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MODERN SRI LANKA STUDIES

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CONTENTS

BOOK REVIEWS

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF SRI LANKA 1948-1956*

B. Gajameragedara

I

The foreign policy of post–independence Sri Lanka was determined to a considerable extent by the 1947 - 1948 independence settlement.[1] The distinguishing feature of the country's independence movement was, as is well known, that it constituted an exclusively upper class enterprise, supported by upper-middle class professionals and such vested interests as the newspaper establishment in Colombo, the Catholic Church and the rural gentry – the social strata whose fortunes invariably depended on the colonial administration in the country. As such the entire reality of the independence settlement was that it was a manifestation of a conspicuous degree of community of interests between these social strata and the British colonial authorities.

The leadership of the nationalist movement was extremely conservative and was lacking in any broader concept of nationalism. Their central preoccupation was to persuade the British to transfer power through a constitutional device by demonstration of friendliness and loyalty to the British. Mr. D. S. Senayake, the simple but dominant leader of the nationalist movement, put the point neatly in a report to his ministerial colleagues on the 1945 negotiations with the Colonial Office:

> We had not sought to force British opinion to agree with us. We argued and demonstrated by co-operation that Ceylon might be the first of the tropical Dominions, the first of the oriental peoples to be admitted to complete equality, the first to benefit of that policy of raising dependent peoples which the British parties have announced in their election programmes. There has been no rebellion in Ceylon, no non-co-operation movement and no fifth column; we had been among the people who had given full collaboration while the British were hard pressed.[2]

The leadership of the nationalist movement accordingly did not envisage any structural change in the country's historical colonial relationahip with Britian. The grant of Dominion Status on the lines suggested by him, Mr. Senanayake stated :

> ...would cement the bond between our peoples (the British and the Sri Lankan). It would add to the power of the British Commonwealth of Nations. It would place another Dominion in the most important strategic position halfway between England and Australia. It would complete the triangle in the Indian Ocean.[3]

Independence of India and the revolution in the world balance of forces resulting from the Second World War brought Sri Lanka into the orbit of independence by the mid-forties. The Colonial Office, however, was not at all ready at this point to visualise independence for the country by a single step as it eventually did. For as Sir Charles Jeffries, the then Deputy Permanent Under-Secretary to the Colonial Office, pointed out, Sri Lanka was "a

* This is a slightly revised version of a paper submitted to the Seminar for Asian Studies, University of Peradeniya on 9th October 1985.

different cup of tea".[4] The British preoccupation was of course the continuing interest in the island's strategic importance in the Imperial–Commonwealth defence network in the Indian Ocean area. Sir Charles Jeffries informs us :

> ..... (From) the point of view of the British Government the question was not quite as simple as all that. There were the defence interests of the British Government and her allies. Ceylon was a vital point. If independence were granted there would be no going back.[5]

The uncertain implications of India's independence for the defence and security problems in the Indian ocean area had enhanced the importance of Sri Lanka in the British defence policy by the mid-forties.[6]

This continuing tendency on the part of the Colonial Office to regard Sri Lanka as an important link in the imperial defence network in the Indian Ocean area constituted the crux of the problem of Sri Lanka's independence during this time. The 1943 Declaration stated that the post-war examination of Sri Lanka's constitution would be directed towards the grant of 'full responsible government' under the Crown; but it laid down detailed conditions in respect of defence and external affairs. Similarly the Soulbury Commission accepted that the "goal of the people of Ceylon is Dominion Status"; but governed by defence considerations the Commission concluded that it was "clearly not possible to reach that goal in a single step"[7]

In the meantime, before the publication of Soulbury Commission report, Mr. Creech-Jones, the then Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs, invited Mr. Senanayake for consultations. On this occasion, the Sri Lankan leader, counselled by Sri Oliver Goonetilleke and Sir Ivor Jennings, submitted to the Colonial Office that the limitations imposed by the 1943 Declation had been "inspired by mistrust".[8] Therefore, "ignorning" that document, Mr. Senanayake "made a strong case for Dominion Status but met the fears which had inspired the limitations of (the 1943) Declaration by offer of an agreement about defence and external affairs".[9] Mr. Senanayake himself reported this crucial offer, intended to be the prerequisite of the grant of independence, in the following words :

> We should be ready and anxious to give all assistance and all the facilities that His Majesty's Government.. might require, provided that we were given control of our own country .....I said I was ready to pledge my colleagues .... to any reasonable agreement about defence as an integral part of any agreement for the Dominion Status ..... I went to the length of preparing the draft of such an agreement to govern relations between Ceylon and the United Kingdom, particularly in matters of defence and external affairs[10].....

As Sir Charles Jeffries put it, all this was "embarrasing" to the British authorities.[11] Yet they were not at all disposed towards visualising the grant of independence by a single step as there was no pressing need to do so. However, when Sir Oliver Goonetilleke entered the 'decisive' phase of ngotiations with the Colonial Office, after the problem of independence of India and Burma was settled, the interplay of two sets of circumstances made it possible

for the British authorities to declare Sri Lanka's independence within the British Commonwealth. There was, in the first place, the willing offer of agreements covering defence and exeternal affairs by the Sri Lankan leadership and their manifest willingness to collaborate with the British. During the final phase of negotiations the basic objective of Sir Oliver had been to reassure Sri Lanka's co-operation with the British and to to alleviate doubts and misgivings on thier part about independent Sri Lanka's international role. After these negotiations, Sir Oliver, pointing to Sri Charles Jeffries, stated in London :

> We asked you to look to us as a little bit of England and look to us with confidence because the collaboration between Britain and Ceylon will be so strong and because you are dealing with men whose word is their bond.[12]

As Mr. Senanayake himself had envisaged during his consultations with the Colonial Office :

> ....If His Majesty's government still felt that we could not be trusted the simple solution was to give self-government but provide for the taking over the administration of the island in the event of default on our part. It was not the legal powers that would be needed but full collaboration of free peoples.[13]

In the second place, there were industrial actions of the working class led by the Left which were by 1947 escalating into a general strike threatening to undermine the political base of the conservative leadership. In May Mr. Senanayake, alarmed by this possibility, instructed Sir Oliver to impress upon the Colonial Office by every means in his power "the absolute necessity of their making an immediate and spontaneous announcement that Dominion Status should be conferred on Ceylon at the earliest date that was constitutionally practicable".[14] Mr. Creech-Jones as well as Governor Henry Moore themselves were concerned about the volatile political situation in the country and now they clarly saw that "the effects of further delay could only be disastrous".[15] The Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs accordingly declared on June 18 in the House of Commons that "immediate steps will be taken to amend the (Soulbury) Constitution so as to confer upon Ceylon fully responsible status within the British Commonwealth of Nations", subject to "a number of agreements".[16] This declaration was made "on the understanding that there would be agreements relating to defence, external affairs and public affairs".[17] These agreements were signed in November and in February the following year Sri Lanka's independence was formally declared.

Thus the independence settlement, as it is manifestly clear, embodied an outstanding degree of community of interests between the then conservative leadership of Sri Lanka and the British authorities. The point to note is that, as Mr. Senanayake envisaged : "The only satisfactory arrangement—satisfactory to either government—would be one in which the Ceylon government was collaborating with the Imperial Government".[18] This was duly taken note of in London. "Ceylon has consistenly co-operated with Britain", Mr. Crecch-Jones stated in the House of Commons during the debate on the Second reading of Ceylon Independence Bill,

and has taken a pride in her loyalty, her contribution to war and her ties with the United Kingdom. It was consistent with all her spirit that she seek to take control of her own destiny within the framework of the British Commonwealth.[19]

The corollary of this was the visualisation of the continuity of the relationship that existed before between the two countries. The reference to the defence and external affairs agreements which were intended to provide for this continuation was "deliberately vague", because as Sir Charles Jeffries candibly points out, the British Government "did not wish to spoil their gesture by making the grant of independence conditional on Ceylon accepting any specific obligations".[20] However, Mr. Creech-Jones himself put the point straight in the House of Commons : "Ceylon's responsible Government promptly negotiated Agreements to provide for continuity of external affairs and defence....".[21]

The defence and external affairs agreements together with the understanding established between the Colonial Office and the Sri Lankan leadership brought the country into a close relationship with Britain. This in turn brought the country to the very heart of global politics in the post-war era. The relationship with Commonwealth, that is to say, the special relationship with Britain constituted the key aspect of the declared foreign policy of the United National Party governments during entire period 1948–1956. However, conflict between the two opposing state systems, the Cold War, began to dominate the foreign policy formulation and the debate in the country right from the beginning. There was no uncertainty or a doubt on the part of the UNP leadership as to what policy the government ought to adopt in respect of this conflict ; it was the firm alignment with the West through the special relationship with Britain. The colonial revolution was unfolding quite dramatically since the end of the World War II. The dynamics of the Afro-Asian regional politics threatened to drag the UNP leadership to the arena of Afro-Asian regional politics; the Anglophile leadership neverthless guarded themselves against any possible dent in their general alignment with the West. The country's geo-political location forced them to confront the geo-political imperatives in South Asia. This again, however, tended to reinforce their alignment with the West.

In the domain of the country's internal set up the independent settlement did not result in any noteworthy change. The UNP leadership refrained from introducing any meaningful change in the colonial society as if it would offend the former colonial master. The overriding thrust of their internal policy was to preserve and consolidate their power base within the existing socio-economic structure which was organically linked to the Western capitalist order. They were extremely sensitive to any actual or potential threat to the **status quo,** particularly to their political dominance. Therefore, instead of trying build up some semblance of national consensus, they adopted a totally negative attitude towards their political opponents. The traditional left parties were always identified as "trouble makers"; and notwithstanding their ideological differences and keeping in line with the then prevalent Cold War propaganda, they branded them as the agents of the Soviet Union bent upon creating chaos and disorder. All these tended to further solidify UNP's alignment with the West. The 1952 balance of payments crisis ultimately resulted in the Sino- Sri Lanka rubber-rice pact, challenging the whole edifice of the UNP's foreign policy. But the extreme anti-Communism of the UNP prevented any of its political manifestation in the country's foreign policy. The period 1948 – 1956 accordingly

represents an interesting study of collaboration between a Third World privileged social strata and the West.

II

There does not exist any evidence to suggest that the country's leadership had articulated any defence policy on the eve of independence. But after the independence was declared the ruling elite began to rely upon the Defence Agreement as the indispensable requirement of the country's defence and security. They did not envisage a direct or an immediate threat from the Soviet Union or China to Sri Lanka's independence despite their vociferous anti-Communism. But they maintained that the country's defence and security could be threatened by a possible danger emanating from its geo-political vulnerability. from a **potential** threat from India, which dominated its immediate geo-strategic environment. It was not that UNP leadership contemplated an ever-present immediate danger from their giant neighbour to the North; but they held the view that India was the only specific potential source of danger and that the matters could not be left for chance. From this point of view, Mr. Sensnayake and his successors looked upon the defence link with Britain as the surest guarantee of the country's defence and security as against any potential danger from India. Accordingly, the chief functional value of the defence agreement for the UNP leadership was to reassure the country's independence and security as against any possible danger originating from India.

The second functional value of the defence relationship with Britain concerned the preservation of internal order and the UNP's political hegemony in the country. The UNP leadership was well aware of the divisions in the country's ideologically oriented Marxist Left. Neverthelsess, they always considered the left parties as a source of trouble and as potentially capable of successfully challenging UNP's rule in the country. In view of the absence of an adequate internal defence establishment, the UNP leadership again relied upon Britain to assure internal order and stability as against any serious attempt on the part of the Left to disturb the **status quo.** "The unwritten prenise and the unspoken argument", **The Tribune** (Colombo) editotially commented, "which probably was the most compelly factor for the retention of the British troops and bases in Ceylon by the Senanayake and Kotelawala Governments was that the presence of foreign troops was a source of strength for the Government in power against 'civil strife"[22].

