁹ Among the students who had been at the Seminary till 1846 all except three had Christian names.⁷⁰

The American Missionaries in Jaffna did not like the practice of conferring the students with the names of their American benefactors. At a conference of the American Missionaries held at Vaddukoddai in 1838, where delegates from Madurai, Madras and Jaffna assembled, they adopted a resolution that the practice should be abandoned. However, this resolution was not acceptable to the benefactors in America. In 1853, a new procedure concerning the naming of students was introduced. A child born to Christian parents was to have as his or her first name, the baptismal, the second and third names were to be respectively those of the benefactor and the father. As for instance in

the case of Jeremiah Evarts Kanagasabaipillai, Jeremiah was his baptismal name while Evarts was his benefactor's name and Kanagasabaipillai was the name of his father. If the parents of the student were not Christians, the American benefactor's name was to be adopted as the first name.⁷²

When the admission rules were relaxed and fees were levied on students many students from wealthy families secured admission to the Seminary. It is of significance that there were only eleven Christians among the 96 students attached to the Seminary in 1855.73 Many of them were the sons of landed proprietors and had a strong inclination to join government service. Even the Christians among those students showed a pronounced tendency towards relapsing to Hinduism. Many of them are said to have renounced Christianity after marriage. The missionaries were inclined to feel that the graduated of the Seminary could be persuaded to marry the girls trained by them at Uduvil. But the female students at Uduvil, came from a lower status and belonged to poor families. During the period up to 1855, ninety-two students at the Seminary had been excommunicated. This number amounted to more than quarter of the total number of students who were baptized during their studentship. But during this period among the girls educated at Uduvil there had been only twelve instances of excommunication. It would therefore appear that only a few of the students from affluent and influential families were converted to Christianity and even among them many ultimately gave up Christianity.74

The statistics pertaining to conversion to Christianity at the Seminary was a matter of grave concern and utmost disappointment to Anderson Commission, which came in 1855. In the 1850^s, Arumuga Navalar had assumed the leadership of the movement for the revival of Hinduism and created a sense of reawakening among the Saivaites. The Saivaite revival may have had an impact among the native teachers and students of the seminary. That the American Missionaries were apprehensive of Arumuga Navalar is evident from the letters they had written to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions:

Mr. W.W. Scudder says that the opposition of the heathen to Christianity is becoming more and more acute and malignant. They have thus far looked upon the efforts of the missionaries with something akin to contempt, but they are beginning to open their eyes to the aggressive nature of Christianity and rouse themselves to some defence of their own system. They have established a printing press in Jaffna and are issuing school books very much like those printed by us, but substitut ing the names of their gods for the only living and true God. ⁷⁶

The reason for the Anderson Commission recommending the closing of the Seminary citing unfavourable circumstances relating to evangelical work as the most important consideration in support of the decision, was the religion of the students:

Of the 454 graduates of the Batticotta Seminary now living, and of the 185 graduates now connected with our own churches, 81 or less than one half of the church members are in the employ of our mission; 17 are employed by other missions; and 87 have gone into secular occupations. Your report states that only 11 of the 96 now in the Seminary are members of the church and that many of the elder pupils are looking mainly to government employment, and seem de termined to have nothing to do with Christianity. It is indeed a redeeming feature, as you remark, that many in the lower classes are children of urch members, but there is reason for anxiety in their beings so intimately con nected with such unpromising associates. 77

And the Anderson Commission clearly demonstrated that the Seminary did not promote the cause of Christian evangelism:

The plan of introducing pay-scholars, which has been in prosperous experiment for some years past, is believed to be incompatible with the highest success of a missionary institution. In the new class of 1850, we per ceive that eight were received

on charity, eight were to pay half their board, and 14 were to pay full board. It was the same in 1854, the full board for a month being four shillings and six pence sterling. Were it an object simply to promote edu cation in this province, or to raise the tone of it? If that alone were our ob ject, all this might be well. But our object is different. Education is not an end with us, but simply a means, and a means to accomplish and object pure religious. In our high schools, it is to raise up native helpers for the mission, and wives for those helpers. Now the necessary effect of this pay system in the Seminary must be to make the greater part of the students the sons of rich men, or of men in government employ, who will be preparing for secular posts of honor or profit, and who may be expected to prefer heathen wives with large dowries, and to be utterly averse to a connection with our pious Oodooville girls. ⁷⁸

Although the Seminary was a cause of disappointment in respect of the progress of Christianity, its achievements in the field of higher education were impressive and the cause of utmost satisfaction to its founders.

Academic Advancements

The missionaries who had a very unfavourable impression of the Tamils in the course of time cast away their prejudices and soon began to appreciate their capacity for work and excellence especially in the sphere of education. In 1823, they described the Tamils untaught, unread, unthinking and bookless Tamulian. But subsequently such notions were found to be baseless for Miron Winslow wrote:

The operation of the system thus far had made it evident that there is no want of intellect among the natives to discourage attempts to elevate them, that the plan of assigning the English language a promi nent place in the course of instruction is a good one.⁷⁹

The students of the Seminary studied with great perseverance and attention. Their creditable performances at these examinations surprised native scholars:

At a public examination in the Tamil language in last June, essays were produced, among others on the following subjects – the form and dimensions of the Earth – the Atmosphere – motion of the Earth –number, distance and size of the Primary planets – eclipses – method of finding latitude at sea and the fixed stars. Some of these subjects were illustrated by the help of instruments and presenting coloured maps and drawings made by the students much to the astonishment of respectable native audience. 80

The missionaries having not been content with their own assessment of their students' performances, were concerned about the impressions of other notable personalities who were invited for the examinations. In 1830, Reginald Heber, the Anglican Bishop of Calcutta visited the Seminary and spent one whole day in examining the students. He had said that he was pleasantly surprised at the educational attainments of his examinees:

At the close, His Lordship expressed in gratifying terms the plea sure he had experienced in the course of the examination, encour aged the students to persevere in their studies and intimated his intention to bestow some benefaction upon the institution.⁸¹

In 1827, Sir Richard Ottley, the District Judge was invited for the examination and had recorded his profound satisfaction with the performances of the students:

In reference to the Seminary, generally, Sir Richard Ottley also kindly expressed himself afterwards in a letter to the Principal as follows: "My more intimate knowledge of the system adopted by your self and your Brethren has powerfully tended to increase the favourable sentiment which I originally, entertained

of the value of your labours in this Island. From my own personal observation and a consideration of the means employed in your institution compared with the difficulties you may expect to encounter. I feel convinced that the improvement of the children will be most effectually secured and the Hindoo superstitions most powerfully encountered by a perseverance in that system of education in whichsuch encouraging progress has already been made."82

The members of the Colebrooke Commission of inquiry of the Colonial Government visited the Seminary in 1830, conducted the examination and highly commended the educational work of the institution:

Second Examination: Present, Major Colebrooke and C.G.Cameron. Esq. together with members of our Mission. Each class commenc ing with the fourth were examined in those branches respectively which were omitted last week. The examination continued about five hours and was in respects more thorough than the examination on Tuesday last. In the solution of affected quadratic equations, the Indian Method as it may be termed was explained and applied. In the several branches in which they were the students acquitted themselves to the satisfaction of all present.⁸³

The educational standards prevailing at the seminary had been praised and highly commended by many British officials of high rank including the Governor of the Island. The observations of Emerson Tennent, the Colonist Secretary is of special interest. He wrote:

The Examination which took place in our presence was on His tory, Natural Philosophy, Optics, Astronomy and Algebra. The knowledge exhibited by the pupils was astonishing and it is no exagger ated encomium to say that, in the extent of the course of instruction and in the success of the system for communicating it, the collegiate institution of Batticotta is entitled to rank with many an European University.⁸⁴

The British Government did not permit the American Missionaries to establish a University. Nevertheless men of learning and scholarship acknowledged that the education provided by the Seminary was in par with that of any contemporary University. It is noteworthy that the first two graduates of the Madras University were students who had completed their course of education at the Seminary.

NOTES

- 1. David Kopf, op.cit., p.64.
- 2. The Plan, p.10.
- 3. S. Jebanesan, op.cit., p.63.
- 4. TRBS, 1839, p.9.
- 5. Ibid., p.10.
- Muhanthiram Kula Sabanathan, "Nevince Sithamparapillai," The Young Hindu—Diamond Jubilee No. 1950, Jaffna Hindu College, Jaffna.
- 7. TRBS, 1827, p.4.
- 8. RADR, p.15.
- 9. TRBS, 1827, p.24.
- 10. M.H., April 1832, p.104.
- 11. M.H., March 1830, p. 71
- 12. M.H., December 1831, p. 373.
- Jaffna Religious Tract Society, General Series, No.6, 6th Edition, 1843, American Ceylon Press, Jaffna. Daniel Poor mentioned about his tracts to the Brahmins in the M.H. also. M.H., January 1828, p.72.
- "Samaya Parichchai."—Robert Bren written by Jeremiah Evarts Kanagasabaipillai, 1st edition 1858, 2nd edition 1870, Church Mission Press, Palayankoddai.
 - Kristhamatha Athachchikal," T.P. Hunt, S.P. C.F. Press, Madras, 1899.
- K. Indrapala, "The American Contribution to the Modernisation of Tamil Studies: The Work of Daniel Poor and his Colleagues," <u>Jaffna College</u> <u>Miscellany</u>, Centenary Publication, 1981, p.95.
- 16. M.H., January 1855, p.168.

- The Tattuva Kattalai, Siva Gnana Potham and Siva Pirakasam Treatises of Hindo Philosophy. Translated from the Tamul with Introduction and Notes, 1854, H.R. Hoisington. New Haven: Printed by B.L. Hamlen Printer to Yale College, 1854.
- The Bibliotheca Sacra No. xxxiv and American Biblical Repository No. lxxxvi, April 1852, Article 1.
 "India as a field for inquiry and evangelical Labour," by H.R. Hoisington, Missionary of the Board.
 "Brief Notes on the Tamil Language," Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. III, 1853, p.390.
- 19. Damas Malone(Ed.), Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. 9, p.93.
- 20. C.D. Veluppillai, op.cit., p.152.
- A. Sathasivampillai, "Pavalar Charithira Theepaham," Strong & Ashbury Press, 1886, p.92.
- 22. TRBS, 1843, p.2.
- The Report of the Anderson Commission is given in the Appendix of this study.
- 24. J.V. Chelliah, op.cit., p.66.
- "Voted that Brother Meigs be appointed to instruct Miss Mary Twisleton and also Gabriel Tissera," Minutes, 4-4-1816.
- 26. Minutes, 22-2-1838.
- Report of the American Ceylon Mission for 1852, American Ceylon Mission Press, 1852, p.43.
- 28. Arnold Sathasivampillai, op.cit., p.123.
- 29. Report of the American Ceylon Mission for 1852, pp. 49-56.
- 30. C. Andrew; Henry Martyn; St. Joseph's Catholic Press, Jaffna, 1926, p.20.
- 31. Ibid., p.21.
- 32. Cumaraswamipulavar, "History of Tamil Poets" (Tamil), 1816, p.123.
- 33. J. James Martyn, "Life and Times of C.W. Kathiravetpillai," 1904, p.20.
- 34. Arnold Sathasivampillai, op.cit., p.254.
- 35. S. Jebanesan, op.cit., p.27.
- 36. HRH Letters
- 37. M.H., August 1834, p.293.
- 38. Ibid., p.294.

- 39. The Plan, p.4
- 40. Rev. T.J. Twisleton and Rev. Armour were colonial chaplains.
- 41. M.H., April 1817, p.176.
- 42. M.H., January 1818, p.34.
- 43. At the International Missionary Conference of 1910, 'Comity Rule' was accepted in principle. It restricts activities of a Mission Board in a particular geographical area to avoid rivalry and sheep-stealing.
- 44. Minutes, 28-02-1833.
- 45. Minutes, 18-09-1834.
- 46. Minutes, 04-04-1834.
- 47. Minutes, 02-01-1834.
- 48. The Plan, p.10.
- 49. M.H., May 1824, p.145.
- 50. Minutes, 10-04-1851.
- 51. TRBS, 1839, p.19.
- 52. See a brief account of Tamil Authors and their works in the Appendix.
- 53. A sketch of the American Ceylon Mission from its commencement in 1816 to the close of 1846, p.33.
- 54. Minutes, 13-02-1828.
- 55. A sketch of the American Ceylon Mission from its commencement in 1816 to the close of 1846, p.36.
- 56. TRBS, 1843, p.5.
- 57. HRH Letters
- 58. J.V. Chelliah, op.cit., p.46.
- Miron Winslow had mentioned that George Koch, A Dutch descendant studied medicine under John Scudder, Winslow Diary, p.179.
- The Outline Map of Jaffna Peninsula, released by the American Missionaries in 1831, is given in the Appendix.
- These Statistics were tabulated from the Triennial Report of the Batticotta Seminary of 1839.
- 62. These statistics were tabulated from a sketch of the American Ceylon Mission from its commencement in 1816 to the end of 1846.
- These statistics were also collected from a sketch of the American Ceylon Mission from its commencement in 1816 to the end of 1846.

- 64. The Plan, p.10.
- 65. TRBS, 1827, p.4.
- 66. Minutes, 22-07-1823.
- 67. TRBS, 1839, p.5.
- 68. M.H., May 1824.
- 69. TRBS, 1839, pp.40-43.
- Cumaraswamy Mudaliyar Kathiravelu, Ponnambalam Sinnakuddy, and Kanthappar Arunasalam did not change their names.
- 71. Minutes, 03-05-1838.
- 72. Minutes, 21-01-1853.
- 73. RADR, p.112.
- 74. Ibid., p.112.
- 75. The Vithianubala Press of Arumuga Navalar was established in 1850.
- 76. M.H., May 1851, p.315; M.H., July 1855, p.50.
- 77. RADR, p.62
- 78. Ibid., p.62.
- 79. Winslow Diary, p.355.
- 80. TRBS, 1827, p.6.
- 81. TRBS, 1833, p.8.
- 82. TRBS, 1827, p.7.
- 83. M.H., August 1831, p.239.
- Sir James Emerson Tennent, "Christianity in Ceylon," John Murray, London, 1850, p.178.

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THE CURRICULAR CONTENT OF THE BATTICOTTA SEMINARY

The Batticotta Seminary being the first experiment in providing formal Western Education to an oriental society had to take into account several factors in designing its curriculum and courses. Most of the American missionaries who served in Jaffna had completed their courses of study at the prestigious American Universities like Harvard, Yale and Princeton. It is therefore natural that the syllabuses which they prepared for the Batticotta Seminary were modeled on those of the American University Form from which they graduated. The significant innovations they introduced were in consideration of local needs and circumstances.¹

Medium of Instruction

In the plan for the college, which they had published in 1823, the authors had elaborately stated the need for English as the medium of instruction. In this publication it was stated:

A leading object will be to give native youth of good promise a thorough knowledge of the English Language. The great reason for this is that it will open to them the treasures of European Science and Literature and bring fully before the mind the evidence of Christianity.²

The arguments, which they advanced on favour of English as the medium of instruction are worthy of examination. The idea of establishing a college or an institution of higher learning was largely influenced by the work of the Baptist missionaries of Serampore. In 1818, the Baptist missionaries who published a prospectus setting forth the plan and objectives of the institution they intended to establish in Serampore advanced the reasons for adapting Bengali as the medium of instruction. American missionaries considered these arguments carefully and came to the conclusion that they had no relevance to the situation in Jaffna.³

The arguments adduced by the American missionaries in favour of English were basically similar to the ideas of Thomas Macaulay who laid the guidelines of education policy in India. Macaulay said:

I have not yet found an Orientalist who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia.⁴

The American missionaries also expressed their ideas on this matter in the same tone. In "The Plan," we see the echo of Macaulay's guidelines:

Were all that is valuable in history in the arts, in metaphysics, ethics, law, physics and divinity which is found in all the languages of Eastern Asia living and dead put in the balance with what is contained in English on the same subjects or in any other calculated, really to enlarge the mind and from it to correct and manly thought the treasures even of a small, but select English library, such as a native might read would outweigh them all.⁵

It should, however, be noted that the objective of the American missionaries in advocating the cause of English as the medium of instruction was fundamentally different from that of Macaulay. Macaulay was of the firm conviction that oriental culture and studies were an impediment to modernization, which in his view amounted to Westernization.

The American Missionaries however do not seem to have intended to Anglicize Jaffna Society. From the very beginning it would seem that they were opposed to such a change. The sentiments expressed by Samuel Green in one of his letters provides some indication of the extent to which the American Missionaries were opposed to the process of Anglicization. He wrote:

I begin to think that the change here will be from a waist cloth to pants, from a scarf to a coat, from a turban to a hat, from vegetarianism to carnivores from a hut to a house and so on till many while unchristianized may be denationalized. I would rather here see Christian Hindus than Hindus Europeanized.⁶

These missionaries who were under the spell of eighteenth century liberalism did not want to destroy the values of traditional culture. But they firmly believed that it was only through English education that the native society could be sufficiently enlightened. They, therefore, rejected the ideas of Serampore Missionaries in relation to the medium of instruction. They were of the view that education in the native language could not confer benefits to Jaffna Society although the case was slightly different in respect of India.

This seems to give the impression that Gujarati & Marathi were more developed than Tamil in (a) printing & (b) books. The general belief is that Tamil was most exposed to the print medium in the Indian Sub Continent more than most of the leading North Indian languages. In "The Plan," they wrote:

In some parts of India where the inhabitants are more of a reading people where they enjoy the advantages of the press, and where the epitomes, if no larger works on European Science are circulated, the case is somewhat different. The treasures of the English are to a small extent transferred to the native languages. Owing to this no doubt and considering the facilities they have for further enriching the common dialects from stores

of European learning the venerable missionaries at Serampore have seemed to disparage English studies for natives.⁷

They attributed the lack of mental and intellectual development among the Tamils to their unaquaintance with English Education. They formed such an opinion about the Tamil people and their literature owing to several reasons. Although they recognized that Tamil was of great antiquity like Greek, Sanskrit and Hebrew they had no opportunity of familiarizing themselves with Tamil literature of high quality or with men of learning of scholarship. Tamil scholars refrained from having any contact with the missionaries. It was also not possible for the missionaries to obtain manuscript copies of Tamil texts. It was only in course of time that they were able to gain some knowledge about Tamil literature. Daniel Poor, for instance, was able to procure a copy of a Tamil astronomical work only in 1829 after a period of thirteen years sojourn in Jaffna. It is interesting to learn that the person who sold the manuscript to him made the request that the transaction should be kept a secret.8 In 1835, Daniel Poor had the chance to study "Agatiarpadal" (அகத்தியர் யாடல்), about which he had a high opinion and expressed great appreciation. While referring to this, he said:

Last evening at my usual meeting in Santilipay I had Akuttiar's 30 songs sung. He is said to be one of the most learned if not the most so of the Tamil race. The credit of being the author of the Tamil language is ascribed to him. It is said that he is still alive in some distant country. According to report he is one span in height. I regret very much that I did not come into possession of his songs until very late, as several of them convey sentiments strictly in unison with the doctrines we preach.⁹

Of special interest are the views of H.R. Hoisington, Principal of the Batticotta Seminary (1836–1849) on Thirukkural:

Introduced today into the first class, the Kural, one of the most eminent moral poems of India. It contained the chief doctrine of the Vedas This we design as the highest Tamil classic.¹⁰

Although they became appreciative of the quality of Tamil literature after gaining some acquaintance with it, at the beginning of their career in Jaffna, it looks they view Tamil with some intellectual disdain.

Western Culture and Science

In order to realize the objectives of their institution they made provision for teaching Western Culture and Science to their students. Until the mid-nineteenth century generally all the Missionaries serving throughout the world were of the firm belief that the inculcation of Western Culture and Science would facilitate the progress of evangelism. Although rationalism had its impact in early nineteenth century, the theories developed by Lyell and Darwin, who shook the foundations of Biblical Cosmology had not extended much influence in western society. Lyell's Principles of Geology was published in 1833. "The Origins of Species" and "The Genealogy of Man" by Charles Darwin were published respectively in 1859 and 1871. Before the ideas incorporated in these works had permeated to the full Western thought, it was believed by the Missionaries that Western Science would be a useful medium for serving the needs of Christian missionary enterprise. The American Missionaries made the following observations about their expectations:

The light of erudition and science is always favorable to Christianity. It courts inquiry and the more it is the wider will it be disseminated.¹¹

As for the subjects to be instructed at the Seminary it was planned that the first students would be taught Tamil and English language. Students would be taught mathematics, Science and Western Culture in the 2^{nd} , 3^{rd} , 4^{th} , 5^{th} and 6^{th} years. Although languages were not taught in Western Colleges in the first year the American Missionaries strongly felt that the beginners should acquire competence to write and express effectively. The curriculum, which they prepared for the institution, is as follows:

Studies: 1st year:

Tamil poetry, Select English Authors

Translating English into Tamil and

Tamil into English.

2nd year:

Arithmetic, Geography and Chronology

and Abridged History

3rd year :

Rhetoric, Mathematics, Geography

and Natural History.

4th year:

Natural Philosophy, Chemistry and Mineralogy.

5th year:

Astronomy, General History and Logic.

6th year:

Philosophy of the Mind, Evidence of

Christianity.

Natural and Revealed Religion. 12

Tamil Studies

Although the missionaries were very keen in putting to effect this scheme of education, they were equally concerned with teaching of Tamil. Of course, it is true that their immediate concern was imparting a knowledge of English, which in their opinion would provide the intellectual framework within which they perceived and understood the work. However, the need for learning Tamil was not far off that they very diligently planned the study of Tamil language and its literature and intellectual heritage.

They made the following observations about the Tamil Language:

> To maintain any good degree of respect among the native inhabitants it is necessary to understand their literature. The Tamil language, like Sanskrit, Hebrew, Greek and etc., is an original and perfect language and is in itself highly worthy of cultivation. 13

The earliest stations established abroad by the American missionaries were in Tamil Nadu. The American missionaries established themselves in Jaffna with the hope of evangelizing the entire Tamil society including the one in South India. It, therefore, became necessary for the missionaries to acquire a sound knowledge of the Tamil language. It was thought such an attainment would enable them to get acquainted with the people and would facilitate the process of evangelization. As it was indispensable for the missionaries to gain some knowledge of the culture, religion and heritage of the Tamils, they were eager to learn the Tamil Language in its spoken and literary forms.

Although they attached a great deal of importance to English education, they were under the strong conviction that Christianity should be indigenized. They were inclined to foster the development of an indigenous Christian literary tradition and theology based on local cultural conditions.

They felt the need for raising a Christian elite well acquainted with and proficient in the Tamil language. They also made efforts to train men and women on these lines and expressed their feelings about their objectives in this matter forthrightly. They observed:

It is common to find among Tamil people men who can read correctly, who understand to some extent the poetic language and bale, perhaps to form a kind of artificial verse, who yet cannot write a single page of correct prose. Indeed with very few exceptions nothing is written in this "Iron Age." All agree in looking to their ancestors for books, which were composed as they imagine under a kind of inspiration and have a greater degree of sanctify from being quite unintelligible to the common people. One effect of this is that few books are read and fewer still understood. Those put into the hands of boys at school are so far above their comprehension that they learn the words without attaching the least meaning to them whateverto

sacred scriptures by forming a reading population (an object of vast interest) the attention of many must be turned to writing intelligibly and forcibly in their own language. ¹⁴

They were of the opinion that the books in Tamil expounding the principles of Western Science should be made available to the public. For this purpose it was felt that persons competent for this task should be trained. They said:

Original native composition on account of the superior felicity of its style idiom will be read when the production of a foreigner or a translation will be thrown aside. To raise up therefore and qualify a class of native authors whose minds being enriched by science may be capable not only of embodying European ideas but of putting them into a handsome native dress must be rendering most important aid to the interest of learning and Christianity.¹⁵

They undoubtedly had certain well-defined objectives in formulating their scheme of higher education and although they anticipated some practical problems in its implementation they were of the conviction that their scheme would provide avenues for evangelization. They observed:

That all the students will be able to make great advance in most of those different branches is not supposed. But those many will thereby obtain an expansion of mind, the power of receiving and originating thought who would not only free them from the shackles of superstition, but enable them to guide others also, is not only hoped but confidently believed. ¹⁶

The American missionaries also planned to raise indigenous clergymen through their scheme of education. However, they did not make provision for separate course for church ministerial candidates and others. All had to follow one and the same course of study. It was anticipated that prospective candidates for ministry could be given further instruction in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Sanskrit and Hindu Astronomy.

The scheme of education that was formulated in the Plan for the college was substantially modified almost from the very beginning in response to environmental conditions in Jaffna and social needs. It was only by 1831 that the curricula for the courses attained a definite form. In course of time steps were taken to provide classes in certain subjects, which were not included in the original scheme. Subjects like Hindu Astronomy and Hindu Mathematics began to occupy an important position in the courses of study.

Instruction in English was accounted for about two thirds of the time allocated for studies while the rest of the time was taken for instruction in Tamil.

However, from the very beginning there was controversy about the medium of instruction. Although the parent society viz., Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, was in support of the view that education should be in the medium of the native language, the missionaries stationed in Jaffna were strongly convinced that instruction should be provided in the English language.

By 1833, it was found that the students in Jaffna had developed a great interest for English education. Although missionaries exposed the cause of English Education they wanted to cultivate Tamil Studies for two obvious reasons.

The first was that they wanted to acquaint themselves with the principal texts in Tamil literature, and the other was that they could command the respect of the local population only with a sound knowledge and understanding of the Tamil language and its literary and cultural traditions. The recommendations of the Colebrooke Commission (1833) in matters relating to education provided an impetus to the cause of English education, and probably contributed to the neglect of Tamil studies by the missionaries and their students. The parent society in Boston did not extend full support to the policy adapted by the local missionaries in favour of English education. They desired that all

subjects should be taught in the Tamil language as they were apprehensive that those who received instruction in English would be tempted to seek employment provided by the agencies of the government. The local missionaries were therefore obliged to communicate with the mission headquarters regularly in defence of their standpoint. This controversy became most acute when Rufus Anderson became the Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. He was of the view that those who received English education would enter government service and would never be contended with employment under the establishments of the missions with low rates of remuneration. He, therefore, insisted that at least a specified number of the students at the Seminary should be provided instruction in Tamil. In this context it may be mentioned here that the controversy regarding the medium of instruction was a principal cause for the closure of the Seminary in 1855. Rufus Anderson, in his report recommending the closing of the Seminary, wrote:

It has also tended to draw the most promising pupils from the village English Schools and unfit them in some respects to return and obtain a livelihood among their own people. By their education they are so much elevated above the masses, that they feel unable to live on their income they would receive in the ordinary occupation of the country.¹⁷

THE TEXT BOOKS USED AT THE SEMINARY

The books that were recommended for use at the Batticotta Seminary provided an indication of the educational and religious background of the men who founded it and the values they wanted to inculcate among the young men who came under their guidance. The bibliography prescribed by the University of Harvard was the main source of inspiration to these men. ¹⁸ A list of books prescribed for the Science Course is incorporated in the Triennial Report of the Seminary published in 1830. On the basis of the books that were used, it could be claimed that the standard of education at the Seminary was comparable to that of

contemporary European Universities. The Tamil texts taught at the Seminary were increased in numbers in course of time. As the mission-aries gradually began to acquire an increasing knowledge of Tamil literature, the list of Tamil books were revised from time to time and new items were included in it.

In the original plan, Tamil studies as envisaged consisted of instruction on Tamil poetry, translation from English into Tamil and translation from Tamil into English. But during the first three years of the existence of the seminary it appears that only translation was taught to the students.

In relation to the Tamil studies, the Triennial Report of the Batticotta Seminary for 1823 makes reference to the study of translations only. The Tamil course consisted of the explanation for certain concepts of English and the translation of the English lectures into Tamil. The third year students were given exercises in translation from English into Tamil. The second year students do not seem to have followed any course in Tamil, but by 1830 this situation had changed considerably. By that time a definite attempt was made to encourage the study of the most important works in Tamil Literature. The Triennial Report of 1830 provides a list of Tamil works that were taught at the Seminary and this suggests that the missionaries had by that time acquired a competence to learn and provide instruction on the themes of literary works.

The following books are listed in that report:

An abridgement in prose of Nannool, the stand Grammar of the poetic dialect with an application of its principles in analyzing Auveiyar and Moothurai.

Nannool itself accompanied with copious explanations and illustrations from standard authors.

Thiruvalluvar Cural, a work on moral subjects. Some parts of Scanda Purana.

Tatwa Kattalai, which treats of the constituent parts and functions of the human body and a native system of arithmetic. Arithmetic well deserves the student's attention though he may be acquainted with the European system. It contains many useful tables both in integers and fractions and some important rules in menstruation and other branches expressed in a laconic poetical manner by which they are easily retained in memory for practical purpose. ¹⁹

The Triennial Report of 1833 says that the examinations were conducted in Skanda Purana, Coorma Purana and Ramayanan. The Triennial Report of 1839 says that the students in all the grades were given instruction on "Nigandoo."

Like other Protestant missionaries working in Jaffna, the American missionaries also had to encounter opposition from the Saivaites. The Saivaite scholars published books condemning the activities of the missionaries and the tenets of Christianity. Such polemical writings were studied by the students at the Seminary and the earliest among the tracts published by the Saivaites denouncing Christianity and the evangelical work of the missionaries was it appears that this work was studied in detail at the Seminary.

In the eighteen forties, the polemical tracts produced by the Saivaites were also included in the course of instruction. The mission-aries who considered that a deep knowledge of Tamil and an analytical approach to the study of its literature was very vital, made efforts to teach the language and its literary tradition in accordance with the teaching methods developed in the West. However, in this attempt, they encountered stubborn opposition from the students and native teachers.

The Triennial Report of 1830 says:

It has from the beginning been considered an important object to introduce a more rational method of teaching". TAMIL, than that pursued in the Native schools and also to displace by works of real utility, those extravagant and immoral fictions of the poets which are studied by all here who make any pretensions to learning and which are held in high estimation by the people. It was at once evident, however, that no innovations could be effected without much patient and persevering effort. At first indeed it was necessary to make a compromise, and to proceed in some respects according to the native system introducing the new course only in parts and by degree; but continued effort has at length brought the department more under control.

Commenting on the traditional methods of learning Tamil, H.R. Hoisington (Principal 1835–1846) says:

The experience of this term gives a decided testimony in favour of a general room for study, in which all the classes are brought together and made to study silently. This custom is but six months old in the district and this is the only example of the country to which this is opposed, is to have but one room for study and recitation and for each and all to study with a loud voice. The usual mode of study is merely to commit to memory words and phrases. Our present course while it does not lessen the ability to commit to memory to found, make study more strictly the business of the intellect. To make more thorough an indepen dent scholar and at the same time. To exert a most salutary influence on all as to habit of punctuality and regularity. ²⁰

It was the objective of the missionaries to provide facilities for the study of science in the best possible manner, as circumstances should permit. It is undeniable that the faith in traditional religious beliefs among the students who studied Puranic Literature with Western Science was

who graduated from the Seminary in 1850 had his daughter's wedding solemnized on the eighth day after new moon (Addami) considered traditionally as very inauspicious by the Hindus.

RHETORIC AND COMPOSITION

Rhetoric and composition were accorded an important place in the curriculum of studies at the Batticotta Seminary. Although the Puranas were recited with explanatory comments at Hindu temples regularly, the Hindus had not cultivated the tradition of delivering discourses on selected themes with logical sequence and coherence.

As oratorical skill was an important requisite for those who were engaged in the task of preaching Christianity, special attention was paid to the cultivation of oratorical skill at the Seminary. They conducted regular classes on rhetoric and composition, and at the end of the course the candidates had to sit for an examination. The lectures delivered at the Seminary by the students after careful preparation and study were published in the "Morning Star" and "The Missionary Herald" and were widely read in Jaffna and abroad. When the rival religious groups were engaged in controversies, rhetoric became one of their principal instruments.

The cultivation of the art of Tamil composition was one of the principal objectives of the inauguration of Tamil studies at the Seminary. The missionaries provided a very good training to their students to write accounts about subjects relating to Science, Astronomy, Religion and Geography. The essays and compositions were written by the missionaries and the native teachers.

EXAMINATIONS HELD BY THE SEMINARY

The examinations conducted at the Seminary on Tamil and other subjects had the effect of stimulation of the intellectual powers of the students. Although the Tamils had an ancient tradition of education they never had a tradition of systematic examinations.

The American Missionaries had many aims in conducting examinations. So far as the missionaries were concerned the principal objectives in conducting examinations were:

- To asses the education attainments of students
- To impress upon the native scholars the standard attained by the students in Tamil Studies
- To demonstrate to the British Officials the high standard of education provided by the seminary.
- 4) To effectively propagate the principles of Christianity

The American missionaries have written detailed notes about the examinations they conducted. In the Plan of their college, they clearly defined the principles to be adopted in conducting the examinations.²¹

IX examinations — there shall be a private examination of which class half yearly by the instructors of the college, and publicly oncee ach year before the Governors and visitors, at which such prizes shall be given to the two higher classes, as the funds of the Institution may allow and circumstances render desirable.

Examinations of the seminary were conducted in the presence of scholars of attainment and officers of high standard. The Tamil examinations were held in the presence of recognized native scholars and English examinations were normally conducted in the presence of British Civil Servants. The theme selected for essays and speeches were done with a view to emphasize the validity of Christian principles. For the examinations held in 1826, the students were asked to write essays on varied subjects. About the examinations held in September 1827, the following account is given in the Triennial Report.²²

Examinations — Besides private examinations, by the visiting Committee, there have been, since the date of the 1st report,

four public examinations; two in the English and two in the Tamil language. The first in English was held on the 7th of September 1827. The three lower classes were examined in different parts of Common Arithmetic, English Grammar, Geography, the Principles of projecting Maps, and First lessons in Astronomy. The first class was examined in Algebra, through Quadratic Equations, in the first two books of Euclid's Elements of Geometry – and Porteus's Evidences of Christianity. The examination was held immediately after the session of the Supreme Court, at Jaffnapatnam. The Chief Justice with several other gentlemen, of the Civil and Military Service, as were as the Missionaries in attendance. In the course of the ensuing week, several letters, expressing a decided approbation of the Institution, and enclosing donations for it, was received by the Principal, from Gentlemen who witnessed the examination.

The other Examination in English, was held the ensuing year, at the same season, and under similar circumstances. As the particulars of this Examination were published in the Madras Government Gazette of Jnuary 1829, no further notice will be taken of it here, than is necessary to present a connected view of the operations of the Institution. The first class, consisting of five members, having finished their course of study, and being about to be honourably dismissed, the examination was principally confined to them. They were examined with a good degree of particularity, in Plane Trigonometry, - Mensuration of Superfices and Solids, - Mechanics, - Pneumatics, - and the Evidences of Christianity.

Much of the time was spent in illustrating, by appropriate experiments, the six mechanical powers, and the six essential properties of the Atmosphere, as given in Blair's Grammar of Natural Philosophy. The principles of the Air Pump, Air Gun, Common Pump, Syphon, Diving Bell, Thermometer, Barometer, Hygrometer, and some other instruments, were explained and

illustrated. At the close of the examination, a member of the Class made a short speech in English, to the audience, closing with a farewell address to his Teachers and classmates. Sir-Richard Ottley, Chief Justice of the Island, who had honoured the Seminary, and greatly encouraged the Conductors of it, by attending three previous examinations, afterwards favoured the Principal with a letter, expressive of his views of the present state and future prospects of the Institution.

The first public Examination in Tamul, since the last Report, was in June 1827. Besides the ordinary studies in this language, the Third Class were examined in the Native and European Systems of fractions; and the superiority of the latter was illustrated by the comparative facility of solving questions, which, when wrought by the former system, require very protracted operations. The same Class were examined in Geography, translated into Tamul, from a short treatise in English.

The Second Class exhibited a variety of Maps in Tamul, which were distributed among the more intelligent of the Spectators.

The First Class were examined in some of the more important practical parts of Geometry, and in the first principles of Astronomy; especially on the subject of Eclipses, showing their nature, and the method of calculating the mean time of their occurrence. All in the Seminary were then examined in Scripture, History and Chronology.

The other Examination in Tamul was held in April 1829, and is more particularly worthy of notice, on account of the excitement it produced among the best informed natives of the vicinity. Though the several Classes were prepared to be examined, as usual, in various branches of study, the whole day was spent in attending to the dissertations and illustrations exhibited on the following subjects:

- On the method of ascertaining the distances and magnitudes of the Sun. Moon, and Planets.
- A comparison in several important points of the Hindoo System of Astronomy, as taught in this District with the European System.
- 3. A dissertation on the importance of a knowledge of the English Language, as a medium of acquaintance with the contents of Tamul books in the high language, illustrated by a reference to the Asiatic Researches, and other publications in English on Hindoo Literature.
- An account of the creation of the world and of the first man and woman, also of the flood, from two of the Vedas and from Bhagavat, the seventh of the eighteen Puranas.
- Answers to two important questions suggested by the foregoing accounts.
- 6. A dissertation on the six mechanical powers, illustrated by the experiments
- A dissertation on the nature and properties of the Atmosphere, illustrated by experiments.

The subjects, thus brought forward were not only attended to with interest, but excited a very considerable spirit of inquiry, and many doubts as to the truth of the Native Systems.

It should be noted at the public examinations held in that year official of the British government and missionaries of other Protestant denominations were present. The missionaries wanted to demonstrate the superiority and validity of Western Sciences. They were asked to show that western mathematical system was easy for comprehension and far more advanced than its oriental counterpart. The Triennial Report of the Batticotta Seminary of 1829 claims that the Tamil examinations held in that year created a great deal of sensation in society. The sketches and analytical discourse exhibited by the students stimulated great interest among the native scholars in the neighborhood. That

such examinations provided an impetus to a critical approach to the subjects of study and led to doubts regarding the validity of local traditions and created an enthusiasm among those who viewed these proceedings.

In 1833, the members of the Colebrooke were present at the annual examination of the Seminary. At subsequent years Wilmot Horton the Governor of the Island, James Emerson Tenant the Colonial Secretary of the Island and Reginald Heber Bishop of Calcutta were among the notable personalities who were invited to be present at the annual examination.²³

On the 15th of April 1830, the Seminary was favoured with a visit from the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, with several other gentle men. The Bishop spent the greater part of a day, in examining the members of the Preparatory School and Seminary, confining himself, with the exception of Euclid and some branches of Mathematics, to Scrip ture Lessons, the Evidences of Christianity, and other kindred Subjects. At the close, His Lordship expressed in gratifying terms, the pleasure he had experienced, in the course of the examination. Encouraged the students to persevere in their studies, and intimatedn his intention to bestow some benefaction upon the Institution, which would not only perpetuate the remembrance of his visit to it, but be a testimony of his cordial approbation of the principles on which it is conducted. The lamented death of this worthy prelate, which occurred soon after, prevented the fulfillment of his generous purpose.