The international and operational significance of the defence relationship between Britain and Sri Lanka, however, was determined by the deliberate alignment of the UNP governments with the West. During the whole of this period Sri Lanka was an inalienable part of the world strategic network of the Western powers. "The ambition and the desire of the Commonwealth", Premier Senanayake told the House of Representatives in July, 1950, "is to maintain peace in the world. We have joined the Commonwealth and with them we will certainly endeavour to maintain peace in the World"[23]. This Commonwealth defence relationship combined with the politico-ideological identity of the UNP leadership with the West determined the country's overall strategic relarionship with the outside world.

Nicholoas Mansergh has observed :

> The 1947 Defence Agreement formally associated Ceylon through the period of the Cold War with the senior Commonwealth partner who was also a principal associate in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.[24]

Britain, Sri Lanka's dominant defence partner, considered her strategic link with Colombo as a part of the general defence strategy of the West. Thus, it was stated in the U. K. defence statement for 1949,

> .....His Majesty's Government have necessarily devoted increased attention to co-operation with other members of the Commonwealth, the United States of America and other like-minded powers, and generally to the development of a appropriate regional security arrangments.....[25]

The Sri Lankan leadership on their part perceived an inseparable organic unity between the 'defence' of Sri Lanka and the 'defence' of other 'free nations'. Mr. Senanayake himself put it succinctly in November, 1950, five months after the outbreak of the Korean War, which tested all the world strategic relationships;

> One of my sacred and onerous responsibilities is that of preparing to defend our freedom against any type of aggression whether it comes from without or within, in order we may progress peacefully, in order that we might live without fear.....and in order that we might link our freedom with the liberty of all freedom loving prople throughout the world.[26]

This conceptual unity was accompanied by Sri Lanka's active association with the Western strategy in relation to both the central strategic balance and the local conflicts in Asia.

After the country's defence policy was formulated and implemented within the overall structure of the global strategy of the West, Premier Senanayake did not want to go beyond that. This was due partly to his low-profile attitude towards exrernal affairs and partly to the absence of any immediate and visible threat to the country's security. Thus when his attention was drawn to the idea of a regional defence arrangement for the Pacific which was mooted in 1950 he rejected it off hand.[27] It was only after a defence project for South-East Asia was launched by the United Stated of America that the UNP leadership reconsidered this attitude.

The SEATO defence project sponsored by America did not present the Kotelawala government any easy choice. Its vociferous anti-communism and the extremely favourable disposition towards the dominant Western power necessitated a positive orientation towards the proposed defence organisation. However, the logic of the country's special relationship with Britain, its general association with the Colombo Powers and the sectarian in-fighting which then obtained within the UNP militated against such a policy, From the beginning, Britain diverged from America as to how to fight Communism in Asia. On this occasion

the Foreign Secretary, Sir Anthony Eden disapproved purely militaristic American strategy as it was embodied in the proposed defence organisation. He accordingly transmitted the British line of thinking on the matter to the five Colombo powers, including Sri Lanka, and invoked their support, particularly that of India, counterposed to America in respect of shaping the South-East Asian defence project. The resulting configuration of forces caught the Kotelawala government in a dilemma. Its overall anti-Communist policy necessitated it to go along with America. But now the logic of the British connection forced it to act in concert with the other Colombo Powers, particularly India, on which the British thinking on the proposed defence plan and the policies of other members of the Colombo Powers depended to a considerable extent. Reflecting this dilemma, the government said, in a statement issued on August 13, 1954, that the country was "prepared to maintain an open mind on the subject" and expressed the view that "SEATO may not be the most appropriate machinery" to maintain peace in Asia.[28]

Subsequently Sir John Kotelawala repeatedly asserted that Sri Lanka would keep an open mind in respect of the membership in SEATO. But soon he realised that this was not politically feasible. A section of the UNP led by the Senanayakes and supported by **The Times of Ceylon** launched a campaign against Sir John's inclination towards SEATO from the mid-1954 onwards. It became part of an internal power struggle within the UNP. In view of this opposition which challenged his base in the party Sir John reaffirmed the continued commitient to the policy laid down by D. S. Senanayake. In August, 1955, in answer to the anxiety expressed by Mr, Dudly Senanayake abut the country's possible membership in the America-sponsored defence alliance, he grudgingly said : "The position with regard to the Defence Agreement, with regard to our contracts with foreign countries, is just the same as it during the time of the first Prime Minister and of the second Prime Minister. There has been no change whatsoever," And he added "There need be no fear of our joining SEATO or NATO".[29]

III

This continuing strategic alignment of Sri Lanka with the West was complemented and reinforced by an equally important alignment between the two sides in the sphere of the country's diplomatic relations. During the entire period from 1948 to 1956 Sri Lanka remained a dependable ally of the Western powers. The UNP leadership tended to believe that the active assertion of the country's independence was synonymous with the active collaboration with the West. Their vociferous anti-communism in certain instances came very closer to John Forster Dulles himself, an exent unwarranted by the traditional wisdom of Britain.

There is no evidence to support Professor Howard Wriggin's view that "not until the development of the hydrogen bomb.....and the sharpening of political and military conflict in Indo-China in 1954 did the Cold War come to play a significant role in the foreign policy debates" in Sri Lanka and that it was "to remain far away" from the country.[30] As early as November – December, 1947 the ruling elite had idntified the Soviet Union as their chief international adversay.[31]. And before long they identified international Communism' as the greatest danger confronting Asia, falling in line with the Western propaganda during

this time. If the defence agreement laid down the foundation for Sri Lanka's strategic alignment with the West during the period 1948 – 1956, it was its attitude towards this issue that defined diplomatic alignment during the same period. By 1948 there was no question whether Sri Lanka had been affected by the Cold War or not; she was right at its centre as an active participant on the Western side. On his return from the 1948 Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, Premier Senanayake declared in Colombo :

> There is what they called the 'Cold War' between the East and the West of Europe which is causing not only a setback in world recovery but is preventing the progress and development of Asian countries and Ceylon which have recently emerged or are emerging from foreign domination. We are thus intimately interested not only in preventing chaos developing around in South-East Asia, but in what goes on in Europe and we shall be prepared to assist in the resolution of the present dealock. I made it clear to everybody (present at the Commonwealth Premiers' Meeting) that Ceylon will do everything in her power in the defence of democracy, freedom and justice.[32]

Despite this deep involvement in the Cold War the ruling elite was also concernep about the attempt made by the European powers to cling to their crumbling empires in Asia in the immediate aftermath of the country's independence. As a result, Mr. D. S. Senanayake himself issued a directive in December 1948 baning the county's harbour and airfield facilities to the Dutch planes and ships carrying troops and military weapons to fight the Indonesian nationalists. This was the only specific action that the UNP goverments took in support of the independence struggles in Afro-Asia. After the Chinese revolution and beginning with the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers' Conference held in Colombo in January, 1950, the concern about Afro-Asian liberation struggles receded to the background – making the Indonesian policy as if it was an aberration; and fighting 'international Commumism' became the focus of the country's international policy.

Throughout the period from 1948 to 1956 the connection with Britain constituted the ultimate reference point of the foreign policy of the UNP governments. Yet the left opposition as well as the ruling elite were quick to percieve the decline of Britain from a position of a great imperial power to that of a sccond ranking power. Parallel to this, the United States, the dominant power in the Western alliance as well as the edifice of the world capitalist order, emerged in its own right as a factor of central significance in the UNP's world outlook. The leadership looked upon America as "the guiding factor that will shape the destiny of Asia" as against "the tide of Communism".[33] They identified a close political solidarity between the two countries and believed that the destiny of Sri Lanka was bound with the West.

On the question of fighting Communism in Asia, however, until Sir John became the Prime Minister in October, 1953, Sri Lanka fell in line with the British strategy as against America's basically militaristic courses of action. At the 1950 Commonwealth Foreign Ministers' Conference which was summoned to work out an anti-Communist programme for Asia in accordance with the British line of thinking, Mr, D. S. Senanayake stated :

> The fundamental problem of Asia is economic, not political and it is essential to the furture of the world that the problem of poverty and want in Asia should be clearly seen and boldly tackled. Communism would have no appeal to the masses of Asia once they are assured of steady improvement in their conditions of life.[34]

The UNP leadership proudly presented the Colombo Plan as their contribution to the cause of the "free World", and Sir Oliver Gonnetilleke commented that it had "proclaimed an era of new hope to all in South-East Asia".[35]

The Korean War, the most intense encounter between the Communist and non-Communist forces, was the best test case of Sri Lanka's alignment with the West during the period concerned. The country's attitude towards the Korean crisis changed in emphasis depending on the differential phases of its unfolding. From the outbreak of the War (June 1950) until the U.S. led forces crossed the 38th Parallel (October 7, 1950) there was no ambiguity in the government's attitude. The leadershiip maintained that the war was a result of a "well laid" Soviet plan.[36] Premier Senanayake "did not see any reason why (the airfield and harbour) facilities which were available to the Americans in the past should not be available" in the context of the Korean War.[37]

From early October until General MacArthur was relieved of his command on April 10, 1951 the spectre of an imminently possible global war haunted the entire world challenging all the established strategic relationships. Sri Lanka which had been formally and otherwise connected to the Western alliance was not free from the impact of this. It was indeed this situation that determined her attitude towards the crisis until the United States agreed, in effect, to negotiate with the other side in June, 1951. In January, 1951, Mr. D. S. Senanayake, along with the other Commonwealth Prime Ministers signed a declaration which contained among other things the following:

> .....the problem of peace is that of removing the causes of war; of easing tension and promoting understanding; of assisting less-developed nations which need our aid; of being at all times willing to discuss our differences without foolishly assuming that all attempts to secure peace are a form of 'appeasement'. We will cultivate friendship we now have and hope that with wise approaches differences may become less and ultimately disappear.
>
> .....In all our discussions we have made it clear to each other, as we now do to the world, that as Commonwealth Prime Ministers we would welcome any feasible arrangement for fresh exchange of views with Stalin or with Mao Tse Tung. We should, in the name of humanity make a supreme effort to see clearly into each others hearts and minds.
>
> We do not seek to interfere in the affairs of the Soviet Union or Chian or any other country; we are simply determined to retain the mastery of own affairs without fear of aggression.[38]

On the same occasion, in a B. B. C. Broadcast Talk, Prime Minister Senanaykae made an important statement: "We believe", he said "in a way of life which may be permitted to call the middle way and in which the rule of moral law founded on a faith in the 'oneness' human ilfe would hold sway, where 'power politics' or 'power economics' would not find a place in the conduct of international affairs....." [39] The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Declaration, which was based on the universal fears generated by a seemingly possible escalation of the Korean conflict into a general war, and this manifestly ambiguos and peacemeal statement signified two points in the formation of Sri Lanka's external relations. First, the rejection of the extreme manifestations in the United States' anti-communist policy in Asia as represented by General MacArthur. Second, the first operational accommodation in Sri Lanka's foreign policy of the key precept governing strategic relations among nations in this nuclear era, namely, the necessity for the prevention of the nuclear war. What the 'Middle Way Talk' signified then was an advocay of the middle course bewteen 'appeasement' of the Communiq powers and the need for negotiations beween the two parties to the Korean War. In any event, this 'Middle Way Talk', which was occasioned by the drama in tee Korean Peninsula, did not in any respect mean a middle way or non-alignment in respect of the Cold War Conflict. In point of fact, the tendency which emerged from Colombo sincc then was one of further slo}.difing the alignment with the West in a context of deepening cold War conflict. However, duiring he last phase of the Korean War, that is the period June 1951–July, 1953, in which there wats a war of nerves between the two antagonistic sides, there occured a clash of interests between the United States and Sri Lanka leading to the most paradoxical development in the country's foreign policy. Before going to discuss this development, a brief reference to its policy in respect of the Japan peace settlement in order.

Though for various reasons the Truman administration had felt the necessity for concluding a settlement with Japan, the basic factor that determined the kind of peace treaty that was signed in September, 1951 in San Francisco was the objective of bringing Japan to the United States' "side of the Cold War".[40] The Sri Lankan government found itself in cnmplete agreement with the treaty particularly because there was full agreement between Britain and America on this issue. In presenting the Draft Treaty to the House of Representatives in August, 1951 Mr. Senanayake said that the "most of the views expressed by us have been incorporated" in it.[41] None of the controvesial issues involved in the peace settlement such as the necessity for the Soviet and Chinese participation, the question of payment of reparatian rearmament of Japan and the retention of the U.S. armed forces in that country perturbed the Sri Lankan leadership.

The United States and the Sino-Sri Lankan Rubber-Rice Pact

The picture of the country's political economy, as it was preceived by the government leadership by the mid-1952, had three essential characteristics. First, the quantity of rice that the government had been able to secure has fallen far below the need of the country, despite a "desperate attempt" made by the Food Ministry to procure the requirements from South-East Asia - the country's traditional source of use of supplies ; consequently, by mid-1952, the country had faced a "food crisis".[42] Second, by 1952, the price of rice, the largest import item of the country, not only had sky-rocketed but also had been transformed from

a sterling commodity to a dollar commodity. To pay for quantities of rice that had been already allocated by Burma, Thailand and South Viet Nam and to buy the necessary balance in the world market, the government required a dollar reserve. However, due to a drastic reduction of income from rubber exports to the U. S., the country's traditional rubber market, the dollar reserve had virtually been depleted. Third, given the gravity of the country's balance of payment crisis during 1951–53, the government found impossible to bear a further increase in the expenditure for rice imports without seriously impairing the financial and/or political stability in the country. To continue with the importation of rice at a higher price and distributing it at the existing low, subsidised price had disastrous implications for financial stability, coversely any reduction of rice ration or an increase in the price at which the rice was supplied to the consumers had serious adverse implications for political stability. The UNP government endeavoured to grapple with the crisis with a view to preserving both financial and political stability.

Given (a) the dollar-rubber linkage and (b) the scarcity of rice in South-East Asia, by June 1952, the Sri Lankan government was left with two alternatives. Firstly, to turn towards the United States, which the UNP leadership had all along considered as the main source of assistance when necessary. Secondly, to turn towards China which, after the U. N. embargo of May 1951 came into effect, repeatedly offered rice in exchange of Sri Lankan rubber. Given the availability of the former alternative there was no question of even considering the latter. In July Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake sent a mission under Sir Oliver Gooneilleke to Washington. This mission represented the government's final attempt to come to a reasonable agreement with the U. S. On the question of rubber sales to United States. The fact that the mission was sent amidst a serious food and financial cirsis enhanced its significance for Sri Lankan leadership. Accordingly, the mission was given as its task "the procuring of rice supplies, the negotiation of a rubber agreement and securing of a measure of economic and financial aid from the U. S. to enable Ceylon to carry on with her plan for economic development as well as to compensate for the possibility of accepting agreement to sell rubber to the U. S. at Singapore prices which are generally known to be lower than the prices prevailing in the Colombo market any time".[43]

However, as the Sri Lankan government made it clear, the mission "failed to achieve anything"; concerning the question of rice supplies, "the U. S. Government agreed to assist in buying requirements in the open market of the U. S. A., although the U. S. Government had repeatedly declined to agree to the same principle for purchasing Ceylon rubber". On the question of rubber, "while not being willing to tie up the question of aid to Ceylon with the conclusion of a rubber agreement, tne U. S. no doubt made it clear that the satisfactory settlement of these matters would be expected to lead to a stoppage of rubber exports to China"[44] After the failure of negotiations the mission bought about 30,000 tons rice in the American open market "at a reasonable price",[45] but further purchases had to be abondoned because as the Minister of Trade later pointed out, "prices began to skyrocket the moment Ceylon started making its purchases".[46]

The failure of Sir Oliver's mission left the road to Peking wide open, and on July 30 Premier Dudley Senanyake announced a mission to China. None of the important sections

of Sri Lankan opinion questioned the wisdom of this action. However, the government was not at all inclined to rush into the kind of long-term rice-rubber agrement it entered into with China; for the very decision to send a governmental mission to China amounted to a complete reappraisal of the whole edifice of foreign policy. Everything, therefore, depended on China's response to the Sri Lankan requirements; and they, as will be seen below 'seized the opportunity, and offered a rice-rubber deal which the Sri Lankan government found difficult to reject because of its obvious economic advantages.

The United States, however, viewed the Sino-Sri Lankan agreement as an attempt to break away from the "co-operarive effort" of the West "to deny the agression-minded nations the materials that should be of special help in their war-making capacity"; and, accordingly, in January, 1953, Mr. Averell Harriman, the Mutual Security Administrator, in his report to the Congress, wrote apparently as a policy-guide to the incoming Eisenhower Administration :

> .....The solution of Ceylon's new relationship with China must remain a matter of critical concern to the United States. Controls over shipping and over fuelling vessels calling free ports may provide one salutory course of action.....
>
> The Ceylon situation is important itself. In addition, it illustrates the complexities of a control system which has to be general in order to be effective and the effectiveness of which can be threatened by a failure of a single important supplier to co-operate.[47]

This however did not lead to any considerable controversy between the two couutries The U. S. endeavoured to deal with the situation arising from the China agreement through normal diplomatic channels. The government of Sri Lanka, on its part, deleberately refrained from entering into any controversy mainly because of its continuing disposition towards the West.

In May, 1954, President Eisenhower invited the Sri Lankan Premier to visit America. On July 7 Sir John accepted invitation with a mandate from the government Parliamentary Group to "explore the possibility of obtaining American aid whenever the Government need financial assistance".[48] On November 5, Sir John announced his visit to America and said that he expected to have "informal discussions on a variety of subjects".[49] It can be presumed that this variety of subjects included the two inter-related subjects of the China agreement and the U.S. aid.

The visit however did not result in the reinstitution of such aid. Eisenhover Administration did not propose aid to Sri Lanka because, as Charles Wolf has pointed out, of "the same Battle Act consideration which led to the suspension of such aid".[50] Nevertheless, in February 1956, the White House took " a special decision" to extend 5 million in economic aid to Sri Lanka for the financial year 1956. In taking this decision a presidential waiver of the Battle Act restrictions "was not required".[51] This was due to what the U. S. official called "Ceylon's record of co-operation with the free world".[52] Sir John's attack on "Soviet Colonialism" at

Bandung was read in the U. S. as a "most effective" and "a brilliant and spirited defence of America and Western policies"; and after the Bandung Conferece the Congress as well as the White House began to reconsider the embargo on aid to Sri Lanka, which now appeared as "an injustice" towards "one of America's best friends in Asia" and as an "embarrasment" to the United States.[53] Mr. George Allen, the then Assistant Secretary for South Asian Affairs, recommending the grant of aid to Sri Lanka, told a Congressional Subcommittee:

> We are not in a position at this moment to programme for Ceylon. I wish very much we were.....
>
> The problem concerns the shipment of rubber by Ceylon to China ..... At the recent conference of Bandung, the Primier of Ceylon ..... made a most effective speech against the colonial aspects of communism. Ceylon is one of the five so-called 'Colombo Powers' which called that Bandung Conference ..... The impression was that they were meeting to show their determination to prevent the return of imperialism by the Western Powers.....
>
> It is therefore all the more sighificant that Sir John Kotelawala declared at Bandung, in the clearest terms, that the worst colonialism in the world was not the colonialism of democracy but of Communist dicatorship.[54]

IV

The factors which underlined the UNP's alignment with the West **mutatus mutands** is led it to envisage an adversary relationship with the socialist powers. "(If) we try to get close to Russia", Premier D. S. Senanayake stated in June 1951.

> We would be embracing the danger, we would be embracing the bear. I think it would be better to depend on the people who have not got a sort of madness to upset this world and also who are not anxious to bring about revolution. We would rather keep away from the other.[55]

On another occasion he said:

> Enslavement of the world is what we believe to be (the Soviet) attitude ..... Since it is the freedom of this world that we are concerned with we will never be with Russia until she gives up her policy.[56]

The logical corollary of this policy was the UNP leadership's active association with the western policy of containment of communism.

From the beginning. the government was averse to the establishment of any politically significant link with the socialist powers. The leadership made use of the Soviet attitude towards the question of Sri Lanka's membership in the UN as against the establishemnt of any contact with that country. In June-July, 1948 a special Security Council Committee

considered Sri Lanka's application for the membership. The majority of the members of this committee "supported" this application; however, the USSR and Ukranian SSR abstained from supporting the application and "reserved the right of their deligations to discuss the matter in the Security Council".[57]

When on August 18 the membership question was taken up in the Security Council, the western powers formally proposed the grant of membership on the basis of the majority support of the special committee. The Soviet Union on her part proposed to "postpone the consideration of Ceylon'sa dmission" "until such time as full information on the status of of the Government of Ceylon and on its constitution as well as sufficient proof that Ceylon is a sovereign and independent state has been received from the Government of Ceylon".[58] The Soviet Representative Jacob Malik explained it :

> .....The Security Council and the Committee on the Admission of New States do not dispose of sufficient information on the national status or constitution of Ceylon. Moreover, there is not adequate proof of the fact that Ceylon is really a sovereign and independent state. In the absence of adequate information the USSR delegation finds it difficult to consider this matter. We do not know enough about the national status or the constitution of Ceylon, and there is a total lack of evidence that Ceylon is a sovereign and independent state ; on the contraty, we are informed, in particular, by the Press that Ceylon is not a sovereign state but remains to all intents and purposes a British Colony.[59]

Both the western and Soviet proposals failed to obtain an affirmative vote, being both sides opposed to each other. When the question was again considered by the Security Council in mid-1949, it had become full-fledged Cold War issue. Counterposed to the western "policy of discrimination" in respect of the grant of membership for five Soviet bloc members who had then applied for membership, in September, the Soviet Union introduced a resolution recommending membership for eight pro-western countries, including Sri Lanka, as well as for the five bloc members.[60] Then the United States insisted that the individual applications for membership should be faken up by "separate consideration and a separate vote taken", keeping in line with the UN procedural rules.[61] The applications were accordingly considered separately and none succeed in obtaining an affirmative vote; the West opposed the members of the Soviet bloc; the Soviet Union opposed the pro-Western countries.

The Sri Lankan government circles were well aware that the failure to obtain the country's membership in the UN was due to the fact that it had become a Cold War issue;[62] and after 1949 the government itself refrained from making any specific attempt to obtain the membership. Nevertheless the UNP leadership presistenely held the initial Soviet objection against the establishment any meaningful relationship with the Soviet Union.

The UNP leadership differentiated their attitude towards China from their position vis-a-vis the the soviet Union. Thus Sir Oliver Goonetilleke stated in June, 1951: "In regard to China our attitude is completely different. We have, as it must be, the great sympathy of a small Eastern nation towards another Asian nation struggling to find a solution to her

difficulties".[63] This has the significant result of the absence of any deliberate attempt on the part of the UNP administrations to characterise China as an aggressive power bent upon engendering world peace. This however did not mark any attempt on the part of the UNP leadership to seek any form international solidarity with China: nor did it fascilitate the establishment of an inter-state relationship.