The standard examinations testify to the deep concern and the untiring effort of the missionaries in their attempt to improve the quality of education they provided at the Seminary. At a time when the universities had not come into existence the American missionaries who were denied the benefit of a charter for founding a college had by necessity to invite eminent scholars and high official for the examinations and this was a most remarkable effort which effectively helped to earn wide recognition for the Institution and enhanced its reputation.

The curriculum and course of study at the Batticotta Seminary had the effect of producing a literary ferment in Jaffna Society. There was an encounter between the indigenous literary and cultural traditions with the educational thought and cultural values of the American missionaries, which were inspired by Puritanism of the sixteenth century England.

The Missionaries introduced into the local society some elements of the highly developed educational system of the Western world. Although the educational background of Jaffna was sound, the native scholars showed utmost reluctance in establishing contacts with missionaries. At the beginning, therefore, the missionaries could nor perceive the antiquity and the high quality of the Tamil Literature traditions. But in course of time, they were able to gain some knowledge about these matters and became appreciative of them. Although they remained firm in their conviction that oriental religions were heathen, yet, they discovered vital facts about the oriental culture, art and society. The Science education provided at the Seminary had the effect of making the local students recognizing some of the fundamental weaknesses in their tradition.

The Missionaries inaugurated a system of education which inculcated a scientific outlook and a spirit of inquiry among our people.

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6

PUBLICATIONS

The Government Officials, Soldiers and Missionaries who were serving in the Tamil Districts showed a keen in studying the Tamil Language. Fort St. George College was established in Chennai in 1812 for the specific purpose of teaching Tamil to the British Officials.¹

The American Missionaries who came to Jaffna were keen to study the Tamil Language for certain compelling reasons, which had already been referred to in the earlier chapter. It appears that the American Missionaries were very much inclined towards indigenizing Christianity. They chose Jaffna as the mission field with the objective of converting the Tamil people to Christianity. As most of the American Missionaries had undergone University education, their learning of Tamil was understandably wide and deep, which enabled them to bring forth into Tamil ideas and areas that ultimately helped to modernize Tamils.

The Christian Missionaries had come to the Tamil Nadu (India) as early as the sixteenth century and those missionary men published books in Tamil during that period. The pioneer missionaries made the mistake of identifying Christianity with Western civilization. They, therefore, could not establish contacts with the indigenous elate. In this context it is relevant to recall the observations of S. Arasaratnam:

In so far as they confronted Indian culture and Indian ways of life there could only be one way to resolve this confrontation – by a total anihilation of this culture. Christianity was the Parangi Markam and to become a Christian was Parangi Kulam Pukuthal. In fact in the potted Tamil that the missionaries used in parrot, like fashion in their dealing with the people the question do you wish to become a Christian, was translated as Parangi Kulam Puka Venuma?²

Even though Father Beschi and De Nobile made attempts to deviate from this tradition, Tamil scholars and poets steered clear of Christian Missions.

Distinctive characteristics of the American Mission

As the American Mission established educational institutions for advancing the cause of Christian evangelism they were able to establish contact with some of the indigenous elites. On account of this development they were able to make a significant contribution to the study and development of Tamil Literature. The American Missionaries serving in Jaffna had extensive opportunities to learn Tamil and to mix more freely with Tamils from all walks of life. This was not so in the case of the Western Missionaries working in Tamil Nadu, the reign was very vast.

Casteism was much more rigid in South India than in Jaffna. In an essay written in 1854, the American Missionaries stated that the caste based social structure in Jaffna was more flexible than the one found in South India and was relatively free of the many iniquities inherent in the system.³ Even in the College Plan they published in 1823 they had observed that caste rules were much less rigid in Jaffna in comparison to South India.⁴ Although the local elates and people of rank refrained from associating with the Missionaries, in course of time they established contacts with them on account of their desire for English education.

The people of high rank could retain their social and kinship connection with the native people even after becoming Christian converts. Such a situation was strongly disapproved by Arumuga Navalar. He regretfully wrote:

In India even among the low castes when one embraces Christianity neither his father nor his mother nor his brothers or sisters would eat with him or at his house or in his presence. He will be made an outcaste and ostracized even by his own family. They will not attend auspicious or inauspicious functions at his house. Even if a Christian happens to be a Brahmin, even a Saivaite Paraiyah will not eat from him. But here in Jaffna with the exception of Brahmins or orthodox Saivaites, other ordinary Saivaites contract marriages and dine with Christian converts and permit, them to enter temples. On account of these practices the Saivaites and Vaishnavites of India are contemptious of the people-in Jaffna. Such indignity cannot be endured by people with any sense of self respect.⁵

Because of the close relationship and the inter-cultural encounter between the American Missionaries and the Jaffna elite there was a much more favourable climate in Jaffna than in South India for an awakening based on a knowledge of the Western Education System. In South India, the Missionaries had established relationship with the downtrodden, lowly and the lost. Christianity no doubt attracted some persons of even high social status in India. One such convert was H.A. Krishnapillai, belonging to the high agriculturist caste. He was attracted to Christianity after reading the tract called "ARULAVATHARAM" written by Peter Percival, a Weslyan Missionary who served in Jaffna.⁶

As the American Missionaries had University training they applied modern western methods of inquiry and analysis to the learning of Tamil language and Literature. They engaged themselves in the task of collecting Tamil Ola

Manuscripts, established an academy for the promotion of Tamil studies and libraries. They began to interest themselves in the study of the etymology of the language.

When the American Missionaries came to the Island, printed books in Tamil were almost unavailable. The Tamil books, which they collected, were all in manuscript form. Even the tracts which they themselves produced, were written on Palm Leaf.

In the early state of mission labours little was done in this way. The first attempt was to have passages of scripture copied on the Ola and distributed among the people.⁷

Joseph Knight of the Church Missionary Society established a library for storing Tamil manuscripts. He went on furlough to England in 1838 and two years later he died on his way back to Sri Lanka. His entire collection of manuscripts were later purchased by the American Missionaries.

Brother Spaulding to be authorized to purchase for the Mission the old books belonging to the Rev. Joseph Knight.⁸

The Missionaries attached to the Seminary were painstaking in their efforts to build up a collection of manuscript at that Institution. Commenting on the collection of manuscripts, they wrote:

The Mission Library which is devoted to the use of the teachers and students as far as necessary consists of more than 600 volumes (besides class books procured for the students) in general well selected. Some little progress has also been made, in collecting native books thought in regard to these and other works connected with Oriental Literature, the Library is still very deficient. And any of them would be most thankfully received.⁹

The Tamil manuscripts available at the Batticotta Seminary in 1831 was listed as follows:

An abridgement in prose of Nannool the standard grammar of the poetic dialect with an application of its principles in analyzing Auveiyar and Moothurai – Nannool itself accompanied with copious explanations and illustrations from standard authors – Thiruvalluvar Cural a work on moral subjects some parts of Scanda Purana Tattuva Kattalai which treats the constituent parts and functions of the human body and native system of Arithmetic. ¹⁰

It was the experience of the Missionaries that it was difficult to obtain manuscripts and still more difficult to maintain them in good state of presentation once they have been obtained. B.C. Meigs in a letter in 1830 laments:

Have spent all the time I could command for several days past in arranging labelling and making new catalogue of our Public Library. Books in order to be preserved in this country from the effects of the heat and moisture of the atmosphere as well as from the numerous insects that eat them require a great deal of care and attention. The Library consists of 600 volumes many of which are valuable and scarce works.¹¹

It could reasonably be inferred that in 1852 the American Missionaries had a collection of 136 Tamil books in their library. Only 136 books are listed in the catalogue made by Levi Spaulding in 1852, $^{\rm 12}$ It is evident that he had gone through and studied all these texts.

Printed Books

It would appear also that Missionaries obtained also books printed and published in South India. A letter, published in 1818 in the "Missionary Herald," states:

Our long expected Tamil books have arrived from Madras. We obtained them from the Rev. Mr. Paezold of Vepery who is the only person who has them for sale four very thin

quarto volumes, we have been obliged to pay the exorbitant price of 52 Spanish dollars. 13

In 1817, a sum of Spanish dollars 12 was paid as rent for a very spacious house in Jaffna.

Immediately on our arrival we obtained a commodious house for \$ 12 per month which is very convenient four our large families. 14

It is difficult to ascertain the books that were brought down from India for the Missionaries. These were probably the ones, which were printed and published by the Christian Missionaries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the opinion of Mylai Seeni Venkatasamy it was only after 1835 local scholars were permitted to print books. 15

The Tamil Academy of the Missionaries

In 1821, the Missionaries established a Tamil Academy for the purpose of promoting their knowledge of the Tamil language. The American Missionaries and other Protestant Missionaries working in Jaffna became member of this Academy. The Academy had a library of its own.

The Academy was convened twice a month and at its meetings Missionaries learnt Tamil pronunciations and Tamil idiomatic usage. Such meetings were useful for improving the knowledge in Tamil and of developing a uniform standard of orthography.

Attended the Tamil Society meeting today at Nallore. This society has been four years in existence and has been useful. The object is for the members consisting of all the missions in the district to assist each other in the acquisition of the Tamil language. For this purpose we have formed a small library and we meet once a month. At these meetings we preach in Tamil alternately read and translate portions of Tamil bring idiomatic

phrases – correct each other's pronunciation, make critical remarks on the sermon preached – prepared tracts, to be printed and take measures as far as possible to secure a uniformity in Orthography¹⁶

Contributions to the Progress of Tamil Studies

The furtherance of the course of Tamil studies and printed publications was one of the principal objectives of the Executive Committee of the American Ceylon Mission.

The Executive Committee of the Mission authorized Rev. H.R. Hoisington, the Principal of the Seminary in 1840 to make further allocations for the study of Tamil Literature and Scientific knowledge of Tamil.

Resolved that Brother Hoisington is authorized to continue his expenditures for procuring information respecting Tamil literature and Sciences.¹⁷

In 1841, the books belonging to Seminary's native teacher Wiseborn Volk were cast into a well by some miscreants. The Executive Committee of the American Ceylon Mission made an allocation specifically for helping Mr. Volk to recover the books that he had lost.

Voted that the expense of repairing Wiseborn Volk's books which were damaged by being thrown into the well by some malicious persons be borne by the Mission. ¹⁸

The American Mission Assessments of Tamil Literature

The American Missionaries had studied the Tamil language for a period of about 100 years. Their impressions of Tamil literature depended on the depth of their experience and the degree of knowledge they were able to acquire in accordance with the opportunities available to them. The Pioneer Missionaries believed that the Tamil had no literature. At a later stage they were of the view that it was submerged with false beliefs

and superstitions. They have also stated that it was impossible to inculcate high ideals through that language.

There is scarcely a word in the Tamil language which does not either in some of its primary meanings or by its association teach Heathenism and so completely pagan is the language that it is hardly capable of being employed as the medium of correct thoughts and feelings. ¹⁹

They had also expressed contradictory views about Tamil language and Literature in the College Plan itself while stating that the Tamilians were bookless. They also asserted that the Tamil language like Sanskrit, Hebrew, Greek etc., is an original and perfect language and it's in itself highly worthy of cultivation. Addressing the American oriented society in 1852, H.R. Hoisington spoke of Tamil in the most commendable terms. He said:

No language can be more concise, copious, pliant, mellifluous than the Shen Tamil. 20

More or less the same idea is expressed by Miron Winslow in his preface to a comprehensive Tamil and English Dictionary. He observed:

It is not perhaps extravagant to say that in its poetic form, the Tamil is more polished and exact than Greek and in both dialects with its borrowed treasures more copious than Latin. In its fullness and power it more resembles English and German than any other living language.²¹

However, it was a time they gained a fairly sound knowledge of Tamil Language and its literary tradition. The opinion, which they formed about Tamil language at the very beginning, was later completely transformed. They have made some important observations about the Tamil literary texts that were used by the Tamil people. Many of their ideas about these works were not modified, that the Tamil Literature was predominantly religious in theme, the Tamil people use the literary works

written during the time of their remote ancestors in prose composition, the Tamil Language has remained totally undeveloped, are the principal views they had about Tamil Literature.

As the American Missionaries came from a society, which was profoundly influenced by rationalism, romanticism, wide learning and scientific outlook they observed very minutely those traits of Tamil literature which were not consistent with their tradition and philosophy. In the nineteenth century, the Romantic Movement gave much impetus and stimulation for men of letters in the West.

The Romantic Movement has already been defined as an escape of the individual from social and literary conventions, a "return to nature," a welcoming back into life of all that was spontaneous and sincere; a reassertion of the right of man to indulge his impulses and emotions, even the wildest and most wayward. This reassertion naturally took two directions: one inward into the heart of common things, which, when looked at closely were found to be full of new meanings.²²

Such bubbling enthusiasm and yearning for literary productions were the outstanding characteristics of Academic life in American Universities. As the Tamil Literature was in contrast with English Literature the Missionaries naturally had a dislike for it. They were very keen that the Tamil Literature should be given a new direction and orientation. For a period of four centuries prior to the arrival of the Westerners Tamil Literature has had its main characteristics, a pronounced conservatism of strong religious ideology. This was noted by many American Missionaries as evident from the observations:

This is especially true among a people like the Tamilians whose ancestral literature is immense in its volumes and variety and exceedingly popular with the people but so debasing in its influence that the true child of God cannot feed upon it and grow in grace. To meet this necessity, the members of this Mission have from its commencement contributed tracts and books as other duties would allow.²³

Therefore, they thought that it was English education which would confer much benefit to the students.

Certainly it cannot be doubted by any who felt the pernicious influence of the Heathen classics.²⁴

Conservatism

Viewed in terms of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Literature in English, Tamil Literature or to be exact, scholarly Tamil Literature was rigidly conservative and very formal in structure and content. This was a feature observable at the level of traditional scholarly writings both in Tamil Nadu and in Ceylon, especially in Jaffna. According to K. Sivathamby the artificiality of Tamil poetry in Jaffna was determined by this circumstance. ²⁵

The missionaries observed that the scholars in the Peninsula who were able to compose formalistic verses in conformity with the rules and writers were unable to produce prose compositions. In the Plan, they said that these scholars "Are able perhaps to form a kind of artificial verse." ²⁶

The lack of prose literature in Tamil was considered by the missionaries as a defect and as something lacking in Tamil Literature. It is quite understandable that they were not familiar with the Prose of the Commentarial Tradition since many of the commentaries were not published by this time and the commentaries would have been also very difficult to grasp. The Prose Literature they had in mind was largely the body of writings that brought forth the Print medium, especially description, argumentative work and Prose fiction. It was believed that prose literature could not develop, as there were no facilities for printing. It took about two centuries after the inauguration of European Colonial Rule for the Tamil people to obtain facilities for printing books and journals.

In 1577, Gonsalves of the order of Jesuits made for the first

time Tamil types at Quilan in Kerala State. But it was not possible for the others to obtain a sufficient quantity of types from the Press he had established. Since 1713, the Press established by Ziegenbalg in Tranqubar was functioning. However, as mentioned earlier, the European Colonial Rulers did not permit the local people to establish printing Presses in any part of India until 1835. In the opinion of Kamil Zvelebil, the impact of printing on Tamil Literature began to be felt only after 1835. He says:

The appearance of printing and paper, the availability of printing to Tamil editors, scholars and original authors after 1835 revolutionized the whole conception, the ways, methods and techniques of writing and was no doubt one of the most decisive external factors in the development of modern prose.²⁷

The Tamil people could not develop prose writing until they had printing facilities. In this connection it is useful to recall the remarks of Miron Winslow. He stated:

Its prose-style is yet in a forming state, and will well repay the labor of accurate scholars in moulding it properly. Many natives who write poetry readily cannot write a page of correct prose. ²⁸

During the last century Subraraya Iyer composed the Vishnu Purana in 6000 elegant and melodious verses, but wrote the introduction in prose with utmost difficulty. He was able to write $1\frac{1}{2}$ pages of it after 8 days of effort. ²⁹

AMERICAN MISSIONARIES AND CHRISTIAN LITERATURE BEFORE THE 19TH CENTURY

Christian Missionaries had come to the Tamil country three centuries prior to the arrival of the American Missionaries. The production of Christian Literature in Tamil had begun in the 1540s. Francis Xavier who came in 1842 makes the following observations about his writings:

As they were as unable to understand my speech as I theirs, I picked out from the crowd several intelligent and educated men and endeavored to find some amongst them who understood both languages, Spanish and Malabarese (sic. Tamil). Then we entered into conference for several days and together translated though with great difficulty, the Catechism into the Malabarese (Tamil) tongue.³⁰

The Tamil Christian Literature, which made its appearance from the time of Francis Xavier was deficient in many respects. In those works one would come across many errors in respect of ideas.

For instance he wrongly uses the expression "I need" in place of "I believe." As they could not find the correct Tamil expressions for Christian terminology they freely used expressions in European languages. The Holy Spirit and Confession were rendered by them respectively as "Espiritu Santu and Confessio."

Thus they deviated from the traditional idiomatic usage and introduced a new style of writing, which was itself artificial and was characterized by the use of European vocabulary, which was not self-explanatory. It was this style which was ridiculed as Christian Tamil. Henry Henriquez who served as Jesuit Priest in the Tamil country from 1550 to 1600 wrote three texts in Tamil, viz., "Thambiran Vanakkam," "Kristhiyani Vanakkam," and "Adiyar Varalaaru." The two categories of the Christian Tamil Literature produced in the 18^{th} century were the Protestant and the Roman Catholic.

The Protestant Missionaries first came to Tamil country in 1706 and established themselves in Tranqubar in Tanjavoor District. A considerable number of Tamil books were written by Bartholomew Ziegenbalg served in South India from 1726 to 1742, Benjamin Schultze whose period of service was from 1710 to 1791 and Philip Fabricius, who served from 1742 to 1788.

Even in Sri Lanka some of the Christian Missionaries had written Christian books in Tamil during the 18^{th} century. The New

Testament, translated into Tamil by Phillip de Mello, was printed and published by the Dutch Government. Another work by him, "Sathiathin Jeyam,"— "The Triumph of Truth," was also published by the Dutch Government. It appears that American Missionaries had studied these texts. Samuel Newell, the pioneer American Missionary in the Island stated in his letter to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions that the entire text of the Bible had been translated into Tamil, one of the languages spoken in the Island. When the American Missionaries came to Jaffna they obtained these books with difficulty and read them. They appear to have made efforts as early as 1817 to secure copies of the Bible translated into Tamil by the Danish Mission.

They also represent that there is an urgent want of Bibles and of Tamil Books. There is a good translation of the scriptures in Tamil, the language of the Province, made by the Danish Missionaries in the last century, but copies of the Tamil Bible are extremely scarce.³¹

During the whole period prior to the arrival of the American Missionaries it was Phillip Fabricius who exerted the greatest influence in the development of Tamil Protestant Christian Literary tradition. Apart from compiling a Tamil Dictionary, he had translated a number of German hymns into Tamil. His Tamil translation of the scripture had remained the most proper one until it was replaced by that of Bower's in 1864. S. Kulandran considers Phillip Fabricius as the father of Christian Tamil. 32

The American Missionaries however, seem to have been dissatisfied with the standard of these Christian Tamil works. They were of opinion that Phillip Fabricius's Tamil style was of poor quality. When Arumuga Navalar's translation or the tentative version of the Bible was not accepted by the Christian Missionaries in India, the American Missionaries in Sri Lanka were disappointed. They expressed the view that the Missionaries in India found the Tamil diction of the Bible translated in Jaffna (tentative version) unintelligible because of their familiarity with the version of Fabricius. (33)

In the 17th and 18th centuries, Fr. Constantine Beschie and Fr. Robert De Nobili had written Christian Literature in elegant Tamil. They do not appear to have been widely read. It was only after the 18th century that the Roman Catholic Church obtained facilities for printing books. Therefore it was very difficult to obtain copies of the works of Beschie and Nobili. The Tamil texts written by such savants had as their theme the theology of the Roman Catholic Church. Fr. Nobili did not deviate from the theology of mediaeval Christendom in any way, 34 although he had advocated that Christianity should be indigenized. The American Missionaries had a great liking for the Tamil writings of Mr. Beschie. Extracts from his "Thembavani" were serially published in the Morning Star. The catechism of Fr. Beschie was listed as a Text Book in the Tamil syllabus at Uduvil Girls' School. 35

THE OBJECTIVES OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARIES

The American Missionaries had stated that the composition of standard works in Tamil by native scholars was one of the objectives of the Seminary. Many of the graduates of the Seminary had developed into mature scholars and were credited with the authorship of a considerable number of Tamil Texts of high standard. They had to adopt various means for cheating a galaxy of Tamil writers possessed of qualities of a spirit of inquiry and critical acumen. The native scholars suffered from many prejudices. The village folk were not very much inclined to ascertain the truth. It was difficult to encourage students to adopt a critical approach to the study of the Puranas. In this connection the Triennial Report of the Batticotta Seminary for 1833 says:

All are convinced that the fundamental principles of the Puranic System are refuted by facts within the reach of their own observation, and by demonstrations, which they can fully comprehend, though it is certainly difficult for them to bring these facts and demonstrations before the minds of their

unenlightened countrymen, so as to produce at first any considerable impression. The unlearned cannot, and the learned will not, from prejudice, apprehend them. There must be a succession of classes taught, and various other means used to increase the light beginning to shine, until ignorance is instructed and prejudice forced to see the truth.³⁶

In the exercises in composition the subjects assigned to students were mostly related to Science. The essays written by students exposing the fallacies of Puranic myths and errors of native astronomy and astrology were read to public audiences. 37

STUDY OF TAMIL CIVILIZATION

Apart from encouraging their students to write essays on Science subjects, the teachers of the Seminary also wrote essays on Tamil, Religion, Casteism, Philosophy and Astronomy. During the early 19th century many studies based on various aspects of society were written in the West. Such books and principles of research were introduced into Jaffna by the Missionaries. No doubt the Missionaries wrote books on native religion, philosophy and astronomy for the purpose of demonstrating to the indigenous public that they had a knowledge and understanding of these matters.

In course of time they developed a genuine interest in such subjects. Standard works on these subjects were required for use of the students at the Seminary. The native scholars learnt from the Missionaries the proper method of collecting information, critically examining the materials gathered, properly evaluating them and writing essays and books with logical sequence and coherence.

Daniel Poor, H.R. Hoisington, Levi Spaulding, John Scudder and B.C. Meigs were the most remarkable among the American Missionaries who studied aspects of Tamil culture and wrote on them. Among them, Daniel Poor and H.R. Hoisington were Principals of the Seminary and the rest were members of the Board of Trustees of the

Institution. Among the native teachers Gabriel Tissera and Nathaniel Niles wrote some essays on Tamil, religion and culture. The approach of the Missionaries to Tamil, religion and culture were relatively more straight forward and more sympathetic than that of the native teachers. H.R. Hoisington's contributions to the study of Tamil, religion and culture were the most outstanding. He wrote a number of articles and two important books on Oriental Astronomy and Saiva Siddhanta. Hoisington was one of the pioneer Indologists working in Sri Lanka. Karl Graul and H.R. Hoisington are usually credited with having introduced Saiva Siddhanta to Western scholarship. It is significant that Karl Graul's German translation of "Sivagnanasithiar" also appeared in 1854, the year on which H.R. Hoisington's book on Saiva Siddhanta was published.

Although Ziegenbalg wrote a Treatise on South Indian gods he did not make a systematic study of Saiva Siddhanta. G.U. Pope's translation of "Thiruvasagam," which is generally acclaimed as a work of great merit was published in 1900. Hoisington had to undergo much hardship in making this translation. Hindu Philosophical treatises have many Hindu terminology and phrases. Unless they are explained by a native scholar they are unintelligible to Western scholars. The native scholars refused to teach them to Westerners and to people who had links with them. Hoisington recapitulates his experience as follows:

In making first rough translation of these treatises, I was much aided by three of the native teachers of the Batticotta Seminary. But in completing the translations and in preparing the notes, I have relied solely on my own repeated examination of the several texts and on a somewhat extensive comparison of these texts with other standard works a labour in which many an hour of hard study has been employed.⁴¹

H.R. Hoisington's translation of treatises on Hindu Philosophy was published by the Yale University in America. His translation of these texts provides a sufficient indication of his intellectual power and his interest in the study of Saiva Siddhanta.

He translates the first verse or the first Suttiram of "Sivagnanapotham" as follows:

First Suttiram on The Existence of Deity

Suttiram: The world which consists of three classes of being designated by he, she, it and which is subject to the three operations (viz: creation, preservation, destruction) will be dissolved in the same way in which it is developed and preserved and will be re-developed from "malam." The wise declare that Deity exists at the end of all things (i.e., the unchangeable efficient cause of the world).

In 1919, Tharmapuram Adeenam of Madras reprinted H.R. Hoisington's translation of "Sivagnanapotham." This clearly illustrates the integrity and acumen of H.R. Hoisington. Vachchiravelu Mudaliar in his foreword to this edition says:

The translation was by H.R. Hoisington, an erudite European scholar who served in Sri Lanka as a Missionary a century ago A cursory reading of the work cannot but impress one of the deep interest that foreign scholars had taken a century ago to understand and propagate among the world scholars the rare spiritual realm contained in Tamil Literature which even in these days paradoxically continue to be a sealed book to many an Indian Scholars.⁴²

In 1852, H.R. Hoisington read a paper on Tamil Language to the American Oriental Society. He showed that Tamil, Telungu, The Canarese, The Malayalini and The Tuluva had a common origin. 43 Oriental Astronomer is the translation of "Sothi Sathiram," a popular Tamil Work on Astrology. He published this translation with very valuable comments and notes. In this preface H.R. Hoisington says that he did this translation in order to satisfy the course requirements of Batticotta Seminary. This was printed at the American Ceylon Press in Manipay in 1848.44 It appears that this was well received by scholars in South

Asia. Calcutta University made the "Oriental Astronomer" a Text for its M.A. Mathematics Course. 45

Miron Winslow was also a writer of conspicuous ability. His writings are very useful as aids for an understanding of the development of Tamil Culture. He was attached to the Mission Station at Uduvil. He was one of those who were involved in preparing the College Plan. He was at Uduvil in Jaffna for a period of 16 years (1822–1836) and thereafter went to South India where he served for a period of 38 years. He edited the diary of his wife Harriet Winslow. It is an important source for the study of social customs, ceremonies, education, caste structure and religious beliefs and practices of Jaffna in the 19th century. Writing on the consecrating bathing ghats of Keerimalai, Miron Winslow says:

Consecrated Bathing Place

Have just returned from visiting a holy bathing place a few miles beyond Tillipally, to which great numbers resort annually at this season. The origin of the worship is said to be as follows: The daughter of a certain king had the misfortune to have horse's head. To obtain a human shape, she paid devout homage to Conda Suamy, the son of Sivan and he appearing to her ordered her to bathe in this place. She did so and obtained a handsome female face. In gratitude to the God, she built a temple not far distant to Conda Suamy and also taught the people to worship him by bathing as she had done.⁴⁷

Daniel Poor also wrote lengthy essays on the religion and culture of the Tamils. They were published both in the "Morning Star" and in the "Missionary Herald." The article on caste in the Island of Ceylon written by Daniel Poor and two others is included in this study in the form of an appendix.

Their essays on Tamil, Religion and Culture provided an impetus to native scholars to take an interest on these matters. It is reasonable to assume that "The Tamils 1800 Years Ago" by V. Kanagasabaipillai was inspired by the work started at the Seminary and continued by its

students.⁴⁸ The author was the son of Veerakathy Viswanathar referred to as Bela Kellag.⁴⁹ It is stated in one of the reports of the American Mission that Bela Kellag passed out of the Seminary in 1839.⁵⁰ It may, therefore, be asserted that it was the influence of the Seminary tradition transmitted by Bela Kellag which culminated in the production of V. Kanagasabaipillai's "The Tamils 1800 Years Ago," which constitutes a landmark in the study of ancient Tamil Society.

A GENERATION OF NATIVE WRITERS

During the early period of its history, the students of the Seminary achieved the aspirations of its founders. As expected by the Missionaries they assimilated facets of European learning and transmitted them in the Tamil Language and thereby earned a reputation as writers of quality. But the students attached to the Seminary during the latter period of its existence did not measure to such standards. They lacked faith in religion and at the same time were desirous of government jobs. The reasons for such development would be examined in the next chapter.

WESTERN SCIENCES IN TAMIL

History

Subjects such as Geography, History, Astronomy, Logic, Chronology and Geology which were given prominence in Western Universities were taught in English at the Batticotta Seminary. The students of the Seminary were interested in transmitting the knowledge pertaining to these subjects in the Tamil Language. The attainments of Arnold Sathasivampillai in transmitting Western Knowledge and writing Christian Literature were most remarkable. Arunasalam Sathasivam, born in 1820, joined the seminary as a student in 1832 and completed his course of education in 1840. He became a Christian while being a student of the seminary and received the baptismal name Joel Arnold. He taught at different English schools of the American Mission and died in 1895. He was the Tamil Editor of the "Morning Star" for a long period of 34 years (1857–1891) and in that capacity had many opportunities for writing books. "A Galaxy of Tamil Poets (Pavalar Charithira

Theepaham)," "Astronomy(Vana Sasthiram)," "A Primier of History(Satharana Ithihasam)" are the most remarkable among the books written by him. The other books written by him are "The Blossom Ethics," "The Garland of Wisdom," "The Pure Anthology," "Prescription for comfort in death," "The Family Altar," "The Garland of five gems" and "The Lame House Holder,"

"The Galaxy of Tamil Poets" published in 1881 was the first work in Tamil on History of Tamil Literature. The ideas expressed by the author in the introduction to this work provide an indication of the extent of its indebtedness to the American Missionaries in the field of scientific inquiry and the methodology of critical analysis.

He says:

The comments of K. Kailasapathy on the merits of this work are noteworthy. He observes:

At a time when literary history was virtually unknown among

Tamil scholars Sathasivampillai produced a book that is even now most valuable.⁵²

The following extract from "The Premier of History" (Satharana Ithihasam) reflects the depth of the feelings on patriotism and Tamil sentiment among the students of Batticotta Seminary:

Now Jaffna is a very fabulous country. Their inhabitants are native Tamils and not Dutch or British aliens. Here scholars who have mastered the five systems of Tamil Grammar and drunk deep into the ocean of Tamil epics are to be found even now as in the past. 53

Logic

Arnold Sathasivampillai's fellow students Caroll Visvanathapillai, Jeramiah Evarts Kanagasabaipillai and Nevins Sithamparapillai were also successful to some extent in bringing into Tamil scientific subjects developed in Western thought.

The Grammar of Logic (Niyaya Illakkanam) of Nevins Sithamparapillai was published in 1850. The book consists of two parts of which the first one based on the work of James Stuart Mill described the logical tradition of the west. The second part was primarily based on "Sivgnana Sithiar" and reflects the logical tradition of South India. The comments of Pandithamany S. Kanapathypillai on the merits of this work are worthy of consideration here. He says:

This work deserves to be made a Text Book by the society for the development of Sanskrit and Tamil Language and it would be very beneficent to students if they are made to study this book.⁵⁴

The author claims that he wrote this treaties for the purpose of enriching the Tamil Language. This is evident from what he says in the preface:

In ancient times kings and men of eminence took steps to

preserve books and thereby contributed towards the progress of knowledge and help to impart a proper knowledge of social justice, ethics and the duties of man, so that people could abide by them in their day to day lives. Nowadays we do not find such people. Some people produce books with great difficult and with a profit motive. Those who purchase them at a low cost and give publicity are the one who are now promoting the cause of Tamil. 55

Wyman Kathiravetpillai who studied Logic at the Seminary and later became a teacher in that subject in this institution also has published a work on Logic in Tamil. This work called "Tharkka Soodamani," was published in 1852. It was a Tamil translation of a text written in Sanskrit by an author named Sivakesavamithiran. Wyman Kathiravetpillai has written this work in a style reminiscent of that the combinatorial literature in Tamil. This work was intended for students following advanced courses and scholars.

Mathematics

An important contribution of Caroll Visvanathapillai was his work on algebra in Tamil called "Veesakanitham." He used familiar Tamil idiomatic expressions and anecdotes from Tamil literature to explain mathematical formula. The work bears witness to his profound knowledge of Tamil Language and Literature. The following are some of the exercises given in "Veesakanitham":

- 1. A Brahmin lived a life of a Brahmachari for one fourth of his life. He spent one seventh of his life plus another five years as a householder. He had a son who lived for a period amounting to a half of his father's life span and he passed away four years before his father's death. What was the age of the Brahmin at his death? Answer: 84.⁵⁷
- Asthinapura, Kurashethira, Aharapura and Maharapura are four cities located on a straight line. The distance between Aharapura

and Maharapura is 35 Kaathams. The distance between Aharapura and Kurashethira on the one hand and that between Aharapura and Maharapura on the other equals 2:9. One fourth of the distance between Asthinapura and Kurushethira plus half of the distance between Aharapura and Maharapura is equal to three times the distance between Kurushethira and Aharapura. find the distance between these cities.

Answer: 12, 4 & 18 Kaathams.58

3. A lady tells her maid that seven years before her marriage her husband's age thrice that of hers. Seven years after marriage his age was double that of her age. She asked the maid what were the ages of her husband and herself at the time of marriage. Answer: 49 & 21.⁵⁹

The expressions used by Caroll Visvanathapillai in his book on Algebra testify to his mastery of Tamil vocabulary. It is most creditable that he wrote a book on Algebra a subject entirely novel to Tamil in conformity to traditional grammatical rules and using idiomatic expressions commonly found in literature. It is rather unfortunate that the Government did not sponsor a scheme of higher education in the media of national language. It was only about 50 years ago that the government adopted the principles of providing higher education in one's own language. As instructions were not in the Tamil Language, works like the "Veesakanitham" of Caroll Visvanathapillai suffered eclipse by neglect.

Astronomy

The study of Astronomy was accorded an important position in the curriculum of the Seminary. The Missionaries found that many of the religious beliefs of the Tamil people were based on Astronomy. They, therefore, thought that Christianity will make progress if the errors of Hindu Astronomy could be exposed. Arnold Sathasivampillai, as mentioned earlier, wrote a book on Astronomy, but the contribution in this field of H.R. Hoisington and Dashiel Somasegarampillai were much greater. During that period, the Hindu Almanac (Panchangam) was

very popular among the people. Both of them prepared a new almanac based on the principles of Western Astronomy and made them available for sale. Nancy, the wife of H.R. Hoisington has given important details about this work in one of her letters to her son in America. She wrote:

Your father is now enjoying comparative rest in vacation though he is engaged in preparing the Almanac for next year and in getting an important work through the press. But, do you ask why does he make Almanacs? Because, first if he or the missionaries do not, the people will depend on the heathen astronomers, who are also astrologers and every thing from them is a part and parcel of heathenism, and second because with the almanac much Bible truth is disseminated. On one side of the leaf are passages of scripture and on the other side the Almanac. The heathen understand the object and say the Missionaries are very cunning to place the Scripture extracts where they cannot be torn out without ruining the calendar. All the people high and low, are very eager to get the plainest and most solemn declarations of God's word with it. 60

This work was published in the name of a Tamil person of high social status in consideration of the fact that the people would discard it if it were published in the name of Westerners. The name of the author and his social status were prominently displayed in the front cover of the book. The following expressions were printed on the cover of the Almanac published in 1835.

Thiriyangam for the Manmatha Year

The Manmatha Year for Thriyangam, which is 1757 of the Sakka era was calculated by Mylvaganar Somasegarampillai, a Vellala of Vannarponnai, attached to the Batticotta Seminary. Through these Almanac, the Missionaries propagated the principles of Western Astronomy in the form of dialogue.

A Dialogue on Astronomy

T:

Between an Englishman and a Tamulian (from p.39 to 59)

Tamulian: Sir, I am told that the English are learned in all the sciences and especially in Astronomy. Do you understand Astronomy?

Englishman: Yes, What leads to this inquiry?

I have learned our Hindu treatises on Astronomy and can calculate eclipses and make Almanacs, but certain points in our Almanacs don't correspond with facts. I have been told that the calculations of the English are very exact. I beg, therefore, that you will be pleased to

speak a little on that science.

E: Well, the Sun is the principal body in the solar system, being the centre of motion to the primary planets and

being in itself luminous, diffuses to all light and heat,

T: I see the Sun is the Principal Body in that it gives light,

but is it superior to our earth?

E: Yes, it is. Because, it is 13,000,000 times lager than

the earth and being stationary, causes the planets Mercury, Venus, Earth, Mars, Vesta, Juno, Ceres, Pallas,

Jupiter, Saturn and Herschel to move around itself.

T: I don't understand how the Sun, which appears but as

large as a circular fan, can be as you say 13,000,000 times larger than this spacious earth. How was that

ascertained?

E: You know well that a large body will appear small at a

distance. The Sun's distance from the earth is 95,000 miles. The distance and magnitude of the sun cannot be known without a knowledge of Trigonometry, which we cannot enter upon at present, without too great

digression from the subject before us. 61

There is not slightest doubt that astronomical study more than any thing

else enabled American Missionaries to establish contact with the Hindu elites of Jaffna.