On January 6, 1950, the day on which the British recognition of the Peoples' Republic was announced, Sri Lanka's Ministry of Defence and External Affairs stated that "the Government of Ceylon has decided to recognize the new Government of China".[64] Reporting from Colombo, Victor Levin of **The Sunday Times** (London) correctly observed : "In deciding to to recognize the Communist Government of China, Ceylon has merely fallen in line with Britain".[65] In any event Mr. D. S. Senanayake made it clear to the Parliament that the recognition did not mean any significant change in the Government's general policy towards the socialist counties.[66] Explaining why he disregarded the right of China to participate in the peace settlement with Japan, the Premier said, "If it suits us we take them, if it does not suit us we ignore them".[67] Asked whether he would continue to recognise the People's Republic, he replied: "Yes. At the same time recognition does not mean that we are to recognise them for all time. It depends on the attitude they adopt towards us".[68] The situation that had emerged on the Sri Lankan side until Premier Dudley Senanayake announced a mission to China in search of rice was one of rejection of any significant inter-state level contact.

On October 10, 1952, soon after the long-term agreement which had been negotiated by a mission led by Mr. R. G. Senanayake, the then Minister of Trade, was published, the Political Correspondent of **The Ceylon Daily News** wrote that "nobody was more surprised" than the mission when it "found that China rice was indeed available". In fact **The Ceylon Daily News** had privilege access to 'inside' information regarding the matters of this nature. But this story is misleading. For Mr. Dudley Senanayake had made quite clear that the deal government intended to effect was conditional upon the nature of the Chinese offer.[69]

In Peking the mission took up three subjects for discussion with the Chinese. Of these the most important was the possibility of exchanging rubber for rice on a long-term basis.[70] As Mr. R.G. Senanayake reported to the Cabinet on his return to the country, it was made clear to the Chinese that "in view of the special significance of trade in rubber with China, the talks so far as (Ceylon was concerned) were strictly exploratory".[71] Throughot the discussion, the mission had three specific "objectives in view", namely, (a) to ascertain what degree of permanence of continuity could be expected in the trade with China, (b) to ascertain what quantity of rubber China could adsorb and (c) to ensure that, in the event of trade continuing, she always paid a premium well above world prices; In case of rice, the mission endeavoured to secure "a long-term arrangement" "at a reasonable price".

Keeping in line with Sri Lanka's wishes, the Chinese agreed to the following "proposals." In the case of rubber,

"(1) China is prepared to buy the entire Sri Lankan output of sheet rubber - about 50,000 tons;

(2) She is prepared to continue this for five years;

(3) She accepts the principle of paying for Sri Lankan rubber at a price in excess of the world price;

(4) The price for each year or such shorter period as may be desired to be negotiated from time to time;

(5) The price for the year commencing from the date of any agreement on these proposals is to be 32d per lb f. o. b. (This compared with the then existing Singapore f. o. b. price of 21p per lb.)

In the case of rice,

(1) China undertakes to supply a minimum of 200,00 tons of rice a year;

(2) She is prepared to continue supplying this for five years;

(3) Prices should be negotiated annually; the price for the year commencing from the date of any agreement on this proposal is to be £56 pr metric ton f. o. b., that is, at a price £9 less than the then prevailing world market price".[72]

When these proposals were submitted to the Cabinet, Mr. R. G. Senanayake pointed out that "the money gains on the combined rice-rubber deal would aggregate a gain to Ceylon of approximately Rs. 92 million". For the Trade Minister "the merits and demerits" of them were quite clear, and therefore, he did not "propose to expand on them".[73] **The Ceylon Daily News** in a centre page article said: "The terms of Communist China's offer are very tempting indeed at the first sight. Never before has such an appetising dish been placed before this Government".[74] Indeed, given the obviously advantageous terms offerd by the Chinese, no no one in Sri Lanka could easily contemplate the rejection of this offer.

For the Senanayake Cabinet, however, the offer did not present any easy choice; the acceptance of a government-to government level deal with China would be tantamount to a repudiation of its anti-communist foreign policy; and, in fact, as **The Financial Times** (London) observed, the very sucess of the China mission embarassed the government.[75] But, given the obvious economic advantages, and given the popularity commanded by the Chinese offer, it was not politically feasible for the government to reject it. To make the government's predicament more difficult, the Lake House launched a propaganda campaign of a type unprecedented in the country against the Chinese offer. Similarly, an extreme right wing group of

the UNP led by J. R Jayewardene carried out a campaign against it from within the government, largely due to political considerations.

Despite this opposition, the government decided to accept the Chinese offer. In presenting the final agreement to the parliament, Premier Dudley Senanayake declared :

> Honourable Members will be aware of the serious difficulties we have had in the recent years in obtaining our requirements of rice from traditional sources of supply ..... and from that point of view alone, the Agreement is a matter of great satisfaction.
>
> Honourable members will also be aware of the great importance to our economy securing a steady and dependable market for our rubber at a fair price. The agreement achieves this and guarantees a market for the next five years for a substantial part of our production.....[76]

The conclusion of the agreement led to the emergence of the establishment diplomatic relations as a live issue in the relationship between the two countries. The Chinese considered the agreement as an "example of the kind"[77] of trade relations that they ought to establish with other countries and, immediately after the agreement was signed, they took up the question of establishment of diplomatic relations with the govenment of Sri Lanka.[78] The Sri Lankan opposition strongly pressed the government to follow up the trade agreement by establishing political relations with the socialist countiries.[79] Not surprisingly, however, the leadership of the UNP did not want to go beyond the trade relationship.

Had there been any possibility of establishing diplomatic relations between the two countries, it soon disappeared after Sir John became the Prime Minister in October, 1953. In September of the same year the Chinese Premier sought permission form the Sri Lankan authorities to send a "goodwill mission" to "reciprocate" the visit of the Sri Lankan mission to Peking in October, 1952.[80] "(Under) no circumstances will a goodwill mission from China be allowed to come ....."Sir John publicly stated, "I have sent a communication to to Communist China reminding the Chinese Government that they only have a trade agreement and let our relations with each other remain that way. We have taken nothing from you. We sell you rubber and you sell rice in return. We do not want any other friendship or dealing with Communists".[81]

In early 1955 there was a calculated Chinese attempt to win over the friendship of the Sri Lankan govenment, apparently in disregard of its treaty commitment to the West and its highly publicised anti-communism. On January 10, **The Ceylon Daily News** reported that the Sri Lankan Premier "has been invited to visit China" by his Chinese counterpart. The response of Sir John however did not keep up to the Chinese expectations. On August 2, in the House of Representatives, asked whether the Premier (a) had proposed to visit china and Russia and (b) "prepared to send friendly missions from Ceylon to these counties", Sir John replied:

(a) ..... I am under no obligation to visit China or the Soviet Union.....

(b) No; not until it is seen that these countries deserve the friendship of Ceylon

Nevertheless, in his statement to the House of Representatives on the Bandung Conference, Sir John stated:

> A very great achievement of the Conference was the mutual understanding of view points reached between Communist China and Non-Communist countries. This is a notable contribution to peace, and I feel that both sides can now get along amicably together without treading on each other's toes.

But he added : "Of course, the sincererity of purpose of both sides has yet to be seen in action".[83]

V

During the period 1948–1956, Sri Lanka did not have a policy in respect of India and other Afro-Asian countries, independent from her alignment with the West. It was subordinated to and conditional upon the country's then existing organic unity with the western side of the central conflict. During the entire period, Sri Lanka, under the UNP leadership looked upon India from the point of view of a vulnerably located small country who ought to have a friendly but distant relationship. India looked upon her small neighbour from the point of view of a potentially dominant world power who ought to establish an exclusive or a special relationship. The difficulty inherent in these divergent geo-political approaches was merely compounded and complicated by the socio-ethnic question regarding the political status of the persons of Indian origin in Sri Lanka which dominated the day-to-day bilateral relationship between the two countries until 1964.

Pandit Nehru, speaking at a reception held in his honour in Colombo in January 1950 assured the Sri Lankans that India would not "absorb Ceylon" as it was feared by them and went on to say:

> There should be closest co-operation between Lanka and India. Our whole history, our common culture make that inevitable. So I feel that neither India nor Ceylon should take any step which goes in the way of impairing these cordial friendly relations.[84]

The close relationship thus envisaged was not found acceptable to the Sri Lankan leadership . Instead they visualised a Commonwealth relationship with their geo-political giant which facilitated a friendly but a distant relationship. Mr. D. S. Senanayake, in an interview with **The Statesman** (Culcutta) declared:

> As a matter of fact our position today is different from what was previously. Then India and Ceylon were units of the British empire, but today we are members of the same Commonwealth and two independent members. So the relationship between different members will be discussed as between two independent members.[85]

The Sri Lankan leader studiedly refrained from attributing any significance to the Asian Relations Conference of 1947 and the Delhi Conference of 1949. The 1949 Speech from the Throne stated : "Developments in South-East Asia are of particular concern to Ceylon and My Government will continue, in association with other countries, to support for the establishment of freedom and peace in this region".[86] This declaration merely signified the deepening concern on the part of the leadership about the spread of communism in Asia. And, indeed, beginning with the 1950 Commonwealth Foreign Ministers Conference held in Colombo they envisaged a leading role role for the country in the struggle against communism in Asia. India too was concerned about communism in Asia as anybody else; but it had been conditional upon Pandit Nehru's grand balancing strategy in respect of the world bloc conflict. The significance of this divergent diplomatic positions became clear along with Afro-Asia regional diplomacy and acquired an increased degree of importance during 1954 – 1955.

Sir John Kotelawala, in a Statement of Policy made in the House of Representatives in November, 1953, stated:

> In South-East Asia we will endeavour to maintain the friendliest relations with our neighbours with whom we have historical, cultural and religious ties. In particular we desire to place our relationships with our neighbours, India and Pakistan, Burma and Indonesia on a firm basis of mutual goodwill.[87]

Similarly, the Sri Lankan Prime Minister repeadedly asserted Afro-Asian solidarity and the need for the assertion of 'Asian opinion'. These statements taken together with Sir John's active active participation in the Afro-Asian diplomacy indicate a significant degree of convergence of Sri Lankan diplomacy with India and other Asian countries. But a closer excamination of the role of Sri Lanka in the Afro-Asian regional diplomacy provides a different picture.

The unity in diplomatic action between Sri Lanka and other Asian countries related essentially to such broad and general issues as disarmament and economic and cultural co-operation among the Third World countries. The only specific major issue which interested the Sri Lankan leadership during this period of the resurgence of Afro-Asia was what they called 'international communism'. Sir John himself wrote about his role at the Colombo Powers' Conference of 1954:

> Among the many matters the Prime Minieters considered (were Indo-China question, regional economic oc-operation etc.) These were all good, but a subject I was very much interested in personally was that of international communism. I am an avowed and inveterate opponent of Communism. Communism that seeks to make it way in from outside unasked is ..... insidious, treacherous and imperalistic. It has to be closely watched and it has to kept out at all costs in the national interests. I was, therefore, particularly anxious to secure a declaration on international Communism.[88]

In the close-door sessions of the conference, the Sri Lankan leader introduced a strongly worded resolution condemning 'international communism'. The Indian Premier, according

to **The New York Times,** "fought tooth and nail" to exclude Communism from criticism in such a formal resolution.[89]

The declaration of the Colombo Powers' Conference[90] committed the Sri Lankan government to support a political solution to the Indo-China question which had been aggravated by April-May 1954, as a result of an attack by the Vietminh forces on the fortress of Dien Bien Phu. This declaration, which really represented a great gain for Indian diplomacy and was unacceptable to America, hardly kept in line with the policy that the Sri Lankan government following in respect of the Indo-China crisis. On May 5 Sri John admitted in the House of Representatives that the government had allowed the U. S. globe-masters carrying French troops to Indo-China to use the Sri Lankan airfield facilities.[91] On May 6, asked whether the premier would "prohibit any port, airfield or other parts of the territory of Ceylon being used for the passage of troops and ammunition to assist any party to continue the fighting in Viet Nam" in view of his association with the declaration of the Colombo Powers Conference, Sir John replied: "This is a matter in which I must use my discretion, and I shall use it in the way the occasion demands".[92] When his attention was drawn to the fact that India and Burma had prohibited such facilities to the belligerents in accordance with the Declaration of the Colombo Powers Conference, Sir John replied :

> At the present moment it would be unreasonable to deter one outside party from giving aid to the belligerents without any guarantee that the other party will do the same. To do that would be to increase the advantage for one against other. I might add that I do not anticipate the parties behind Viet Minh approaching me for permission to use ports, airfields or other parts of Ceylon for the conveyance of military aid to Indo-China. There is no purpose in asking me to stand neutral for the wrong side.

"To make it simple", the Premier stated, "Even if the devil wants my help to fight Communism I am on his side".[92] The explanation given by Mr. J. R. Jayewardene was very much illustrative of the entire foreign policy persued by the country during this period. "We are faced with a military situation in Indo-China", he stated on May 5 two days before the fall of Dien Phu,

> The fortress of Dien Bien Phu is heavily attacked .....The people who are struggling to see that Indo-China is free and has a democratic government ..... would be completely helpless if this fortress and other military posts attached to it fall..... Real military aid could not come to these defenders except by aircraft ..... The Rt. Hon. Prime Minister was therefore faced with that situation ..... Are we going to hand over the entire area of Indo-China, a most important strategic point to us ....the boundary of the United States of America ..... is not the west coast of America. It is not even the Pacific. One of her boundaries is the east coast of Indo-China, Formosa and Japan. Undoubtedly the fall of Indo-China into the hands of the communists would be a serious drawback to our future pogress because the whole rice bowl of Asia ..... would within a short time be under the heel of the greatest military dictatorship the world has seen and we should have to face a situation which I dread to contemplate.[93]

At the historic Bandung Conference, the Sri Lankan Premier's main task had been to expose "Soviet colonialism"; on April 21, 1955, two days after the deliberations of the conference had begun, he launched his well known attack on the Soviet policy in East Europe. "You may say that colonialism is a term generally understood and capable of one meaning", Sir John declared,

> I cannot agree. Colonialism takes many forms. The first and the most obvious form is Western colonialism ..... We all know this form of colonialism ..... There is another form of colonialism, however, about which many of us represented here are perhaps not agree to apply the term colonialism at all. Think for example, of those satellite States under Communist domination in Central and Eastern Europe ..... Are not these colonies as much as any of the colonial territories in Africa and Asia. And if we are united in our opposition to colonialism, should it not be our duty openly to declare our opposition to soviet colonialism as much as to Western colonialism ? [94]

This intervention effectively destroyed the unstated vital condition upon which the deliberations of the Conference proceeded so far, that is, what Ronald Stead of **The Christian Science Monitor** called the "tacit agreement among major participants on harmony".[95] "Atmosphere was electric as we walked out of the (Conference) room", Sir John himself reported.[96] Pandit Nehru subsequently soberly reported to the Lok Sabba :

> It appeared to us that irrespective of whatever view we may hold in regard to the conditions prevailing in these countries or their relationships, they could no way be called colonies nor could their alleged problems come under the classification of colonialism ..... It is no injustice to anyone concerned to say that this controversy reflects a projection of the cold war affiliations into the arena of the Asian-African Conference.[97]

VI

Foreign policy of Sri Lanka during the period concerned was one of alignment with Britain, and through Britain, with the West. The independence settlement envisaged this relationship and it was reinforced by the Cold War which unfolded itself since 1947 on a world scale. The alignment between Sri Lanka and the West was organic and functioning smoothly. The anti-colonial revolt and the geo-oplitical balance in Southern Asia brought the country to the centre of Afro-Asian regional politics. This, however, did not lead to any significant change in the country's general alignment in the world. The UNP leadership tended to view that the assertion of the country's independence was synonymous with the active association with the Western powers. The 1952 Rubber-Rice Pact was the most paradoxical development in Sri Lanka's foreign relations. It was certainly not desired by the UNP political leadership. The 1952 external payments crisis coupled with a difficult situation then prevailing in the South East Asian rice market led the government to seek help from the United States. The complete failure of that country to accommodate the interests of its junior partner in Sri Lanka in any meaningful manner left the road to Peking wide-open.

The unqualified disposition of the Chinese to enter into an exchange with Sri Lanka left the UNP leadership with no alternative but to accept the deal. The agreement to exchange rice with rubber was a great gain for the Chinese diplomacy during this period. But it did not result in any noteworthy change in Sri Lanka's foreign policy. And indeed, the tendency which emerged in the country's foreign relations with Sir John Kotalawala assuming the office of prime minister was one of increasing affirmation of solidarity with the West. But its domestic support base was fast eroding.

Foot Notes

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2. **The Ceylon Daily News, Ceylon's Path to Freedom,,** Colombo, 1945, pp. 11 – 12.
3. Ibid., p. 13.
4. **Ceylon's Path to Independence,** p. 88
5. Ibid., p. 103
6. See Duncan Hall, **Commonwealth : A History of the British Commonwealth of Nations,** Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, London, 1971, p. 976
7. 6677. HMSO para 114
8. **Ceylon's Path to Freedom,** p. 13
9. Sir Ivor Jennings, **The Constitution of Ceylon,** (Sec. ed.), O. U. P., London, 1950, p. 11.
10. **Ceylon's Path to Freedom,** p. 12
11. **Ceylon's Path to Independence,** p. 101
12. **The Ceylon Daily News,** July 4, 1947
13. **Ceylon's Path to Freedom,** p. 15
14. Sir Charles Jeffries, **O. E. G.,** p. 90
15. **Ceylon's Path to Independence,** p. 112 and 117
16. **Parliamentary Debates : House of Commons,** vol. 448, 1946/47, Col. 2015.
17. Sir Charles Jeffries, **O. E. G.,** p. 91
18. **Ceylon's Path to Freedom,** p. 14
19. **Parliamentary Debates : House of Commons,** vol. 449, 1947/48, col. 1479
20. Sir Charles Jeffries, **Ceylon Path to Independence,** p. 118.
21. **Parliamentary Debates : House of Commons,** vol. 449, col. 1479
22. June 2, 1956
23. **Parliamentary Debates : House of Representatives,** vol. 8, 1950/51, col. 486
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25. **Command Paper, 7631, The United Kingdom Statement on Defence Co-operation with the Commonwealth.**
26. The Ceylon Daily News, November 6, 1950
27. See **Parliamentary Debates : House of Representatives,** vol. 10 1950/51, cols. 1853–54
28. For the text of the Statement see The Ceylon Daily News, August 14, 1954.
29. **Parliamentary Debates : House of Representatives,** vol. 22, 1955/56, cols. 143–44
30. **Ceylon : Dilemma of New Nation,** Princeton University press, 1960, p. 286.
31. See **Parliamentary Debates, House of Representatives,** vol. 1, 1947/48, col. 491

32. The Times of Ceylon, November 9, 1948
33. See The Ceylon Daily News of June 22, 1950 and of September 16, 1950
34. The Ceylon Daily News, January 10, 1950
35. The Statesman (Calcutta) May 2, 1951
36. **Parliamentary Debates : Senate** vol. 1950/51. col. 638
37. **Parliamentary Debates : House of Representative,** vol. 8, 1950/51, col. 1860
38. For the text of the Declaration See **Documents and Speeches on British Commonwealth Affairs 1931 - 1952,** O. U. P. London, 1953, pp. 1207 – 1209
39. **The Ceylon Historical Journal,** vol. 5, Numbers 1 - 4, p. 14
40. Townsend Hoops, **The Devil and John Foster Dulles,** Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1973, p. 89
41. **Parliamentary Debates : House of Representatives,** vol. 10, 1951/52, cols. 1911 – 1912
42. **Administrative Report of the Food Commissioner (Supplies)** for 1952, pp. 3 – 4
43. Communique issued by the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs on the Rubber–Rice Question on Februaty 25, 1953.
44. Ibid.
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46. The Times of Ceylon (Sunday Illustrated), November 2, 1952
47. **Second Report to Congress of the Mutual Security Administrator on the Mutual Defence Assistance Control Act of 1953,** U. S. Government Printing Office, 1953, pp. 26 – 28
48. The New York Times, July 8, 1954
49. **Parliamentary Debates : House of Representative,** vol 20 col. 883
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51. The New Times, February 12, 1956
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53. See ibid., and The Christian Science Monitor, February 14, 1956
54. **Mutual Security Appropriations for 1956 ; Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Representatives** 84th Congress, First Session, U. S. Government Printing Offiice, pp. 290 – 91
55. **Praliamentary Debates : House of Representatives,** vol. 110, 1951/1952, col. 261
56. Ibid., vol. 8, 1950/1951, col. 486
57. **Report of the Committee on the Admission of New States,** in UNSC (OR), Third Year, 351st Meeting, August 18, 1948, p. 3
59. **Jacob Malik's Speech on the Proposal,** in ibid., pp. 11 – 15,.
60. See The Soviet Representative Tsrapkin's Speech in ibid., 442nd Meeting, pp. 15–22
61. Ibid., 444th Meeting, p. 3
62. See., e. g., the editorial of the The Ceylon Daily News, August 28, 1950
63. **Parliamentery Debates, Senate,** vol. 5, 1951/1952, col. 220
64. The Ceylon Daily News, January 7, 1950
65. **The Sunday Times** (London) January 7, 1950
66. **See Parliamentary Debates : House of Representatives,** vol. 8, 1950/1951, col. 48
67. Ibid., vol. 11. 1951/1952, col. 1910
68. Ibid., col. 1910

69. See **Parliamentrary Debates : House of Representatives,** vol. 13, 1952/1953, col. 16
70. The Other two subjects were (a) procurement of immediate supply of 160,000 tons of rice and (b) a general trade agreement.
71. The Trade Minister's Memorandum on Peking Negotiations submitted to the Cabinet on October 16, 1952. For the Text, see The Times of Ceylon, October 21, 1952
72. Ibid.
73. Ibid.
74. October 22, 1952
75. November 10, 1952
76. **Parliamentary Debates : House of Representatives,** vol. 13, 1952/53, col. 1225.
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78. **Parliamentary Debates : House of Representatives,** vol. 13, op. cit., col. 389
79. **Parliamentary Debates : House of Representatives,** vol. 14, 1953/54
80. The Hndu, December 18, 1953
81. Ibid, December 14, 1953
82. **Parliamentary Debates : House of Representatives,** vol. 22, 1955/56, col. 108
83. **Parliamentay Debates : House of Representatives** vol. 20, 1954/56 vol. 4182
84. The Ceylon ,Daily News, anuary 16, 1950
85. December 27, 1947.
86. **Parliamentary Debates : House of Representatives,** vol. 6, 1946/50, col. 6
87. **Parliamentary Debates : House of Representatives,** vol. 16, 1953/54, col. 710
88. Sir John Kotalawala, **An Asian Prime Minister's Story,** George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., London, 1956. p. 123.
89. April 30, 1954
90. For the Text of the Declaration, see **Parliamentary Debates : House of Representatives,** vol. 17, 1954/55, cols. 29 – 30.
91. Ibid., col. 172
92. Ibid., col. 369.
93. Ibid., cols. 227 – 35
94. **An Asian Prime Minister's Story,** p. 190
95. April 22, 1955
96. **An Asian Prime Minister's Story,** p. 187
97. **Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches,** vol. 3, (1953 - 1957), Government of India, 1958, p. 268.

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'ENGLISH LITERATURE' IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY SRI LANKAN SCHOOLS: A SURVEY OF COURSES OF STUDY, PRESCRIBED TEXTS, AND METHODS OF TEACHING

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The purpose of this paper is to discuss in some detail some of the courses of study, prescribed texts, and methods of teaching English literature in the foremost English colleges in 19th century Sri Lanka (like the Colombo Academy, St. Thomas' College, Colombo, and Trinity College, Kandy). This study helps to clarify the 'place' of English literary studies in the 19th century school curriculum, and to evaluate the quality of these courses of study from a modern point of view; it also throws interesting light upon the strong influence exerted by British colonial administrative policy and Christian missionary activity upon the formulation of courses of study and syllabuses in English literature during the relevant period.