Books on Aloepathic Medicines

As on Indian language with a civilization of past, Tamil had extensive works on diseases and medicines. Along with Ayurveda System which is taken as a Sanskrit based system there was the Siddha system which has been taken as characteristically Tamil, and the systems of treatment had been well detailed in the works called "Vakadam." But there was no public system of medicine. The American Missionaries started the public system of medicine in Jaffna based on the Western medicine. In 19th century the missionaries published books on medicines in Tamil. Samuel Fiske Green who came to Jaffna in 1847, was largely responsible for the publication of such works. After having served at Vaddukoddai for one year, he shifted his dispensary to Manipay. The Medical School was also shifted to Manipay. It was during this period that Green started publishing leading Western Medical Works in Tamil. This was motivated by a desire for indigenizing Christianity. The following are the books on medicine edited and published by Dr. Samuel Fiske Green:

- Human Physiology, by Professor Dalton, M.D translated by Daniel W. Chapman alias Vaitilingam, Medical Practitioner. Revised and edited by Samuel Fiske Green, M.D., Jaffna 1883; 590 pages.
- Human Anatomy, compiled from Gray Horner, Smith and Wilson.
 Translated by Chapman and supervised by Green Smith and Wilson.
- Chemistry Practical and Theoretical by David A. Wells, A.M. Rendered into Tamil by Green with the assistance of Chapman and S. Swaminathar, London Mission Press, Nagercoil, 1875; 516 pages

- The Science & Art of Surgery, compiled from Erishen and Dornitt and translated by Joshua Danforth, Head dispenser of the FNS Hospital, edited by Green, Jaffna 1867; 500 pages.
- Practice of Medicine, Second Part (Title page missing), 913 pages.
- Hooper's Physicians Vade Mecum, a modified Tamil version by William Paul, Medical Practitioner supervised and amended by Green, Nagercoil, 1872, 917 pages.
- Introduction to Professor Daltons Physiology and Vocabularies of Medical Works translated by Green, 134 pages.
- Vocabularies of Material, Medical and Pharmacy of midwifery and diseases of women and children and of Medical Juris prudence by Green, London Mission Press, Nagercoil 1875, 161 pages.⁶²

The medical texts translated by Green with great enthusiasm were subsequently ignored as there were not many people to use and benefit by them. This was largely due to the reason that the government established a medical college where instructions were provided in English. However, Green occupies an important place in the history of the Tamil Language because he clearly demonstrated that it was possible to provide medical education in Tamil.

Dictionaries

Lexicography was an important element in the modernization of the Tamil Language. Previously in Tamil scholarship there was no tradition of providing definitions for expressions. The class of literature called "Nihandoo or Glossaries" listed the Synonyms or words but did not seek to provide definitions. More over such texts listed the synonyms of rare and unusually difficult words. As the Western Missionaries had to establish contacts with both the learned and the uneducated people

they had to learn the appropriate meaning of words used in literary and spoken Tamil. It was on account of this need that they set our to compile Dictionaries in Tamil. De Nobili, Braganza, Beschie, Ziegenbalg, Rottler and Fabricius were the most notable among Missionaries who embarked on this enterprise.

The American Missionaries also took interest in lexicography. This work was undertaken in Batticotta Seminary. When Joseph Knight of the Church Missionary Society started work on Tamil Dictionary, he was assisted by Gabriel Tissera of Batticotta Seminary. Regrettably Joseph Knight passed away before completing his work and it was left to Levi Spaulding to take over and complete the project launched by him. The first edition of this Dictionary was published in Madras in 1844 with the title "An English and Tamil Dictionary of a Manual of Tamil Lexicon for Schools." This edition carries the names of Joseph Knight, Levi Spaulding, Samuel Hutchins and Miron Winslow. The second edition of this work was published at Manipay in 1852 and the third edition came out in Madras in 1888

The famous Winslow Dictionary was published in Madras in 1862. Two persons, who helped Miron Winslow in compiling this Dictionary were graduates of the Batticotta Seminary. Bela Kellog, Nevins Sithamparapillai and Wyman Kathiravetpillai all of whom the graduates of the seminary started compiling dictionaries of their own. "The English–Tamil Dictionary," compiled by Nevins Sithamparapillai was published in Madras in the year 1858. "The classical Tamil Dictionary," compiled by Bela Kellog was published by the Director of Public Instruction of Madras in 1870. Wyman Kathirvetpillai engaged himself in the great task of compiling a Dictionary giving Tamil definitions for Tamil words. The first part of this Dictionary was published in 1904. This was carried to completion and published by the Madurai Tamil Sangam. It is generally known as "Madurai Tamil Sangam Dictionary."

Newspapers and Journals

The Congregationalist church to which the American Missionaries belong had a tradition of involvement with higher education and publications. Journals assumed an unusual importance in their evangelical work. They were among the principal means of communication and propagation. In Jaffna the American Missionaries initially printed tracts but from 1841 the "Morning Star" was regularly published as a fortnightly journal. It was printed in four pages, two of which were in English and the other two were in Tamil. Henry Martyn who was a teacher of Science at the Seminary was appointed as the English Editor and Seth Payson of Uduvil became the Tamil Editor. The latter was also a student of the Batticotta Seminary. The close relationship between the "Morning Star" and the Batticotta Seminary was maintained until the seminary was closed in 1855. Articles by Daniel Poor appeared regularly in the "Morning Star."

In 1857, he was succeeded by Arnold Sathasivampillai who held that position for an unusually long period of 34 years, which was in many respects an important period in the history of that Journal. The students of the Seminary also made valuable contributions to the "Morning Star" and "The Missionary Herald" and thereby gained some experience in journalism. When Peter Percival the Wesleyan Missionary started the newspaper called "Thina Varthamani" in 1855 in Madras he offered the editorship to C.W. Thamotharampillai. In 1853, Wyman Kathiravetpillai began the publication of a journal called "Literary Mirror" consisting of two equal parts, one in English and the other in Tamil. It was also known as "Vithyatharpanam." After ten years he established the newspaper called "Ceylon Patriot," which was also called "Lankapimani" in Tamil. Many journals were started in Jaffna in the latter part of the 19th century. The Press of the American Ceylon Mission no doubt inspired all the enthusiasts.

Printing of Ola Manuscripts

The credit of making Tamil books available in print belongs to the Christian Missionaries, but when facilities for printing were the monopoly of the Europeans, only Christian Literature was printed. It was only in 1835 when printing facilities were made accessible to people of means irrespective of any other considerations that the task of printing ancient Tamil classics and other texts was undertaken. Although the American Missionaries had brought a Printing Machine in 1820, it was only after 1834 that they could start printing work on account of the prohibitory regulations of the government. Large number of books and publications were printed by their Press installed at Manipay. During the period between 1834 and 1855, an average of eight million pages per vear were printed and the total amount of pages printed during this period was 1,71,147,198 pages.⁶³ Although Christian texts were given priority a large number of other texts were also printed. The "Morning Star" and the books written by the teachers of the Seminary were also printed at this Press.

It was by the type of education provided by the Seminary and the printing facilities available through the agency of the American Ceylon Mission that a scholar of the standing of C.W. Thamotharampillai could emerge. He had his education at the Seminary and became a graduate of the Madras University. Arumuga Navalar and C.W. Thamotharampillai were the two leading pioneers in Tamil Society who collected manuscripts, edited them and made them available in print. It is significant that both of them were inspired by their close association with Christian Missionaries. More over they had their education at institutions of higher learning established and managed by the Missionaries.

No doubt the Christian environment produced the pioneer, editor and publisher of Tamil Books Arumuga Navalar. The same thing can be said about C.W. Thaotharampillai also. We do not have much evidence to prove that C.W. Thamotharampillai worked with zeal for the advancement of Saivism. But the Christian environment showed him the importance of the rare Tamil texts.

Arumuga Navalar introduced Tamil books in elegant prose, which were much appreciated by the people. C.W. Thamotharampillai saw the need of the classical Tamil texts introduced to the people in prose by Arumuga Navalar. Hence he printed this Ola Manuscripts at a time when the people were looking for them.⁶⁴

In editing and publishing "Neethineri Vilakam," a work on ethics and morality C.W. Thamotharampillai was ably assisted by two other graduates of the Seminary, Wyman Kathiravetpillai and Nevince Sithamparapillai.⁶⁵

The following Ola Manuscripts were printed by C.W. Thamotharampillai:

Tholhappiyam Sollathiharam – Nachinarkiniyam Tholhappiyam Porulathiharam – Nachinarkiniyam Tholhappiyam Sollathiharam Senavariyam Kalithohai Iraiyanar Ahaporul Urai Ilakkana Vilakkam Soolamani Veera Soliyam Thanihaipuranam

These books are among the masterly works of ancient and mediaeval Tamil Writings and are representative of the high classical and intellectual tradition of the Tamils. He had intimate connections with Arumuga Navalar and U.V. Saminatha lyer of Kumbakonam who had earned a reputation on account of their numerous printed editions of Tamil texts.

Religious Literature Devotional Songs

The American Missionaries in their plan for the College stated:

Original native composition of account of the superior felicity of its style

and idiom will be read when the production of a foreigner of a translation will be thrown aside.

The expectations of the Missionaries were largely fulfilled by the Tamil Scholar Arnold Sathasivampillai, an alumnus of the Seminary. He had composed more than 500 devotional songs. He was well-versed in Saivaite Literature and the influence of "Thevaram" and "Thiruvasagam" (Saivaite Devotional Songs) are evident in his works. In all his hymns he praises Jesus Christ, the One who had saved him. However, transitory nature of this life, the impermanence of wealth and yearning to end the cycle of births were also themes of his devotional songs. He was one who had a Christology of his own. In South India many have tried to explain the person and work of Christ on the basis of Vaishnava tenets. Since Arnold Sathasivampillai came from a strong Saiva religious background, he tried to explain Christology according to Saivaite Philosophy. He did great service to the Christian Church in indigenizing Christianity. The following are some of the poems of Arnold Sathasivampillai:

I have been going through countless births And committing limitless sins When and how will Thou forgive me O' heavenly Lord. (From Mukthi Naddam N.Pancharatnam)

I have seen earthly life fading in the same manner
I have seen the beauty of women fading
I have seen my rights to property questioned
I have felt life among my people to be no different that of a hostelry

I have seen time itself flit across my eyes like a shooting star Look kindly on me without delay and give me thy heavenly bliss. (From Saloga Piravesam N. Pancharatnam)

Do not be caught in the dance of life
But as the Lotus flower is in the muddy water
And as the tamarind fruit in its shell
And yet are aloof and detached from what surrounds them
Be intent on your purpose and see that you
Do not miss the heavenly bliss you are after.

(From Mei Arivooruthal N. Pancharatnam)

He was in his old age without his life partner stricken with disease and enduring suffering.

When he was stricken by disease he was quiet and had the peace of mind. He never did grumble. On being asked if he was afraid of death, he replied, "If I have wings to fly will I not go there at once." This was one of lines in his compositions. In his latter days when he was closer to death, he made his children and grand children to recite verses from his composition called "The Panacea for

The Seminary Alumni namely C.W. Thamotharampillai, Robert Breckenridge, Barr Kumarakulasinghe, J.S. Christmas, Jeremiah Evarts Kanagasabaipillai had also composed Christian Lyrics and Songs. Some of them attempted to compose Christian Epics. C.W. Thamotharampillai had composed "Lyric of Genesis." Genesis is the first book in the Holy Bible. Unfortunately, "The Lyric of Genesis" is not available now and therefore we cannot comment on this work.

Comfortable Demise."66 (Suga Maranabeechcham)

Jeremiah Evarts Kanagasabaipillai attempted to compose a Christian epic called "Tiru Vakku Puranam," 68 where he could versify only the first two books of the Holy Bible viz., Genesis and Exodus. He also rendered in Tamil verses some parts of the New Testament. His

work was not completed is evident. If this epic had been completed it would have occupied an important place in the history of Tamil Literature, like Beschie's "Thembavani" or H.A. Krishnapillai's "Ratshaniya Yathrikam." There appears to be a strong influence of "Kambaramayanam" in "Tiru Vakku Puranam." Henry Martyn, an alumnus and teacher of the Seminary embraced the Roman Catholic.

Faith after the death of his first wife, he began to develop the Catholic Christian Literature. His work "Tirukkumaran Peril Theva Mathavin Oppari" was printed by A. Thomas in the year 1924.⁶⁹ This composition has 78 verses. This has been composed in simple language so that even the ordinary people could understand it. He had attempted the folk elegy or 'oppari' to bring out the Christian truth and instill faith among the people.

BOOKS ON CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY

Some graduates of the Seminary also wrote books to explain Christian Doctrines in Tamil. Ten graduates of the Seminary were ordained as ministers of the American Ceylon Mission. Among them T.P. Hunt of Chavakachcheri became an Evangelist of great zeal. He wrote the book "Proofs of Christianity" (Christhava Athadchikal). Even though it was an adaptation of "Evidences of Christianity," written by Alexander, it was of utmost importance because it attempts to explain Christian Theology in Tamil prose. A comparative study of Christian and Saivaites positions on God, man and scripture was made with the intention of proving the truthfulness of Christianity.(71)

In 1858 the "Texts of Religion" or "Samaya Parichchai" of Robert Bren was published. Robert Bren was a missionary of the Christian Missionary Society. It consists of 545 pages. There is much evidence to show that this book was written by Jeremiah Evarts Kanagasabaipillai, a graduate of the Batticotta Seminary.

POLEMICS

Most of the Tamil Scholars are of the opinion that the Polemics that arose in the 19^{th} century enabled the development of a rich and versatile prose tradition in Tamil. The graduates of the Batticotta Seminary also plunged into this controversy. The American Missionaries wrote pamphlets contradicting Saivaite religion. Since they came from a Congregationalist tradition, writing polemical words was not alien to them. The Congregationalist church survived amidst much opposition. It had to explain its beliefs and deride other church's beliefs through pamphlets. In 1850 an essay on "The Usefulness of the Pamphlets" was published in the "Morning Star." The contents and style of these pamphlets were all new to Tamil tradition. The argumentative style of Aristotle is evident in all these pamphlets. The Missionaries published pamphlets such as the "Blind Way" evidences from and the nature of "The Hindu Triard." Mylai Seeni Venkadasamy is of opinion that the "Blind Way" was written by Miron Winslow with the assistance of Vethanayaga Sasthri of Tanjavoor.75 In these pamphlets the story of the Mahaveli Sakkaravarthi is mentioned to ridicule Saivaite puranas.76 These pamphlets were included in the Tamil course of the Batticotta Seminary.

In reply to these pamphlets, Arumuga Navalar, the Saivaite leader wrote "Saiva Dhushana Pariharam" in which he said that all the ridiculous things and superstitions mentioned in the pamphlets were found in the Holy Bible also. In contradiction to "Saiva Dhushana Pariharam," Caroll Visvanathapillai wrote a pamphlet called "Suppira Theepam," which was published in 1857. Caroll Visvanathapillai had a sound science education at the Seminary is evident in his book. The book "Suppira Theepam" marks the zenith of the American Missionaies achievements in the field of Tamil studies. The Christian Doctrine in Tamil as explained by Caroll Visvanathapillai was never done so lucidly by any one before or even after. Caroll Visvanathapillai was a great admirer of the education provided at the Batticotta Seminary. In his "Suppira Theepam," he praises the Missionaries and speaks derisively and tormentingly of Arumuga Navalar.

Scientific Approach to Tamil Studies

The establishment of the Batticotta Seminary in 1823 created a book explosion in Jaffna. The Press they set up in 1834 led to this sudden growth. The scholars in Jaffna joined hands with American Missionaries. In dissemination of knowledge what was not attainable in South India was possible in Jaffna Peninsula. The American Missionaries activities did not end with the publication of books alone. In the scientific approach to Tamil studies the contribution of Congregationalist Missionaries is noteworthy. They trained the people of Jaffna to look at every thing with a discriminatory knowledge as to its effect. When we make a comparative study of those who had a seminary education like Arnold Sathasivampillai and C.W. Thamotharampillai and their articles with those written by others who were educated at the Seminary, we realize the value of the training given at the Seminary. Kumaraswamipulavar wrote the History of Tamil Poets. 78 So did Arnold Sathasivampillai. Both of them, in the introduction to their books, have dealt with the History of Tamil Language and Literature. There was much difference between the approaches of Kumaraswamipulavar and Arnold Sathasivampillai is evident from their accounts.79

C.W. Thamotharampillai, a graduate of the Seminary and Sabapathy Navalar, who did not have Seminary training have written on the History of Tamil Language. The book Sabapathy Navalar wrote was "Thravida Pirakasikai." C.W. Thamotharampillai wrote on account of the History of Tamil Literature in his publisher's note of "Veera Soliam." The difference in approach can be understood only in terms of the educational training they have had. C.W. Thamotharampillai in a critical narrative tradition and Sabapathy Navalar in a mithogenic narrative tradition.

That the scientific education provided at the Batticotta Seminary had a great transforming effect on the Jaffna Poets and their compositions. S. Vithyananthan, a former Vice Chancellor of the University of Jaffna had said:

The American Missionaries impact on the stagnant Tamil studies brought in a new approach, broad vision and form critical approach and thereby opened the doors to a new age for the Tamil people. 82

The dream of the American Missionaries of creating an indigenized Christian Church through the seat of higher studies was not fulfilled. However, in Tamil Literature the bias of religion and the pathetic yearning to cling on the past were removed. Tamil Literature on new fields of study came into existence. Western methodology and scientific approach were introduced to the Tamil people.

NOTES

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- 9. TRBS, 1830, p.14.
- 10. M.H., March 1831, p.6.
- 11. M.H., April 1831, p.110.

- 12. See Appendix A.
- 13. M.H., June 1818, p.269.
- 14. M.H., April 1817, p.176.
- 15. Mylai Venkatasamy, op.cit., p.17.
- 16. Miron Winslow's Letter, M.H., May 1826.
- 17. Minutes, 12-08-1841.
- 18. Minutes, 12-08-1841.
- 19. M.H., June 1836, p.212.
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- 26. "Are able perhaps to form a kind of artificial verse," The Plan, p.9.
- 27. Kamil Zvelebil, "The Smile of Murugan on Tamil Literature in South India," Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1973, p.270.
- 28. Miron Winslow, op.cit., p.vii.
- 29. Somale Valarum Tamil, Papri Nilayam, Broadway, Madras 1, 1956, p.40.
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- 33. Op.cit., p.127.
- 34. R.H.S. Boyd, "An Introduction to Indian Christian Theology," CLS, Madras, 1969, p.13.
- 35. Minutes, 10-04-1851.
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- 60. H.R.H. Letters.
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- 65. P. Pologasingham, op.cit., p.171.
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T.P. Hunt, Kristhava Athadchikal (Evidence of Christianity), SPCK Press, Madras, 1899.

தேவன் ஒருவரே, அவ்வொருவரே மூவராய் விளங்கியிருக்கின்றனரேயன்றி மும்மூர்த்திகளென்று சத்திய வேதத்திலே ஓரிடத்துஞ் சொல்லியிருக்கவில்லை. பிதா, குமாரன், பரிசுத்தாவி என்னும் அம்மூவரும் பகாப் பொருளாய் ஒரே தன்மையுடையவராய் இருத்தலால், அவர் எவ்வாறேனும் ஏற்றத்தாழ்வின்றிச் சமமானவராகவே இருக்கின்றனர். பிதா எத்தன்மையிதா குமாரனும் அத்தன்மையர். பரிசுத்தாவியும் அத்தன்மையரே.

- 72. Robert Bren, Smaya Pareedchai," (Tamil), 2nd Edition, CMS Press, Palayamkottai, 1870, p.106.
- 73. Arnold Sathasivampillai, Pavalar Charithira Theepaham (A Galaxy of Tamil Poets), p.93.
- 74. சிறு துண்டுப் புத்தகங்களின் பெலன்:
 நாம் துணைக்காரரை உபயோகமாய்ச் செய்வதைப் பார்க்கிலும் அச்சுச்
 குத்திரத்தினாற் செய்வததிகமென்புது என் மனதிற்குத் திருட்டாந்தமாயிருக்கின்றது.
 பிரசங்கத்திற் பெரிய காரியந்தான். ஆனாலும் அது முதன்மை பெற்றதல்ல.
 ஏலாத சிறிது காரியத்தை அச்சுச் சூத்திரத்தினாற் செய்யக்கூடும். சிறு புத்தகங்கள்
 எங்கும் செல்லக்கூடும். அவைகள் ஒருக்காலும் நாணி இலட்சையடைகிறதில்லை.
 அவர்களுக்கு அச்சமென்றது தெரியாது. அவைகள் ஒருக்காலும்
 கொன்னிக்கிறதில்லை, இளைத்துப் போகிறதுமில்லை, மரணிக்கிறதுமில்லை.
 ஏனென்றால் அச்சுச் சூத்திரத்தினால் அவைகளை முடிவின்றி பெருகப்பண்ணலாம்.
 அவைகள் அற்ப செலவைக் கொண்டு வெகு தூரத்திற்குப் பயணம் பண்ணலாம்.
 அவைகளுக்கு ஆதாரம் தேவையில்லை. விடுதி வீடு தேவையில்லை.
 The Morning Star, 28-02-1850.
- 75. Mylai Venkatasamy, op.cit., p.187.
- 76. இன்னும் பூர்வ காலத்தில் வேதாரணியமென்ற சிவ ஸ்தலத்திலே ஒரு நாட் பாதிதாத்திரியிலே, சந்நிதானத்திலிருந்த விளக்கு அணைகிற தருணத்தில், அதிலிருந்த நெய்யைக் குடிக்கப்போன ஒர் எலியானது, தணிகிற திரியை இழுக்குறவிட, அதினால் அணையப்போன விளக்கு துலக்கமாய் எரிந்தது. அது கண்டு சிவன் சந்தோஷப்பட்டு, அந்த எலிக்குத் தரிசணையாகி, அது மாவெலிச் சக்கரவர்த்தியாய்ப் பிறந்து பரலோகம், பூலோகம், பாதாளலோகம் என்னும் மூன்று லோகத்தையும் ஆள வரங் கொடுத்தார். அப்படியே, அந்த எலியானது மாவெலிச் சக்கரவர்த்தியாய்ப் பூமியிலே பிறந்து, மூன்று உலகத்தையும் ஆண்டதேன்பார்கள்.

The Blind Way – Published by Jaffna Religious Tract Society, American Mission Press, Jaffna, 1852, p.4.

77. வாய்மையும், தூய்மையும், நீதியும், நிறைவும், அன்பும், பொறையும் சிறந்து விளங்கிய புவர் ஐயர் (னுயனைநட "மூழச) முதலிய மகான்கள் இங்குதித்து அலகை வாயிலும், உடல் வாயிலும் அகப்பட்ட ஆன்மாக்கள் வீடு பெற்றும்யும் மு இரட்சா பெருமானின் திருநாமத்தை உபதேசித்துக் கைமாறு கருதாது உதவுகின்ற மேகம்போல வைதீக லௌகீகக் கல்விப் பொருளை வழங்கினார்கள். அது கண்டு அழுக்காறு கொண்ட சில சத்திய விரோதிகள் மித்தியாரோபமான குற்றங்களையும், பழ மொழிகளையும் அவர்களிலும் அவர்கள் போற்றுகிற சத்திய வேதத்திலும் ஏற்றினார்கள். நச்சுக் கும்பி தொடுத்தார்கள். அச்சிற் கும்பி அடித்தார்கள்.

Caroll Viswanathapillai, Ripley & Strong Press, 857, p.4

78. தமிழ் என்பது பண்டைக் காலந் தொட்டுப் பரத கண்டத்தின் தென் பாகத்தில் வழங்கி வருவதொரு பாணை. இது தென் மொழி, தென் சொல் எனவும் வடமொழியிலே திராவிடம் எனவும் வழங்குவது. முதற்கண் இறையனாரும், முருக வேளும் அகத்தியருக்குச் செவியறிவுறுத்தியுஞ், சிலசில கவிகள் பாடியுஞ் சிறப்பித்தது. இறையனார் முதலிய புலவர்களாலும், காய்ச்சினவழுதி முதலிய பாண்டியர்களாலும் போற்றப்பட்டுச், சங்கங்கள் மூன்றிலுந் தலைமையைப் பெற்றிருந்து, பல நூல்களாய் விரிந்து வளர்ந்தது. பின்னும், புலவர்கள் பலராலும் பிரபுத்துவம் பெருமக்களாலும் போற்றப்பட்டு, வேறும்பல நூல்களாய் விரிந்து பாந்தது. தொண்டர் நாதனைத் தூது விடுத்தது, முதலையுண்ட பாலனை அழைத்தது. தொண்டர் மாதனைத் தூது விடுத்தது, முதலையுண்ட பாலனை அழைத்தது. எறும்பு பெண்ணுரவாகக் கண்டது. மறைக்காட்டிற் பூட்டிய கபாடந் திறந்தது. நெருப்பும் அறிந்தது. ஆரும் விரும்பும் அழகு செறிந்தது. தேருந் தோனும் இனிமை பயப்புது.

Pulavar Cumaraswamy, History of Tamil Poets (Tamil). Muthukumaraswamypillai (Ed.), Pulavaraham, Mylani, Chunnakam, 1951, p.1.

79. இவ்வாறாய்ப் பல பாலாரும் பலவாறு சாதித்து முழங்கவே எம்மூரில் வழங்கிவருந் தென் மொழியும், தேன் மொழியுமாகிய தமிழ்ப் பாஷை, மற்றைய பான்ஷகளில் நின்று மேன்மையும் விசிட்டமுமுற்றதென்று சாதிக்க எம்மனசோடு நாத்துணயாத போதும், அவ்விலட்சணம் அமையப் பெற்றவற்றுள் ஒன்றெனத் துணியப் பின்னிடா. சுமஸ்கிருதங்கடலென்றாற், தமிழும் அத்தன்மைத்து என்போம். இத்தகைப் பெருமைக்குரிய தமிழ்ப் பாஷையிலே சத்திய சூபமாகவும் இயற்றப்பட்ட கிரந்தங்களோ அம்மம்மா! அபரிதமானவை. இவ்வரு பகுப்புட் பத்தியரூபங் கொண்டவற்றைக் கணக்கிட, அப்பப்பா! யாராலாகும்.

Arnold Sathasivampillai. Pavalar Charithira Theepaham (Galaxy of Tamil Poets), Colombo Tamil Society, p.20.

80. இலக்கிய மரபியல்:

தமிழிலக்கியம்ஹ திரு முறை இலக்கியம், சங்க இலக்கியம், புராண இலக்கியம், இதிகாச இலக்கியம், பலவகைப் பிரபந்த இலக்கியமெனப் பலதிறப்படும். ஆவத்துணையோர் பரிபாடல், முதநாரை, முதுகுருகு, களரியா விரையென்று. இத் தொடக்கத்துத் தலைச்சங்க இலக்கியங்களும் — கலி, குருகு, வெண்டாளி, வியாமுமாலை, மாலையகவல் என்று. இத் தொடக்கத்து இடைச்சங்க இலக்கியங்களும் இறந்தனவாதலால், அவற்றின் வரலாறறிந்து கூறுமாறில்லை. கடைச் சங்க இலக்கியங்கள் — நெடுந்தொகை நானூறு, குநற்தோகை நானூறு, நற்றிணை நானூறு, ஐங்குறு நூறு, பதிற்றுப்பத்து, நூற்றைம்பது கலி, எழுபது பரிபாடல், கூத்து, வரி, பேரிசை, சிற்றிசை என்றித் தொடக்கத்தன. இவற்றுட்சில இறந்தன, பல நிலவுகின்றன. இவையும், இன்னோரன்னவுமான கடைச் சங்க இலக்கிய வரலாறு திருமுறையிலக்கியங்களின் பின்னர்த் தந்து கூறுதும். Navalar Sabapathy, "Dravida Pragasigai" (History of Tamil Language) Saiva Siddhanta Book Publishing Society Ltd., Tinnevely, Madras 1, 1960.

81. தமிழ்ப் பாஷையின் காலவருத்தமானம் அபோத காலம், அஷர காலம், இலக்கண காலம், சமுதாய காலம், அநாதார காலம், சமண காலம், இதிகாச காலம். ஆதீன காலமென எண் கூறுபடும். வரிவடி வின்றி ஒலிவடிவு மாத்திரமாய் நிகழ்ந்த காலத்தை அபோத காலமென்றாகும். ஆகுது அகத்தியர்க்கு முன்சென்ற காலமாகும். ஆகத்தியர் தமிழ்மொழியை அவலோகித முனிவர்பாற் கண்டுணர்ந்தாரென்னும் அருகர் மதமுஞ், சுவாமியிடந் தமிழ் மொழியையுஞ் சுப்பிரமணியக் கடவுளிடம் அதன் இலக்கணத்தையும் ஒதியுணர்ந்தாரெனக் கூறும் சைவர் மதமும் அகத்தியர்க்கு முன்னுந் தமிமுணடமைக்குச் சான்றாகும். கிலர் சுவடி, எழுத்து, நெடுங்கணக்கு முதலிய சொற்களை ஆதாரமாகக் கொண்டு ஓரளவுக்கு வரி வடிவெழுத்தும் முன்னர் இருத்தல் வேண்டுமெனக் கூறுவர். இங்கனமாகவும், வடமொழி, தென் மொழி மகோததி பருகிப்படியிசைத் தமிழ் மகா பாடியம் வகுத்துக் குசைநுனிய தனினுங் கூரிய மதிபெற இத் — திசையெலதன் பெருமை நிற்இ உயர்ந்த மகானாகிய (பெயர் சொலவும் வாய் கூககின்றதே) சிவஞான முனிவர் இதனை மறந்து அகத்தியராற் றமிழ் பூமியில் உற்பத்தியாயினதெனக் கொண்டு அகத்தியம் அச்சொல் செந்தமிழ் நிலத்து மொழியோடு முற்பட்டுத் தோன்று நூல் எனவுகர் செந்தமிழ் நிலத்து மொழி தோன்றுங் காலத்துடன் தோன்றிய நூல் எனவும்மயங்குவாராயினர்.

- C.W. Thamotharampillai, "Thamotharam," Publisher's Note "Veerasoliyam," Tamil Book Sellers Society, Jaffna, 1971, p.9.
- 82. அமெரிக்கன் மிஷனரிமார் பலவகையிலே தேங்கிக் கிடந்த தமிழ்க் கல்வியுலகிலே புதமை வேட்கையையுந் திறனாய்வு நோக்கிணையும் பரந்த மனப்பான்மையையும் புகுத்திக் கல்வித்துறையின் புது யுகத்தின் தலைவாமிலிலே தமிழ் மக்களைக் கொணர்ந்து நிறுத்தினார்கள்.

S. Vithiyananthan, American Mission and Tamil Society,

Uduvil Girls' College, 1941-1969,

American Mision Press, 1969, p.111.

7

BATTICOTTA SEMINARY AND ITS IMPACT ON THE TAMILIAN VIEW OF THINGS

The nineteenth century, from the point of view of Christianity in Asia, is called the "Age of Mission". The Missionaries who came from Europe and America used education as the means to help the propagation of Christianity. The aims of the American Mission were defined by the Anderson Commission, which came to Jaffna in 1855 as follows:

In answering to the question "what is the governing object in missions to the heathens,?" it is scarcely necessary to remark that it is not to relieve human distress, to minister to the necessities of the suffering, to raise the degraded and deliver the oppressed. This is a work, which has called into action the noblest powers and awakened universal admiration. But the work of the Missions is of a higher character than this. It looks beyond the physical sufferings and necessities of man and contemplates him as a sinner against a holy and just God and exposed to endless wrath, and proclaims to Him pardon and salvation. It contemplates no less an object than raising him from the awful gloom of the shadow of eternal death to the regions of eternal life and joy in the presence of reconciled God.¹

Even though this definition was the work of one Mission, it may be said that this represents the viewpoint of all Protestant Missionary Societies.

EDUCATION

Curriculum

Protestant Missionaries had been working in Jaffna since 1805. The London Missionary Society came to serve in Jaffna in 1805. The Methodists started work in 1814. The American Congregationalist Missionaries arrived in 1816. The Church Missionary Society established its mission in Jaffna in 1818. Even though the London Missionary Society closed its station in 1812, the other three missions founded a society among them and worked in a spirit of co-operation and comity. This was a feature of mission work not found in other parts of Sri Lanka. Though in the rest of the Island the Church Missionary Society and the Methodist Missionary Society were in a far larger majority, the American Missionaries dominated the scene in Jaffna.

Out of the 32 parishes in Jaffna, the American Missionaries worked in seventeen parishes with a population of 126,631 persons. The Church Missionary Society served in ten parishes consisting of 44,458 persons and the Methodist took charge of three parishes with a population of 35,251 persons.²

All the Missionary Societies engaged in educational work as a side line while concentrating their attention on religious work. The two types of schools namely Primary and English Secondary were run by all the societies. But the American Missionaries, not content with mere school education, embarked on Medical Education and Health Services. Besides this, they set up a printing Press and continued to turn out large quantities of printed material. However, it must be noted that of all the work done by the American Missionaries, the Seminary had the greatest impact on Tamilian culture. The Batticotta Seminary provided an opportunity for the great scholars of Jaffna to meet and to make acquaintances with Western Arts and Sciences. However, of all their activities, it is the Batticotta Seminary that had a lasting impact on the very attitudes and mental make ups of the average Jaffna people who have always been associated with industrious behaviour.

The impact of the Seminary on people and the new influences they introduced were largely due to their adaptation of English as the medium of instruction. Unlike Lord Macaulay who wanted English adapted for imperial purposes, the American Missionaries adapted it chiefly as help to Evangelism. In this matter they were in perfect agreement with Alexander Duff.

Duff was Macaulay's counterpart and very much in the tradition of Charles Grant and the Clapham Sect. Like Macaulay, he violently attacked Oriental languages while praising the influences of English, though he did so as an advocate not of British nationalism but of Evangelization.³

It was this conviction that made the American Missionaries also adapt English as the medium of instruction. They felt that studying Tamil itself would not be an adequate means of imparting scientific knowledge. However, they taught the national language in order to give an indigenous base to Christianity.

The Batticotta Seminary was inaugurated unostentatiously in 1823. The American Missionaries believed that the institution would be a beacon light to the entire Tamil world. It was the fundamental condition of the nineteenth century movement that English culture and Western Science would provide an irresistible force for the spread of Christianity.

Though the Methodist Mission and the Church Missionary Society were activated by the same basic motives, their methods of work differed. They never aimed at higher education enterprise whereas the American Missionaries put it down in their prospectus to pursue their aim with zeal, "The light of erudition and sciences is always favourable to Christianity."

The Missionaries brought to the attention of the Tamils that they were facing an education with a different view of subjects such as

History, Geology, Geography, Astronomy and Science. They showed the vastness and magnitude of the academic achievements of this world. The new curriculum so influenced education that any curriculum however different in its context had to be radically revised. Even the educational institution, that sprung up in hostility to the missionary enterprise had been aware of it. They had to include secular subjects in their curriculum.

In a book published in 1860 under the title "Oru Vikiyapanam," Arumuga Navalar, the Saivaite leader, laid it down that in Saivaite schools in the future the syllabus should take account of the new sciences that had been opened up.4

SPREAD OF SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE

The impact of the new education did not confine itself purely to the academic sphere but spread its wings over a much larger area. The theories put forward by the new sciences gave rise to inquiry questioning an amusement. Once a Brahmin encountering Mr. Niles, an old student of the Seminary thought that he could floor him by asking how many times the earth revolved round itself since he had set out from Vaddukoddai and reached Pandateruppu.

This is the Brahmin mentioned in a former journal who once hailed Niles in the street and sarcastically inquired. How far has the earth turned over since you left Batticotta.⁵

A Lunar eclipse that occurred in 1830 aroused much interest among the scholars of Jaffna. It proved that the Western calculations of the time of its occurrence were more correct than that of the local astronomers. After this incident greater thought began to be given to subjects like Geography and Astronomy. Daniel Poor records how he received an anonymous letter containing the following:

This evening I have received by way of Panditeripo, an anonymous letter in which the writer endeavours to reconcile the

discrepancies in the two calculations of the eclipse. The letter contains many questions proposed in an angry and self-confident manner of which the following are specimens. How can you affirm that the earth is round while you confess that no one has ever visited what you suppose to be the poles of the earth? How can you teach that the Sun stands still whereas it is written in your Bible that Joshua stopped the Sun in his course? Either your system of astronomy of your religion must be false. What proof have to offer that the earth is in motion.⁶

TEACHER TRAINING

Among the momentous steps taken by the Batticotta Seminary one was that of launching a teacher training programme. Between the years 1816 and 1836 the number of primary schools established by the American Ceylon Mission grew with great rapidity. In 1836, the American Missionaries besides the Batticotta Seminary ran altogether 155 primary schools, 5 English schools and one high school for girls. R. Rajapakse in his thesis "Christian Mission Theosophy and Trade" said that as early as 1832 the American Missionaries had established a complete educational set up in Jaffna.

Thus by 1832 American Missionaries had developed a system of graduated schools— Elementary (Vernacular) schools, Boarding schools, English school and a Collegiate Institution. In this way they had created an educational set up beginning with elementary education of the pupil who might later if his abilities permitted progress to more advanced studies and in turn become a teacher himself or enter a learned profession.⁷

The education activities of the American Missionaries flourished well. They were now given responsibility under the new educational system promulgated by the British. They were given the responsibility of providing the new teachers for that scheme. Among the local teachers of the Seminary except for Nicholas Pemander, Gabriel Tissera and

Shanmugam Saddambiar others were all old students of the Seminary. H.R. Hoisington, the dynamic personality with multifaceted talents was the Principal in 1845 and he brought in a change in the courses taught at the Seminary.

He designed two courses, one for normal students and the other for those going in for higher studies. The first course (aimed at the normal students) was the meant for those who were going to adopt teaching as their profession. In the course meant for teachers, we do not find evidence of any teaching of such modern subjects as Psychology, Principles of Education or Methodology. In that course none of the new courses found a place. However, they were taught Religion, Grammar, Mathematics, English and Geography that would suit the requirements. This course was such a success that even when the Seminary was closed in 1855 they ran a separate institution at Tellippalai to do this teaching. Until such time a separate training college for teachers was established under the grant in aid scheme in 1880. It was the Vernacular Institution and the Theological Institution that continued to supply the teachers needed for the school.

The very concept of a training for teachers was new to this environment since in the traditional set up one automatically becomes a teacher at the end of the training. But there were new demands now. Arumuga Navalar himself in his "Oru Vikiyapannam" had advocated that the training of teachers for the schools be envisaged and it is quite interesting to see that he too insisted on almost similar training school for teachers. The course of study for these teacher trainees was very similar to that of the course drawn by the American Missionaries. The report of the American Ceylon Mission in 1846 gives a list of the graduates of the Batticotta Seminary. According to this report most of the Seminary graduates entered the teaching service:

Persons educated in the seminary who are employed by the American Mission as preachers, catechists, readers, school teachers or school superintendents in 1846

70 Persons	
who have been so employed but who are not now	
in the service of the Mission	66
Persons so employed by the Madura Mission	11
Persons who have so employed by the Madura	
Mission but who are not now in its service	25
Persons who are now in the service of other Missions	15
Persons who have been in	
the employment of other missions	08
Persons who are now in Government Service	53
Persons who have been in Government Service	12
	260

C.H. Piyaratne in his Doctoral dissertation "American Education in Ceylon, 1816–1895" says:

Probably no other school system of the country could claim to have employed a well educated staff of teachers comparable to that of the American Mission at this time of the country's educational history. ¹⁰

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

a) Protestant Christianity

The new learning brought in by the American Missionaries posed a challenge to the prevalent religion of Jaffna. Till the middle of the 19th century the American Missionaries had reasons for satisfaction about the impact of their missionary work because at that time they started their activities Jaffna was full of paganistic beliefs. Till the middle of the 19th century the whole of South and South East Asia had to beat a continuing retreat before the advance of Western Science and Thought and Economic Progress. This view is supported by Hanlon Rosalind in her Thesis "Low caste protest and the creation of the political identity." She says:

First there were the glaringly obvious discrepancies between the social and material success of Indian and Western Societies or at least in the aspects of Western Societies that were presented to Indians themselves. There was the emergent capacity of Western Societies to understand and manipulate the material world. The advances of nineteenth century science were presented as at one with the Christian Religion and its discoveries about the construction of natural world and the material universe appeared as an irrefutable testimony to the inadequacy or hopeless inaccuracy of Hindu accounts from the realms of traditional Science in Geography and Astrology to their projection of a natural world invested with Divine powers. ¹¹

In this situation the Batticotta Seminary on the other hand enjoyed corresponding success. In the early stage many Saivaites, either during their career at the Seminary or on its completion, embraced Christianity. It is undeniable that many stalwarts among Protestants at the present time in Jaffna are descendants of these converts. Some families like Nathaniels, Breckenridge, Arnold, Anketell, Mills, Nevins, Evarts, Niles, Champion, Christmas, Ashbury, Gould, Spencer, Lyman, Rice, Carpenter, Kingsbury, Winslow, Mather, Tappan, Rockwood, Brayant, Hunt, Sherad are even now the back bone of the Protestant Community in Jaffna. These belong to the top most class of the grade called Vellalas. It is actually in Jaffna people of this grade who had a tradition of culture behind them sought education at the Seminary. The conversion of people with the tradition of scholarship like Cumaraswamy Mudaliyar, Kathiravetpillai, Arunasalam Sathasivampillai, Vairavanathar Visvanathapillai, Veluppillai Kanagasabaipillai, Mylvaganar Somasegarampillai and Muthukumarar Sithamparapillai is an important event in the annals of Christian Community. The fact that about the vear 1606 De Nobilie took into Roman Catholic fold 63 Brahmin families is considered to be a noteworthy event. Vimala Manuel, a historian of the Indian Church says:

In 1609, 63 persons of high caste became the followers of Jesus. This is unparalleled in the history of the Indian Church. 12

It is these converts who produced what we now regard as the earliest productions of Protestant Christian Literature. Because of the associations that clung to them that Christianity was indigenized from the out set. Kailasapillai, who wrote the biography of Arumuga Navalar says that it was during this time the Missionaries were blowing the conch shell of triumph thinking that they had captured the whole of Jaffna. ¹³

It therefore looked as if Christianity had taken root in Jaffna. But by the middle of the 19th century a change came over. The books produced by the Seminary graduates began to evoke corresponding replies from among the Saivaites. It was in 1848 that Navalar began to do Hindu propaganda for the first time by discoursing on religious topics at the Sivan Temple at Vannarponnai. Same year, he started the Saiva Pragasa Vidyalaya at Vannarponnai. Thenceforth the movement against Christianity began to gather momentum. Seminary graduates themselves began to get influenced by this movement.

The reforms introduced by the Colebrooke Commission in 1833 too played a role in hastening this trend. What mattered was the knowledge of English, not how it was obtained nor where. There were people with a purely materialist motive began to get attracted to the Seminary. These people sought no financial assistance from the missionaries for their education but spent their own money. Since the motives of the new graduates were not in the least religious, the missionaries began to regard them with increasing distaste which later turned to be active hostility. Therefore when the crucially important deputation led by Rufus Anderson came from the American Board in 1855, it was actually those who had been holding high administrative posts in the Seminary who were very keen that the Seminary be closed. Daniel Poor, who had been one of the pioneer missionaries of the American Board wrote the following letter about the native Christians of Jaffna:

Our churches, he says in the same letter, "as now constituted, are in an artificial state and appear more homely to a casual observer than they really are. For,

- 1). They were, as a body, reared in our boarding establishments, which, as we have often remarked, are like unto hot houses in the Frigid Zone.
- 2). They are to a great extent sustained by the Mission being in mission employment, earning their livelihood indeed, but envied by the heathen.
- 3). As they themselves are not a self-sustaining church, in the most desirable sense, they are to a great extent disabled from becoming a witnessing church, which is the grand desideratum in the land. And
- 4). The profession Christianity, of certainly the possession of it, has under the circumstances of the case, been attended with such worldly benefits, as to have begotten and strengthened a mercenary spirit in all around us. In view of these and other collateral circumstances, the native church stands before us under an unhomely aspect and awakens our deepest anxieties."¹⁴

M.D. Sanders wrote as follows:

The graduates were raised too high above the masses of the people for effective missionary work. The Tamil Missionary field, he thinks, will not generally depend on Batticotta graduates for a supply. Few assistants from this source are now found on the continent.

Mr. Sanders gives us the following table of persons born within the limits of the Tillipally Station and now living, who were educated, wholly or in part, at the Batticotta Seminary. It was made out in November 1855 and, of course, entirely irrespective

who are abroad

of the request of the Special Committee.

101	names in all
29	reside abroad
72	within the station
46	professed heathen
35	professed Christians
11	not known to have rubbed ashes
5	sons of Christians
1	excommunicated church members, leaving out those

Of the 72 at the station

39	are	heathen

- 16 professed Christians
- 9 not known to have rubbed ashes
- 4 sons of Christians
- 4 excommunicated church members

Of the 16 professed Christians

- 9 were receiving salaries from the mission
- 1 connected with the Press and yet retained
- 1 left the office when turned over to the natives
- 1 Teacher
- 1 left the Seminary and has no employment
- 1 an ordinary coolly
- 1 a farmer
- 1 in search of employment

Those who are marked as heathen, says, Mr. Sanders "and excommunicated church members attend our religious meetings no more frequently than the heathen generally." He also says, that if the salaries of the mission were to stop, there are only two or three of the Christians whom we could depend upon as permanent residents. 15

About this time the American Board was carrying on Missionary work in Hawaii Islands and was meeting with great success. They expected similar result in Jaffna and were sorely disappointed so they wrote as follows:

We sent missionaries to Hawaii Islands ten years after we sent them to Ceylon. The results there were astonishingly encouraging. In Jaffna we get the news that after 33 years of missionary labor only 733 persons had joined the Christian church. We would like to know how this difference comes about. In view of this, sending of men and money to Jaffna seems unwise. 16

At this stage, C.W. Thamotharampillai, a graduate of the Seminary ridiculed the success of the missions in Hawaii Islands. He wrote:

The people of Hawaii Islands are like those who have never seen a tree and to whom you can show a plucked leaf and call it a tree. Jesus is Lord for the people of Hawaii Islands and Africa who do not know the qualities of God.

On the other hand you yourself say that there are two kinds of sinners. Those sinners who have inherited sins and those who have acquired sins, even if Jesus is free of acquired sins how could he be free of inherited sins?¹⁷

The religious disposition of perhaps a large number of the Protestant Christians in Jaffna has been well recorded in a pamphlet issued by Arumuga Navalar called "Yalpana Samaya Nilai" or The Religious Situation in Jaffna. It goes on to say, "At present time the missionaries are imparting education in English, which is one of the chief avenues for employment. Those who entered the missionary institutions when young and not conversant with the Saivaite system have naturally welcomed Christian faith. Many of them, in late life when they became acquainted with the Saivaite system, embraced Saivism by pilgrimages to South India, wearing holy ash and adopting Hindu religious practices while others developed their attitude that all religions were equally false. Who

has not seen many Catechists who had one time confessed with tears that Jesus was Saviour and Siva was devil going to the Hindu temples with their families wearing all the outward marks of Saivism." ¹⁸ Many graduates who embraced Christianity while they were studying at the Seminary also gave up their faith. Seminary students of the early period grieved over the backsliding of converts to Hindus. B.H. Rice had mentioned this in one of his letter to Mrs. H.R. Hoisington:

There are several cases of backsliding which no one can help. The enemy has sown tares among the wheat.¹⁹

In the field of religion what the missionaries hoped to achieve through the Seminary were not realised. But their evangelical enterprise no doubt had the reforming and revivalistic effect on Saivism. According to D.S. Sarma, the work of the missionaries led only to the awakening of Hinduism.

The zealous missionaries who never failed to point out their finger of scorn at our religious and social institution were educators......... Ultimately they served to rouse Hinduism.²⁰

REFORMATION OF SAIVISM

Even though the Methodist Missionaries, Church Missionaries and the American Missionaries served in Jaffna, the Hindu response were mainly directed against the American Missionary enterprise. Till 1850, 65 American Missionaries had served in Jaffna. The number of Methodist Missionaries who served in Jaffna during that period was less than 10. The number of CMS Missionaries was still less. As aforesaid, the American Missionaries, labour was not merely confined to schools but it took multi-various forms. Printing Press, higher education and medical work were utilized in their evangelical enterprise. It is a matter of significance that the first Saivaite polemic "Gnanakummi" was mainly against the work of the American Missionaries who served in Uduvil. Moreover, Arumuga Navalar wrote "Saiva Dhushana Pariharam" in 1854 as a response to the "Blind Way" published by the American Missionaries. At this time

all the tracts written by the members of the Religious Tract Society were examined by the American Missionary Levi Spaulding before they were sent to the Press.²¹

All the apologetic work that came out from Batticotta Seminary were of a high intellectual order. This had the effect of making the religious controversies of the 19th century, a disciplined academic exercise. As a result, Saivism had to reformulate and reform itself. In the latter part of the 19th century Saivism attained a revitalised state. In the sixteenth century, Roman Catholicism had to reform itself as a result of Martyn Luther's Movement. The counter-reformation of the Catholic Church led to educational advancement and discipline among the clergy. Doctrine of the Catholic Church was defined. Many of the customs and ceremonies were given theological interpretation. Similar changes took effect in Saivism in Jaffna. Arumuga Navalar in his proclamation said that Saiva priests should rise up to the level of Christian clergy.

Oh' Saivaites the Padres come here from distant places after mastering their languages, classical languages, grammar, literature, mathematics, geography. They work on religion and acquaint themselves in our didactic and religious works and then preach their religion. Among your priests there are persons who cannot write Pattolai or even write the word "Antiyaddi" correctly. Clever! Clever!²²

Sermon occupies an important place in the formal Christian Prayer. At the Batticotta Seminary instructions were given on how a sermon should be handled. Hunt and Wiseborne Volk excelled in the art of preaching. Sermon played an important part in the Methodist and Anglican Worship Services also. No doubt, "Purana Pathanam," the reciting of the Puranas was carried on in the temples of Jaffna for many years. At Nallur Kandaswamy Temple Brahmins who had undergone deeksha ceremony did Purana Pathanam. Purana Pathanam is different from that of the sermon. Those who did Purana

Pathanam would not say anything apart from Puranas. The Christian sermon is a discourse that delves into political, economic and other sociological fields and relates them to the biblical thoughts with a view of reforming the listeners. Arumuga Navalar began his preaching embracing all these traits at Vannarponnai Sivan Temple on 31-11-1847. Thereafter, Post Pooja Religious Talk became an important aspect of the Saivaite worship.

The publications of the American Missionaries showed the importance of books in the advancement of a religion. Arumuga Navalar began his Publishing House with a view of propagating Saivism. He wrote the Puranas in simple prose so that the academic and non-academic could understand. The Catechisms were very popular among the Christians during this time. Catechism was included in the syllabus of the entrance examination of the Batticotta Seminary. "Bala Bothams" were written by the American Missionaries and taught in their schools. Arumuga Navalar followed their examples and wrote Saiva Catechisms and traded text called "Pala Padams."

Arumuga Navalar also criticised the worship practices of the Saivaites. One could easily see that the concepts of God, heaven and hell of the Christian faith had influenced his writing. The academic programme of the Batticotta Seminary had in many ways led to the reformation of the Saivaites faith. However, the Seminary students of the latter period were very much influenced by Arumuga Navalar's movement and were dedicated to his aims and objectives. Hence, it should be concluded that Arumuga Navalar also played a part in the closing of the Batticotta Seminary.

AGRICULTURE & INDUSTRY

Christian Missionaries had been serving among the Tamils from the 16th century. Till the 19th century they could not make an impact in scientific inquiry or in the spirit of adventure among the Tamil people. Western Science became popular only after the industrial revolution, which began at the end of the 18th century. A. Veluppillai says:

The English Industrial Revolution and the French Political Revolution which began in the 18th century led to vast changes in the life style and throught of the Europeans. Democracy that emphasizes individual rights and Communism, which emphasizes the welfare of the society, though were set in motion in Europe, had a corresponding effect in the Tamil country also. The scientific outlook of the Western Society greatly influenced the philosophy of life. ²³

The Protestant Missionaries came from Europe at a time when science and industry were making vast strides in their society. They, therefore, served also as the agent of Western Science in Jaffna. Even though the Sanskrit "Vingnana" was widely used among the Tamils for many centuries, the scientific advancement and discoveries in physical sciences were new to the Tamils. A. Velupillai says:

Today Science has come into Tamil. Science enriches Tamil. In the renaissance of Tamil, Science occupies an important place.²⁴

But the Seminary played an important part in introducing Western Science to the Tamil people. In the College Plan, they wrote that Agriculture and Mechanic Arts would be improved. As they envisaged, some important changes took place in the economy of Jaffna:

It is not want of mind which leaves Asia at so great a distance behind Europe in the march of improvement. It is the want of spirit of enquiry and willingness to improve.²⁵

Henry Martyn who studied at the Seminary and later became a teacher of Physical Science made some spectacular discoveries in the field of Science. He proved in the first half of the 19th century that the Jaffna people were capable of comprehending Western Science to utilize those principles for local needs. He made a perambulator for Aukland Dyke, the Government Agent of Jaffna to calculate distances on roads and install mile stones. ²⁶ Henry Martyn was also greatly interested in

Astronomy. He seems to have made a lamp with special gadgets to explain the planetary positions. The Globe which he made at Vaddukoddai was recognized by the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

In 1835, photographic camera was brought to Ceylon by the American Missionaries who served in Jaffna. Photography was introduced into South Sri Lanka only in 1838. The American Missionaries could not operate the camera, which had come from their homeland. Henry Martyn seems to have read the literature that came with this camera for one hour and took a photograph of the Missionaries. This was the first photograph taken in Sri Lanka. The Seminary gave the necessary atmosphere and inspiration for the achievements of Henry Martyn:

It is to his and his alma mater's abiding credit that he was strong enough to resist the bitter reproaches of his fellow students while at the Seminary and his fellow men in latter days reproaches which were in consequence of his having turned his attention to various kinds of manual labour which were not carried on by persons of his caste.²⁷

The Seminary also led to the advancement of agriculture and industry. Sir James Tennent who served as Colonial Secretary in Ceylon from 1845 to 1850 makes an assessment of the achievements of the Seminary in the field of science and agriculture:

Both at Batticotta and at Oodooville it is a part of the system to supply the annual contribution of some one friend of the Mission. If it amounts to the stipulated sum to the exclusive education of one individual who on admission assumes in addition to his own name that of the distant benefactor to whom he is indebted for his presentation. Thus at Oodooville the Tamil girls each bear the Christian and surname of an American Lady and at Batticotta one of the native students was presented by a name somewhat familiar to me as Mr. William Tennent.

In addition to the many students who have entered into professional and other employment, numbers educated in the

institution are now resident in their own villages in the immediate vicinity of Batticotta, engaged in agricultural pursuits; and it is a striking illustration of the civilizing effects of such an establishment, in aiding the exertions of the civil power for the improvement of the district, that whereas fifteen years ago there was not a single wheelcart in the district of Batticotta, there are now 150 in the immediate neighbourhood of the village; within the same period ten wells have been dug for one that previously existed; one-third has been added to the extent of reclaimed and cultivated land, and in all directions the country has been opened up by by-roads and lanes to communicate with the leading highways to Jaffna.

It is not to be presumed that these are the results exclusively of the instruction and intelligence communicated by the Missionaries, but contrasted with the comparatively backward aspect of the districts to which their labours have not extended, there can be no question of their title to a large proportion of praise for the support which the Missionary establishments have yielded to the efforts of the Government Agent of the district, Mr. Dyke and the impulse thus communicated to the progress of improvement and civilization. It is painful to imagine that the benevolent toil thus unweariedly bestowed could be unproductively eventually of no lasting results or that the seed so patiently sown should fail to take deep root and to exhibit its fruits in some permanent improvement of the people

For my own part I cannot reconcile myself to such a possibility, nor can I believe that convictions and principles which have been deeply impressed, and have already influenced to some extent the habits of thought and the social status of two generations can ever be wholly obliterated or that even were their execution an enforcement to be suspended, the good which has already been achieved would not continue for generations to come to exercise a salutary influence on the mental and moral development

and on the material prosperity of the Tamils of Jaffna.²⁸

As mentioned by Emerson Tennent, the impact of Western Science began to spread from Vaddukoddai to other parts of the Peninsula. Mechanical discoveries helped in the economic advancement of the people of Jaffna. This had a permanent effect on the quality of life of the people.

SOCIAL INEQUALITIES

The American Missionaries were not indifferent to the evils of casteism in Jaffna. In their Plan they had said that learning would rise in estimation and gradually obtain over wealth and caste. Even though the casteism in Jaffna was less rigid than that prevailed in South India, it led to much misery to people of lower births. It is the considered opinion of many scholars of Sri Lankan history that the hardships on low caste people in Jaffna were much severe than in other parts of Sri Lanka. The people who belong to the lower strata in the society were treated as slaves through generations. The following statistics shows the number of slaves in the various provinces of Sri Lanka in 1837:²⁹

	Male	Female	
Western Province	393	332	
Southern Province	431	342	
Eastern Province	12	The state of	
Northern Province	12,605	11,910	
Central Province	687	694	
	14,108	13,289	27,397

Some attempts were made to improve the conditions of the slaves in Jaffna in the early part of the 19th century. British Government. By the Act of 3-01-1821, the killing and persecution of the Tamil Slaves was banned. However, slaves continued to undergo much tribulation in Jaffna. K.M. de Silva observes:

Slavery in the Tamil areas of the Jaffna Peninsula and the Eastern Province differed from that in other parts of the Island. The bulk of the Tamil slaves were employed as agricultural labourers on the fields of their owners and were rewarded with a small proportion of the produce. In the Kandyan region slavery was domestic rather than predial, and slaves were employed less as servants than as the retinue or suite of the chiefs. Besides, the Tamil slaves belonged to four particular castes, viz the Koviyars, Chandars, Pallas and Nalavars among the lowest and most depressed in the Tamil caste hierarchy (Thus, despite their ultimate emancipation, there was no perceptible improvement in their position; they remained as despised and poverty-stricken as they originally were). Tamil slave-owners treated their slaves with much less humanity than their Kandyan counterparts.³⁰

The American Missionaries were rather cautious in dealing with this vexed problem. Even though people of very low caste studied in their primary school there is no evidence that anybody from these communities joined Batticotta Seminary. In South India, the Missionaries used social service and famine relief in their evangelical work. This led to the spread of the Gospel among the lower caste also. The Evangelists in Jaffna and especially the Missionaries of the Congregationalist tradition used education as the only tool of evangelization. They believed that the light of erudition was always favourable to Christianity. As darkness disappears with the morning sun they held that heathenism also disappears with the coming in of scientific knowledge. They, therefore, had to make compromise with people of high caste who were keen to get a scientific education. They also made provision for persons of high birth to stay outside the Seminary buildings and make their food in their own kitchens.³¹

Even though this behaviour was ridiculous to the American Missionaries, they tolerated it because of the constrains.³² The Seminary report of 1839 makes an interesting reference. When it was laid down that people of high birth also should reside inside the Seminary, these

high caste boys decided to drain a well inside the Seminary and keep it for their use. Since it was rainy season they could not drain the entire water. They made a declaration that since water equal to ordinary times had been drained, it can be considered purified.

In the 19th century no missionary organization that came to Sri Lanka took an abiding interest in the problem of the low caste people. It was the government that made attempts to improve the social and economic conditions of the down trodden.

Inspired by Evangelicalism, the British Government interested itself in all these problems; it directed that the mild form of slavery then existing in Ceylon should be gradually abolished, and that the State should take a paternal interest in the Veddahs, protecting them, civilizing them and, if possible, converting them to Christianity. Caste was too amorphous and nebulous, a problem to be tackled by a deliberate and precise policy, and apart from a vague egalitarianism there was no clear policy on caste. The missionaries had little influence on the actual formulation of these policies: their role in these projects was that of auxiliaries and assistants with a great deal of influence of the day to day running of these schemes. Their assistance was indispensable because the State could not have conducted these projects by itself, since it did not have the men and the administrative structure for it. Besides, there was a great deal of agreement between the administrators and the missionaries on the basic aims of these schemes - 'civilization' and 'conversion.' The missionaries were interested in these projects because of the rich dividends they expected in converts, they were, after all, eroding the traditional society at its weakest links; they were converting to Christianity men who they believed had a grievance against the old society.33

The American Missionaries attitude towards people of low caste is clearly expressed in an essay written by them in 1854. In this essay they had

said that their native assistants go to people of low births with great enthusiasm and preach the gospel, supervise their schools, help in their funeral, nurse their sick but to stipulate that they should eat in their house and have marriage connections with people of low castes will amount to going beyond the limits and hurt their feeling. This will be like asking the affluent people in Boston and New York Churches to dine in the same table with Black and White servants.³⁴ So it is difficult to say that the American Missionaries with this conciliatory policy did much to ameliorate the conditions of the poor people.

ELITE FORMATION AND ELITES

The people who benefited most by the Seminary education were people of high caste in the Jaffna society. Like the Brahmins in India who mastered English and stabilized their position during the British times, the Vellalas in Jaffna also mastered English Language and maintained their predominant position in the society. After the Colebrooke Reforms of 1833, English education persons were in great demand not only in government clerical service but also in the plantation sector. Michael Roberts in his essay on "Elite Formation and Elite's 1832–1931" says that the most important factor that helped in the formation of elite's in the latter part of 19th century was the new avenues of employment. He further asserts that in Jaffna elite formation was largely due to administrative and academic job opportunities. In 1921, 31.0 % of posts in administration and in the academic field were held by Jaffna Tamils. It, therefore, becomes evident that the community which held a high position in the society due to its land holding became dominant in the administrative and academic fields because of Seminary education.

Their advance in these fields was made possible to the fact that good English schools were started in the Jaffna Peninsula from an early date with the American Mission school at Vaddukoddai. (The Batticotta Seminary which commenced in 1823) was showing the way. This early start and a subsequent concentration of English schools in the peninsula, the medical school initiated at

Vaddukoddai by Dr. Samuel Green in 1847, and South Indian familial contacts which enabled a few to secure secondary and university education in Madras proved of great service to the Jaffna Tamil.³⁵

The Jaffna Tamils sought seminary education mainly to gain lucrative positions in government and private sector. They, therefore, were not prepared to give up their religion or culture. Since in the Jaffna society only the Saivites could be paramount, many students gave up Christianity as soon as they finished their education. Some pretended to be Christians while they were at the seminary. In the latter period of the seminary when provision was made for students to pay their tuition fees and pursue seminary education only 10% of the students admitted were Christians.

It is also significant that the policy of indigenization and aspirations of the Misssionaries were also responsible for the nationalism and loyalty to Saivism among students. The American Missionaries were keen that Christianity should be indigenized in Jaffna and they did not insist that the new converts should change their dress, eating habits and other customs. The Biographer T.P. Hunt, a Seminary graduate says the following about his subject:

His dress was always the same. He wore a dhoti with a palakhat handkerchief as his turban. He wore an over-coat where the buttons were outside. He wore simple slippers and carried a black umbrella, which had a white canopy over it. This was the dress he wore in his parish visits. Ear rings of the size of solanum trilobintum hung in his ears till the end of his life. ³⁶

There is not a slightest doubt that the Batticotta Seminary could not bring about a spectacular change in the caste system of Jaffna. The Seminary carried the important task of preparing the Jaffna Society to avail themselves for the great opportunities opened up by the Colebrooke Reforms of 1833.

The education provided at the Batticotta Seminary should be taken as having had a great impact on the mental make up and attitudinal aspects of the Tamils of Jaffna. Batticotta Seminary and its allied Institutions like to bring in modernity proper into Jaffna. The period witnessed changes in the field of Western Science, Medicine and in the condition of women.

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CONCLUSION

The Batticotta Seminary was the seat of higher learning in Sri Lanka prior to the University College and at the time it was established, it was the only one of its kind in entire Asia. The Institution of the Missionary was designed to impart to the natives those advancements in knowledge achieved in the West through what is generally known as development of Scientific Education. The Institution was manned by qualified academics from American Universities like Yale and Boston. This understandably gave the institution a characteristic flavor.

The students of the Seminary came mainly from families of the upper echelons of the Jaffna social hierarchy. The education they received and the social power and authority their families enjoyed within the society ensured recruitment to gradually increasing Colonial low and middle level bureaucracy.

As we have already observed, the curriculum consisted of subjects, which brought in modernity in the proper sense of the term. Modernity refers to the societal aspects of being modern. The American Missionaries by converting these

families shifted them away from the roots of traditional social living and exposed them to an intellectual and educational ethos

completely new to the society. This created a mode of living in which they were able to operate within the traditional social relation, but imbued new aspirations and knowledge of new areas to be concurred. This situation enabled them to look at their own traditional life and culture in detached manner, so much so, they were able to understand and value those traditions in terms of the new and modern knowledge they imbibed through that education. This in fact, put them and on their way of life on the roads of modernity. The way of becoming modern or to be exact the process of modernization was neither technological nor industrial. as was the case in mid 18th and early 19th century of Europe. Here modernization was coming via then roads of Christianity. The Education gained at Batticotta Seminary provided them with the foundation for a secularistic approach towards life when they entered the services of the government. Tennent in his "History of Christianity in Ceylon" mentions how students from this institution were being posted as Officials of the British Colonial Service in various parts of the country. That exactly is the point, a certain section or sections of society was / were getting modernised through the agency of Batticotta Seminary, Evidently, an Organization that was primarily set up to spread the Gospel was now enabling its students to reap the advantages Batticotta Seminary offered for secular benefits. As has been already shown by the scholar Sivathamby, "Navalar Centenary Value" exposed that the other Protestant Missionaries too were producing the same result. Arumuga Navalar, to whom already reference has been made, pioneered a Socio Educational Movement by which the natives used their new benefits (Education & Administration) to strengthen their traditional social life and at the same time up to date scientific knowledge of the Western type.

Quite understandably the Rufus Anderson Commission that was sent to assess the spiritual achievements of the education institutions was able to detect this abuse. While accepting this charge of abuse, it should be noted that for the Jaffna Society which has already undergone Colonial Rule since 1621, Batticotta Seminary and its successor the Jaffna College were not tools of the Colonial Rule. It is true that the English Education it imparted facilitated colonial rule, but that did not make the American Mission an instrument for colonial operation. In fact, it was

the opposite, the era of liberation that filled the air of Jaffna College was primarily responsible for the birth of Jaffna Students' Congress. Seelan Kadirgamar has shown how Jaffna College was responsible for that movement and more importantly how anti colonialist the struggle was.

Mahatma Gandhi, who led the freedom struggle in India visited Jaffna College in 1927. He recognized the fact that two secretaries of the reception committee were old students of Jaffna College.

Lastly, I had the pleasure of meeting your Vice Principal in Bangalore and the two secretaries of the reception committee are also old boys of the school.¹

The Batticotta Seminary and its successor Jaffna College have a definite place in the modernization of Jaffna.

NOTES

 Mahadev Desai in "With Gandhiji in Ceylon," printed by S. Ganesan at the Current Thought Press, Priplicane, Madras. This speech was made at Jaffna College on 29-11-1927.

APPENDIX - I

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF TAMIL AUTHORS AND THEIR WORKS

American Missionaries published a brief account of Tamil Authors and their works. Even though the date of this publication is not mentioned in the title page of this work there are evidences to conclude that this was published before the year 1852. In his note on "Thirukkural" the author of The Brief Account of Tamil Authors and Their Works, says;

The Rev. Mr. Drew lately resident in Madras has published a volume containing the first 24 Chapters with two commentaries by Tamil Scholars (One of whom is Ramanujacavirayar now resident in Madras and a distinguished scholar in his native language). ¹

Ramanujacavirayar died in the year 1852 ² It is therefore clear that this book was published before the year 1852. Even though this catalogue of Tamil Authors and Their Works has many short-comings it is of historic importance. This book was compiled by the American Missionary Levi Spaulding. A meeting of the American Missionaries serving at Madras, Madurai and Jaffna was held at Vaddukoddai on the 3rd May, 1938. At this meeting the following resolution was made:

The delegates also recommended that a list of all works printed in the Tamil Language be made out and as far as possible specimen of the works collected for the purpose of printing a description or catalogue for the use of all missionaries in the Tamil country. Bro. Spaulding is appointed on behalf of the Jaffna Mission, in the room of the Secretary. ³

This catalogue was made for the use of American Missionaries in Tamil areas.

Levi Spaulding seems to have compiled this list within a period of one year. At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Ceylon Mission held in March 1939, Levi Spaulding reported that he had completed this list and had sent it to Daniel Poor who was then serving at Madurai.

The objective of this book is to introduce Tamil Books and their authors to the Missionaries serving in the Tamil country. The author seeks to explain some Tamil text by drawing comparison with English and Greek productions. For example about the book "Kesendra Moksham" he says, a book similar to "Ovids Metamorphosis." In his note on "Urichchuvadiya Kanakku" he says the Sinhala Alphabetic is also bound with this work. This gives further evidence to show that this catalogue was made in Sri Lanka. All the books mentioned in this catalogue were existing during the author's time. It is clear that the author is not mentioning any work which he had not seen. Therefore this list helps in the study of Tamil Books not extant. There are many spelling mistakes in this list. It is not clear whether the Ola Books which the missionaries obtained were full of mistakes or whether the mistakes were made by the missionaries. "Asarak-kolai" instead of "Asarak-kovai", "Thirikadaham" instead of "Thiripidaham", "Kumba Karana Pallam" instead of Kumba Karana Padalam" are some of the glaring mistakes. It is strange that the author could not find any book on Saiva Siddhanta in his collections. He has mentioned a book called "Tattwa Vilakkam, very probably "Tattwa Kattalai" has been mentioned as "Tattwa Vilakkam." It is also a matter of significance that none of the Sangam works is mentioned in this catalogue. During the first part of the 19th century the American Missionaries did not get the opportunity of knowing the entire Tamil Literary Works. Many prominent Tamil Scholars kept aloof of the missionary institutions during the early part of the 19th century. This explains the omission of the names of some important Tamil Classics.

NOTES

- 1. A Brief account of Tamil Authors and their works, p.2
- Poologasinham, P. (Ed.) "Pavalar Charithira heepaham", of Arnold Sathasivampillai, Colombo Tamil Society, Colombo, 1975, P. 179.
- 3. Minutes, May 03, 1838, p.l.
- 4. Minutes, March 1839, p. 250

பிற்சேர்க்கை " அ "

தமிழ் ஆசிரியர்களினதும் அவர்கள் ஆக்கங்களினதும் அட்டவணை

தமிழ்ப் புலவர்களைப் பற்றியும் அவர்கள் உருவாக்கிய இலக்கியங்களைப் பற்றியும் ஒரு நூல், அமெரிக்கன் மிஷனரிமாரில் வெளியிடப்பட்டதாகத் தெரிகின்றது. இந்நூலின் முகப்பில் அது வெளியிடப்பட்ட காலம் கூறப்படவில்லையாயினும், அந்நூல் 1852ம் ஆண்டுக்கு முன்னர் வெளிவந்தது என்று கொள்வதற்குத்தக்க ஆதாரம் உண்டு. திருக்குறளைப்பற்றிய குறிப்பில் ஆசிரியர் பின்வருமாறு குறிப்பிடுகின்றார்.

> " சமீபத்தில் சென்னையில் குடிபுகுந்த வண. டிரு முதல் இருபத்திநான்கு அதிகாரங்களையும் தமிழறிஞர்கள் இருவரின் பொழிப்புரைகளுடன் வெளியிட்டுள்ளார். (இவர்களில் ஒருவர் தற்பொழுது சென்னையில் வசித்து வருபவரும் தமது சுதேசமொழியில் தலைசிறந்த அறிஞருமான இராமானுஜக்கவிராயர் ஆவர்.) (1)

இராமானுயக்கவிராயர் 1852ம் ஆண்டு இறந்தார். எனவே இந்த நூல் 1852ஆம் ஆண்டிற்குமுன் வெளிவந்தது என்று துணிந்து கூறலாம். அமெரிக்கன் மிஷனரிமார் வெளியட்ட இந்தத் தமிழ் நூல் அட்டவணை பல குறைபாடுகளையுடையதாக இருந்தாலும் வரலாற்று முக்கியத்துவம் வாய்ந்தது.

இந்நூலைத் தொகுத்தவர் அமெரிக்கன் மிஷனரி லீவை ஸ்போல்டிங் என்றே கொள்ளக்கிடக்கின்றது. 1838ம் ஆண்டு மே 3ந் திகதி சென்னை, மதுரை, யாழ்ப்பாணம் ஆகிய இடங்களிற் பணியாற்றிய அமெரிக்கன் மிஷனரிமாரின் கூட்டம் வட்டுக்கோட்டையில் நடைபெற்றபோது லீவை ஸ்போல்டிங் அவர்கள் இந்த அட்டவணையைத் தயாரிக்கும்படி நியமிக்கப்பட்ட தமிழ்ப் பிரதேசங்களிற் பணியாற்றும் அமெரிக்கன் மிஷனரிமாரின் உபயோகத்திற்காகவே இப்பணி மேற்கொள்ளப்பட்டது.

லீவை ஸ்போல்டிங் ஒருவருட காலத்திற்குள்ளே இந்த நூற் பட்டியலைத் தயாரித்தார். 1839 ஆம் ஆண்டு மார்ச்சு மாதம் வட்டுக்கோட்டையில் நடைபெற்ற அமெரிக்க இலங்கை மிஷன் செயற்குழுக் கூட்டத்தில் ஸ்போல்டிங் தாம் அந்த நூலினை எழுதிவிட்டதாகவும் அதனை மதுரையில் பணியாற்றிய டானியல் பூவருக்கு அனுப்பிவிட்டதாகவும் கூறினார்.

தமிழ்ப் பிரதேசங்களிற் பணியாற்றிய மிஷனரிமாருக்குத் தமிழ்நூல்களை எளியமுறையில் அறிமுகஞ்செய்து வைப்பதே இந்த நூலின் நோக்கமாகும். ஆசிரியர் தமிழ் நூல்கள் சிலவற்றை ஆங்கில, கிரேக்க நூல்கள் மூலமாக விளக்கிக் காட்டுகின்றார். உதாரணமாக "கெசேந்திர மோட்சம்" என்ற நூலைப் பின்வருமாறு விளக்குகின்றார். உரிச்சுவடியக்கணக்கு என்ற நூல் பற்றிய குறிப்பில் ஆசிரியர் இந்நூலுடன் சிங்கள அரிச்சுவடியும் சேர்த்துக் கட்டப்பட்டுள்ளது என்று கூறியுள்ளார். இந்நூற்பட்டியல் இலங்கையிலேயே தொகுக்கப்பட்டதென்பதனை இது புலப்படுத்துகின்றது. இப்பட்டியலிற் குறிப்பிடப்பட்டுள்ள நூல்கள் யாவும் நூலாசிரியர் காலத்தில் இருந்தவையாகும். நூலாசிரியர் தாம் காணாத நூல் ஒன்றையும் தாம் அட்டவணையிற் குறிப்பிடவில்லை என அவரது குறிப்புக்கள் உணர்த்துகின்றன. எனவே இறந்துபோன நூல்கள் பற்றிய ஆய்விற்கு இப்பட்டியல் உதவிபுரிகின்றது. இந்த அட்டவணையில் அநேக எழுத்துப்பிழைகள் காணப்படுகின்றன. மிஷனரிமாருக்குக் கிடைத்த ஏடுகள் பிழைகள் நிறைந்தனவாகவிருந்தனவா. மிஷனரிமார் அட்டவணையை உருவாக்கியபொழுது பிழைகள் ஏற்பட்டனவா என்பது கூறமுடியாமல் இருக்கிறது. "ஆசாரக்கொலை", "திறிகடகம்", "நாகபாச படலம்". "கலிங்கத்துப்பறணி". "கும்பகர்ணபல்லம்", "சம்மதைப்பிளைத்திருநாயம்". "நற்கீரர்சிந்தாமணி", "சம்மந்தமூர்த்தி புராணம்". "உரிச்சுவடிகியக்கணக்கு",

"சமதம", "அமாகோசம் அமான" என்பவை இதிற் காணப்படும் பிழைகளுக்கு உதாரணங்களாகும். சைவசித்தாந்த சாத்திர நூல்களில் ஒன்றுமே நூலாசிரியருக்குக் கிடைக்கவில்லை. "தத்துவ விளக்கம்" என ஒரு நூலைக் குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளார். இது "தத்துவக் கட்டளையாக" இருந்திருக்கலாம். சங்க இலக்கியங்கள் பற்றி ஒரு குறிப்புமே இல்லை.

பத்தொன்பதாம் நூற்றாண்டின் முற்பகுதியில் அமெரிக்கன் மிஷனரிமார் தலைசிறந்த தமிழ் நூல்கள் யாவற்றையும் அறியும் வாய்ப்புப் பெற்றிருக்கவில்லை. சுதேச தமிழ் அறிஞர்கள் அவர்களுடன் தொடர்புகொள்ள விரும்பவில்லை. அதனால் உயர்ந்த தமிழ் நூல்களையறியும் வாய்ப்பு மிஷனரிமாருக்குக் கிட்டவில்லை.