However, at the outset it should be emphasised that no complete and detailed "syllabuses" or "schemes of work" in the modern sense and actually used in 19th century colleges are extant at the present day. The terms 'course of study', 'scheme of work', and 'syllabus' as used in this paper refer not to official school or examination syllabuses (unless where so stated), but unofficial lists of writers or works mentioned in contemporary accounts of 19th century education or incidental references in autobiographies, biographies, etc. of pupils who attended English colleges during the period under study, and later used in compiling the 'histories' of colleges like Royal, St. Thomas' and Trinity on the occasion of their jubilee celebrations. Consequently, nearly every syllabus or course of study discussed below is defective in one respect or another. Most of them are extremely vague and general to be of much use, like: "English, with special attention to Shakespeare,"[1] or "History of literature;"[2] others mention anthologies of poetry which are not available now, like "English Literature (Chalmers);"[3] or do not indicate which particular poems in an anthology were prescribed for detailed study. The most detailed and therefore the most useful "course of study" discussed below, that used at Trinity College, Kandy, in the 1860s, presents a different type of problem—its main defect being that it indicates not the work done during a whole year but only a single term's work done in the first class of the upper school".[4] Yet other courses of study refer not to the routine work done in class, but only to the texts prescribed for a particular examination, like the syllabus prescribed for the "Turnour Prize" at the Colombo Academy in 1846.[5]

It should also be borne in mind that the syllabuses and prescribed texts (discussed below) give only a partial and inaccurate picture of the role of English literature in the lives of English-educated individuals in the 19th century, for most of the English-educated students, whatever their study of English literature had been in the schoolroom, often read extensively in English literature in their spare time outside the classroom. There is sufficient evidence to indicate that many of them read not only the prescribed authors and texts, but also writers and works completely outside the school syllabuses, and in some cases, as in that of Anagarika Dharmapala,[6] even authors who had been ostracised by their teachers and other authorities. Thus a full discussion of the place of English literature in 19th century education would comprise at least two complementary parts: (1) English literature as taught in the upper forms of

"English colleges" as part of the regular curriculum; and (2) the "general" and "background" reading of college students outside the school syllabus and their reading of literature after leaving college, as recorded in their autobiographies, biographies, diaries, letters and so on. The present paper, it should be stressed, is concerned only with (1) above, for reasons of clarity and space, and is meant to provide the necessary foundation for a study of the second type described under (2) above.

Part I

Compared with the two major native (i. e., Sinhala and Tamil) literatures, English literature appears to have enjoyed a monopolistic, highly privileged position in the 19th century Sri Lankan school education system, for Sinhala and Tamil literature were almost totally excluded in the early years from the curriculum of "English Colleges". During the 19th century, and even well into the 20th, the medium of instruction in all English colleges was English, and although no records survive of specific texts used in the early years of the 19th century, it is almost certain that some English literature must have occupied an important part of the syllabuses of all educational institutes working through the medium of English. Wyndham declares that "the primary object of the government schools during the first half of the 19th century was the teaching of English and of a purely western curriculum,"[7] a statement which can be safely applied to all the private colleges as well.

The pupils at the first English school in Sri Lanka, called "The Academy", or "The Seminary" at Wolfendahl[8] which commenced as early as 1800[9] do not appear to have studied any English literature texts in class except the Bible, for only "The Parable of the Vineyard," the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles' Creed are mentioned as having been studied at that institution.[10] Apart from these sacred religious "texts", the main task of the pupils in the "first English school" appears to have been the learning of the English language as distinct from the study and enjoyment of its literary works.

At the "Christian Institution" at Cotta (Kotte), the Headquarters of the CMS missionaries established in 1828, no mention is made of English language or literature. The subjects taught were as follows: "Latin, Greek, Mathematics, Geography, History and the Bible, and for some boys, Hebrew."[11] However, since it is known that the sole medium of instruction as well as the home-language of the pupils was English, it is likely that English language and literature, though omitted from the "syllabus," was one of the main components of the curriculum and that the only "textbook" used was probably the Bible or selections from it, as during the period before 1828. The Bible, of course, was the most suitable literature text for an institution the pupils of which were all being trained to be clergymen later in life.

The half-decade between 1829 and 1835 was one of crucial significance for the future of English education not only in Sri Lanka but also in India. This period marks the turning point of language policy in India and Sri Lanka, for in both countries, the momentous and far-reaching decision was taken to make English the sole medium of education, a policy that was to remain unchanged till the mid-20th century. On 26th June, 1829, William Bentinck wrote to the Committee of Public Instruction, instructing them "to announce to all concerned

.....that it is the wish and admitted policy of the British government to render its own language (i. e., English) gradually and eventually the language of public business throughout the country and it will omit no opportunity of giving every reasonable and practical degree of encouragement to the execution of this project."[12] Colebrooke's recommendations regarding the administration of Sri Lanka in 1832 were in line with the changes that were being made in India ——he "looked upon the employment of an increasing number of Ceylonese.....as a means of reducing the expenditure of government".[13] To facilitate the process of employing the Ceylonese in such positions, Colebrooke said that "it was Government's duty to establish schools to provide the necessary education."[14] He recommended that "a competent knowledge of the English language should be required in the principal native functionaries throughout the country,"[15] and that "a college should be instituted at Colombo where general instruction may be afforded to pupils of all classes."[16] Also, "A professor should be appointed from England,"[17] and "An English professorship should be maintained by the government."[18] In his proposal to set up English schools, Colebrooke was probably influenced by the view held by Englishmen at the time that Oriental learning was of little value and that "a knowledge of English would lead to the moral and intellectual improvement of the Eastern peoples."[19] For example, Thomas Macaulay (in his Minute on Education, 1835) had asserted that "a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia."[20] Thus it is not surprising that the beginnings of a systematic teaching of English literature in Sri Lanka can be traced to the establishment of "English Colleges" that were set up to implement the Colebrooke proposals, the pioneer such institution being the "Colombo Academy."

In 1835, a clergyman, Rev. Joseph Marsh, acting Colonial Chaplain of St Paul's Church, Colombo, opened a private "Academy" at Hill Street. In the following year this school was converted to a government school and called "The Colombo Academy."[21] With regard to the schemes of work at this institution, the "Rules and Suggestions" said: "It is desirable that the system of classification and mutual instruction, on which the English national schools are conducted, should be introduced into the schools so far as circumstances allow."[22] The Colombo Academy actually consisted of "two schools under one roof: a high or classical school, and a lower or preparatory school"[23]; strangely enough, in the syllabus for the "high or classical school," English literature does not appear as one of the subjects to be taught: "Among the subjects studied in the upper school were Logic, the elements of English law as expounded in an abridgement of the commentaries of Blackstone, the Principles of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy, as also the Singhalese and Latin languages. To boys destined for the church instruction would be afforded in the Greek and Hebrew languages."[24] However, the opening phrase employed here, "Among the subjects" makes it probable that the syllabus as set out here is not exhaustive; English language and literature without doubt comprised an essential part of the syllabus of these students, and it is regrettable that details regarding the literature syllabus, especially the prescribed texts, if any, were not included therein.

When the Central School in Colombo was opened, it took over the normal students[25] who were studying at the Academy. According to Wyndham, "The training they received is indicated by the syllabus of their examination in 1844. It was divided into 4 parts: Scripture

(Theology), Mathematics, Latin and English. ..... English included ..... **Paradise Lost,** Book V, 11. 153 – 208, and a passage from Young's **Night Thoughts** on 'Procrastination." [26] Thus at this time either only poetry appears to have been done under "English literature," or the other prescribed texts have been omitted from the syllabus.

Around 1845, under the principalship of Rev. Barcroft Boake, the subjects in the upper school of the Colombo Academy were of "a more advanced and philosophical kind,"[27] and included English literature, represented in the vague statement: "Shakespeare, and English literature were taught on the classical side."[28]

The Colombo Academy awarded a Prize for English Literature from 1846. The examiners' account of this exam, as reported in a contemporay newspaper, said that it included 'written questions on English language and literarure, and on Shakespeare and Bacon,"[29] which shows that Shakespeare and Bacon were, in mid-century, part of the syllabus of the Colombo Academy.

For the year 1848, the course of work prescribed for students who aspired to the "Turnour Classical Prize" at the Colombo Academy included a textbook, perhaps for the first time; this was "English Literature (Chalmers)."[30] This was an anthology of English poetry from Chaucer to Cowper. Thus, at this stage, probably only short poems and brief extracts from long poems comprised the literature syllabus; no mention is made of prose fiction, drama, and essays in prose.

In the meantime, St. Thomas' College, Colombo, had been in operation since March, 1851, founded by James Chapman, Bishop of Colombo, who had arrived in the Island on 1st November, 1845.[31] Unfortunately, once again, the earliest available course of studies at St. Thomas' only states: "The subjects taught in the school (included) ..... "English Reading and Composition",[32] without more specific details. No other details of the literature syllabus at this early period are available except that the masters of St. Thomas', who were then "chosen almost entirely for their scholarship and missionary zeal," are described as maintaining "a dignified aloofness" and being "apt to look askance at such trifling occupations as novel-reading and games."[33] The last statement perhaps accounts for one of the reasons why prose fiction rarely or never finds a place on any early English literature syllabus. The titles of some of the college "term essays" have been recorded, however: they included: "On the Scriptures of the Old Testament," "The Miracles of Christ," "Fulfilment of Prophecy," "The Age and Literature of Queen Elizabeth," and "Advantages of the study of Geography."[34] W. T. Keble gives detailed syllabuses for first, seeond and third year students at St. Thomas'; however, for each year the "English" syllabus specifies only "English Composition,"[35] from which it appears that no specific texts in literature were prescribed.

In 1859, the Colombo Academy was affiliated to the Calcutta University. This probably necessitated the adoption by the Academy of the syllabus then being used in similar high schools and English colleges in India, like the Presidency College at Calcutta. At Presidency College, it is reported, "The standard of exams was high. It required a critical acquaintance with the

works of Bacon, Johnson, Milton, and Shakespeare."[37] However, the syllabus used at the Colombo Academy even after its affiliation with the Calcutta University in 1859 appears to have been much narrower than at the Indian colleges, for according to available records, under "the subjects which were studied at the Academy after the affiliation" the texts used were "English: Thomson's **Winter,** Rasselas."[38]

In 1854, Andrew Kessen, then compiling the syllabuses for Sri Lanka's first Normal School, requested Elijah Hoole to send him "a programme of the hours of study in the various classes of our Westminster Institution, and also a copy of the class-books in use."[39] This suggests that both Joseph Marsh (who modelled his school, the Colombo Academy, on "the English national schools") and Andrew Kessen (who modelled his Normal School on the Westminster Institution) derived their main inspiration in preparing the English literature syllabuses from British Public schools. St. Thomas' and Trinity probably adopted the same procedure.

Perhaps the most detailed course of studies in English literature now available is the one used at Trinity College, Kandy in the 1860s. It refers not to a complete year's work, but to a single "term's work done in the First Class of the Upper School": "**Poetry:** 'Psalm of Life', 'Excelsior', 'To a Waterfowl', 'Procrastination', 'Paul Before Agrippa', 'Lays of Ancient Rome', Extracts from the 'Spanish Armada'."[40] Ironically, this list of prescribed poetry texts, while being more interesting and helpful than the ones so far encountered, creates a different type of problem— that of the correct identification of the two poems 'Paul Before Agrippa' and 'Extracts from 'The Spanish Armada', as discussed in detail below.