7. Cural (குறன்)

A work held in the highest veneration by Tamilians . Its author Terooruvoollavur (திருவள்ளூவர்) is deemed an Incarnation of wisdom. It is called the first of works from which, whether for thought or language, there is no appeal. The most eminent look upon it as their Law Book, and in their disputes quote verses from it as eveidence of what they assert. The morality of the work is similar to that of the writings of Seneca. It is said by the learned that the book is more than 15,000 years old and yet it has lost none of its original renown and esteem among the people. The Cural contains 133 chapters. The subjects treated in some of which are Praise of God-Excellence of Rain-Greatness of Ascetics - Power of Virtue - Domestic State -Virtue of a Wife - Children - Love - Hospitality - Sweetness of Speech - Gratitude - Equity - Self Control - Observance of the proprieties of life, &c., &c. Editions of the Cural are frequently published. The Late Mr. Ellis of the H. C. Service, published some portions of the work with a poetic translation of the verses and with lengthened notes and illustrations. Tamil commentaries on the work have been published by the late Samana Pernaul Eyar, and a more ancient one exists by Parimelalagar.

The Rev. Mr. Drew, lately resident in Madras, has published a volume containing the first 24 chapters with two commentaries by Tamil scholars, One of whom is Ramanuja Cavi Rayar, now resident at Madras and a distinguished scholar in his Native language and an original translation of each stanza with an annexed Index Verborum.

8. Teroovalloovaroory (திருவள்ளுவருரை)

Teroovalloovaroory is an explanation of the preceding and is comprised in two large volumes. This book is extremely scarce, and though an explicative, can be understood only by the learned. It was written by an eminent Poet named Naatihinparhamar, who died some hundred years after Teroovallayur.

9. Sinthamanee (சிந்தாமணி)

This is an Epic Poem, containing the History and Panegyric of king Seevakun (சீவகன்) and is therefore called Seevaka Sinthamane (சீவக சிந் தாமணி). The author of this classic Tesykamun (திசைகாமன்) was a renowned hermit among the Samaners, and had his work published on plates of copper. The Tamulians say it is one of the oldest of books, and that the author is still alive, and resides in a mountain called Potheamaly (பொதியமலை) with thirteen other prophets, who will never die. Sinmathanool (சின்மத்நூல்) is another name of the same poem, a treats of the sect of the Samaners. The book is of great antiquity, esteemed as a first classic, and is held in great veneration by the people.

10. Baratham (பாரதம்)

This is the name of a celebrated Sanskrit Poem sometimes called the Fifth Veda (ஐந்தாம் வேதம்). The word means that which

is weighty and by some is derived from the Sanskrit Poem being heavier than the four Vedas. The true derivation is from Bharata, a king among whose descendants the events of this book occurred. The plot of the poem is that a war occurred between Tooreyoothanan (துரியோதனன்) and Taroomer (தருமர்) in which the first brother with ninety-nine who espoused his cause was slain and the latter became sole mon arch. The author's name is Villipoottooran(வில் லிபுத்தூரன்). The book is very difficult to read, yet pleasant to hear, on account of the ingenuity of the verse and loftiness of its melody.

11. Barathavoory (பாரதவுரை)

This is a translation of Baratham ($u\pi \eta \not \ni \dot{u}$) into plain Tamil. It was prepared by a Brahmin in compliance with the wish of his daughter who desired to understand clearly the contents of the original work.

12. Kunthupooranam (கந்தப்புராணம்)

This is the History of King Soorun (馬丁前), who as a reward for having performed the most severe penance in a wilderness for 2,000 years, was allowed by the god Sive (சிவன்) to rule over many kingdoms. Afterwards becoming proud, he rebelled against that god, who sent his son Kunthaswamy (கந்தகவாமி) to wage war against him. The armies on both sides were so great that all the seas were dried up by the dust occasioned by their march, their height reached to the stars. For sling stones they used the highest mountains. The history was first written in Grandam more than a 1,000 years ago and afterwards put into Tamil by a Brahmin, named Kuchcheyuppen (கச்சியப்பன்). Many hundreds of gods are mentioned in it who have left the world after having distinguished themselves by the part they took in these wars. This book is one of the oldest extant. Many express doubts of its authenticity, while others say that the events recorded happened in former times when there existed a differ ent race of mankind

13. Arichchantherunkathy (அரீச்சந்திரன் கதை)

The history of Arichchuntherun (அரிச் சந் திரன்). Twenty-one persons have made themselves famous for their liberality. These are divided into three classes of seven persons each. Arichchuntherun was the third person in the secong class. It is said of him that he never told a lie. At one time a prophet named Vesoovamitterun (விசுவாயித் திரன்) came to him attended by a dancing girl. He was much pleased with her dancing, and promised to give the prophet whatever he asked. The prophet asked as much money as would suffice to make a great offer ing, but refused to receive it till his return, when the principal and interest became equal to the value of the whole kingdom, himself, his wife, and his children, all of whom became slaves to this intriguer. After a sufficient trial of his patience the god came and took him and his family to heaven. This king is said to have reigned 2,000 years at the beginning of the world.

14. Arichchuntheruppooranam (அரிச்சந்திரப்புராணம்)

This book contains an account of the government of the king aforementioned, and of the virtuous acts which he performed.

15. Veytharlakathy (வேதாளகதை) or Vikkaramathittenkathy (விக்கிரமாதித்தன் கதை).

This is a prelix history of the devil Veytharlum(வேதாளம்) who served the Tamil King Vikkaramathitten (விக்கிரமாதித்தன்) and performed many cunning tricks. The verses are good, but the matter is absurd. This devil had at first been one of the god's priests in the other world, and when the goddess Parvathe (பார்வதி) had an occasion to speak in private with the god Siva (சிவன்), he (the priest) consented and heard their secret discourse, but made it public, in consequence of which,

Siva became angry and cursed him so that he became a devil on earth, where he has been playing his tricks ever since.

16. Palagnanaghghooverde (பலஞானச்சுவழ)

A book containing an account of a great many ceremonies, which the Tamilians observe as well inside as outside of their pogodas, in invocation to their gods for grace to live a quiet and retired life.

17. Seneyntheramaly (சீனேந்தீரமாலை)

A work on Natural History.

18. Baratha Ammany (பாரத அம்மானை)

A book treating of the same subject as that of Baratham (ungsid). It is pleasing to read on account of the beauty of its verses. The author's name is Ambride, a learned poet, who wrote 600 years ago.

19. Kalinkuttoopoorane (கலிங்கத்துப்பறணி)

This is an historical work, describing the wars of the Tamil kings, Kalingga Rajah (கலிங்க இராசா) and Soikoo Rajah (சொய்கு இராசா) is written in heavy verse. The author's name is Tickutamamoone, who was a hermit, and lived more than 800 years ago.

20. Alankara Ootharanum (அலங்கார உதாரணம்)

This is a volume of precepts, examples, and parables in verse. The author's name was Alungarun (அலங்காரம்). He lived about 800 years ago.

21. Aperame Antathe (அபிராமி அந்தாதி)

This book is filled with songs panegyrising the goddess Aperame (அபிராமி) who is the supposed proctectress of a town called Terookkadavan (திருக்கடவன்) situated near Travancore. This town contained, it is said, three large pagodas regularly built after the architecture of Solomon's temple. The first entrance has, like all Hindoo temples, four sides. No one enters into the second, except those who have been purified from sin, because the chief idols are placed therein. The third is the most holy place and has no idol in it. There are only god is worshipped, without images, when they call Paraparavasthoo (பராபரவன் து) or being of all beings.

22. Gnanapothakum (ஞானபேரதகம்)

This volume treats of the way of purifying the body and soul, also as to the correct manner of calling upon God in prayer, and how the heart should be while thus engaged. It also con tains divers forms of prayer. It is very old and held by Hindoos in great estimation.

23. Varoonun Oovathittan (வருணன் உவாதித்தன்)

This is a very atheistical and injurious book. It was written by a cultivator, who afterwards became a poet, who did little else than blaspheme God The object of the book is to persuade the people that there is no God, and that those books which are said to have been written in ancient time, and which treat of God and Divine things, were not thus written, as no man could see God, or tell what would come to pass. It teaches that plea sures of a corporeal nature can alone give real delight, as these can be seen, felt, and enjoyed; but as those of a spiritual nature cannot thus be seen and felt, they are insipid and unsatisfactory, and that, therefore, all these are little less than monkeys and idiots who forsake carnal gratifications, and fello mortifying and

spiritual pursuits. The book is generally condemned.

24. Covil Calumbakam (கோவிற் கலம்பகம்)

This volume contains a hundred hymns, in praise of the god Vishnoo (甸丘仔麵), which are often sung at the temple in Seringgam.

25. Teyvorum (தேவாரம்)

This is a collection of songs, in which the god Siva (சிவன்) is greatly lauded.

26. Punjathuntherakathy (பஞ்சதந்திரக்கதை)

This book is very similar in its style and design to Aesop's Fables, being a series of conversations between different animals and birds, with the shrewdness of some, the dullness of others, and the consequences, prosperous or adverse, that attended cer tain courses of conduct. It was written in an easy sty. of verse, and is much used in schools. It has been put into prose, in which form it is now most frequently to be found. It is easily obtained and is much read by all classes.

27. Nakapasapadalum (நாகபாசபடலம்)

A story of the war of Vishnoo (விஷ்ணு), and the giant Interasittoo (இந்திரசித்து), who was killed by poisonedarrows. The latter was a great and a brave hero. This book contains 300 Veroothum (விருத்தம்), a kind of verse. It is very difficult. The author, Cumber (கம்பர்), an eminent poet. It is written in a prelix manner, containing 1200 Veroothum (விருத்தம்), and is held in very high veneration approaching to idolat.

28. Vurlle ammy venpa (வள்ளி அம்மை வெண்பா)

295 Songs about the goddess Vurlleammy (வள்ளி அம்மை),

who is daughter of Kooravur (குறவர்), one of the jungle people, and a wife of Supramaniam, the second son of Sive, The author's name is Poosalanther (புசாலந்தர்), who was a pot, and lived about 600 years ago. He wrote many other books.

29. Sethumbarramaly (சதம்பரமாலை)

This work contains 120 songs, which are sung in praise of Isperan(ஈஸ் பரன்). It is full of parables and figurative expressions. The author's name is Ragavamasevyyun (இராகவம்சிவையன்). He flourished about 500 years ago and lived to a great age.

30. Veynkedamaly (வேங்கிடமாலை)
Venkadasathakam (வேங்கிட சதகம்)

A book of 100 songs in praise of Vishnoo (விஷ்ணு).

31. Neelennadakum (நீலிநாடகம்)

This volume contains 120 hymns, which are sung by dancers when dancing.

32. Verlleammeny (வள்ளி அம்மானை)

A book of pleasant verses about a goddess of the same name, giving her whole history.

33. Teroovadrooryoola (திருவாருர் உலா)

A singular sort of verses made about a god whose pagoda was in a place near Combaconum, Teroovaroor (திருவாரூர்), where he is said to have performed many wonders. His name is Pegeran (பிகிரன்), whose image, which fell down from heaven, of massy gold, still continues in the pagoda, and is worshipped.

34. Perlyttamul (பின்னைத் தமிழ்)

A collection of hymns, in which the gods are vrepresented as condescending to become like children, and playing with them.

35. Perllyteroonamum (பின்னைத் திருநாமம்)

36. Kanjeyaummany (காஞ்சியனம்மானை)

This is a large work, containing a full history of Vishnoo's six teenth incarnation. The books is highly esteemed and well un derstood. It was written about 360 years ago.

37. Paroomarlummany (பெருமாளம்மானை)

We find in this book a full account of the herric deeds of Vishnoo during his fourteenth incarnation. This and works of a similar kind are regarded by the followers of Vishnoo as the foundation of their religion and the source from which other books are derived.

38 Koombakurnuppadalum (கும்பகர்ணபடலம்)

Here we have presented to us a full account of the battles fought by a giant named Koobakurnan (கும்பகர்ணன்), who was a brother of Ravana, the hero of the Ramayanum. The history was originally written in poetry, but has been accurately translated into plain prose. The author's name was Kumbar (கம்பர்) who made him self famous by many historical works. The wars here

related were carried on in the second age of the world Tereythaywum (திரேதாயுகம்) or the "Silver Age" after which succeeded the Toovaparayookum (துவாபரயுகம்) which according to Hindoo chronology has already expired, and we live in the Kaleyookum (கலியுகம்) or "iron age" which will continue for 432,000 years.

39. Anoomarummany (அமைரம்மானை)

This is a book of 4,284 verses and contains a history of the monkey anooman (அனுமான்) which, because of innumerable wonders performed by itself and associates, obtained a seat among the chief gods, and is now greatly renowned. It was written about 400 years ago, though the occurrences related took place it is said, in the island of Ceylon many thousand years since.

40. Asarukkoly (ஆசாரக்கொலை)

This is a volume of 100 verses descriptive of the ceremonies observed by the Hindoos in their relation to their deities and their fellowmen. The author lived in the vacinity of Tanjore. It is said of him that he kept his eyes always closed, because he would not look upon the vanities of the world, lest he be led away by its temptations. He is said to have possessed the power of foreknowledge, and to have performed miracles. He died about 150 years ago. after having written, besides the present, many other moral books.

41. Kayaronir (காயாரோணர்)

This book is named after the diety whose name it bears, and who was worshipped in Negapatam. It was written by a Brah min about 130 years since.

42. Keerlvanooirkkalumbakam (கீழ்வன ஊர்கலம்பகம்)

We are in this book made acquainted with the landscape of a

particular country treated of, its pagodas, to temples, &c., together with the history of the deities there resident, the wonders they have performed, and the character of the people who worship them. The book contains 100 verses, and was written by a cultivator named Namattoomathale (நாமத் துமாதலி), who died 150 years ago.

43. Neethesaram (நீதீசாரம்)

"The spirit of morality," being one of the ethical works of the Hindoos. It was originally written in Grandam, the author be ing a Brahmin. It contains an hundred verses and an hundred precepts.

44. Teyanavenpa (தியான வெண்பா)

A small devotional manual. The author wrote many others of a like kind.

45. Ootherapothakum (உதரபோதகம்)

A devotional hymn addressed to the deity, whose temple stands on St. Thomas' Mount, near Madras.

46. Manavarlesastherum (மணவழிசாத்திரம்)

This is a treatise on architecture. It is short and full of superstitious notions concerning the location and structure of buildings.

47. Sevavakkeyum (சீவவாக்கியம்)

This is a poem of 48 verses on theism, strongly condemnatory of polytheism. The writer Sivavakkeyun (சிவளக்கியன்) composed many other works on moral law, all of which are still highly esteemed and carefully practised by multitudes who acknowledge him as their guide. They are far more disposed then gross heathen are to hear of the claims and duties of

Christianity.

48. Sevavakkeyum Part 2nd (சிவவாக்கியம்)

It is by the same author, and on the same subject, viz; the way in which the God is to be worshipped, and human happiness secured. It contains 103 verses.

- 49. Sevavakkeyum Part 3rd (சிவவாக்கியம்)
 This is a volume containing 65 verses, and by the same author and on similar subjects with those already named.
- 50 Marunpeyrilvaranum (மாரன்பேரில்வண்ணம்)
 An artfully constructed ode in praise of Siva's son, Marun (மாரன்), the Hindoo Cupid.
- 51. Vishnoomeylvurunum (விட்டுண மேல்வண்ணம்)
 An ode to Vishnoo to be sung by Brahmins only.
- 52. Arnamaly Nathirvarunum (அண்ணாமலை நாதர்வண்ணம்)
 An ode tp Siva, whose temple is in Annamaly(அண்ணாமலை)
 not far from Madras.
- 53. Oodurkooroovurunum (உடற்கூறுவண்ணம்)

 This is a poetical explanation of the several division of the human body, its structure, frame, quality, &c.
- 54. Swamepeyril Vurunm (சுவாமி பேரில் வண்ணம்)
 This volume contains two songs addressed to the deity.
- 55. Tuttoovaverllukkum (தத்துவ வீளக்கம்)

 This is a philosophical work in which is explained the constitution of the souls and bodies of men and the manner in which

the knowledge of God is to be secured. It is very ancient both as to matter and style. Such works are not written at the present day, and this is most difficult to be procured.

56. Narlunkathy (நளன் கதை)

A history of King Narlun, hero of the Naishadha, and one of the seven persons of the first class renowned for Hospitality. He and his brother ruled, it is said, the most popular. The author's name was Adveramen.

57. Varnunkovai (வாணன் கோவை)

This book contains a description of Tanjore, and an account of Varnun (வானன்) a chief famous for liberality, who lived in the city of Tanjore. Its author, Amarabaje (அமரபஜி) was a famous poet and wrote many works eulogistic of Kings and Princes.)

58. Interasittoopadalum (இந்திரசித்துப் படலம்)

A history of the heroic deeds of Interasittoo (இந்திரசித்து) Son of the famous Ravanum. The author's name was Thanden.

59. Ambekymaly (அம்பிகை மாலை)

This is a little book of 30 verses in praise of Parvathe (பார்வதி), wife of Siva. It was written by a Brahmin about about 500 years ago.

60. Paramarseyamaly (பரமார்சிய மாலை)

This is a work on the devine mystery. It was written by Venbasheyer (வேம் பகய்யர்)

61. Koosalavunkathy (குசலவன் கதை)

This book gives an account of Koosalavun (குசல்வன்), one of the sons of Rama, who carried on a long war with his own

father. The poem contains 1,000 stanzas.

62. Sammathypperlytteroonayum (சம்மதைப்பினைத் திருநாயம்)

This is a poem of 100 verses on the constitution of mankind, and is very popular among the Tamulians. The author's name was Teroovauparun, who was a king, but at length abdicated his throne and applied himself to the study of ancient literature.

63. Yeykathasippooranum (ஏகாதசிப் புராணம்)

This is an old book treating of the semi-monthly fasts practised by the Hindoos. It contains also the story of a king, named Paumanukathen. He always fasted at the expiration of each half month, and for this reason was taken by Vishnoo to glory. The Tamulians say, that to attain the same bliss, they must like him practise these half monthly fasts.

64. Karoodapansadasarum (கருடபஞ்சரட்சரம்)

We have here an accopunt of the superstitions worship of a kite with a red head and white neck, upon which Vishnoo is said to have rode. The account was written, it is said by Vishnoo him self, and therefore is highly esteemed by his fellowers. It is said, that by means of instructions therein contained, a person may acquire the power of handle serpents and other `venomous reptiles, without slightest harm.

65. Seerungarayyur Ammanny (சீரங்கராயர் அம்மானை)

This volume contains a detailed history of Vishnoo written in the most sublime style. The author was renowned emperor and ruled many kingdoms. His name was Seerungarayir (சீரங்கராயர்) His descendants still live on the coast of Coromandel though not with the splendour they once did.

66. Krishnuntoothoo (கிருஷ்ணன்தாது)

A history of the god krishnun in 216 stanzas. The author's name is Vilvaputtoorar (வில் வபத் தூரரார்), a name he derived from the country in which he dwelt. He was a cultivator. His son also made himself very popular by his poetical writings.

67. Kaseyntharamorechum, (கெசேந்திரமோட்சம்)

A book similar to Ovid's metamorphosos.

68. Kaseyntharamorechum, Part 2 (கெசேந்திரமோட்சம், உ)

This book contains the account of an elephant which was killed by an alligator, and was afterwards restored to life by Vishnoo, and admitted to glory. The story is told in tedious verse, and is full of absurdities. It was composed about 160 years ago.

69. Saranool (சரநால்)

A book of 52 verses on witchcraft. The secrets contained in it are said to have been revealed by Isperan's wife, Parvadi, to a certain prophet, and thus came to the knowledge of mankind.

70. Mathananannool (மதனரைல்)

A lascivious and most dangerous book.

71. Oorllamoodyyan (உள்ளமுடையான்)

A treatise on the art of soothsaying. It is much consulted by Brahmins and Pandarims, who gain their livelihood by telling the fortunes of the people. It is written in most difficult verse and cannot be understand without an instructor.

72. Nemittuchchoodamane (நிமித்தச் குடாமணி)

This volume treats of soothsaying and has been in its day much

consulted by Tamulians, who seldom undertake any business, personal or public, without previously ascertaining as far as possible, whether it is likely to prove prosperous or unsuccess ful.

73. Taroonthavasakum (கொந்தவாசகம்)

A history of the king Serkanse, who was so just, that he capitally punished one of his own sons for a trifling offence against his laws

74. Parathasatterum (பரத சாத்திரம்)

This work treats of the science of dancing, as practised by females before the idols in the temples.

75. Mathoomymaly (மாதுமை மாலை)

A poem eulogistic of the goddess (மாதுமை). It was written by Thavappar Pandarum (தவப்பர் பண்டாரம்).

76. Punjaperchche (பஞ்சபட்சி)

A book from which future events can be learned by the flying, eating, sleeping, &c., of particular birds.

77. Nurkeerur Sinthamane (நற்கீரர் சிந்தாமணி)

A superstitious work on astrology, written in difficult verse. The author, Tarrunnthere, was a good astronomer, and wrote many works of this description.

78. Keyvoorlikkathal (கேவுளிக்காதல்)

A poem of an hundred verses about the god Isperan. The author was for many years a tom-tom beater in a temple, and led a very wicked life, but afterwards reformed, and did so great penence as to obtain uncomon wisdom from the god

Superamonian. He lived the life of an ascetic, and wrote many very popular poems which are used as school books, and occasionally sung in public.

79. Aroonakere anthathe (அருணகிர் அந்தாதி)

An elaborate treatise on the art of soothsaying.

80. Savoontaralakaree (சவுந்தரலகர்)

A poem of an 100 stanzas in praise of the goddess Mameysooparee (மாமேசுபரி). All are of a most licentious kind. He wrote many in a like style, by which he incurred the displeasure of the goddess who severely rebuked him.

81. Narayanasathakam (நாராயண சதகம்)

An hundred songs, very artfully composed about the god Vishnoo. The author's name is Tharemamparen, who at the age of 16 left his father and mother and went to a pagoda, where he lived an austerelife.

82. Narllavenpa (நளவெண்பா)

A history of a cultivator, who lived a very abstemious life and was very benevolent. In order to try his faith, the gods commanded him to kill his own son, and because he obeyed the comand he was taken to glory. His son was restored to life.

83. Serootoandenkathy (சிறுத்தொண்டன் கரதை)

A history of a cultivator, who lived a life of piety.

84. Markundapooranum (மாற்கண் டபுராணம்)

The history of a Brahmin's son, the fixed term of whose life was no more than 16 years. When the king of death called to him to quit this life, he took refuge with the gods in a certain pagoda from which he could not be taken but when the step-monarch was determined to use force, he resolved to defend himself, which he did, and killed the king, upon which appeared 33 times 100,000 little gods, and interceded in behalf of the king saying that he himself had allowed the boy to live longer than 16 years. Upon this Isperan said that he had given to the lad the power always to remain at 16 years of age andnever die. Then he restored the king of death and reprimanded him severely, commanding him never to devour people in future without a peremptory order from him. This happened in a small town near Tanjore.

85. Varoonakooladethenmadel (வருணகுலாதித்தன்மடல்)

A curious run of verses about a cultivator called Varenabutuden made by an emperor's daughter, who by a singular accident came with two other women to a place about three German miles from Tanjore to get their livelihood by selling firewood at the market. When this cultivator passed the wood, a woman in a palankeen became enamoured of him and when he heard that she was descended from an emperor he took her with him and gave her good support. But when the emperor was informed that his daughter lived so far from him, he caused her to be re-called, and gave her in marriage to a king, and as she was a good poetess and could not forget the benevolence of the cultivator, she composed these verses about him. She wrote many books besides this, which are often sung.

86. Teyakarasuppullo (தியாகராசப்பன் கூ)

A small work on rustic life and husbandry. It contains a variety of songs sung by the Ploughman, the mower, the reaper and the shepherd while attending to their respective duties. The author was a Pandarum, who it was said rode in a palanquin, one end of which was borne by coolies the other suspended by magic.

87. Varookkakovy (வருக்கக்கோவை)

Poetical panegyrics of Vishnu (ബിബ് അ), sung by the inhabitants of Negapatam, over whom that deity is thought especially to preside.

88. Sevakamesavoontharamaly (சீவகாமசவுந்திரமாலை)

The name of a volume containing 100 songs about a goddess named Sevakamasavoonthare.

89. Nenjoovedootoothoo (நெஞ்சுவிடுதாது)

A small book in praise of Isperan (##uʃøi) in which is shown that he cannot be comprehended to perfection by the angels or even by the gods, but that he is always pleased to be with such men as kept his laws, and that such will forever dwell in his presence. It was written about 400 years ago by a Brahmin.

90. Veeralevedoothhothoo (விறலிவிடுகாகு)

A licentious work written by a voluptuary called Vanguvamoodely. He wrote so other poems less exceptionable than this.

91. Sevarattarepooranum (சிவராத்திரிபுராணம்)

An historical account of a man, who by watching and fasting in a certain wilderness obtained heaven. The day of his death is considered so sacred by his followers, that upon it they neither fast, nor during that night do they sleep hoping to obtain, like him, a heavenly reward. It is written in pleasant rhyme, by a king who reigned more than 200 years ago.

92. Koodurthyyanthathee (குடந்தையந்தாதி)

A small poetic volume in praise of Vishnu.

93. Kabelurrakaval (கபிலர் அகவல்)

A poem on the vanity of human life. It was written by an eminent poet named Kabelur.

94. Akaval (அகவல்)

A fine treatise on man, physically and morally. Other subjects of inferior importance are introduced to give variety. It was written by a Tanjore schoolmaster

95. Oodulkoorootuttoovum (உடல்கூறு தத்துவம்)

A philosophical work on the elements -- the five senses and connected subjects.

96. Oolakaneethe (உலகநீதி)

A small volume filled with valuable lessons, advising abstinence from all that is evil and a strict pursuit of virtue. It is studied in schools.

97. Nulvurle (நல்வழி)

A small book directing its readers to avoid evil and to perform virtue. It is committed to memory by youth. It is said to have been written by the goddess Avayar (அவையார்), the wife of Burma, in the other world, but who for ill behaviour, was sent down to this world to do penance for her sins, when she wrote this and the three following books. The mulians hold it in high esteem, saying that its depth of wisdom cannot be sounded, &c. It was written together with others above 800 years ago.

98. Kondryveyanten (கொன்றைவேந்தன்)

A small book on morality which is learnt by youth.

99. Annnyyyoompetha (அன்னையும்பிதா)

A small book of fine moral precepts which were also written by the above mentioned goddess. It consists neither of verses nor prose, but is a very difficult metaphysical work, therefore there are many different opinions entertained concerning it.

100. Moothoory (முதுரை)

A small book on morality, consisting of very beautiful similitudes, and containing very fine moral sentiments.

101. Neethevenpa (நீதிவண்பா)

A book on morality. It was written first in Grantham, about 800 years ago by a Brahmin, but was afterwards translated into Malabar by a poet.

102. Arooputtenaloo Terooverlyyadul pooranum (அறுபத்துநாலு திருவிளையாடற் புராணம்)

A great book in verse containing 64 visions of the god Sokkanaya. The Tamulians hold it in great esteem. The verses are very accurately written as to time and circumstance, but when you examine it minutely, you will find no evidence of its being of divine origin, but on the contrary will conclude that what is recorded is either false or the tricks of the devil. It was written in Grantham more than 100 years ago by a Brahmin, but was afterwards translated into verse by a Tamulian.

103. Arooputtoonaloo terooverlyyandulvoory (அறுபத்துநாலு திருவிளையாடலுரை)

An explanation or interpretation of the preceding. It is translated word by word into common Tamil. These are only found among Brahmins and Pundarums, as there is a law that none but priests should read them.

104. Tamul Arevarlkathy (தமிழ் அறிவாள் கதை)

The history of a learned young woman called (தமிழ் அறிவாள்) meaning one Tamul arevarl that understands all science. Great battles were fought by kings on account of her beauty. Her style has not been excelled by any poets. She promised that if any excelled her in making verses, him she would marry. On account of this many poets strove with her, but were obliged to yield with shame to her superior talents. At length one of the king's courtiers disguised himself and came to her residence in the character of a seller of wood, and called out very beautifully that he had wood to sell and afterwards expressed a desire to have an interview with her, which was granted to him. She obliged to yield and take him as her husband. Those verses which they exchanged are all written. It is said this took place 400 years ago.

105. Sitterapootterunkathy (சித்திரபுத்திரன் கதை)

An historical book, written in verses by Isperan's Conicopully, whose business it was to record all that happens among man kind. The works and deeds of the good are noted down on the right, and those of the wicked on the left side. It consists of 2400 verses, and is committed to memory by women who sing it charmingly.

106. Tere kalasukkerum (திரீகால சக்கரம்)

A mathematical description of the seven worlds below and the seven above; also of the seven oceans together with the Paradise called Thabayam, the seat of Isperan and of many hundred thousand other gods; also of Majanser, said to be a golden mountain that goes through all the seven worlds, the habitation of all the holy prophets. In this book is also shown the genealogy of the eminent gods, viz; from the being of all beings, or highest god; of all the other gods descended; what of

glory they have where they abode, how long they live, &c. Also of past ages what this world has to connect it with the others, and the duration of each. This book is the foundation of all the other books among the Tamulians as the principles which this contains are connected with all the rest. Most curious and unheard of things are contained in it. Its contents are said to have been discovered by the wife of Isperan, who afterwards discovered them to her door-keeper, and who declared them to a great prophet, and he published them to the world. This all happened in the first ages or yugams (yaki asi) fourteen prophets wrote the work on plates of brass, and transmitted it to the next world. This book is inserted in the followings.

107. Poovanasukkerum (புவனசக்கரம்)

A description of this world in which are also found many curious and extraordinary things. The world is said to have been measured very accurately by Nadegasuran, of which Vishnuwas afterwards informed. The length, breadth, thickness and hight of the whole sphere, including both sea and lands, are inscribed as they happened in foreign ages, since which many hundred thousand years have elapsed

- 108. Vakadachoovurde (வாகடச்சுவடி)
 A medical book treating on the cause of symptoms of diseases, feeling of the pulse, and other medical arts, &c.
- 109. Kychchatteran pairkkerasoovade (கைச்சாத்திரம் பார்க்கிற கவடி)

A book on soothsaying, treating on the works of men's bodies. All the outward signs of men are written in this or that, what views or virtues he possesses, what shall be his destiny. It was given by a poet as a great and most sacred present, with a special injunction not to make it known.

110. Archoonuntavasoonely (அருச்சுனன் தவசுநிலை)

An account of Archoonun (அருச்சுனன்) in the wilderness for 200 years, for which he was made king of the whole world by the gods. It is written in a very pathetical style. We find at this time many thousand Tamulians who retire into the wilderness and perform the same of penance, so that some of them by constantly praying with their hands cross-wise have them so stiff that they cannot extend them again.

111. Ramaseyyum (இராமிசயம்)

A large book in verse on the praises of the god Vishnu. It treats of his transformation and the heroic deeds which he performed. The verses are fair and learned, but very difficult to be understood.

112. Makavinthum (மகாவிந்தம்)

A prolix history of five brothers who reigned for a time over their kingdoms and then retired to the wilderness to worship their god. Their names are: 1. Darmer; 2. Veemen; 3. Artchunen; 4. Nagulan; 5. Sagadavan. These five brothers have put one wife called Dropathi, after many temptations of the gods, the first brother was taken up alive to heaven, but the other four after much crying, and sobbings that the gods would have mercy on them died all at once, and their souls only were admitted into heaven. This story is related as of understood truth.

113. Pakalavichchooverde (பலகவிச்சுவடி)

A book of several musical poems about the gods. They are difficult to be understood and sung, therefore none but the poets and such as have learnt vocal music can sing them.

114. Allearasanemalyyeedoo (அல்லி அரசாணிமாலையீடு)

A very prelix description in verse of the marriage of a king's

daughter called Allearasane (அல்லி அரசாணி) with the great king Atchunan; and as this book was written by a very learned poet, so it is a fine specimen of the Tamil language.

115. Kavelyvasakum or Kamalavasakum (கவிலை வாசகம் அல்லது கமல வாசகம்)

This little book contains a fable of a cow which had been seized by a tiger in the jungle. The cow in a pathetic manner craves permission to go to her house where her young calf would be expecting her with great anxiety at the same time assuring that she would return again. The tiger grants the request, and the cow goes to see her calf and recommending it to the care and protection of the other cows, retires into the wood. The tiger amazed and astonished at her fidelity did not make her his prey; instantly appears the god Isperan, who transforms both the cow and the tiger and removes them to a higher state of bliss.

116. Teroonurllarooppooranum (திருநள்ளாறுப்புராணம்)

A relation of the wonders and miracles said to have been performed at a place called Teroonurllaroo (勇ر馬前可順). It is written in verse in the honour of the gods of the said place.

117. Porninkunpathe (பொன்னின் கணபதி)

A history of Supramanien. It recounts how he followed after Walliama, and what arts he employed to captivate her affections; at length he succeeded in seducing her but afterwards married her. It is written in prose.

118. Ensoovade (எண்கவடி)

A book of reckoning used in schools. It contains various kinds of information, viz, the revolution of the 60 years, the names of the days of the month, the 27 particular ways of renoting the moon's age or progress, the 12 signs of the Zodiac, the 9 planets, and 59 counties, &c. &c.

119. Palakareyunkurl (பல காரியங்கள்)

A book containing various kinds of remarks, (i.e.) on the seven orders of creation, the five kinds of special instruments, the three Taramums or charities, the Letchmies or women employed by the gods as guardians, &c.

120. Saneyvennypparttoo (சனி எண்ணைப் பாட்டு)

Saturday oil songs usually sung by school boys before doors, when they go begging oil for their masters.

121. Kerunthichchooverde (கிரந்தச்சுவடி)

A small book containing phrases applied to god.

122. Sethambarakooeirpooranum (சிதம்பரகோவிற் புராணம்)

Supposed to be songs of praise in honour of the god Sashampuricowen and a description of his visions as similar puranums (புராணம்) histories may be found in all great towns and pagodas.

123. Veroo moatterakandum (விறமோத்திரகாண்டம்)

An account in verse of several kinds of offerings and superstitions by which the people are to obtain salvation through the fasting of a wild man, who at a place towards the north is said to have worshipped a lingum in the woods, and always offered to it the nicest portion of the venison, thereby making his mouth to water, and with it performed his abishegam; and even at length offered one of his own eyes as a sacrifice, for this act of piety he is said to have been exalted to eternal bliss.

124. Terekadakum (திறக்டகம்)

A variety of Proverbs and good instructions in three parts. The author is said to be Mamartigal, and to have composed the

whole in a rest-house in one night. The following story is related. 1st Appears Brama in the shape of a Vittinun, who comes into this rest-house to shelter himself from the rain; next comes Vishni in the same form, but they cannot sit together, so they both stand up, soon after comes Batteren; and because there is no room, the other two permit him to step upon their choulders. Hereupon they three become one and spend their time in composing verses; Brama always begins the subject Vishnu continues it Batteren concludes it, for example:

ஆறு நேரான ஊறும் அரசனோடேறுமாறென்ற குடியும் கணவனோடு சிறுமாறென்ற மனையாளும் இம்மூன்றும் நீறுநீறாகிவிடும்.

The meaning of which is, a village peasantry near a river - a tenant who disputes with his landlord - a woman who differs from her husband (These three are bad).

125. Ramayanavoory (இராமாயண உரை)

A compendium of the great Grantham book Ramayanum, containing an account of the battles fought between Raman, (i.e.) Vishnu and Ravennan, king of Ceylon; the latter having committed adultery with Vishnu's wife.

126. Valaramayanum (வரலராமரயணம்)

This appears to be the name in Telinger, and the name in Tamil seems to be Wadayaputtie, a compendium similar to the preceding.

127. Summunthamoorttee - pooranum (சம்மந்தமூர்த்தி புராணம்)

Treats of the deeds of Superamanien, who is said to have been born in the family of a Brahmin, under the name of Summunthamoorttee (சம்மந்தமூர்த்தி). Among other things it is said that he made a journey to Madura and converted the

reigning king Pandian, who had embraced the religion of the Samaners and neither esteemed the custom of besmearing the holy ashes (勇贞声型) nor making three upright marks on the forehead. This king lay sick of a dangerous fever, and his subjects could not cure him, then Summunthamoorttee begged that he might be allowed to cure him with holy ashes. The two parties were not to appear, aummunthamoorttee or Superamanien, proposed to cure the other. The former kept his promise, but the latter could do nothing; then Summunthamoorttee cured the other side also, upon this Samaner's imposition was discovered.

- 128. Oorichchoovade Keyukkanukkoo (உ சீச்சுவடிகியக் கணக்கு)
 First the Grantham alphabet, second the combinations of the vowels and consonants. The conclusion contains a few prayers translated and bound together, also the Cingalese alphabet.
- 129. Tesy avatharukkathy (திசை அவதாரக் கதை)
 A brief account of the tenth incarnation of Vishnu, composed by Wattanaden Vallier, 1727.
- 130. Samathum (சமதம்)

This is composed of 1st Roopamaly (ருப்பாலை) and 2nd Kerekymaly (கிரிகை மாலை), This is a Sanscrit Grammer. The first part contains the nouns, and the second the conjugation of verbs.

131. Amarakosum aman (அமரகோசம் அமான்) A Grantham Negundo. 132. Punjamkam (பஞ்சாங்கம்)

The Grantham Calendar of Parausha.

133. Vevakara - atteyayum Pookorllum (விவகார அத்தியாயம், பூகோளம்)

Part of a Gentoo book containing a code of Gentoo laws, to which is added an extract from a most respectable Grantham book, called Bhacolum. It also contains some chronological observations.

134. Veramerunkathy (வீரமாறன் கதை)

Belongs to the book Tamil Arevarlkathy (தமிழ் அறிவாள் கதை) as an additional volume.

- 135. Veroomarletheruppaluppadalum (விறுமழிகிரப்படலம்)
 Is an extract from the great Ramayanam.
- 136. Veepooshunamoorthe (விழுஷணமூர்த்தி)

An account of the youngest brother of Ravanen, who admonished him to forsake Siven.

137. Marenkathy (மாறன் கதை)

An account of a powerful and arbitrary king called Wickremaren, who is said to have performed many wonders after his death. Bosea Rasa was about to ascend his throne the 32 images or statues fixed on the 16 steps leading to the throne stood up and asked whether he possessed such authority as a Wickemaran, not being able to prove that aid, he was refused admittance.

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The whole amount of subscriptions and donations, as above, is in Rix dollars 10, 109, 6.0 or in Pounds Sterling 758. 4.3, and the sum already expended on the buildings concerted with the seminary, Rds. 10,000, or Pounds Sterling, 750; though the principal building is still in an unfinished state. The salaries of the Principal, the Tutor and the Teachers with the Board Clothing Stationery Furniture Books & c. of the Students, have been made a Mission charge, to the American Board and Books with Philosophical and other apparatus to some amount hve been ordered from England on the credit of the Board but in the hope that friends of the Institution in India will still generously assist in meeting these expenses as well as in completing the buildings.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA

JULY 1854 Article III

Caste in the Island of Ceylon

By Rev. Benjamin C. Meigs, Rev. Daniel Poor, D. D., and Rev. William W. Howland, Missionaries of the A. B. C. F. M. in Ceylon.

It is not difficult to define caste, as set forth in the shastras of the Hindus, or as it originally existed, and perhaps still exists on the continent of India. But caste, as it exists in this Province, has been greatly modified by many causes, which have been long in operation. For three centuries and a half, the people have been under the dominion of the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English. All these governments did much, it not to exterminate, at least greatly to modify caste. Many of the people have, for a long period, been familier with many of the traits and forms of the Christianity. And, though caste still has an influence among us, it has been so modified, by these and other causes, that some of its original features are now scarcely visible. In answering the question What is caste? (as it exists on the Continent of India), we cannot do better than to give the following extract from a document published by the Madras Missionary Conference, 1n 1850. It is as follows:

"Caste, which is a distinction among the Hindus, founded upon supposed birth-purity and impurity, is in its nature essentially a religious institution, and not a mere civil distinction. The Institutes of Manu and Other Shastras regard the division of the people into four castes, as of Divine appointment, we find, also, that stringent laws were enacted for upholding this important part of the Hindu religion. Future rewards are decreed to those who retain it, and future punishments to those who violate it. The Hidus of the present day believe, that the preservation or loss of caste deeply affects their future destiny. In the Madras memorial to the Supreme Government, dated April 2, 1845, they declare that the loss of caste is connected with the vitality of the Hindu religion".

On the scale of caste, wealth, talents, industry, and moral character, confer no elevation; and the absence of these imposes no degradation. It is ceremonial pollution alone, which destroys it. This may be conveyed to a person of high caste through the sight, the taste, or the touch of one of an inferior grade. Such an institution, therefore, can never be called a mere civil distinction; for, whatever it may have been in its origin, it is now adopted as an essential part of the Hindu religion."

This is, undoubtedly, a correct definition of caste, where exists in its purity. But a consise history of its developments, as it has come before us in this Province, will show how greatly it has been modified by the causes above mentioned, and in how few particular castes, as it exists here, is correctly delineated by the definition quoted above.

The strict notion of birth-purity, or impurity, in a religious sense, as defined in the above extract, is not, so far as we can ascertain, very generally believed in this Province. The Brahmins, and probably some others, believe it; and there are, probably, some indefinite notions on

this point still lingering in the minds of many. But the Brahmin in this Province are comparatively few; and, as a body, they have ever stood aloof from Christian instructions, and claim a maintenance from the people on the ground of their being incarnate divinities. Their claims, however, on this ground, are admitted by the people only to a limited extent, as their whole demeanor towards them sufficiently shows. Brahmins on the Continent make light of the pretensions of Brahmins in Ceylon, because, as they affirm, their continental ancestors, by crossing the sea, and taking food under such circumstances, lost their caste-purity. On the other hand, the Ceylon Brahmins very justly affirm, on the authority of the Shastras, that the continental Brahmins have undeniably vitiated their caste by serving as magistrates, interpreters, writers and in various other secular emloyments, for a livelihood; and that too, in the service of foreigners of an unclean race, the Europeans. In our remarks, therefore, upon this subject, we may well leave the Brahmins, on both sides of the water, out of the guestion; both because they have pronounced sentence upon each other; and because we, in Ceylon, have no Brahmins in our mission communities, either in our churches. or in our service, as school masters or native assistants.

But, though little is said in this Province of birth-purity or impurity, which on the Continent is considered so essential to the Hindu doctrine of caste, yet on other grounds much is said of pure or impure caste, or classes of society in this, regard is had, not merely to their birth but to their diet and regimen, corresponding customs and manners, their social avocations, intellectual habits, and religious employments. Between the two extremes of the pure Sivan, on the one hand, who rigidly confines himself to a simple vegetable diet -- consequently abstaining from everything that has animal life--down to the Parish, on the other hand, who is unscrupulous about his food, sometimes eating even carrion, and using intoxicating drinks, with corresponding habits and customs. The Hindu population is divided into numerous classes irrespective of caste-distinctions. Sivans, for instance, who are vegetarians, are generally of the Vellala caste. But all Vellalas are not Sivans, nor are

all Sivans Vellalas. Those who eat only shrimps, account themselves superior to those who eat fish; and those who eat only shrimps and fish, superior to those who eats eggs and fowls. Thus on indefinitely, downward to the Pariah. Thus, without any very prevalent belief in "birth-purity or impurity" in this Province, there are substantial grounds for the distinctions of pure or impure classes. And they also maintain their claims to purity of caste on the ground of their customs, secular avocations, intellectual habits and religious employments, as mentioned above. One obvious reason for the absence of the strict Hindu notion of caste, in this Province, arises from the fact that the doctrine of the Bible, regarding the origin of the human race, is here very extensively known. This arises from the fact before mentioned, that the people have for so long a period been under the control of powerful Christian governments. The Dutch, especially, used systematic measures, on a large scale, to instruct the youth, and to convert the Hindus to the Christian faith. In the early part of the eighteenth century, nearly the whole of the rising generation of males were embodied in schools, established and sustained by the Dutch government. In the Elementary Catechism, universally used in these schools, the history of Adam and Eve. and of their immediate descendants, is given. Even to this day we occasionally meet with a man of great age, who will repeat to us the old Dutch Catechism, a great part of which we early incorporated into the Elementary Catechism now in use in our schools. But this Scripture doctrine, so far as it is admitted, is wholly subservice of the Hindu doctrine, of caste. We have never known any individual who belonged to our church, who did not profess fully to believe the Scripture doctrine on this subject.

What, then, is caste in Jaffna?

As a General definition, we may say, that caste in Jaffna is perpetuation of caste and caste-institutions from the Continent. modified by a combination of causes incidental to foreign immigration and colonisation; under the rule, in the first instance, of revolutionizing and conquering native princes; and, subsequently, for a long period, under the reign of

three of the most powerful governments of Europe, each of which, in its own peculiar way and manner, did much for the transformation of the native inhabitants. Hence, it is not strange, that caste should be so greatly modified in this Province. But let us not be misunderstood. It still exists, even here, and shows its sharp and ugly horns and cloven feet in the midst of us. We wish we were not compelled to add, that we see and feel its baneful influence in some of the members of our churches. It is, indeed, a prominent and troublesome feature of Hindu society, ever presenting obstacles of various kinds to the progress of Christianity. The nature and tendency of the institution is unsocial, forbidding and aristocratic; pervading all castes and classes of society, and quite as manifest in the low caste, as in the high; each caste, as they suppose, having some peculiar grounds for boasting.

That we may further elucidate the subject, it is necessary that we proceed to give some of the results of our own experience and observations on the subject; and then show by what means Hindu caste has been so greatly modified in Jaffna; and also, to what transforming influences it is still subjected.

Before coming to this country, we had formed our ideas of caste in India mainly by what we had read in the journals of early missionaries in Bengal Carey, Marshman, Ward, and others, and of course our minds were—much awake to the importance of "breaking caste" in the mission field, especially as we were led to understand that it might be broken by so trifling a circumstance as that of partaking of a meal in a missionary's house. One of our first encounters with caste, which happened a few days after our arrival in 1816, was a trifling incident in connection with a horse-keeper.

On his being directed to do something in adjusting the furniture of the house, he refused to obey, saying it was contrary to his caste to do the work. But, as we could not toletrate caste on our premises, we told him he must obey or quit our service. To the latter he very readily assented, leaving the missionary to take care of his own horse, as there

was no other horse-keeper in the Parish. This was the first of a series of events, by which we became gradually acquainted with the state of persons and things in the country, in relation to caste. By this we were taught, that it was quite impracticable, without sails, oars or steam, to propel our frail bark against the prevailing monsoon! And surely there can be no marvel that it should thus happen to the much frailer bark of timid, recently converted Hindus.

After a few weeks' residence, we comenced a day school on our premises, taught by a young man who was formerly a pupil in Mr. Palm's school. This man was able to bring to the school a few children belonging to his own family circle; but the neighbours generally considered it polluting and vitiating to caste for their children to come and learn on our premises. As soon, however, as the practice, by slow degrees, became common in the parish, all fears on the subject of caste vanished.

From and after the year 1818, we passed through a similar process in the admission of boys to our boarding schools. This very novel procedure produced a deeper sensation of alarm in the public mind, than that produced by bringing children into our day school; consequently our progress was much slower, and more difficult. Eating and drinking on the premises of Christians, was thought to be utterly destructive to the Children's caste, and a disagrace to their parents. In process of time, however, after many were committed to the practice who could keep each other in countenance, and when it was seen that their children were not changed into Englishmen, or Portuguese, but were much improved in body and mind, their fears on the subject of caste gradually subsided, leaving us to prosecute this branch of missionary labor to as great an extent as we thought proper.

A still deeper tone of alarm was sounded, when we began to receive girls into our boarding schools. But this, also, gradually died away, as harmless as in the case of boys, leaving us to prosecute our plans at pleasure.

From the ideas we then entertained on the subject of "breaking caste," and even from what we had recently learned from the talk of the people, we thought it most incongruous that any in either of our boarding schools should never boast themselves of caste. We had "broken" and "killed" it. But in process of time we were called to "break" it and "kill" it again. And we resolutely did it. In the 'Central boarding school' at Tillipally, then under the care of Mr. Woodward, in the year 1824 or 1825, it was ascertained that there were low-caste boys in the school. This was an offence to certain of the Vellalas, who made an attempt to have low-caste boys removed; declaring that, though they might with impunity eat with persons of their own caste on mission premises, they could not and would not eat with those of an inferior caste. This controversy led, ultimately, to the expulsion of three or four of the oldest and most influential high-caste boys in the school. They soon, however, saw reason to repent of their conduct, and humbly sought and obtained admission to the school.

In 1821, when it became known that the two first converts from Hinduism, members of our boarding school, were about to be received into the church, so strong was the opposition to such a procedure, that we had reason to expect violent attempts would be made to rescue one of the candidates. The occasion, however, passed off without disturbance, and was one of great interest in the history of the mission. It was, indeed, a strange sight to the spectators, to see two of their countrymen, of the Vellala caste, not only publicly eating and drinking with foreigners, but partaking with them from the same cup and plate. This was something in advance of all that had been previously witnessed as an outrage upon caste-principle; and was quite sufficient, we should suppose, to stamp the young novitiates as outcasts from Hinduism. Some apology was, however, made for them by their heathen relatives, that the boys were young, and knew not what they were doing. But a further advance for soon made, and another severe blow inflicted upon caste, when, at the close of the same year, two adult converts from heathenism, who were men of different castes, were admitted to the church, and sat down together at the table of the Lord. Subsequently

another, and yet another fatal blow was inflicted, when females, first from our boarding school, and then adult women, were publictly admitted to the church by baptism, and thus led to commune with persons of different castes and occupations. At our great meeting in 1825, when we admitted candidates from our several stations, at a large central bungalow in Santillipy, prepared for the purpose, there were still more decided and daring manifestations of opposition on the part of relatives. The elder brother of one of the candidates stood up in the meeting, and boisterously protested against his brother being received into the church. But the presence of a police officer prevented open violence. In January 1821, when the first professed convert from Hinduism was about to be received into the church at Batticotta. so strong was the opposition of his relatives that they carried him off by force the day before he was to have been received, and kept him in close cinfinement for some time. We might easily multiply examples of this kind, but the above are sufficient.

As substitutes for further specifications, we may observe generally. that, for thirty years past, hundreds of pupils of both sexes, and of different castes, have been boarded and educated in our two seminaries. at Batticotta and Oodooville; that, of the pupils thus instructed, about one hundred and twenty couples have been married, generally at Oodooville; that, after the solemnization of the marriage in the church. and the partaking of a little fruit at the station, the bride and bridegroom repair, with their friends, to the house of their parents, who are mostly heathen, where a marriage feast is prepared for the friends and relatives of both parties, whether heathen or Christian, and without attempting to compel Christians to conform to the the health ceremonies. Sometime it happens, that the newly married couple take up their abode permanently at the house of one of their parents, sharing the homestead, it may be, with two or three other families who are entirely heathen. It should be remarked here, however, that native Christians, when thus situated, are careful not to give unnecessary offence to their heathen relatives. In a very few cases our female pupils, who were members of the church, have married heathen husbands; and in many cases

graduates from the seminary at Batticotta, whether church members or not, have married heathen wives. But we now hear little or nothing of caste being vitiated by these marriage alliances; and this, too, whether one or both of the parties after marriage live as Christians or otherwise.

When this state of things was related to our missionary brethren at Calcutta, they exclaimed with surprise, mingled with some degree of unbelief: "And will they talk of caste after that?" But the climax is yet to be stated. Franciscus Malavapa, a native assistant employed by the mission, and subsequently licensed by us as a native preacher, had adopted the European dress, before he came into our service. For a time, and for convenience sake, he boarded at the table of one of the mission families. His father-in-law, the Rev. Christian David (recently deceased at the age of eighty one) was, for the space of forty years from the time of his adopting the European dress, in the habit of eating, whenever occasion offered, at the tables of the principal Europeans in the Island, beginning at the Governor's table in the days of General and Lady Brownrigg. But neither the father-in-law, nor the son-in-law supposed, for a moment, that they had lost or injured their caste. But, on the contrary, thought much of their caste, and that they had bettered their condition by intercourse with Europeans. Nor did the community at large cast them off because of their dress, or because of their connection with foreigners; though, when provoked to do it, they might mention these facts as a blot. And thus it is now with many, who had been educated at Batticotta, and who hold important offices in the country, some of whom adopted European customs. Under this aspect of the subject, we see that caste is indicative of one's ancestry, and that it is not a common and easy thing for a man, in this Province, to "break or lose caste."

We close this topic by giving prominence to the fact, that, notwith standing the manifold aggresions we have made upon caste through the period of more than thirty years, there has been no one of native converts, whether young or old, male or female, being wholly and finally cut off from the family circle, or unable to abide in the place

wherein they ware called, in consequence of their having broken caste by becoming Christians. We do not say that this would not have been the case, had the conduct of our native Christians been more offensive. In most cases they are very careful not to give offence to their heathen relatives; in some cases too much so. Weak as they are, it would not be strange if they frequently conform too much to the wishes of friends and relatives, who are still heathens.

We have, indeed, seen cases in which heathen wives have left their husbands for a little season; in which parents have shown great displeasure, and even banished their children from the house, for a time, because they were baptized and received into the Christian church; and very great annoyances have been experienced by native converts, especially in regard to the observance of the Sabbath, while living among their heathen relatives; and these difficulties were greater in former times than at present. But the fact of native converts whether married or unmarried, being tolerated in the house and family of their heathen relatives, shows most clearly that caste, in the sense of Shastras, has been greatly modified in this Province; and that "losing caste" is not here an easy or common thing.

We will now speak of what the Hindus themselves have done, and are still doing, for the destruction of caste in this Province.

The continental Pandian Kings, who formerly reigned in Jaffna, introduced a new caste into the Province, called Madapalies, the offspring of high-caste men with Govia women, who are a high caste of domestic slaves. This caste was endowed with certain perquisites and privileges, so that it now ranks among the high castes of the country, next below the Vellala. This caste cannot boast much of "birth-purity," though they are not regarded as an impure caste. The caste of Madapalies, into which it is comparatively easy to get introduced, is not found among the ninety-six castes of Southern India, and is peculiar to this Province. But the introduction of a new caste, and one of so

great importance, must manifestly vitiate the whole system of Hindu caste, as taught in the Shastras.

- 2. The Hindus in this Province are destroying the remains of this evil system, by constantly rising from a lower to a higher caste. Such a process must of itself be as gross a violation of the classic Hindu system of caste, as can well be conceived of. Meth ods of rising from one caste to another are various.
 - By false entries, when persons remove from one place to another where their ancestors are not known.
 - By bribing those who have charge of the registries in public offices, to insert their names in higher castes.
 - This is done extensively by intermarriages.

This third method is deserving of some special illustration, as bearing extensively on the subject in hand, in grelation to the higher castes. For example: two young men of the Vellala caste, graduates of the seminary at Batticotta, accepted large pecuniary offers from a man of wealth, but of lower caste, at Colombo, to marry his two daughters, both heathens and uneducated. The young men immediately proceeded to Colombo, and took possesion of their prizes. Hitherto they have lived in good style and in credit, having employments suited to their education. Moreover, they are sustained by the public opinion of their countrymen, inasmuch as they have obtained a fair *quid pro quo*. The father-in-law made a good speculation, because his grand-children will be registered according to the rank of their father, as Vellalas. True, they will never cease to be taunted, when occasion may require it, that they are below par as to caste on their mother's side. But where large numbers of the community are similarly situated, there is not much room for reproach.

We now give a case of recent occurrence on the other side. A man of wealth and eduaction, and high in office, in another part of the Island, but of low caste, has purchased with a great sum the privelege of

marrying the daughter of one of our school-masters of the Vellala caste, of the highest grade. By this the native gentleman is brought into alliance with the whole family circle of a superior caste; and this will in various ways be made to operate favourably upon his posterity. From these two cases, which are illustrative of what is extensively in progress in the country, it will be seen that caste, whatever it may be, is an article in the market, which may be turned into silver and gold, and consequently is of substantial value.

Under this aspect, caste may be regarded as an order of nobility, which may be shared by those who are in circumstances to make the purchase. Under such influences, however, caste must vary in its nature, and ultimately exhaust itself by expansion.

But alas for the nobility of caste: Causes are now in operation, in this Province, which tend to destroy the foundation on which caste, as a civil distinction, has hitherto rested its claims. In former times, under the native kings and princes, the Vellalas and Madapalies were priveleged orders in the community; and the results of those privileges have operated favourably upon their posterity from generation to generation. But now, times have so altered, that "on the scale of wealth, talents, industry, and moral character," caste, whether in the Hindu sense of it, or as a civil distinction, can confer but little elevation, nor the absence of it impose but little degradation. This will more clearly appear as we proceed.

- To show what the English government has done, both directly and indirectly, for the destruction of caste.
 - 1. By the abolition of slavery, which took place soon after our settlement in the island. By that important measure several castes, such as Covias, Pallas, Malavas, and others were placed on a new footing in society, and are gradually rising towards an

equality with their former masters in wealth, intelligence and importance.

- 2. By disregarding, to a great extent, the claims of caste, and placing applicants for office on the high ground of personal qualification, trustworthiness, efficiency in business, etc., the government has wrought extensively and powerfully for good upon the whole native population, but most subversively to the claims of caste.
- 3. By an effectual injunction upon European magistrates and native head-men not to enter the caste of individuals in public documents, such as suits at law, deeds, registries, jurylists, etc., government is doing much to obliterate even the rememberance of caste distinctions from the public mind.
- 4. By encouraging the sale of arrack and toddy, the government is doing much to destroy caste distinctions. Drunkenness is a great leveler. Even some of the Brahmins and Vellalas are becoming familiar with the use of intoxicating drinks, which some of the lower castes do not drink. Thus, while the low castes are rising, some of the high castes are falling by intemperance.

We will now present a few miscellaneous remarks on the peculiarities of caste in our mission field.

1. The three higher castes (leaving out the Brahmins), i.e. the Vellalas, Madapalies and Chitties, form a large majority of the population of the Province. Of these three castes, the Vellalas are far more numerous than the other two. As society was constructed under the rule of the native princes, the Vellalas were the agriculturists of the country, and in this Province the owners of the soil. As the lords of the country, they held most of other castes in their service, by different tenures, and on different terms of service; a bond of union well understood by the parties, pervading the whole community, and binding them together by different interests. The two great divisions of these under classes were, first, the

three castes of slaves that have been already mentioned; and, secondly, the Kudimakkal, that is, the blacksmiths, carpenters, barbers, washermen and goldsmiths of the country, including the Pariahs, who are tom-tom beaters, and drudges in various employments.

From the very beginning, we have opened our great commission to the whole population of the country, as far as our circumstances would allow; but it is a remarkable fact, which we cannot satisfactorily account for, and which is one of the most characteristic features of our mission-field, that the three higher castes, more especially the Vellalas, are almost exclusively the people who have opened unto us, and thus secured the advantages of our mission-labors. The Kudimakkals were from the beginning among our most constant hearers, daily, while employed in our service in week times, and weekly at church on the Sabbath; but, almost without exception, all this numerous class have rejected the Gospel, and but few of them have ever manifested an interest in sending their children to our common schools.

From these remarks we must except those of the fisher caste, who are a people more independent of the Vellalas, and from whom a portion of our converts have been gathered. But the Vellalas are emphatically our people; and, notwithstanding the losses they have sustained by the freedom of their slaves, and by the introduction of the principles of liberty and equality in society, yet combining the advantages of Christian instruction and of a superior education with the advantages which they inherited from their fathers, they will long continue to be the most thriving, energetic, intelligent, and best behaved portion of the Tamil population. On this account it will continue to be a desideratum to belong to the Vellala caste.

2. Another feature of our mission-field bearing on the subject in hand is, that in most of the numerous and popular villages into which the whole Province is divided, the different castes are found in due proportion, while those of the same caste in the villages round, are more or less related to each other. On this account, and on account of the dense population of the whole Province, it will be physically impossible,

even were it thought desirable, for us to separate them into Christian villages, as in Tinnevely, and in some other parts of the Continent.

We have made arrangements so to proceed in our work of disciplining the whole mass of the population, that every one may continue in the place wherein he was called with the least disturbance possible. This we consider as the dictate of wisdom and prudence, till they be made to understand what be the first principles of the oraclesof God, the sum and sustance of which is love to God and love to man. If, indeed, we could have whole villages of the same caste, we might prosecute our evangelical labors without rousing and stimulating some of the worst principles and passions of our fallen nature. But as it is, we think it not wise to disturb the present arrangements of society, except by the silent operations of the Gospel of Christ. We would make the most of the injunction: "Go home to thy friends, and tell how geat things the Lord hath done for thee, and hath had compassion on them." And thus would we cause the people to undestand, that excision from the family circle is not a necessary adjunct of one's becoming a Christian, but rather that he thereby becomes a better son, or brother, husband or father, than beore his conversion. We consider it safer, and a more satisfactory trial of one's sincerity, to live as a Christian among his friends, than to be separated from them in a Christian village.

3. We formerly thought the evils of caste arose chiefly from the unreasonable exactions and pressures of the higher upon the lower castes; and this was doubtless the case in former times. But one of the results of our observation while dealing with caste, as things now are, is, that the spirit of low caste rising is as much to be depreciated as the spirit of the high caste reigning. "For three things the earth is disquieted; yea, for our things which it cannot bear." One of the four is" for a servant when he reigneth" (Prov. 30:21). This point admits of extensive illustration from scenes and occurrences too familiar to our readers to invite a recital, and, moreover, it is too obvious to require formal proof. We will, therefore remark generally, as the result of our experience, that, since we have found by our adventures that the enemy with which we

have to contend cannot be slain by carnal weapons, we are very slow to pitch battle, or to come into direct and hostile collision with caste, as we now find it may in this Province. We are fully convinced there is a "far more excellent way" of dealing with it. More especially has this been the case since we have better understood the structure of Hindu society, and learned to what extent the different castes in this Province answer to the different classes of nobility, gentry, merchants, mechanics, farmers, and menial sevants in the Protestant Christendom.

The principal canon we would lay down on this subject is, to tolerate nothing within our control, which militates against our ruling the house of God, or watching over, guiding and disciplining the church of Christ, according to the law and director which he himself has given us. "For now we live, if our churches stand fast in the Lord." If asked whether we do not allow persons to remain in our churches, who extertain erroneous views, or who give place to unhallowed feelings on the subject of caste, our reply is, that we do; but in the sense only in which recognition of the fact, that in all cases of regeneration the "old man" is destined to coexist simultaneously with the new, until, by a successful exercise of the ministry "for the perfecting of the saints," they" all come to the unity of the faith, into the measure of the stature of the fullness of christ." "We have learned, by our experience and observatio, that caste is a great evil; an evil which governs the religious emotions, tastes and habits of all the races of India; which is imbibed by the infant at the breast, and cherised with scrupulous anxiety through life; an evil which has been ingrained into the whole Hindu character. for well nigh three thousand years, so as to form the very cement of Hinduism." What then? By the preaching of the word to a man full-grown under the regiment above described, a ray of light and a principle of life have been imparted from Him who is "the light" and "the life of man." The giant caste-man has become, as we fondly hope. a man of God; but to such an extent a weakling, that he is like unto a "bruised reed and smoking flax." We submit the question, as to what are the appropriate instrumentalities by which we may in the first place unmake, and then reform, this man of giant growth?

Are there any appropriate appliances for this purpose but the Gospel ministry, the training and discipline of the Christian church, and the concurring influences of God, the Holy Ghost? The Bishop of Calcutta remarks: "In this diocese the first thing a catechumen does, is to reject caste in toto. What can this remark mean, in view of the foregoing description of the "giant evil"? Every Hindu, when he enters the Christian church by baptism, when he eats from the same plate and drinks from the same cup with those of an inferior grade, does to a certain extent renounce caste. He ought to do it " in toto." But his caste feelings and prejudices are not thereby wholly eradicated, and cannot be in a moment. It is a work of time. The appropriate means for abolishing caste, in every desirable sense of the expression, are, we believe, light and love on the part of the missionaries, docility and growth in piety on the part of the anative converts, together with the promised influences of the Holy Spirit. All compulsory means used for this purpose, in which we cannot carry with us the judgement and consciences of those concerned, are generally disastrous to the assailants and the assailed; to the Christian church, and to the heathen population at large.

Having made the foregoing statements on the general subject of Caste, we proceed to specify some facts with regard to our treatment of caste in our churches, and among our church members in the walks of private and social life.

We have never allowed caste in our churches. We have never allowed and separate communion for high and low castes, as was formerly the custom in Southern India. All our members, both high and low caste, have, from the beginning, drunk wine, from the same cup, and eaten bread from the same plate and this promiscuously.

That we may show what is our treatment of Caste in the walks of private and social life, it is necessary for us to indicate briefly to what extent there is and must be a non-interference between the missionaries and the families of their converts. In endeavouring to give some further

information on this suject, we remark that a Hindu, find him where you will, may justly be defined to be an embodiment of rites and observances peculiar to the Hindu race. These observances, customs and manners, may be divided into three classes.

- Nationalities, or that which is common to all castes and classes.
- Idolatrous observances.
- Caste distinctions and usages.

Of these three classes the first has greats, and the last, perhaps, the least prominence in the general characteristics of the nation, and more specially so in relation to the point under consideration; that is, in the walks of private and social life. We do not, in our social intercourse with them, readily recognise the respective castes beyond our own personal acquaintane, and beyond what may be knownby the fact that several of the lower castes are, from their very positions in society, low, untidy and replusive. On this ground, whatever may have been the cause of their degradation, there is as substantial a distinction of castes or classes, which cannot but be observed, as between the sons of noblemen and the children of the "ragged schools" of England. A distinct recognition of his fact is of fundamental importance in all attempts to bring or to push the extremes of society to associate, and especially to eat together, in private houses.

We will now give a few specimens of nationalities, studiously avoiding all that appertains either to caste distinctions or idolatrous obsevances.

1. The Hindus have no home, in our sense of the word; no place where the family come familiarly together, in a social way, where they may be seen. When we visit a family, we do not eter the house, but tarry without, either in the yard or the verandah, and speak with those who make their appearance. This we do, either standing, or seated on an inverted rice mortar, or in some other position. All are interested to know the

specific object, for which the missionary has come to the premises; but their sense of propriety and good maners do not require the family to as semble. Even Christian families are sow to make their appearance, although called. As Hindus, they ought not to appear at all, but continue in the house and at their work. These Christian families in which both husband and wife have been educated in our boarding schools, are far in advance of their countrymen. Still, they are but Hindu in a state of gradual transition, and living, it may be, in the house of their parents.

- 2. For very good reasons, we do not encourage, even in our boarding schools, any important changes of the native customs of the Hindus, in regard to dress, manner of living, mode of sitting, furnishing their houses, etc. In all these particulars there are some improvements, but no imitation of European manners and customs. Such an imitation would be adverse to the great object we have in view, of operating upon the mass of the population through the agency of the educated classes. If even the educated should adopt the European dress, and other concomitant customs, they would lose credit in the estimation of their countrymen, and be subjected to fourfold greater expenses, with loss of real comfort and independence of life and character.
- 3. The uneducated Hindu does not ordinarily make use of chairs, tables, bedsteads, etc., seeing that the whole ground-floor of the house, with appropriate matting, is available for all these purposes. And what, in their view, in the use of crockery, knives and forks, and spoons, and the whole profusion of table furniture, seeing that a few articles of earthen ware for cooking rice and curry, a brass pot for water, and a garden with plantain leaves for plates, with his own right hand for a spoon, are a full supply in this line of serve? The act of eating is a rite and ceremony to be performed in private. Even men are not

willing to be seen eating by any one who does not join them in the act. But for a woman to allow herself to be seen eating, would be a positive disgrace. In this vulgar exercise the right hand is so deeply involved, and so important is it that the business be finished at a sitting, that the most menial servant has a substantial reason for turning a deaf ear to his master's call, or thinks it sufficient if his master knows that he is eating. How then can the wife possibly eat with her husband and children, and male guests, while she is mistress of the ceremonies? European wives may do this, as they have domestics to wait upon the table. Custom has made it the duty of the wife to deal out the rice and curry, and to bring water for drinking and washing after the meal is finished. But while the Hindu women may not be seen eating common food, she may be seen enjoying the betel leaf and arecanut as an honorary repast.

It is a nationality, also, that sons who are beyond early childhood, do not converse freely with their father, nor even with others in their father's presence. Nor should an elder and a younger brother sit in public on the same mat or seat, or should a son-in-law speak with his mother-in-law, nor a father-in-law be present with his daughter-in-law, etc. These are mere specimens of nationalities, common to all castes; and most of them are more rigidly observed by those who would be accounted the higher grades of society.

Again, when we are visited by the natives, it is generally either in the way of business, or of attendance at religious meetings, or of private instructions, and then, with a few exception, they are seated on a mat, as is customary with them at their own houses, and in the church of God. Occasionally our native preachers and a few others sit on chairs at our tables, and partake with us of a cup of tea, fruit, bread, etc.

Many other instance might be given of customs, which are mere nationalities, and which have no particular connection with caste. Indeed, we find a practical difficulty in attempting to seperate purely caste distinctions, in the customs of social life, from mere nationalities; and it is even more difficult in the mind of a native. Even Christians are prone to plead for sustoms, which we believe are contrary to the spirit of the Gospel, that they are mere nationalities; while the unconverted Hindu sees no more propriety in our requiring a convert to break or renounce his caste, than to reak or renounce other nationalities.

By the specimens of nationalities, which we have given above, it will be readily understood that it cannot be expected that we, as foreigners, whose customs and manners we would not have them imitate, should act part of reformers of the Hindus in the walks of private and social life, except so far as these customs are contrary to the spirit of the Gospel. But, while we thus speak of the great gulf of nationalities, which separate us from the people we rejoice to be able to say, that we have a growing esteem for and an increasing attachment to the Hindu nation as our people, and as a people to be made ready for the Lord. Many of them will, we doubt not, be a crown of rejoicing in the day of the Lord Jesus, to those who labor with fidelity and preseverance for their conversion. Even now, and with blest anticipations, we come into close contact with them, holding constant and delightful intercourse with both the rising and the risen generation, an all subjects appertaining to the great object of our residence among them.

If the questions be proposed: "How far are the Continental Castes, and the castes on the Island alike?, and why do you not treat caste as they do on the Continent?" We must, in answer to the first, commence by saying, that, with one exception, we have none of us, for any length of time, resided on the Continent, and are, therefore, quite unable to do justice to this subject. Our local and intimate knowledge of caste, as it exists there, is not sufficient to enable us to make a definite and exact comparison.

But we have in fact said many things in the former part of this Article which are an appropriate answer to the question. In the Quotation to which we made from the Madras Document, will be seen a very carefully worded definition of the caste, as it is supposed to exist on the Continent. Any, by comparing this with the statements we have made as to caste, as we find it in this Province, it will be clearly perceived, that it has already, by various causes, been greatly modified; and, especially, that there are now many causes in operation tending powerfully and rapidly to do away with the evil.

But, "Why do you not treat caste as they do on the Continent?" We have already stated facts to show that our circumstances, with respect to this evil, differ widely from those of missionaries laboring on the Continent. But we will say:

That we believe it is not proper for us to legislate upon this 1. subject for the members of our churches, to compel the high castes to do violence to all their views of propriety, by eating in the houses of those of low caste, or to intermarry with them. But we have, from the comencement of our mission to the present time, used all Scriptual arguments against the distinctions of caste, and we think with great effect. It is hardly necessary for us to repeat, that we have never allowed any distinctions of caste in our churches. Different castes have also been in the habit of eating together in our boarding schools. Many of our native assistants, in certain circumstances, will cheerfully eat with those of lower castes, especially when on tours. As our Annual Convocation, in September, at Batticotta, provision is made for all our church members, and very many of different castes eat together on that occasion; not by compulson, but willingly. Our native assistants. also, most cheerfully go among the low castes, preach the Gospel, and superintend schools. They also assist them in sickness, and at funerals. But, to make a law, compelling the high castes to eat in the houses of low castes, or to intermarry with them, would be more abhorrent to their feelings and all their views of propriety, than for a law to be passed for the churches in New York or Boston, compelling the rich to receive their servants, both black and white, to dinning tables. We do not believe that it is proper for us to legislate upon this subject.

- 2. We should not accomplish the object we have in view. Our object is to destroy caste and especially to root it out of the minds of our native converts. Now it is a well-known fact, that many native asistants and school maters, rather than lose their employment and be thrown into great pecuniary embarrassment, will comply, for the time being, with the demands of the missionaries to eat food prepared by low castes; and they justify themselves in this matter, and their friends also excuse them and overlook it simply because they compelled to do it, or sacrifice their living. But is the caste principle thus extinguished, or even diminished in their breasts? We think not. We do not believe that leviathan is thus tamed.
- 3. This course is productive of positive evils. It sours their minds; and its tendency is to make our members act hypocritically in this matter. Unless we acn enlighten their minds, and carry their consciences with us, we gain nothing but their displeasure. We do not accomplish our object for the caste feeling in their minds is rather strengthened, than diminished, by this course. We will encourage them, and help them in every possible way to do away with the evils of caste; and we fully believe that the only proper way of accomplishing this object is by light and love, and example, and the power of the Spirit of God. By the deligent use of these means, in connection with what the government is doing on this subject, we believe that caste is rapidly losing ground in this Province. How long it will linger, we cannot say. But this we do know, by long experience, that it cannot be killed by violence.

We see clearly, that it is the natural tendency of the Gospel to elevate the low castes to a level with the high, rather than to bring down the high castes to a level with the low; and this it will in due time accomplish. It will certainly, also, teach the high castes to treat their brethren below them with Christian kindness and love.

PLAN OF A COLLEGE FOR THE LITERARY AND RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION OF TAMUL AND OTHER YOUTH JAFFNA, CEYLON

COLOMBO
PRINTED AT THE WESLYAN MISSION PRESS
1823

PLAN OF A COLLEGE FOR THE LITERARY AND RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION OF TAMUL AND OTHER YOUTH

"Knowledge is Power." This maxim, so justly celebrated and so steadily kept in view by the philosopher and statesman is not less practical or important to the Christian philanthropist. When those who are engaged in meliorating the condition of their fellow men have knowledge, or the means of disseminating knowledge, they have the power of doing good. To extend the blessings of the most favoured countries of Europe or America, to almost any section of the Globe, we need only carry thither the literary and religious institutions of those countries. Whatever may be said of the influence of soil, climate, or even Government, upon national character and happiness, it cannot be doubted that these depend principally upon causes more exclusively intellectual and moral. Man is an intellectual and religious being; and under the combined influence of pure science and true religion, and of these only, he attains the real dignity of his nature. Hence Christianity, whose office it is to raise man to that elevation from which he fell, and lead him onward to that high destiny for which he was created, does not disdain to seek the aids of learning.

These are particularly necessary when a most extravagant, and

vet to the natural heart, most captivating system of superstition, founded in false philosophy, and supported by unnumbered corruptions in history, and in almost every branch of literature, is to be exploded to make way for the Gospel. Such is the case in Ceylon, and throughout India. Although it is in the highest sense true, that 'except the Lord build the house they labour in vain that build it,' it is no less true that God works by means, and commonly by means proportioned to the end. When Christianity, poor, friendless, unprotected, outlawed, was to make her way against the learning, pride and power of a world, it was not enough that the Apostles united the most matchless purity of life to the most restless zeal and impressive eloquence; they were induced with power from on high. While they could say and show, 'thus it was fulfilled as was written by the prophets,' they could also say to the sick and lame, 'in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth rise up and walk.' This was the seal of their commission, and their interpreter was the gift of tongues with these in opposition to all the mastery of Satan and to the whole current of human depravity in the midst of fire racks and gibbets, Christianity which had gone 'weeping from the Cross of Calvary to the tomb of Joseph, soon ascended in triumph the throne of Caesars.'

But miracles have ceased and the gift of tongues is taken away. Still the Missionaries of Christ in India have to contend not indeed with rulers of this world, not with persecution in its more horrid forms, yet with the same native depravity which was to be found among the ancient heathen and witch system of idolatry not less corrupt than theirs, not less intermingled with vain philosophy not less firmly imbedded by custom in the heart, or entwined by early association around every fibre of the soul. In what manner then can they prevail? Undoubtedly by using those means for the propagation of Christianity which have taken the place of miraculous gifts. Though tongues are not given, languages may be acquired; though miracles are not now performed, they are still capable of being brought in evidence; and though the fulfilment of prophecy is not so distinctly passing before our eyes as if we saw the destruction of Jerusalem, yet as more prophecies have

been fulfilled, and the truth of Christianity has been attested by them for so many ages, the proof which may be drawn from them is even stronger than it was in the days of the Apostles. But, to give efficacy to these means in India, knowledge must be increased - greatly increased.