Part II

Purely for purposes of discussion, it is possible to conflate the separate syllabuses described above into a kind of composite list of authors (and where known, of individual literary works) in English literature which can be used to give an overall picture of the kind of work done in the English colleges in the 19th century in Sri Lanka. This composite list can also be used to determine (in the absence of more adequate information) the principles and criteria that apparently operated in the 19th century colonial Sri Lankan context in the selection of authors and literary works for use in the "English colleges", the highest and most prestigious educational institutions at the time.

Such a list of authors and works, set out in chronological order of composition, would appear as follows :

(a) Poetry

(1) John Milton (1608–1674) : **Paradise Lost,** Book V (1667), 11. 153–208.

(2) Edward Young (1683–1765) : **Night Thoughts** (1742), lines on "Procrastination."

(3) James Thomson (1700–1748) : **Winter** (1730).

(4) James Grahame (1765–1811) : "Paul Before Agrippa" (c. 1808).

(5) William Cullen Bryant (1794–1878) : 'To A Waterfowl' (1815).

(6) Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800–1859) : 'Lays of Ancient Rome'; extracts from 'The Spanish Armada'.

(7) Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807–1882): "A Psalm of Life" (1838); "Excelsior" (1842).

(b) Prose (Essays and Fiction)

(1) Francis Bacon (1561–1626) : **Essays** (1597–1625).

(2) Dr. Samuel Johnson (1709–1784) : **Rasselas** (1759).

(c) Drama

(1) Shakespeare (1564–1616) : **Macbeth** (1607).

On first glance, several glaring features strike the eye, not the least of them being the non-representation of drama except Shakespeare. Although none of Shakespeare's plays (or excerpts from them) except **Macbeth** which was prescribed for a Prize Examination was included in the syllabuses discussed here, there is some evidence to indicate that Shakespeare was perhaps considered to be the single most important literary figure from the inception of English colleges in Sri Lanka. As already indicated, in the only syllabus available for a higher exam, the Turnour Classical Prize, the "prescribed course of study" included, for 'English', "Shakespeare's **Macbeth** and one of Bacon's Essays."[41] In 1846 the examination for the English literature prize at the Colombo Academy included "written questions on English language and literature, and on Shakespeare and Bacon."[42] Reimann reports that in 1872 at the prizegiving at Trinity College three scenes from Shakespeare's **Merchant of Venice** had been staged by the boys.[43] Moreover, "the general routine" in the lower school of the Colombo Academy after 1836 included "Shakespeare, and English literature,"[44] though the play or plays have not been specified. All this indicates without doubt that Shakespeare at least was considered throughout as a **sine qua non** on the English literature syllabuses.

The reason for the omission of all drama except Shakespeare and of prose fiction may be presumed to have been their excessive length in part. The other possible reason for the omission of fiction may have been the moralistic one of the aversion for fiction on the part of Puritan Christians (most of the Sri Lankan teachers would have fallen into this category at the time referred to). We are informed, for example, that at Trinity College in the 1860s, "works of fiction..... seem to have been carefully excluded from the school library, due perhaps to the rigid old-world ideas of the giants of those days."[45]

The most important question raised by the above 'composite list' of prescribed authors and works is:Why were the authors or works included selected in preference to others ? Why were certain important and 'standard' authors who undoubtedly deserve inclusion in any English literature syllabus excluded ? In others words, what were the principles and

criteria employed by those responsible for drawing up the courses of study? The consideration of these questions below throws interesting light not only on the literary scholarship of the educational authorities of the time, but also on British educational policy in Sri Lanka in the colonial period. What follows is a discussion of the probable reasons for the inclusion of the writers and literary works that find a place on the composite syllabus.

(1) **John Milton** (1608–74) was perhaps the only poet of undisputed "classical" status on the syllabus. As the greatest religious poet in English, the poet whose works (especially his great religious epic poem, **Paradise Lost**) stood next to the Bible in every English household, Milton could not have been kept out of any English syllabus for Christian children—he would have been an automatic choice. However, even in the indisputable case of Milton's **Paradise Lost**, the choice of the particular excerpt from Book V shows certain peculiar features: it indicates clearly the non-application of strictly **literary** criteria in the preparation of the English literature syllabuses. The 56 lines selected from Book V of **Paradise Lost** (V. 153–208) are not really representative of Milton at his best; they are illustrative neither of his rhetorical 'Grand Style' with its classical tropes and allusions, nor of his dramatic and imaginative powers. The greatest religious poet in English though Milton was, he appears to have posed a problem to the colonial religious and administrative authorities in Sri Lanka, for Milton, though a good Puritan Christian, had been a severe critic and opponent not only of the king but also of the priesthood, especially during the time of the Republican 'Commonwealth' under Oliver Cromwell (1649–1660). Milton's prose pamphlets like **Of Reformation in English** (1641), **Prelatical Episcopacy** (1641), **The Reason of Church Government Urged Against Prelacy** (1642), **Of True Religion, Heresy, Toleration and the Growth of Popery** (1673) against the priesthood, and his attacks on the monarchy in pamphlets like **Kings and Magistrates** (1649), **Eikonoklastes** (the Image-Breakers) (1649), **The Defence of the English People** (1651) and **The Second Defence of the English People** (1654) had unequivocally shown his bitter oposition to the monarchy (whom be characterised as 'tyrants') as well as to the priesthood. Thus Milton was in no wise the automatic choice that he should have been, and had to be treated with circumspection. The dilemma of the authorities was resolved by sacrificing literary worth at the altar of religious and administrative conformity—by choosing a passage in which Milton expresses faith in God without attacking His priesthood or His representative on earth, the monarch. In lines 153–108, the passage selected, therefore, Adam and Eve are shown together singing their orisons to God the Almighty Creator. The lines are dull and undistinguished; but they express unqualified religious faith and a sense of wondrous humility at the "power and goodness' of God who is eulogised in exaggerated terms, as in the lines

> These are thy glorious works, Parent of good,
> Almightie, thine this universal Frame,
> Thus wondrous fair; thy self how wondrous then!
> Unspeakable, who sitst above these Heavens
> To us invisible or dimly seen
> In these thy lowest works, yet these declare
> Thy goodness beyond thought, and Power Divine: (ll. 153–59)

Adam and Eve are followed by the 'lower orders', in their hierarchical order, in paying their obeisance to God; they are exhorted thus:

> On Earth joyn all yee Creatures to extoll
> Him first, him last, him midst, and without end. (ll. 164,165)

After the sun, the moon, the planets, the air and the other elements, the plants and the anmials down to the tiniest living creature have been in turn exhorted to "acknowledge God, their creator," His power and His wisdom and to "sound His praise" (ll. 172,173), the extract concludes with 4 lines expressive of obedience and supplication to God to continue to be good and bounteous to his creatures:

> Hail universal Lord, be bounteous still,
> To give us only good; and if the night
> Have gathered aught of evil or conceald,
> Disperse it, as now light dispels the dark. (ll. 205–208).

The lines quoted indicate that this particular passage was selected for its sermonlike qualities rather than for its aesthetic value. The passage would obviously have been a good tool in the hands of the missionary-teachers then in sole charge of Sri Lankan English education.

Had not the vested interests of the missionary been considered, the formulators of the literature syllabus could easily have found several other characteristically Miltonic passages in Book V of **Paradise Lost** itself (not to mention the famous description of the Garden of Eden and the first appearance of Adam and Eve in Book IV, the temptation of Eve by Satan in Book IX, and so on). Indeed, the lines immediately following upon the extract selected provide a fairly good sample of Milton's characteristic "Grand style"——the picture of Adam and Eve performing their daily labour for their Lord. However, these lines (ll. 209 ff.) may have seemed objectionable to the priggish, prudish Victorian morality of the teacher–clerics in charge of education at the time, because of the rather liberal use of sexual imagery in lines like the following by Milton:

> .....where any row
> Of Fruit-trees overwoodie reachd too farr
> Thir pamperd boughes, and needed hands to check
> Fruitless imbraces : or they led the Vine
> To wed her Elm; she spoused about him twines
> Her mariageable arms, and with her brings
> Her dowr th' adopted clusters, to adorn
> His barren leaves. (ll. 212–219).

There follows in the same Book V of **Paradise Lost** an even more characteristically 'Miltonic' passage describing Eve gathering fruits and juices where Milton's poetic and linguistic powers are given full play—his sensuousness, his power of evoking deep musical cadences, his proclivity towards exotic proper names, his use of classical allusions and other tropes, and so on. This passage occurs only about 100 lines after the passage actually prescribed in the syllabus, but would have been unpalatable to the missionaries for the reasons already enumerated Unfortunately, also, Book V is "vitiated" by the presence in it of an obnoxious passage in which royalty is shown in a highly unfavourable light:

> Mean while our Primitive great Sire to meet
> His god-like Guest, walks forth, without more train
> Accompani'd then with his own compleat
> Perfections, in himself was all his state
> More solemn then the tedious pomp that waits
> On Princes, when thir Retinue long
> Of Horses led, and Grooms besmeard with Gold
> Dazles the croud, and sets them all agape. (11. 350–357).

Much more dangerous than this, and even subversive from the colonialist point of view, was the account of Satan's rebellion against God, as narrated in this Book by the Angel Raphael to Adam. Satan's revolt against God could be interpreted or represented as a kind of double revolt, religious and political; the "conspiracy" between Satan and his chief associate, especially Satan's detailed reasons for the necessity for rebellion would have been considered near-seditious in the Sri Lankan colonial context where such lines as the following could have been applied as analogical to contemporary British administrtion of the Island, involving the introduction of new laws, (especially in view of the abortive rebellions of 1818 and 1848). One of Satan's indictments against God, significantly, is that He had imposed "new laws"; Satan explains to his chief lieutenant in conspiratorial tones how

> .....new Laws thou seest impos'd;
> New Laws from him who reigns, new minds may raise
> In us who serve, new Counsels, to debate
> What doubtful may ensue, more in this place
> To utter is not safe. (ll. 676–680).

Later passages (e.g., ll. 764–68; 776–781) outline in detail the typical methods used by the mob-leader who misleads his followers by uttering falsehoods; passages which could have 'corrupted' the impressionable minds of adolescents. Satan's speech to his subordinates is highly 'seditious', as in the following lines where he comes into the open as a revolutionary leader:

But what if better counsels might erect
Our minds and teach us to cast off this Yoke?
Will ye submit your necks, and chuse to bend
The supple knee? Ye will not, if I trust
To know ye right, or if ye know your selves
Natives and Sons of Heav'n possest before
By none, and if not equal all, yet free,
Equally free.....(ll. 782-89).

Satan, in these lines and the lines that follow (ll. 789-99) brings out with passion, fervour and eloquence the revolutionary concepts of reason, right, freedom, liberty, and democracy, which the powers that reigned in 19th century Sri Lanka would have considered highly undesirable to be disseminated among the youth in a country were rebellion was constantly feared. Satan also utters sentiments which are profane and blasphemous, casting doubts on God's powers of creation, asking:

.....who saw
When this (i.e., God's) creation was? Rememberst thou
Thy making, while the Maker gave thee being?
We know no time when we were not as now;
Know none before us, self-begot, self-rais'd
By our quick'ning power.....(11. 853–858).

The above analysis indicates the probable reasons why only a dull uncharacteristic passage was selected from Milton's **Paradise Lost,** Book V.—the framers of the syllabuses were obviously motivated less by strictly literary criteria than by political and religious ones —in other words, the vested interests of the colonial administrators and the missionaries were allowed to override strictly aesthetic considerations.