It is impossible for those not intimately acquainted with the existing state of things, to conceive how the Gospel labours in India. Not one of those evidence on which Christianity so safely reposes her claim to 'all acceptance,' can be fully apprehended here. The internal evidence, from purity, simplicity, wisdom and sublimity of the Sacred Scriptures, are little understood, and less regarded; and the external evidence can scarcely be brought at all into view. If we speak of prophecies which have been fulfilled, the history of the times when they were spoken, and when accomplished, is alike unknown. No impression is made. If of miracles, we are met at the threshold with unnumbered miracles, vastly more marvellous than any of which we can speak. They mock comparison. Besides, the belief that miracles are an every day occurrence prevents them from being considered as a divine attestation to the truth of Christianity. To bring the evidence from prophecy and miracles to be at all upon the natives of India, they must first understand something of history; and enough of true science, at least, to know what a miracle is. They must be taught to bring their credulous belief in every thing marvellous to the test of reason, and understand the differences between truth and fable. They must think, compare, reflect - which the great mass of people in India never do! They must be instructed; general knowledge must be disseminated; and it might easily be shown, that so contrary to fact and experiment are the principles of Geology, Natural Philosophy, and Astronomy as laid down in their Sacred books, that even a superficial acquaintance with these branches of Science would explode their systems and with them of course materially affect the credit of the books which contain them. Hence the great importance of extensive school establishments.

The American Missionaries in Jaffna, Ceylon, have in common with most missionaries in this part of the world directed much

attention to the establishment of Native Free Schools. They have also, in consequence of their local situation, in a country where living is cheap, and where the restraints of caste are less than in most parts of India. been able to collect under their immediate care, and to support and educate, connected with their families, a considerable number of Heathen children of both sexes. Of these there are now subject to their entire control, and supported by the Mission, 105 boys and 28 girls. Of the former more than twenty are already able to read, and more or less imperfectly to speak, the English language. They are all, according to their age, instructed in the first principles of Christianity and in Tamil literature; and a few understand something of Geography, Grammar and Arithmetic. Such as have been longest under instruction are now so far advanced as to be able, with proper helps, to prosecute successfully the higher branches of Tamil learning; to enter upon the Sanscrit; or to apply themselves to European Literature and Science, as might be found expedient, to fit them for service under Government, for Teachers of Schools, for Interpreters, for Translators or if pious (as some are hopefully so already) for Native Preachers. But, situated as they are at the five different stations of the Mission, they cannot advantageously pursue their studies for want of the necessary instructors and other helps. Were each Missionary, under whose care their elementary knowledge has been acquired, to devote himself to the instruction of a class of these youth, it would not only be at great disadvantage for want of books, mathematical instruments, and philosophical apparatus, but would involve an unwarrantable expense of that time which should be devoted to the more appropriate work of the Missionary. They must , therefore, be dismissed when little more than a foundation is laid for subsequent useful attainments, or be collected into a central School or College. To do the former would be to abandon almost all the great advantages of the Free Boarding School System, by which the heathen children and youth are rescued from the contaminating influence of idolatry, and educated as Christians in the midst of Pagans; - an object as full of hope and promise to the church, as it is dear to the hearts of those engaged in its pursuits. To attempt the lattar, therefore, appeared the only resort. It is this circumstance, mainly, which led to the present plan; and it forms the principal apology of those who propose it. They might say, indeed, that a large Tamil population on this Island and some millions on the Continent, the aids of a literary Seminary; - that there are many native youth of good talent who would prize its privileges and employ them for a good of their countrymen; and that there are respectable young men of Portuguese and Dutch descent who might be means of such an institution, be made capable of conferring most important benefits of that large class of inhabitants in Ceylon.

The considerations, however though very important, are not in their influence so appropriate to the projectors of this institution as to call up their attention to the subject rather than that of other Missionaries in the same field; and notwithstanding some facilities for managing the affairs of a Seminary which they design now brought forward might have remained an inefficient, though strong wish, in their own bosoms, had there not been other considerations more immediately impelling. But when they looked around on twenty interesting lads, educated in Christian principles, and bound to them by many ties, prepared to reap and disseminate the benefits of such an institution; - when they saw also nearly a hundred more in a course of preparation, (to be followed by others from the Boarding Schools, in a constant succession) and considered the strong claims of these lads and youth to be furnished in the best manner to do good to their unhappy countrymen, the subject came home to their judgement and feelings, a requiring a strong effort and distinct appeal to the Christian public.

It was this view of things, and not any overweening confidence in their own abilities for conducting such a plan - not any desire of bringing themselves before the public - not any example of other Missionaries, that influenced the projectors of this institution. Nothing less than an imperious sense of duty could have led them from the quiet pursuit of their appropriate and delightful work, of preaching the Gospel publicly and from house to house, to attempt forming an Institution which must involve them in care and increasing responsibility,

with the prospect of seeing it little more than happily begun, before the scene of their labours on earth is for ever closed.

But when the conviction that something must be done, led to this design, it rose upon the mind attended by all the great considerations briefly enumerated, and many others that might be mentioned - considerations which affect the temporal and eternal interests of a large heathen people, and which are as weighty as the last command of our ascending Saviour - as pressing as the necessities of millions perishing in ignorance - solemn as death and judgement- and vast as eternity. It is therefore because a necessity is laid upon them, that the American Missionaries in Jaffna propose, by the help of their friends and the friends of humanity and missions in India, Great Britain, and America to found a College for Tamul and other youth.

OBJECTS OF THE COLLEGE

A leading object will be to give native youth of good promise a through knowledge of the English language. The great reason for this is, that it will open to them the treasures of European science and literature and bring fully before the mind the evidences of Christianity. A knowledge of English language, especially for those designed for Native Preachers is in this point of view, important almost beyond belief. Their minds cannot be so thoroughly enlightened by any other means. In some parts of India where the inhabitants are more of a reading people, where they enjoy the advantages of the press, and where epito mes, if not larger works, on European sciences are circulated, the case is some what different. The treasures of the English are, to a small extent transferred to the native languages. Owing to this, no doubt, and considering the facilities they have for further enriching the common dialects from the stores of Europeans learning, the venerable Missionaries at Serampore have seemed to disparage English studies for Natives. As their opinion on this subject is apparently opposed to a leading object of the contemplated institution, it becomes necessary to examine it, though from so high and so much respected authority. In speaking of commu-

nicating 'European science and information' to their students by elementary treatises in the native languages, they say, 'Those who think that English would more effectually enlighten the native mind, may be asked, how many of those ideas which have enlarged their own minds were 'imbibed from their Latin studies?' The principle laid down in the section from which this is quoted, 'to begin with elementary ideas and gradually advance as the minds of youth expand,' is readily conceded; and the importance of having elementary treatises in the common dialects prepared as fast as possible, is also acknowledged and felt; and it is earnestly wished that such treatises were greatly multiplied, and widely despersed among all classes of the native inhabitants; but for students, and especially for those designed to be preachers of the Gospel, that Little is necessary beyond perspicuous epitomes in their own language, explained and illustrated by regular lectures,' cannot easily be granted. What epitome of history could present such a view of the state of the world at different periods as clearly to illustrate the prophecies - give any thing like enlarged views of individual or national charecter - or show the different grounds on which the Christian religion rests in regard to the testimony of authors not Christian from that of the Heathen Mythology. What abstract of Geography, natural history, natural philosophy, chemistry, mineralogy, botany, and more especially of the philosophy of the mind, or of theology, could supply the place of the valuable English books on these subjects. Well conducted lectures would certainly do something towards making up the deficiency, but much less than might be supposed. The most extensive course of lectures must be limited, and the subjects examined must either be few, or be treated of in a very superficial manner; and when the voice of the instructor ceases, the pupil ceases to learn. Besides hearing without study can never make a man learned. Lectures and abridgements are principally useful to those who have read somewhat extensively.

But the argument against any thing more than simple elementary treatises is that the 'youth and even those about the age of mere youth, respecting European ideas are still in a state of mental infancy.' And

why? Because European ideas are locked up in European languages. Give them the key - give a native youth the language and he may become something more than a babe in knowledge. Indeed some are known, who, though scarcely at the age of manhood, are capable of deriving, and do derive, as much benefit from Mosheim's Church History, Scott's Family Bible, the Encyclopaedia Brittanica, or almost any book in English, as an English lad of the same age. Have these students then no advantage over an epitome scholar; or no more than a Latin scholar in England has over one who understands only his own language?

To ask how many of the thoughts which have enlarged our own minds, were derived from our Latin studies is certainly not in point. The question is put four or five hundred years too late. Had it been asked when all the treasures, or learning and science were locked up in Latin and Greek, it might have been easily answered. The fact now is, that the English language is enriched, not only by almost all that is valuable in Latin and Greek, but by modern improvements in science, and the labours of genius in literature, to an extent far, very far, beyond a either of those languages, or both of them together. There is, therefore, not the same necessity to the English scholar which there once was, of studying Latin to enlarge his mind, or to find sufficient stores of thought. He finds these 'poured around him in his vernacular tongue.' But is it so with the untaught, unread, unthinking and bookless Tamulian-the more favoured Bengalee - or even the privileged Sanscrit scholar. Far from it. Were all that is valuable in history, in the arts, in metaphysics, ethics, law, physic and divinity, which is found in all the languages of Eastern Asia, living and dead, put in the balance with what is contained in English on the same subjects, or in any other calculated really to enlarge the mind, and form it to correct and manly thought, the treasures even of a small, but select English library, such as a Native might read, outweigh them all.

That great efforts are making to transfer the learning of the West into the languages of the East, is a matter of most sincere rejoicing;

and the Seminary here contemplated is designed to assist in this good work. It is in this way only that the great mass of the people can be enlightened. The most important works in English must be translated, epitomes made of them, or new works written; but to accomplish all, or any of these objets, a large number of English Scholars must be raised up from among the Natives. It is a work which foreigners, comparatively ignorant of the language and customs of the country cannot be supposed qualified to do. Much time must therefore elapse before it can be effected to any great extent. Let any one reflect for a moment on the time occupied, the money expended, and the hands employed in carrying forward the translation of the Scriptures only; and then let him judge whether some ages may not elapse before a native of India will find the English language useless to him as a key to knowledge, or of no more benefit than the Latin is to us.

Even the knowledge of Sanscrit, whatever may be its value in Bengal, cannot be compared to the English in importance here. To a select few, it would doubtless be of very much service. It would enable the Native Preacher, or Assistant, to explore the hidden recesses of Heathenism, expose the absurdities even of the more sacred parts of the system, and meet the most learned Brahmins on their own ground. But for all, or even a majority of Native Preachers, much less the inferior classes of students, to be able to do this would be of little use, compared with the power of drawing freely and constantly from the rich repositories of Christian knowledge in the English language, for the purpose of confirming the faith, enlarging the powers, and in vigorating all the graces of the Christian convert. It is to be remembered that the most effectual method of combating error is to make known the truth. It must, therefore, be more important to have a thorough knowledge of the Christian system, and of the arguments which support it, than to understand all the mysteries of Brahminism, or any other system of superstition or idolatry. This is more especially the case, when we attempt the conversion of an ignorant people, who do not understand the fascinating mysteries of their own system. By making ourselves acquainted with the arguments which support the religion of their fathers, and then bringing them before the people (however accompanied by proof of the fallacy of the arguments, and the absurdity of the system which they were designed to support) the result, in almost every case, would be to confirm them the more in error; because, through the force of prejudice, their minds would be wholly occupied in seizing and making use of the weapons thus put into their hands. The great mass of the Tamul people are exceedingly ignorant, and even most of the Brahmins and Priests know little of their own system. Whatever, therefore, this system may be, as to the principles on which it is founded as concealed in books, it is practically what it is seen to be among the common people; and as such it is to be met and refuted. But to do this, the preacher who understands the common dialect, and the common dogmas of superstition, is furnished, so far as respects the great mass of the people, with whom is his principal business; and even were he to encounter a learned Brahmin, he might by a clear exposition of the Christian system, accompanied by the proofs in defence of it with which a good knowledge of English books would furnish him, do more to induce conviction, than he could by entering, with every advantage that the Sanskrit could give, into the endless laybrinths of Hindoo Philosophy, and all the mysticisms of the Brahminic schools. Indeed it deserves very serious consideration, whether, from the known principles of the human mind, too free and frequent intercourse with hea-then writers of the highest class, might not weaken, insensibly, the very weak faith of the real Christian convert, and completely overthrow that of the nominal Christian; and whether, while the young student is so deeply imbued with Sanscrit learning, he might not receive also to great an unction of Heathen philosophy: especially when it is remembered that the persues his studies in a Heathen country, where temptations to idolatry press him like the atmosphere on everyside. On the contrary, is there not much reason to hope, that a constant perusal of the best English authors, would almost insensibly mould the piously inclined student into the temper and habits of the confirmed Christian. Certainly it cannot be doubted, by any who have felt the pernicious influence of the Heathen classics upon their own minds while at school, (where unhappily the mythology of Greece and Rome is more studied and better understood than the religion of Christ) that the study of English writers must have a much more salutary moral influence than the cultivation of Eastern literature by a constant and familiar intercourse with the writings of the most plausible and the subtle heathen: - and it is the moral influence which the projectors of the present Seminary wish to keep primarily and most distinctly in view. Should it even appear singular, they are not ashamed of the singularity of attempting to found a college, no so much literary as religious; and, indeed, literary no further than learning can be made auxiliary to religious. In a word, their design is to teach the knowledge of God - to exhibit His character as seen in creation, embracing all natural objects: - in providence, involving the history of the world; - in redemption, combining the moral depravity of man with the justice and mercy of God; and developing all the important relations of the creature to the Creator for time and for eternity. To effect this, no medium of communication in thought to be so safe, so important, as the English language. To promote the cultivation of English will, therefore, be a leading object of the college.

II. Another object will be the cultivation of the Tamil literature. To maintain any good degree of respect among the native inhabitants, it is necessary to understand their literature. The Tamul language, like the Sanscrit, Hebrew, Greek &c is an original and perfect language; and is in itself highly wirthy of cultivation. The high or poetic Tamul is, however, very difficult of acquisition, and requires all the aids which we college is designed to furnish. The Puranas, and all the more common sacred books, are to be found translated into high Tamul, in which they are read in the temples; and it is particularly desirable that some at least, if not all, of those who are set for the defence, or employed in the propagation of the Gospel, should be able to read and understand them. This would give to Native Preachers here, in a degree, the

same advantage which the knowledge of Sanskrit give them in Bengal; and would also bring into their service those poetic productions which are written in opposition to the prevailing idolatry, and thus assist their attempts to destroy it.

But a more important benefit would be, the cultivation of Tamul composition, which is now almost entirely neglected. It is common to find among the Tamul people men who can read correctly, who understand to some extent the poetic language, and are able perhaps to form a kind of artificial verse, who yet cannot write a single page of correct prose. Indeed, with very few exceptions, nothing is written in this 'Iron Age.' All agree in looking to their ancestors for books, which were composed, as they imagine, under a kind of inspiration; and have a greater degree of sanctity from being quite unintelligible to the common people. One effect of this is that few books are read. and fewer still understood. Those put into the hands of boys at school, are so far above their comprehension that they learn the words without attaching the least meaning to them whatever; and, unhappily. they very seldom acquire any better habits in after life. To correct both these evils, and to prepare the way for the Sacred Scriptures bu forming a reading population, (an object of vast interest) the attention of many must be turned to writing intelligibly, and forcibly, in their own language. Original native composition, on account of the superior felicity of its style and idiom, will be read when the production of a foreigner, or a translation, will be thrown aside, To raise up therefore, and qualify a class of native authors, whose minds being enriched by science may be capable not only of embodying European ideas, but of putting them into handsome native dress, must be rendering most important aid to the interests of learning and Christianity.

III. Sanskrit or Sunkskritu: Though the teaching of English, as a principal object, is more important than to teach Sankcrit, the latter, as has already been intimated, may be of very considerable use to a select few established principles and piety, more particularly from among

those designed for Native Preachers. For them to acquire a good knowledge of this repository of Eastern literature, science, and religion, for the benefit of themselves and their companions, is certainly a great object. It would bring to light many hidden things of darkness, and give weight and influence to the whole body of Native Preachers and Assistants.

IV. It will also be an object to give a select number of knowledge of Hebrew, to assist them in obtaining a correct acquaintance with the word of God; with a view both to explaining and translating it. The Hebrew being acquired with vastly more ease than the Sansksrit, this branch of study might reading be extended so far as circumstances should require; and even in some cases the Latin and Greek might be added.

V. In addition to these languages, and through the medium principally of the English, it is designed to teach, as far as the circumstances of the country require, the sciences usually studied in the colleges of Europe and America. The course at present contemplated will embrace, more or less extensively, Geogrphy, Chronology, History (civil and ecclesiastical) Elements of Geometry, Mathematics, Trigonometry, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Philosophy of the Mind, and Natural and Revealed Religion. In teaching these, it is designed to provide as far as possible elementary works in Tamul, for the assistance of the student. The public lectures will be delivered principally in English, with suitable explanations in the Native language. That all the students will be able to make great advances in most of these different branches, is not supposed; but that many will thereby obtain an expansion of mind, and power of receiving and originating thought, which will not only free them from the shackles of superstition, but enable them to guide others also, is not only hoped but believed.

GENERAL PLAN

To accomplish these designs, the following general plan for the Institution is proposed.

- Location: The College will be located at some convenient place in the district of Jaffna.
- II. Buildings: A College Edifice, for Hall, Lecture rooms, Museum, Library and Philosophical Apparatus. A Chapel; and, at a convenient distance, buildings for Students, Store rooms, &c.&c.
- III. A Library, Philosophical Apparatus; and, to as great an extent as can be conveniently obtained, a Museum.
- IV Officers: A President, who shall have the principal direction of the Seminary, and also give lectures on Natural and Revealed Religion; three Europen or American Professors viz., a Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, a Professor of Greek and Hebrew languages, and a Professor of the Theory and Prac tice of Physics; each of whom shall deliver lectures, and super intend the studies in his department; also one Native Professor of Sanscrit, and onre of Tamul, with three Tutors.
- V. Students: Youth of any Caste, Sect, or Nation, between the ages of twelve and twenty-five, may be admitted to the privileges of the Seminary; the terms of admission for native youth to be, a facility in rendering the English New Testament into Tamul, a knowledge of the Tamul Dictionary called Negundoo, and a good acquaintance with the leading principles of English Grammar, and the ground rules of Arithmetic.

In case of extraordinary promise, youth may be entered without any knowledge of English, and pursue the Tamul studies only; but each youth cannot be admitted on the foundation, or take regular standing in a class.

VI. Classes: There shall be six classes, corresponding with the years of College standing, each under the particular direction of its Professor or Tutor; and also a select class of Sanscrit, and one of Hebrew, each commenced once in three years, which shall be the course of study in these two languages in connection with the regular studies of the Seminary.

VII. Studies: (1st Year) Tamul poetry, select English Authors, translating English into Tamul and Tamul into English. (2nd Year) Arithmetic, Geography, Chronology, Abridged History. (3rd Year) Rhetoric. Mathematics, Geometry, Natural History. (4th Year) Natural Philosophy, Chemistry and Mineralogy. (5th Year) Astronomy, General History, and Logic. (6th Year) Philosophy of the Mind, Evidences of Christianity, Natural and Revealed Religion.

Connect with these will be the daily study of the Holy Scriptures, indifferent languages, the Bible being, to as great an extent as possible, the Text Book of the College. There will also be occasional exercises in speaking and composition.

VIII. Lectures: There shall be every morning a short lecture on some portion of Scripture, in Tamul or English at pleasure, by the President, or one of the Professors, at which all the College shall be required to attend. Also a daily lecture, or recitation, for each class in its different studies; and a public lecture each week alternately by the Professors in their own departments. The President shall give each month a lecture on the evidences of Christianity, or on some branch of natural or revealed Religion, which lecture shall be transcribed in Tamul and English by each student.

IX Examinations: There shall be a private examination of each class half yearly, by the Instructors of the College; and pubicly once each year before the Governors and Visitors; at which such prizes shall be given to the two higher Classes, as the funds of the Institution may allow, and circumstances render desirable.

X Anniversary: There shall be an annual public exhibition, by the senior class, at the end of their College course; at which, disputations, essays, orations, previously assigned, shall be delivered; and those students who are found deserving shall receive in public an honorary certificate signed by the President.

XI Scholarships: Should funds be provided for the support of Scholarships, such youth as promise special usefulness in the Ministry, in the practice of Physic, in translating, or in teaching, will have the privilege of prosecuting their studies, after the regular period is expired, on being elected by the Board of Governors.

Government of the College: The immediate direction of the XII students shall be by the resident and instructing officers; but the control of the institution shall be with the Board of Governors: consisting with their approbation, of the Collector and provincial Judge of the District of Jaffna "ex-officio," of the President and European or American Professors, and of the American Missionaries in the District for the time being. This Board shall elect all officers, direct the appropriation admit students on the foundation, expel them if necessary, and give the honorary certificates at the close of the College course. To transact the business of the College in these various respects, they will appoint annually a Treasurer and Secretary; the former of whom shall manage all the pecuniary concerns of the Institution, and the latter keep a fair record of all important transactions, and make an Annual Report of the state and progress of the Institution. There shall be a Board of Visitors, consisting with their consent, of all the Reverend Missionaries in the District, not connected with the Seminary, and such other Gentlemen as the Government of Ceylon, (should they see fit) may appoint; which Board may attend the Anniversary, hear the public examination of the Senior Class and their exercises, examine the accounts of the Treasurer, receive the report of the Secretary, and make themselves acquainted with the situation of the Seminary generally, concering which it will be expected that they make a short statement, to be published in connection with the Secretary's Report, in India, Great Britain and America.

XIII Funds: These may be permanent and disposable; the interest only of the former to be applied to the uses of the Seminary, and the latter to be expended as exigencies may require. Of these funds, after the current expenses of the Institution are defrayed, there shall be formed a Foundation, for the support of such youth, while pursuing their studies, as may be elected to its privileges by the Board of Governors. That this foundation may receive the greatest possible number of youth, the expenses of instruction will be made light, by the officers who are in connection with the American Mission performing their duties gratuitously. The support of a large number with moderate funds, will also be facilitated by the cheapness of living here, which, so far as Natives are concerned, is less perhaps than in almost any part of India. The whole expense of food, clothings book and incidentals may safely be estimated, on an average, at twenty five Spanish Dollars a year for each student

Should any friend of the College, or of the Heathen, provide the means of supporting a youth through the course, he will have the privilege of selecting and naming such youth; and should any be induced to devote a sum to this object the interest of which shall be sufficient for such support, he may while he lives, and after him his successors, name a youth to be supported, from one period to another, so long as the College shall stand; and should any one take sufficient interest in the object to devote a sum to found a Professorship, either Native or European, say for a Native £ 2,000, or European £ 3,000, the professorship so established shall be named after the donor. Moreover, should any distinguished benefactor soon arise, and devote a considerable sum towards founding the College, the institution, by leave of such generous

individual, will bear his name; the decision to be made within two years from the date of this Plan, by the Board of Governors.

All the permanent funds shall be securely vested on interest in some public stock, or other more eliginle manner.

CONTEMPLATED BENEFITS

We come now to the benefits of the Institution, which have, however, in part been necessarily anticipated.

The subordinate benefits are such as always attended the introduction of light and knowledge among an ignorant people. Agriculture and the mechanic arts will be improved; (learning will rise in estimation, and gradually obtain a dominion over wealth and caste) the native character will be realised; and the native mind, freed from the shackles of custom, which now confine all in the beaten track of their ancestors, will imbibe that spirit of improvement which has so long distinguished and blessed most Christian countries. It is not want of mind which leaves Asia at so great a distance behind Europe in the march of improvement. It is the want of a spirit of enquiry, and willingness to improve. A college, such as this is intended to be, would give a new tone to the whole systems of education in this district; and exert an influence which would be felt in every school and village. Nor is it to be doubted that this influence will be favourable in a political point of view. It will be purely intellectual and moral; and the blessings of a good government must be more prized in proportions as the people become more enlightended, more capable of comparing it with the tyranny of their own petty princes, and more sensible of the necessity of assisting to support its requisitions. Such a government as the inhabitants of Ceylon, and British India generally. at present enjoy, has nothing to fear from the diffusion of pure learning, or the propagation of Christianity; but much to expect.

One direct benefit to the government, and that of no small importance, distinctly contemplated in this Seminary, is the raising up

of interpreters, translators, English teachers, &c. for government service. The advantages of this must be appreciated by all those gentlemen in the civil service, who, in their official duties, have intercourse with the Tamul part of the population. Among a people so litigious as the Malabars, and at the same time so removed from the observation of their rulers, by difference in situation, customs, and language, the impartial administration of justice becomes a most perplexing and difficult concern. The mass of the people are at the same time so regardless of the obligations of an oath, that those of the same class cannot be made to testify against each other. A native of influence can, therefore, scarely be brought to justice. His course of life, however had, is known principally by those who are under his influence. He may be the leader of a gang of robbers, and it may be known, even particular acts of his depradation may be pointed out, while the most active magistrate is unable to convict him for want of evidence. How much then must the course of justice be impeded in its descent to the lower classes, when, in addition to all this, the interpreter at any court may give what colouring he please to the evidence which he is the medium of transmitting, with little danger of its being discovered. If he is not above the influence of a bride, the cause of truth will be sacrificed to his love of gain. Were the knowledge of English more common among the natives, they would act as checks upon each other, and render the practice of bribing less common. Could those gentlemen, who have the administration of justice, themselves acquire a good knowledge of the native language, the end might be better answered; but the Tamul is so difficult of acquisition, that for a foreigner to speak it readily and to understand it when spoken rapidly and indistinctly, would require a study and practice of a very considerable proportion of the whole period of a usual residence in India. To disseminate widely the knowledge of English, and thus open the avenues of approach to the seats of justice, seems therefore the most practicable course. Should the head men, and thouse who hold the principal native offices under goverment, have such a knowledge of English as this Seminary is designed be give; and that connected with the sound Christian principles which would be constantly instilled into their minds, how easily might the gentlemen of the civil service confer with them, and learn the exixsting state of things in every section and corner of the country. The English government has, therefore, in pursuing an opposite course to the Dutch, and encouranging the cultivation of the English language among natives, shown a policy as wise as it is generous. It may do more, especially when connected with Christianity, to consolidate and perpetuate their vast empire, than their numerous fleets and armies. To assist in tihs great object, by raising up a large body of good English scholars from the natives, who may be able to act as interpreters, translators, and teachers of schools, in which others may learn the language, must certainly be a direct and not unimportant benefit.

It is not intended by these remarks to sink, for a moment, the vastly more important moral and religious benefits of cultivating English. which have been already mentioned; and, to what has been said, it might be added, that the importance of the English language is very much increased by the fact, that it seems destined to be, in a higher sense at least than any other, a universal language. The two great nations with whom it is vernacular, occupy immense territories. (those of the British nearly compassing the globe, any by means of a vast commerce, carried on in English, have direct intercourse with almost every past of the world. It is from these nations also that missionaries, and the agents of Bible Societies, are going forth and making establishments "wherever the voice of man is heard, or his footsteps seen." The consequence is, that among savage nations, whose language is unformed. English is gradually taking the place of their barbarous dialects; and among nations are civilzed, though it is connexion with them, as a means of obtaining profit and not supplanting the native languages, it is extensively cultivated in distinction. When, therfore, we consider that it is already the great repository of scince and Christianity. we cannot but believe that it will be most important medium of enlightening the world.

But, not confining ourselves to one branch of study, and leaving also the collateral advantages to be derived from the Seminary, the great benefit to be contemplated is the propagation of Christianity. While every friend to learning and humanity will rejoice to see such a melioration of the condition of his fellow men as the Institution is designed to effect, the Christian, who feels himself under obligation to do all in his power to promote their spiritual and eternal good, will view with peculiar and higher interest the bearing it has upon the great object of his desires and hopes. That it may by made a powerful instrument in the propagation of Christianity, will appear further from a few particulars.

1st. The light of erudition and science is always favourable to Christianity. It courts inquiry, and the more it is examined the wider it will be disseminated.

2nd. As Christianity is rational, and healthenism absurd, they cannot long subsist together in an enlightened state of society. The latter must be exploded.

3rd. The Boodhist and Pouranic systems, which now prevail throughout India, are both gross departures from the doctrines of the Vedas, and contradictory to the principles advanced by the best ancient authors, even in Tamul. If then the sacred books are brought to light by the study of high Tamul and Sanscrit, the present systems may be combated with some success from the very writtings in which it is pretended they are taught.

4th. The principles of geography and astronomy, as taught or recognized in their shastras, such as that the earth is an extended plane, that the sun goes round the earth every day, that eclipses are caused by a serpent devouring the sun or moon, are so clearly capable of being demonstrated false, that this is a very vulnerable point of attack upon their sacred books. Indeed, in so many respects do these books depart from sound philosophy, that they cannot bear the light. The doctrine of

transmigration, which is the soul of the Pouranic system, cannot be received by an enlightened mind, trained to independant and unbiased thought; especially if that mind can borrow light from the Sacred Scriptures. The doctrine of five elements, which is interwoven with all their superstitions, can be easily overthrown by the merest empiric in chemistry. Their cosmogony, or birth and successive regeneration of the world, and their chronology, embracing four ages of many thousand years each, are no less absurd, and scarcely less easily refuted. Indeed if light can dispel darkness, and if progress in science and literature is unfavourable to superstition, then the operation of a literary seminary must be favourable to Christianity.

5th. But as the spread of the Gospel is more effectually promoted by disseminating truth than by repelling error, the chief thing to be considered is the light which would be thrown on the evidences of Christianity. With the aid of such a Seminary, a native youth may be taught to understand the nature of the proof to be derived from prophecy and miracles, and to put it in the balance with the supposed evidence in favour of idolatry. He will know that prophecies were delivered a long time previous to their accomplishment, and that this could not take place except by inspiration. He will know also, that miracles have been wrought to attest the truth of Christianity, such as God only could empower men to work, and that this has never been the case with any heathen religion; and though the Brahmins may tell him of stupendous miracles, he will ask "Were they ever wrought?" Beginning with the earliest ages of the world and tracing in history the rise of nations, languages, and religions he will begin to doubt the fables concerning the descent of his nation from the gods, the divine orgin of his language, and the authenticity of his religion; and he will be able, not only with understanding, but with some good degree of impartiality, to examine the Word of God and compare it with all that he has been accustomed to hold sacred. He will do this too, while enjoying every attainable means for being throughly imbued with the principles of Christianity, having constant intercourse with the best English authors, and making the Bible itself his daily companion. Should he then enter the

Seminary a heathen, he would almost assuredly, unless both speculation and experience mislead, leave it in judgement and conscience, if not in heart, a Christian. And not he alone would by this means be benefited. All with whom he has had intercourse during the period of his studies will have derived more or less light from him. But should he enter the Seminary a real Christian, or be converted by the grace of God while a member of it, with such advantages for understanding the true nature of Christianity, of imbibing its spirits as breathed in the Holy Scriptures and the best human compositions, and furnishing himself to make known and defend the truth, as well as to refute error, how much might such a young man, even with moderate talents, do as a school-master, catechist, or native preacher; and should he possess such talents and spirit as some happily do possess, with the discipline of mind and sources of knowledge which the Seminary would afford, considering his acquaintance with the native language and customs, and his habits formed to the climate, he would unite advantages for usefulness now rarely if ever combined. While he could be supported at one fourth of the expense of a foreign missionary, he would be able to perform more labour, and probably be longer in the field. Besides, it should be remembered, that though foreign missionaries must lead the way in the conversion of the heathen, no heathen country can, to a great extent, and for a length of time, be applied with Christian teachers from abroad; they must be raised up and educated among the people to whom they are to preach.

It is with these views, and under the influence of these considerations, that the American Missionaries in Jaffna beg leave to present this Prospectus or Plan of a college for Tamul and other youth, to the friends of missions, of humanity, and of learning, in their native land, in Great Britain, and in India; humbly trusting that in a cause so removed from all local party interests, as the cultivations of learning, which is confined to no country; and the propagation Christianity, whose home is the world; no national or religious prejudice will prevent any individual, to whom the object may common itself, from giving it a decided and permanent support. They stand on common ground, on ground where every friend of man can meet; and standing there, under

higher sanctions to be faithful to their trust than any which the world can impose, they respectfully solicit patronage in an attempt which they fully believe to be pregnant with most important benefits (benefits stretching beyond the boundaries of time) to a large class of their unhappy fellow men, In the name of learning they ask, in the name of religion they plead, for countenance and support. Shall they be denied?

Those who may see fit to favour the object by donations, yearly or life subscriptions, or legacies in their wills, can do it through the medium of agents to be appointed the principal places to which this prospectus is sent; and a list of such benefactions will be published annually in India, and when practicable, in the country where the benefactors reside. Those who may honour the Institution by the gift of £ 100 will be enrolled in the catalogue of benefactors to the Seminary, to be published with the Annual Report; in which also will be published the names of such ladies and gentlemen as may give a sum adequate to the support of a youth on the foundation, with an account of the character and progress of such youth from time to time.

Any donation of books to the library, of any instrument for the philisophical apparatus, or article for the museum, will be greatefully received and acknowledged.

B.C. MEIGS.

D. POOR.

M. WINSLOW

L. SPAULDING.

H. WOODWARD.

J. SCUDDER

Jaffna, Ceylon, March 4, 1823.

LETTER OF THE DEPUTATION

Batticotta, May 23, 1855.

TO THE BRETHREN OF THE CEYLON MISSION,

Dear Brethren, Our meeting closed yesterday, after a session of twenty days; not including two given to our native catechists and one, on the first Monday in the month, devoted to prayer and conference with our brethren of other missions. The number of distinct sessions was thirtyeight. In the Madura missions the meeting occupied sixteen days, not including two given to catechists, and the number of sessions was nineteen. The meeting at Ahmednuggur occupied also sixteen days. and there were twenty-two sessions. Considering the number and importance of our subjects, and the amount of change involved in the discussion, it calls for the profoundest gratitude to God, that nothing occurred to mar in the least our unity of feeling, and that the results embodied in your twenty-one reports, are an expression, with no important exceptions so far as we perceive, of your unanimous views of what will advance the interests of our mission in this province. We came hither, as you know, with expectations of finding missionary policy not easily harmonized. In both respects we have been most happily disappointed. Our visit to you was evidently at the right time, and we were sent, as we humbly believe of the Lord; -- sent to all aid you at a critical juncture; and we have had occasion to act only as auxiliaries. At the opening of your meeting we stated indeed, with all possible frankness, what appeared to us to be the actual posture and relations of the mission, and what were the measures that seemed most likely to be advantageous to your working system. We were pleased to see, as the meeting advanced, that most of the changes then suggested were but an expression of your own views of expediency and duty. The tendency of your minds, under the pressure of experience, was all in the same direction with our own; and when the facts had been properly arranged, so as to bring out their actual relations to each other - a thing it was easy to do - no protracted or earnest argumentation was found to be needful.

As we expect to be able to furnish you ere long with a printed copy of our Letters to Mahratta and Madura missions, (together with the proceedings of those missions), we shall save ourselves the labor - a rather obvious duty on our personal account - of discussing matters that are discussed in those letters; except when new points of view render it expedient. Among these subjects are - the controlling objects of missions to the heathen; preaching; native churches and pastors; ordaining native evangelists; employing heathen schoolmasters; boarding schools; village stations and village-schools; Christian villages; the tarining of native helpers; temporal aid to indigent native Christians; and restrictions on correspondence with the Secretaries of the Board. We have also explained, at some length, the reasons in favour of sending Deputations.

The meeting with some three hundred of the Batticotta graduates, on the 10th of April, that with the catechists, on the 2nd of May, and that with the Native Evangelical Society, on the 3rd, are among the occurrences of our visits not willingly to be forgotten. Nor can we help adverting to the ecellent roads, connecting your several stations, and greatly facilitating your work; for which we are indebted to the intelligent British officer, Mr. Dyke, who has so long presided over this province. It is not a country of hills and valleys, but an unbroken level, with large groves of palmyra and other trees, indicating both the sites and extent of villages, and open paddy fields between them, so graded and prepared as to retain the water in the rainy season. The climate is oceanic, and at this season, though under a vertical sun, it is delightfully attempered by the brisk south-west monsoon. The clouds are now

drenching the southern coast and the reigions of Colombo; here they bring no rain, and serve only to soften the rays of the morning sun. We shall have almost no experience of the rainy season - only a touch of it at Point-de-Galle - but we understanding it is not here so unpleasant as might be supposed, and helps to diversify the year. The people of Jaffna seem more independent in their circumstances and manners, than their kindred on the continent; but whether they are more deceptive, or less so, we are unable to determine. Their prevailing caste, the Vellala, corresponds with the Kumbi of the Deccan. Though not easily brought under the influence of the gospel, they are perhaps no more difficult of access than their brethren among the Maharattas. More will be known about them as converts, after the principles of gospel have more thoroughly permeated their relations of social life, and when, by a reduction in the number of schools and in the range of education, they shall have less to gain, in a worthy point of view, by their connection with the mission.

The Board and its patrons will be under great obligation to you for the thoroughness, with which you have, in your report, discussed the governing object in missions to the heathen. It was our first subject in the meeting, and effectively connected itself with all that followed. The great first principles of the work of missions are there embodied. You describe it in impressive language as a work of faith; God's work; acknowledging no necessity of auxiliary means or preparatory process; and too often actually retarded by a resort to such appliances.

Your report on preaching shows that yours has been, as you say, "truly a preaching mission." The mission, as a body, has from the first been composed of able and faithful preachers. Notwithstanding this, there has hitherto been a failure to obtain reliable stated congregations; adult congregations, where the same persons attend from Sabbath to Sabbath. The following tabular view of attendance at the several stations, illustrating this point, was prepared from information received by us at the several stations.

		When commenced	Number in Congregation	Pupils in the Schools	Supported by the Mission employ	Christian Members not employed	Adult Heathens
Tillipally	-	1816	535	450	24	21	40
Batticotta	-	1817	519	387	73	19	22
Oodooville	2	1820	621	533	33	30	25
Manepy	-	1821	368	300	52	13	3
Panditeripo	-	1821	225	189	17	14	5
Chavagacherry	-	1835	287	245	20	7	15
Oodoopitty	-	1846	40	8	12	6	14
Total	-		2595	2112	231	110	124

It should be borne in mind, that the Seminary is at Battocotta. the Female Boarding School at Oodooville, and the Printing Establishment at Manepy. Restricting our views to the five older stations, we know of nothing more surprising in our experience of missions, than this result as regards congregation. For a period of from thirty-four to nearly forty years, those stations have enjoyed the labors of some of the ablest and most faithful of missionaries, and during all this time, there has been every facility which popular schools of varied form could give. In the year 1836, (when indeed the number was greatest) there were 155 common schools and 6,000 pupils connected with these stations, not to speak of other schools of a higher order. The whole may be seen by a reference to your reports on the various departments of education. Yet, in a population of 130,000 souls, separating from the congregations the puplis in the mission schools and the persons deriving their support from mission employ, only 124 adults remain for the whole of these five older congregations, who are not members of the church. Had so much piety, talent and labour been employed, for so long a time, simply in direct preaching efforts to collect congregations, without the intervention

of schools, we should have been ready to regard this mission as without doubt to be relinquished for some more productive field. As it is, however, we came to no such conclusion. We have supposed that it proves the insufficiency of schools as a means of securing stated congregations, rather than the impracticability of the field. It falls in with similar facts elsewhere to show, that though schools may securing stated congregation, rather than the impracticability of the field. It falls in with similar facts elsewhere to show, that though schools may secure an audience, for the time being, they are not the best way of securing a stated congregation. They would seem rather to stand in the way of it. We say this with a perfect recollection, that we at home have had a joint and cordial agency with our brethren here in this method of working the mission, and have written and published much to secure to its favor and success; and through it much valuable experience has been acquired experince that has been and will be useful here and elsewhere; saving vastly more money that it has cost. We believe, too, that, in the working out of this great experiment, there has been much real preparation made for the spread of the gospel in this province; and that God's Providence will in time make this fact stand out, much more clearly than it does at present. Even now, your older members are at no loss for proofs of this abundantly satisfactorry to their own minds.

It may help to a more distinct impression as to the stated congregations, to give an average view of the seven. The average number at each station is 370, of which number 302 are pupils in the schools, and 68 are adults. Thirty-three of those adults, or about one-half, receive their support through various services rendered to the mission. Of the rest, 15 in each congregation are church members not employed by the mission, and 17 may be classed as heathens.

The following tabular view of the mission churches was derived from the same sources as that of the congregations:

	When commenced	Whole Number	Males	Females	Males in Mission employ	Wives of these	Employed in Mission families	Not employed
Tillipally	1816	48	31	17	20	9	0	19
Batticotta	1817	109	78	31	46	14	0	49
Oodooville	1820	91	24	67	13	33	6	39
Manepy	1821	56	33	23	20	10	0	26
Panditeripo	1821	31	19	12	8	5	4	14
Chavagacherry	1835	27	15	12	10	8	2	7
Oodoopitty	1847	14	8	6	5	4	1	4
Total		376	208	168	122	83	13	158

The whole number of church - members is 376; and of these, including 31 members of the two seminaries, 249 derive their support in some form, from the mission. This is not mentioned as a defect in the churches; for in one point of view, it is certainly well that sow large a number of members are worth of employment, and can find it as preachers, catechists, school masters, &c., or of being educated in boarding schools. Still it is a misfortune, that so large a proportion of the members stands in just that relation. Now this peculiar constitution of the mission churches in this province should be viewed in connection with the no less peculiar constitution of the mission congregation; and these again should be viewed in connection with be other parts of the working system. Thus, the two boarding schools have been the chief feeders of the church. In other words, the converting influence of the mission is and has been exerted chiefly through its boarding schools.

Churches thus produced and sustained cannot become self-supporting, active, united churches, nor give high satisfactory evidences of piety. We find it hard to trust the motivees of their members, and to confide in them, and of course to love and respect them as we should.

They cannot be greatly multiplied, and some change is therfore needful in our method of operating.

Much has been in this province for the cause of education and of general improvement, much that the government and people of Jaffna should be thankful for. Much has been done, and done successfully, to array the facts of science against the Hindu mythology. Men, who were thus educated in our seminary, are residing in all parts of the community Hundreds, and even thousands, are heads of families who were once taught more or less of the fundamental truths of the gospel in our common schools. It is time for us to review our course, and make our appliances more eminently religious. Education having acquired a marketable value out of the mission, is now setting strongly towards the world through the English language. If we yield longer to that current, we are in danger of being swept wholly from our course. What we now see in the native mind as the result of past education efforts, is an intensely avaricious and ambitious mental activity, which we can no longer hope to correct, or even appetite, and by giving ourselvs more exclusively to prayer and the ministry of the Word.

The general course of your proceedings in your late meeting, as detailed in your reports, is in accordance with these views. You regard the main strength of our future efforts as in the village church, the village pastor, the village school with its nucleus of Christian children, and the native preaching bungalow, which may serve also for the village school.

We have been permitted to see the village church, and the village pastor. We saw them on the 24th of May, at Karadive, and blessed be God for what we say and heard! And how did it enhance our joy, and not ours alone that Mr. Meigs, from the first company of missionaries that came thirty-nine years ago, and Mr. Spaulding, from the first reinforcement in 1820, were spared to take leading parts in the service on this occassion of such high historical interest. Then and there the first village church was formed, of men and women from castes that stand opposed to each other like Jews and Samaritans, now one in

Christ. One of the two deacons, and the one first chosen, is of parish origin. Cornelius, the pastor elect, though not born in this province, nor accomplished in English studies, yet having been long and zealously laboring at Karadive, being of good repute among the people and desired by them, was evidently the man chosen of God to be their first pastor.

Such churches as this you propose to form, wherever the Lord is pleased to renew by his grace a suffient number of the inhabitants, and you propose to ordain pastors, wherever there is a suitable man to fill so sacred and responsible an office, and a church that needs and desires him for its shepherd. From the feeling of interest awakened among the people in this moverment, it is easy to see that you will need to exercise great wisdom and firmness, to prevent the existence of worthless churches, and of pastors, a great deal worse. We earnestly advise you, however, for obvious reasons, to suffer no unnecessary delay in organizing churches in the several villages which came under the distinct consideration of our late meeting. We trust also that one of the more promising of your younger preachers will soon be made pastor of your remote station churches, especially as the resident missionary, for some reasons affecting his health, must remove ere long to another station.

The ground taken in your report on buildings, as to the kind of preaching houses it is expedient to erect for village use, accords with our own opinion. The preaching houses should obviously be such as the heathen will be most disposed to frequent. Such are not the great Portuguese or Dutch-built churches at the stations, nor large edifices of stone, in Greek or Gothic style, plastered over with mortar, nor indeed a chunam house of any form; but a proper native house with mud or matted sides, a thatched roof, and a smooth floor of earth covered with mats of palmyra leaf. When it is known, as it now is, that the heathen come most readily to churches of this description, which cost but little, why should we yield to our western habits, and waste our money on edifices, that serve rather to hinder, than advance the cause? We cannot held thinking, and we have repeatedly expressed the thought, that some at least of great edifices at your stations (for the erection of

which the mission had no responsibility), would be no real loss to us, were they to be utterly removed. The subject of preaching houses, where and what they shall be, is one of great importance. Wherever erected, the native Christians and others shoulder be induced, if possible, to assist in their erection. We would also earnestly request that no native church be allowed to regard itself as practically entitled to receive aid in the support of its pastor, without doing what it can to support him. The salary should of course be graduated with a view to its being wholly paid at no very distant day, by the people. The usage you propose to establish in common with your sister mission on the continent of not increasing the salary as a consequence of ordination, is one we hope you will not fail of establishing. There may indeed be reason for giving more salary, but this is not one; and to disconnect the sacred calling from the grasping spirit of mercenary, we recommend that for some time to come, an increase of salary stand always disconnected, if possible, with the fast of ordination.

The dissolving of your ecclesiastical body by a unanimous vote, freed you from an inconvenient and needless perplexity. Your mission, as such, has all the power to organise churches and ordain pastors, which any other body can ever derive from God's word; and the proper line of distinction between the duties of the mission and those of the other body, composed of the same persons and operating on the same ground, can never be so drawn as to make the working of the two bodies otherwise than extremely inconvenient. The mission can more easily do the whole work, than a part; and you certainly did well in simplifying your working machinery. If missonaries distinguish between their own ministerial and missionary offices, then the natives will do the same for them. The missionary vocation includes the ministerial and something more. It includes all the powers needful to teach and disciple all nations, which it derives from the Lord Jesus. If missionaries individually, and if missions collectively, act only in this higher, peculiar character, then the native pastors can go into no troublesome comparisons and official claims. But if missionaries act through council, association, presbytery, classes, then fair questions of privilege, and even of right, may be raised by the natives - some of the most troublesome and dangerous questions in the working of missions. Then, too, there are questions for heart-burning and controversy among various denominational secretaries at home, which had better not exist. But when the missionary as such, and te mission as such, work in their own simple, appropriate, scriptural character - acting under commission from the Board, in the use of funds, and under direct commission from CHRIST, in preaching the gospel, organizing churhes, ordaining native pastors, and superintending the same, which are functions no less missionary than any other - then there will be the most simplicity, the least friction, the least ground for dissatisfaction, the most saving of time and strength, the great amount of co-operation and efficiency, and the most satisfaction, on the whole, among the great body of patrons at home.

Your report on caste and polygamy will be highly satisfactory to the Board and to the churches at home. At the date of this letter, ninety-eight male church members have signed the declaration, that they will wholly renounce in themselves and discountenance in others all caste and other distinctions and usages, which tend to foster pride, impair the affections, and hinder the kindly offices of christian love; and that they will not object to eating any kind of food on acount of the caste of the cook, or of him who tenders it. The signers embrace the leading minds in the native churches, and it is not known that any will ultimately decline to subscribe to it.

This relieves us from the painful embarrasment we stated to our native brethren when we met them at Manepy, and which they at once took into respectful consideration. We would not say, that we found caste tolerated in the mission churches; we accord with the language of your report as to that matter; but we found caste existing in the social lfe of the Christian community, and we thought that more should be done to expel it thence. It is doubtless true, that the peculiar state of caste in the Jaffna community makes it the more difficult to eradicate it wholly from the church. It is an evil, like intemperance in our own country, that requires a perpetual watch, a perpetual effort; and thus it will be for a long time to come. We do not find evidence, that it stands connected, in

the minds of native Christians, with the idea of blood purity; but it connects itself with notions of family rank and consequence, and of the value of dowry in the matrimonial market; and many of our native Christians seem to us to be too desirous of retaining their connections with their heathen relatives, and too fearful of the consequences that will follow from breaking wholly with the world. In this view of the subject, their brethren in our own country, who are not free from similar weaknesses, should be slow condemning them. However, it is our belief, that the native churches will never rise to be self-supporting, efficient and reliable, until the lines of distinction drawn by caste are obliterated from their social life. The declaration above mentioned is valuable chiefly as a basis from your own action, a thing to be followed up. We advise that, after a proper time for explanation and counsel, no native be received or reatined in the employ of the mission, as schoolmaster, or catechist, and that none receive aid in their support as pastors, who refuse to sign the declaration against caste, or who show by their conduct that they signed it from unworthy motives.

Your reports on station schools, the female boarding school, the seminary, and Government grants, embody results, and reasons for them, which must be of the highest interest to reflecting minds. The English language, heretofore taught in schools at all or nearly all the sations, is to cease being one of the studies. The liberal grants heretofore received for schools from the government, are to be respectfully declined. A custom, commenced in the early stages of the mission, of drawing heathen girls to the schools by small presents of cloths, is not to be continued. Twenty schools for Christian children, and as many more for heathen children with Christian masters, are to take the place of the English schools, select girls' schools, and some sixty or seventy of the old free schools. In the female boarding school at Oodooville, the English language is to be discountinued, the number of scholars is to be reduced gradually from seventy-two, the present number to thirty-five, and the time of residence in the school shortened from six years to five. The term in the Batticotta seminary is to be shortened from eight years to four, the number of its pupils reduced from ninety-six to twenty-five, and its studies are to be hereafter restricted to the Tamil language.

There is of course an urgent reason for these changes; nor, great as they seem, do they necessarily imply any considerable amount of positive error in the previous couse. It is our belief that most of these changes could not well have been effected at an earlier day.

The place which education should hld in the missionary work. is no longer a matter for theoretical speculations. It is to be determined in the light of a long, expensive and very ample experience. The results of this experience, where schools have been extensively used as an auxiliary to the preacing of the gospel to the heathen, and still more where they have been made a preparatory process, are well stated under the fourth general division of your first report - on the governing object in missions to the heathen. Experiece affords little encouragement to employ them among the heathen as a converting instrumentallity, or as a means of gaining stated congregaions for the preacher, or in av form as a preparatory means for the publication of the gospel. Their proper sphere is among the children of converts and stated hearers, in helping to build up a Christian community, and for the education of the native helpers of the mission, and pastors for the native churches; and the medium of instruction, in all cases, should be the vernacular language. Such, we believe, to be the teaching of experience. Such, at least, is that teaching within the range of our own observation. And the experiment of your mission, one of the oldest from our favored land, is pre-eminently instructive on this subject.

The large number of excommunications among the church members in the Batticotta seminary, amounting to 92, or somewhat more than a fourth-part of the whole number, as well as the principal cause of the same - the marrying of heathen wives - is significant of important facts in the character and relations of the graduates of that institution. One of the elder brethren has stated, as the leading cause of these unlawful marriages, 'that the lads in Batticotta seminary have come from far more aristocratic or wealthy families, than the girls at Oodooville; or else, by their education, they have raised their worth above their former value in the matrimonial market, and sell themselves for rank and dowry.' The excommunications for church

members in the Oodooville female boarding school have been only 12, or about one in 15. The firmness with which the females from the Oodooville school have adhered to their Christian profession, is remarkable. We saw many of them as wives and mothers at their houses. It has always been a pleasure for us to see them. They were intelligent looking women, and thoroughly Christianized, cordial in their manners, and evidently a blessing in their community. Beyond all question, the Oodooville female boarding school has been, and is, a powerful means of implanting Christian institutions among the Tamil people of this island.

Of the 454 graduates of the Batticotta seminary now living, and of the 185 graduates now connected with our own churches, 81 or less than one-half of the church-members, are in the employ of our mission; 17 are employed by other missions; and 87 have gone into secular occupations. Your report states, that only 11 of the 96 now in the seminary are members of the church; and that many of the elder pupils are looking mainly to government employment, and seem determined to have nothing to do with Christianity. It is indeed a redeeming feature, as you remark, that many in the lower classes are children of church-members; but there is reason for anxiety in their being so intimately conected with such unpromissing associates.

The plan of introducing pay-scholars, which has been in prosperous experiment for some years past, is believed to the incompatible with the highest succes of a missionary institution. In the new class of 1850, we perceive that eight were received on charity, eight were to pay half their board, and 14 were to pay full board. It was the same in 1854, the full board for a month being four shillings and six pence sterling. Were it an oject simply to promote education in this province, or to raise the tone of it, if that alone were our object, all this might be well. But our object is different. Education is not an end with us, but simply a means, and a means to accomplish an object purely religious. In our high schools, it is to raise up native helpers for the mission, and wives for those helpers. Now the necessary effect of this pay system in the

seminary must be to make the greater part of the students the sons of rich men, or of men in government employ, who will be preparing for secular posts of honor or profit; and who may be expected to prefer theathen wives with large dowries, and to be utterly averse to a connection with our pious Oodooville girls.

The studies in the Seminary, moreover, though adopted with no such intent, fall in with the views and wishes of these young men, and with their ambitious schemes of wealth and influence. They are mainly English. Under the force of adverse circumstances, the English studies have been gaining on the Tamil, until, as we have it for the respected principal, the studies stand related to each other as follows:

	Tamil	Eng. & Tam.	English
Senior class, during six years	5	5	19
Junior class, during four years	5	5	12
First class, during two years	2	4	4
Total	14	14	35

The injurious tendencies of this system are stated in your report, and are such as demand a change. To the changes recommended in the report, we are happy to give the sanction of the Prudential Committee. We also give that sanction to the changes recommended to be made in the Oodooville female boarding school. Ample time appears to us to be allowed for reducing the present number of pupils in that school, and so making way for a new class. There is clearly no principle, on which the support of the older pupils beyond the times specified, can properly be devoted on the treasury of the Board.

No fitting in English studies being required hereafter for entering the institutions at Batticotta and Oodooville, the propriety of sustaining English studies in the station schools fails of course. It seemed to us,

however, apart from these institutions, that the village Tamil school system should be relieved from all English studies in what are called the "English schools" at the several stations. There being at least four hundred baptized children in the mission churches not too old for the village school, and the vernacular tongue being the only proper basis for common school education, it was time for the mission to give earnest attention to this matter. A radical change of mission policy in respect to village school was needed. A vernacular school is, just now, below the mark of the English-taught young men from the seminary, and no parents would send their children to such a school when they can reach an English school. Thus the passion for the English language, in preference to the Tamil, is every where cultivated increasing our perplexities as a mission. The declarations we have heard from the most intelligent natives, as to the rush of feeling for English in the native mind, almost exceeds belief; and yet, until quite lately, we have heard no contrary testimony from any quarter. We have heard it affirmed by the highest Tamil authority in the district, that no education is valued by the people except in the English language; that the value placed upon that language is simply as a means of acquiring wealth, office and influence and not for the purpose of reading English books, and so gaining access to the fountains of English Knowledge; that western science is not sought by the people for its own sake, and would not be valued if clad in a Tamil garb; that if English were excluded from the seminary, the scholars would all flee from the institution; and that if the mission should cease giving instruction in English, and restrict its labors to the use of Tamil, the natives would lose all interest in the mission, and all its schools and congregations would come to an end. We would only reply, that if such would be the consequences resulting from the change, it was high time for us to abandon the English, and restrict ourselves to the Tamil altogether. But the belief that such would be the result is sustained by no experience whatsoever. Whoever heard of such a phenomenon? It would prove the people of Jaffna to be the most narrow-minded, unintellectual, mean spirited people in the world. What could be said in favor of schools as pioneers and auxiliaries of preaching,

were such consequences to follow in Jaffna from restricting ourselves to imparting instruction in the mother tongue? It would show that the minds of the people, in all their gradations of society - and of Christians no less than heathens - were grasping at nothing but rupees. We will not believe in the possibility of this, before the facts demonstrate it.

Our past outlay for education in this province, so far as we are able to ascertain it, without present access to the treasurer's books, has been as follows:-

For the seminary, for thiry-one years	£20,000
For the Female Boarding School, for thirty years	10,850
For native Free Schools, for thirty years	13,455
For other schools, estimated at	6,000
Total	£ 50305

The Church Missionary Society and the Wesleyan Missionary Society, have also expended largely in this department.

After such an outlay, we may well presume that a sufficiently broad foundation in the district is laid in general eduaction. If it be not, then that is beyond the power of missionary societies. We are entitled to presume, that the great body of our alumni have acquired some measure of that appreciation of knowledge, and enlargement of views and public spirit, which are supposed to belong to educated men. They are among the leading men, the intellectual aristocracy of their day; and if science has taught them the falsehood and folly of Hindu mythology, and is at all reliable as a missionary influence, then they in their respective spheres will bear witness to the truth. They, too, will favor a vernacular education for the masses of the people, and will co-operate with us in the effort to make it take root in the soil, and to become self-supporting and independent. We may expect to rely on them as allies in this work.

The precise value, however, of the results of the above expenditure in a religious and missionary point of view, will more clearly appear after there has been time to know the effects of the changes in the working of all the missions, that are now in progress. There can be no doubt that the good results are in many respects great. At all events, it is proper that we should begin to curtail our expenditure for education, and make it bear more exclusively on our religious object. The effect of the changes proposed in your reports will be to reduce our expenditure in the department of education about one-half.

With these changes in view, it will be no longer proper for us to receive the grant of £200, which the government has heretofore placed in the hands of the mission to expend for schools. This class of governmental grants, as we undestand, is expended under the supervision of a government commission at Colombo, and there is a school commissioner whose duty it is to visit the schools thus supported, and see that all is right. This is proper on the part of government. The reception of a grant acknowledges of course the right of visitation. It is not only a right on the part of the government, but a duty. We have heard of but one case of actual interference in the instruction of missionary schools, and that grew out of Jesuit complaints of the teaching as contrary to their religion; and the interference was little more than nominal. Our Prudential Committee have a decided objection to receiving government grants for missonary schools, whether from our own or foreign governments. Sooner or later in various ways it works adversely to the strictly evangelical character of the schools. Such grants, moreover, are wholly unnecessary for missionary schools. Experience has shown in our country, that taking the personal support of the missionary as the basis of operation, and giving that the precedence of claim, not only is the missionary's support sure, but, taking one year with another, the fair distribution of the balance of funds remaining on hand for auxiliary objects, secures for each of those objects its most healthful place and proportion in the system. Whether the proportion for schools be fourth, a third, or less, it is generally thought to be as large as the healthful development of the particular mission renders desirable on the whole. For a secular government to come in with its grants for schools, and still more for specific schools and classes of schools, tend to destroy the balance of

powers, and to mar the system. We believe it has really had that effect here. The annual cost of your mission is £ 3,600. The actual cost of your schools, including the government grants is thirteen or fourteen hundred pounds, which is more than one-third of the whole annual grant to the mission by the Board. Besides, it is an evil to have the mission become a channel for the disbursement of large sums of money among the people. It tends to strengthen the mercenary feelings with which they approach you, and their hopes of earthly gain.

The impression made upon us by your native assistants, is in accordance with the representation in your report on that class of persons. The effect of the English studies in your educational department has been here, as elsewhere, to raise the standard of salaries for native helpers higher than you now wish it to be. The tendency of your maximum of £ 1.5 per month, if firmly adhered to, in respect to all future salaries, will be gradually to bring down most of those that are above it, without danger of exciting reactionary sympathies, which a sudden reduction might occasion. We think that salaries should not be increased faster than the rule proposes, and only at the times specified, except in every extraordinary cases, and that the mission should refuse an increase, even then, when the candidate is not worthy. It is thus we understand the rule. The habit among the native assistants of petitioning for an increase of salary will now, we should hope, be effectually discountenanced.

The provision in your report for only three classes of helpers, viz., teachers, catechists, and pastors, strikes us favorably. The first are schoolmasters; the second are in effect preachers; the third sustain a somewhat peculiar relation to the mission. Indeed it seems questionable whether we should give the names of assistants to native pastors. When they shall derive their full support fromt their people, the work of the mission will have been completed, as regards those people. Pastor and people then become independent. It should be considered, moreover, that the relation between a pastor and his church is a divine ordinance, and that many of its responsibilities are placed by the Head of the Church beyond all human legislation. Ordination does not indeed put a native

pastor beyond the watch and care of the mission in the first instance, as regards his Christian and ministerial character, and it leaves the question of aiding in his support perfectly open to the mission. But it does give him a latitude of discretion as regards the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made him overseer, beyond what a mere catechist may assume, and which it becomes us carefully to respect. Much of the comfort and success of this effort to multiply village churches and pastors will depend on this. Neither too much nor too little interference - the golden mean - is what we should seek for prayerfully in the light of God's holy word.

You licensed three of your catechists to be preachers of the gospel during your late meeting; but we saw not what they were authorized to do more than they had been long doing, and had before been in effect licensed to do, by the same authority. It seemed to be conferring a dignity upon them, raising them above their fellow-catechists. Their occupation was unchanged, only they had a new and higher rank. This will foster a spiritual disease of which there is already too much almost every where. The only question seems to be whether all shall be called catechists, or all preachers. The New Testament throws no light on the subject. Neither class is there distinctly recognised as such. So far as preaching was concerned at the outset of the gospel, it was enough to make a man a preacher than he was a Christian, and felt constrained to bear witness to the truth.

The great desideratum in foreign missions now is, that every convert should feel that as a Christian he is bound to declare the great salvation to his neighbors. This is one secret of the success at Aintab in Asia Minor, and at Amoy in China. There is no need of all the restrictions and formalities in heathen lands, that are required in old Christian countries. The very profession of Christianity, the very fact of preaching Christ, brings consequences, brings restraining regulating influences, of which little is known in Christendom. When all shall be preachers, it will be easy for the missions to select assistants; and when these have had time to prove their gifts, and have secured general confidence, a farther selection may be safely and easily made for

ordination as pastors; with less danger, than now, of ministering to pride and ambition. It seems well to apply someone term to all who belong to the same class. Our statistical tables at home are defective under the head of prechers. There are really many more preachers, authorized by the missions as such, than our annual reports indicate. But it would be an exaggeration to call all the catechists preachers; and it is the reverse when all who are not pastors are called catechists. In reporting to the Prudential Committee for our annual tables, it will be well to indicate those who are really preachers by that term. It will be easy to make the distinction. Those who are allowed to make formal addresses in your regular places of worship, are preachers.

We are glad to see your report speaking strongly on the importance of full occupation for your assistants. We thought there was occasion for improvement here. In a few cases there appeared to be an imperfect division of labor among helpers at the same station. Responsibility is what, with God's grace, develops and makes men. A man should feel that he has a work, which nobody will do if he neglect it. He should have the certainty of detection, and a fear of consequences, when neglecting his duty.

If there are too many native assistants to allow of this division of labor, some should by all means be dismissed, or there should be a new distribution. Perhaps there are some who would even gather reliable churches in villages, if that object were set distinctly before them, and if they might hope to become pastors of the flock they succeed in gathering.

The results, to which you came in respect to the printing establishment, as detailed in your report on that subject, are somewhat beyond what we had anticipated. But they have our decided approval. Present circumstances pre-eminently favor an effort to plant this establishemnt in the native Christian soil. A part will be sold out of the province, as no longer needed, seeing our larger works are printed at Madras. The risk of placing the remainder in native hands, in the ways and under the restrictions you propose, seems not to be such as to

forbit the experiment. The missionary printer will thus be spared for what is to him the more congenial business of preaching the gospel in the native language, in which he has made good proficiency; and with his own assent and yours, he is authorised to remove to the Madura Mission, if there be no unforseen case to prevent, at the close of the year.

The changes thus made in your mission give additional importance to another, going to diminish the amount of your secular labors. We refer to that described in your report on the grants of the American Bible and American Tract Societies. Retaining the grants of those societies in your own hands as a mission, you will purchase from the local societies, or elsewhere, the Bibles and Tracts that you need; or, should it better answer your purpose, you will print for yourselves. The local societies will be as free as ever to act for themselves, and you to be members of them heretofore.

Your report on the medical establishment suggests a few remarks. The Board cannot educate native physicians and support them, as such, for medical practice among their countrymen. That lies beyond our legitimate province. But if there be a prospect that native physicians, educated by the missionary physicians, will obtain a support from their practise in the rural districts of Jaffna, and if the expense of their education be defrayed by the government, or from private sources, it would seem to be proper that the missionary physician should bestow some portion of his time on their medical training. The object will require that their education be in the Tamil language; that they be in no way connected with the mission; and that there be no gratuitous distribution of medicines to the people among whom they are to practice. If medical books are prepared in the Tamil language, there will probably be no great difficulty in procuring the funds for printing the from private sources in America. And as such books are of indispensable necessity to the ultimate success of this enterprise, we earnestly hope they may be prepared and printed at an early day. Finally, we are happy to give the Prudential Committee's sanction to your other reports, not here specifically mentioned. The whole will form a new basis for our mutual action and co-operation. And may the Head of the church vouchsafe his presence, and the awakening, converting, sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit.

The aggregate of our expenditure as a Board, during the thirty-nine years of our missionary labor in this province, is about £ 30,000; and the grants of Bible and Tract Societies, and of the Government, to us may have been £ 6,000 more. Divided among the people to whom we have had access, this would be a pound to each individual. Taking into view the superior value of money in this part of the world, it is a large sum to be received, in one form or another, by the people. The expenditure in Jaffna by missionary societies during the past thirty years. must have had a decided influence on the physical prosperity of the district. Our own annual expenditure of £ 1,400 for education, considering the small cost of labor as compared with it in our own land, was worth six times that amount to the natives. This has made it impossible to know how much of the desire everywhere manifested for schools has been owing to a genuine wish for education, and how much to the monthly receipt of wages by some teacher residing in the place with numerous relations to share (as they generally do) in his income. And your discussions have shown how hard it has been to ascertain. when such a teacher was required to give notice of the intended visit of the missionary to the village, how many of the audience attended through the solicitation of the schoolmaster, to preserve his credit, and ensure the uninterrupted flow of rupees into the family circle. Such are the disadvantages and evils of a system involving appeals to the mercenary spirit. And then there was the additional stimulus to the imagination of the upper and more influential classes, arising from the culture of the English language, opening to them visions of wealth and honor. From these and other causes it is difficult, just at this stage of our operations, to feel confident as to the extent of the hold you have upon the soil. And as we have already remarked, there are not wanting prophets of evil, foretelling the ruinous consequences of a reduction in our schools, and of an exclusion of English studies.

We shall see. Of this we are assured, that the time has come for such changes, and that there is no safe, wise course but to make the changes thorough. We have agreed, most cordially, in opinion with you, that we must abide the consequences of such changes. And it is evident to us all, that Providence has remarkably prepared the way for their being made, just at the present time. And as the fact of their being under consideration, has come out upon the natives, it has been more and more evident, that the changes, as they became understood, were commending themselves to the native judgement, as being proper for us to make, in view of our governing objects as a missionary society and a mission.

It cannot be doubted, that Jaffna is a peculiarly difficult field for missionary cultivation; and what would seem to be one grandcause of the peculiarity, is thus described by our lamented brother Poor. "After an external prescure," he says, "Weighing the people down for ages and drying up their spirits, was removed by their being brought under British rule, they believed not for joy that they were once more allowed to taste the sweets of idolatrous liberty. But on finding that it was even so, there was a mighty rush from a nominal Christianity to the all-absorbing system of Hindu idolatry; and they entered on a course of temple-building and adornment wholly unparalleled in the annals of the province, and which is in vigorous progress at the present time. Such was the state of things on our arrival in the year 1816."

Our mission followed the Portuguese and the Dutch, with a religion nominally the same; and what, perhaps, has more significance than we are disposed to believe, it has sought, though with mere persuasion, to assemble the people for hearing the gospel in the very same church edifices, to which, within the memory of Tamulians now living, they had been compelled by force to resort. When passing the old ruin of the Changany church, on the road from Manepy to Batticotta - as we often had occasion to do - around which the natives are wont to burn their dead, we have sometimes had the wish, that the ruins of the other great parish churches had been left to moulder as that has been. But wishes in respect to the past are vain. Happily the time has come

when we may begin to dispense with the use of these great buildings, and to assemble our hearers more and more in village bungalow of simple structure. We are far from taking a dark view of the future. We saw much evidence of piety among your native assistants. And it is a fact of great importance, that the oldest members of the missions are the ones most impressed with the favorable changes wrought in the province, and they are the ones most confident of future success. And how different impression made on the native mind, as to the character of the working power now in Jaffna, from that made by the Dutch and the Portuguese! The means employed, moreover, how different! If there has been too much leaning to science, too much use of the English language, too much ministering (though unintentionally) to the mercenary spirit, the grand aim and effort of the mission has been to publish the gospel. We are assured, that the changes in the deportment of the natives towards the missionary, since the commencement of your mission, is astonishingly great. The people are now comparatively accessible to the gospel. You may even preach the gospel from house to house. A knowledge of the fundamental truths of the gospel has been extensively diffused. And thus the way has been in a good degree prepared for an our-pouring of the Holy Spirit.

We must express our warmest acknowledgement to you for the kind manner in which your closing resolution speaks of us and our official labors among you. We hope we did no more than it was our duty to do, and we sought to do no less. If our suggestions were reasonable and useful, it was owing to the grace of God upon us. We shall always have delight in recalling to mind our intercourse with you, and with your families. Our interest in each of you personally, and in your work and field, is increased by this visit. We sympathize deeply with you both in your trials and in your joys. Our prayer is that, as you have sown in tears, you may soon reap in joy. We are, dear Brethren, yours most affectionately in the bonds of the gospel.

R. Anderson A. C. Thompson Deputation.

நூல் விபரப் பட்டியல்

தமிழ் நூல்கள்

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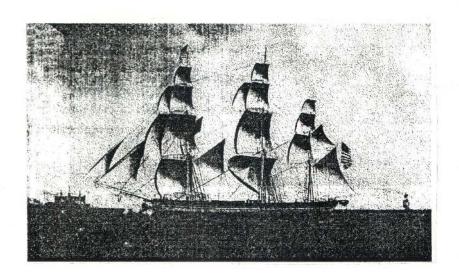
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THE SHIP "ISRAEL" THAT BROUGHT REV. AND MRS. H. R. HOISINGTON FROM USA TO INDIA IN 1833



THE MISSIONARIES WHO SIGNED THE PLAN FOR A COLLEGE IN 1823



REV. MIRON WINSLOW



REV. LEVI SPAULDING



REV. B. C. MEIGS

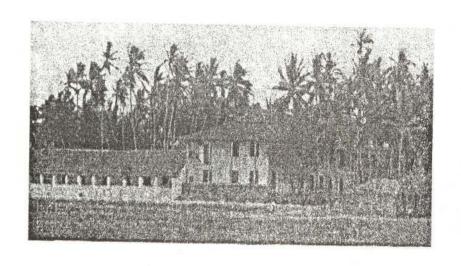
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OTTLEY HALL - JAFFNA COLLEGE 1901

SOME EMINENT VISITORS



REGINALD HEBER
Second Bishop of Calcutta
1823-1833

 Visited Seminary in 1833 - intimated intention to bestow some benefaction upon the Institution



GOVERNORS OF CEYLON

DURING EARLY BRITISH PERIOD



SIR ROBERT BROWNRIGG (1812-1820) Welcomed the American Missiemeries



SIR ROBERT WILMOT HORTON(1831-1837) Lifted the ban en American Missiemeries in 1833



SIR EDWARD BARNES (1824-1831) Stepped the coming of American Missiemaries

SOME DISTINGUISHED OLD STUDENTS OF BATTICOTTA SEMINARY



J. R. ARNOLD SATHASIVAMPILLAI



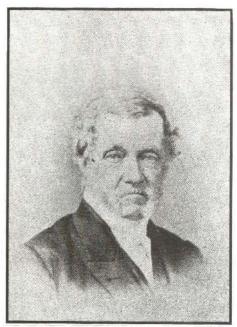
REV. J. S. CHRISTMAS



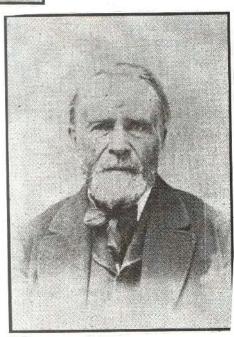
REV. B. H. RICE



REV. T. P. HUNT



J. R. ECKARD



W. Todd



BATTECOTTE (VADUKODAI) DURING THE DUTCH PERIOD



P. AUCKLAND DYKE
Government Agent Jaffna
1829-1867

"PRUDENT PROCONSUL"

CONTRIBUTED TEN RIX DOLLOR'S FOR THE SEMINARY FUND

RAJA RAMMOHAN ROY

Made a Contribution of twenty-five Rix Dollars for the establishment of the Batticotta Seminary



MISSIONARIES WHO SERVED AS PRINCIPALS OF BATTICOTTA SEMINARY





REV. DANIEL POOR



REV. M. D. SANDERS

REV. H. R. HOISINGTON



REV. E. P. HASTINGS

SOME DISTINGUISHED OLD STUDENTS OF BATTICOTTA SEMINARY



CHARLES WINSLOW THAMOTHARAMPILLAI



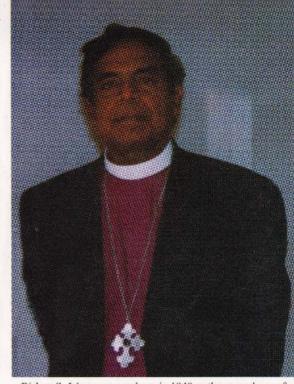
WILLIAM NEVINS SITHAMPARAPILLAI



Mrs. Eckard Mission in 1835







Bishop S. Jebanesan was born in 1940 as the second son of Rev. N. Subramaniam & Kanagammah Subramaniam of Chavakachcheri. He had his early education at Drieberg College, Chavakachcheri and Jaffna College, Vaddukoai In 1959 he entered the University of Ceylon Perdeniya. and obtained his first degree offering Western History, Economics & Tamil. Subsequently he joined Tamilnadu Theological Seminary, Madurai and did the Bachelor of Divinity course of Serampore and Masters Degree course in Philosophy & Religion of Madurai Kamaraj University. For his dissertation on American Ceylon Mission and the Development of Tamil in Sri Lanka the Peradeniya University awarded the M.A Degree.

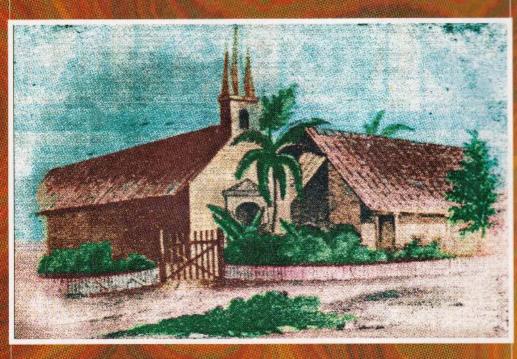
In 1987 he was given the Ph.D. Degree by the University of Jaffina for his thesis on **Batticotta Seminary & its impact on Tamilian Thought in Sri Lanka**.

After getting his first degree S. Jebanesan served as an English Assistant Teacher at St. Antony's College, Kandy for a short period. He returned to his alma mater Jaffna College in 1969 to which he was appointed Principal in 1988. Five years later he was installed as Bishop in Jaffna Church of South India.

Bishop Jebanesan is serving on the governing councils of many educational institutions including Christian Medical College, Vellore, United Theological College Bangalore, Tamilnadu Theological Seminary Madurai, University of Jaffna and Jaffna College Vaddukoddai. He is the current Chairman of the CSI Synod Committee for Ecumenical Relations and the Chairperson of the Solidarity Fund for Theological Education in India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka.

"Bishop Jebanesan is a respected Tamil Scholar today both in South India and Sri Lanka and his great asset is that he is accepted as a scholar beyond the confines of religion. In a way, he reflects in his own way the positive role the church, especially the Protestant Church, is trying to view developments in Sri Lanka and help promote a more balanced development for the country as a whole."

Prof. K. Sivathamby



Vaddukoddaí

(Batticotta) Church in 1836 from a pencil drawing given by the great grandson of Rev. HJR. Hofsington