(2) **Edward Young** (1683–1765) appears to have been a favourite poet in 19th century Sri Lanka, for he was perhaps the only author whose poetry was prescribed at both the Colombo Academy in 1844 and at Trinity College in 1860; he was probably represented in all the school literature syllabuses of the period. At both the Colombo Academy and Trinity, the same passage on 'Procrastination' from Young's long poem **Night Thoughts** (1742) was prescribed. This particular extract appears to have been a perennial anthology-piece in Britain as well as in Sri Lanka throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries, for it was included in many collections of short poems,[46] one of the latest being the **Oxford Book of 18th Century Verse** published in 1926.[47]

Young's **Night Thoughts** is in the 18th century tradition of verse in which natural description is used as a stepping-board to moralisation and reflection on the human condition. The chief reason for the inclusion was probably its moralistic, didactic and aphoristic quality. The passage contains such aphoristic lines like "Be wise today, 'tis madness to defer", and

Procrastination is the thief of time,
Year after year it steals, till all are fled
And to the mercies of a moment leaves
The vast concerns of an Eternal scene,

Which the authorities would have believed to be of help in sound character-building. In the following lines Young provides a salutary reminder to wayward youth to be circumspect about their immediate duties and not to blame others, especially their parents, and points out somewhat wittily that elders should be respected and listened to; the tragic consequences of delay are described as follows:

.....we sometimes.....only wish,
As duteous sons, our Fathers were more wise:
At **thirty** man **suspects** himself a Fool;
Knows it at **forty**, and reforms his Plan;
At **fifty** ends his infamous delay
Pushes his prudent Purpose to Resolve;
In all the magnanimity of thought
Resolves; then dies the same.

Thus it is clear that Young's "Procrastination" was selected as a class text solely for its moral and didactic content.

(3) **James Thomson** (1700–1748) too was a pioneer in a strain of descriptive and meditative poetry in which the description of natural phenomena prompts moral reflections on the human situation: a vein of poetry which obviously appealed to those in power in the early and mid 19th century in Sri Lanka. In his long poem **The Seasons** (1726–28) from which 'Winter', the prescribed poem, was taken, Thomson employed a quasi-Miltonic blank verse to describe the countryside at different times of the year, interlarding the description with serious meditations on man and human life.

Apart from the didacticism, Thomson's poetry possesesed many of the basic 'qualifications' or prerequisites for inclusion in an English literature syllabus in a colonial set-up: orthodox Christian faith and belief to appease the Christian missionary and eulogistic patriotism and nationalistic sentiment to win the heart of the British colonialist. Unlike the Romantic poets, most of whom tended to deify Nature and thus to preach a kind of 'pantheism,' Thomson expressed the idea that the Wonders of nature are evidence of the power of an almighty creator (nature being only an agent, a manifestation, or creation of a much greater all-powerful divine power who controls and directs it) as illustrated in the following lines of Thomson:

All Nature reels : till Nature's King, who oft
Amid tempestuous darkness dwells alone,
And on the wings of the careering wind
Walks dreadfully serene, commends a calm;
Then straight air, sea and earth are hushed at once (ll. 197–201).

The supremacy of God over inanimate Nature as well as over human beings is acknowledged when the poet addresses the Almighty Deity in the following words:

> Father of light and life! Thou God supreme!
> O teach me what is good! Teach me thyself!
> Save me from folly, vanity, and vice.....(ll. 217–19)

This type of "nature poetry", (i.e., poetry in which nature is admired not for its own sake but as created and controlled by a supreme maker) was clearly preferable to the missionaries to the 'pantheistic' worship of Nature; this probably explains the inclusion of the "Pre-Romantics" Thomas Young and James Thomson who did not display a pantheistic attitude to nature in their poetry, and the total exclusion of the Romantic poets like Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, Byron and Keats.

Thomson's "Winter" possessed another element that made it especially appropriate for use in Sri Lankan schools from the point of view of the British imperialist administrators —viz., the highly eulogistic description of Peter the Great, the Czar of Russia who carried "the torch of civilisation and culture" to the 'savages' of Northern Russia, in a long passage, ll. 950–87. In studying this poem at school it was clearly expected that the analogy between Peter the Great and the benevolent British sovereign (and his local representative in Sri Lanka, the British Governor) on the one hand, and between the "Primitive" Northern Russians and the equally primitive 19th century Sri Lankans on the other would be made clear by the British teacher-missionary. This eulogistic passage outlining what a 'blessing' a 'benevolent monarch' could prove to be in a 'backward' country (like Sri Lanka) opens:

> What cannot active government perform,
> New-moulding man? (ll. 950–51).

The subsequent description of the people of Russia as "a people savage from remotest time" (l.952) and of Russia as "a huge neglected empire immersed in Gothic darkness" was undoubtedly expected to remind the Sri Lankan schoolboy of the 'savagery' of his own little island. More important, the description of the czar Peter's great services to Russia was to conjure up a picture of the same benevolent "civilising" process operating successfully in contemporary Sri Lanka too, if the Sri Lankans would only bear the colonialist yoke willingly and patiently. Peter's rule over Russia is a "benevolent despotism"; he "tamed his stubboru country" (l. 956) including not only "her rocks, her fens, her floods, her seas" (ll. 956–57) but also the people, "her **ill-submitting** sons," (an awful warning to any budding Sri Lankan rebels in the schoolroom!); "the fierce barbarian he subdued" (l. 958), after which he improved the conditions of the natives immensely morally and spiritually: "To more exalted soul he raised (the fierce barbarian") (l. 959). The services that this "matchless prince," (l. 963) rendered were, moreover, economically, socially and culturally invaluable, for the great monarch (Peter)

> His sceptre laid aside, with glorious hand
> Unwearied plying the mechanic tool
> Gathered the seeds of trade, of useful arts,
> Of civil wisdom, and of martial skill (ll. 968–71).

Besides this, as a result of Peter's wise policies,

> Cities rise amid the illumined waste;
> O'er joyless deserts smiles the rural reign (ll. 973–75)

and

> Sloth flies the land, and ignorance and vice (l. 982)

making of the entire country

> One scene of arts, of arms, of rising trade (l. 985).

In these lines, it is a highly Utopian picture that is painted of Russia; it is clearly hinted that the rapid advancement of Russia should provide an example to Sri Lanka, provided that her sons take the proffered cue by not rebelling against the British crown.

Thus Thomson's **Winter** contained almost all that was desired not only by the pedagogue but also (more important) by the missionary (who was in full control of education) and by the colonial administrator (who was in full political and administrative control of the Island). It was an ideal text for classroom use in the colonial context with its serious moral attitude, and its demonstration of the Almighty's powers of creation and its emphatic assertion of the benefits of British rule. Around this time, as is well known, the British missionaries were engaged in a vigorous campaign of converting the Buddhists and Hindus to Christianity (carried out mainly through the "English colleges") on the one hand, while the British imperialist bureucrats were attempting to make of Sri Lanka a model British "crown colony" absolutely loyal to the British crown.

In addition to all these qualifications, Thomson was probably looked upon with great favour by the authorities for his authorship of several other poems embodying patriotic sentimnets and orthodox religious faith. In "A Hymn on the Seasons," a poem of 121 lines added to **The Seasons** after 1730, the author expresses his non-pantheistic appreciation of the wonders of natural phenomena as the creations of God:

> These (i. e., the seasonal natural phenomena), as they change, Almighty Father,these
> Are but the varied God. The rolling year
> Is full of thee. Forth in the pleasing Spring
> Thy beauty walks, thy tenderness and love.
> Then comes thy glory in the Summer months .....
> Thy beauty shines in Autumn unconfined .....
> In Winter awful thou!.....(ll. 1–16).

Another poem by Thomson, "Liberty" (1735) eulogised Britain, "the best isle" (l. 362) as a country where liberty was more deeply entrenched than in any other nation past or present, including ancient Greece and Rome. This "land of light and rectitude of mind" (l. 523) is described by the Goddess of Liberty herself as

The land where, king and people equal bound
By guardian laws, my (i. e., Liberty's) fullest blessings flow,
And where my jealous unsubmitting soul,
The dread of tyrants! burns in every breast (ll. 318–21).

Britain is described as a land of all the various freedoms:

There (i. e., in Britain) truth unlicensed walks; and dares accost
Even kings themselves, the monarchs of the free! (ll. 364–65).

Even more full of patriotic sentiment and national pride was Thomson's famous ode, "Rule, Britannia!" This was a song which appeared in Act II scene v of **Alfred: A Masque,** a dramatic piece printed in 1740 in which a poet called Mallet collaborated with Thomson. The poem contained the refrain, "Rule Britannia! Rule the waves! Britons never will be slaves" at the end of each stanza. In this ode, Britain "the blest Isle with matchless beauty crowned" (l. 29) is depicted as the greatest nation on earth:

Thou (i.e., Britain) shalt flourish great and free
The dread and envy of them all (i. e., all other nations) (ll. 9–10)

and

Thy cities shall with commerce shine;
All thine shall be the subject main,
And every shore it circles thine (ll. 22–25).

Among Thomson's "Miscellaneous Poems" was yet another poem of patriotic fervour entitled "Britannia";[49] also among his **Juvenilia** was included a poem called "The Works and Wonders of Almighty Power——A Fragment,"[50] an early example of Thomson's attribution of the wonders of nature to the wisdom and power of God. The purpose of the latter poem, according to the author, is to "declare, in lofty strains/ The power of Godhead to the sons of men" (ll. 7–8). Thomson in this early poem even attempts to challenge (and to answer) some of the contemporary atheists who disputed the existence of a creator and claimed that the universe is the product of pure chance:

How can I gaze upon yon sparkling vault,
And view the planets rolling in their spheres,
Yet be an atheist ?.....
What but a Being of immense perfection
Could, through unbended spaces, thus dispose
Such numerous bodies all presumptive worlds?
The undesigning hand of giddy chance
Could never fill, with globes so fast, so bright,
That lofty concave! (ll. 21–31).

Thomson's religious orthodoxy and conformism in an age of increasing pantheistic and deistic belief and of religious scepticism which probably made him a pet of the educational religious and administrative 'establishments' in Sri Lanka were further demonstrated in a number of religious poems like the hymn on "The Power of God",[51] "A Paraphrase of the Latter Part of the Sixth Chapter of St. Matthew",[52] "A Paraphrase of Psalm CIV"[53] and "A Pastoral Betwixt David, Thirsis, and the Angel Gabriel, Upon the Birth of Our Saviour."[54]

(4) **William Cullen Bryant** (1794–1878) was the author of "To a Waterfowl",[55] another poem studied by the Trinitians in the 1860s. This was a very popular anthology piece that has survived in anthologies of English poetry till the present day.[56] "To A Waterfowl", too, contains many of the "essential" ingredients that were looked for in poems prescribed for study by teenage high school pupils in a colonial environment—viz., orthodox religious faith, the "poetic" description of some aspect of nature, aphoristic, memorable expression of moral sentiment, together with jingling rhymes and often a refrain. Bryant's poem is a dramatic description of the vision of the form of a waterfowl floating slowly against the distant horizon at sunset—a sight so wondrous that the poet in his ecstasy achieves the realisation that the waterfowl could only be the creation of an almighty creator, that

> There is a Power whose care
> Teaches thy way along that pathless coast (ll. 13–14),

and the bird's path could not have been a haphazard one but one directed and guided carefully and deliberately by its creator, God, who "Guides through the boundless sky thy (the waterfowl's) certain flight" (l. 18). Thus, like Young and Thomson, Bryant had the correct religious orientation in relation to the description of nature and its wonders; in real life, too, Bryant was more than adequately qualified to be represented in an English literature syllabus, as a pious, practising clergyman who had told Godwin: "I knew the Greek **New-Testament** from end to end almost as if it had been English."[57] Bryant is also described as having showed "an early and ingrained familiarity with the Scriptures."[58] Indeed, "when he was 10 or 11 his grandfather Snell gave him the whole **Book of Job** to turn into verse."[59]

Bryant was a very popular poet, though an American by nationality. By 1825, he had "clearly emerged as America's one great poet;"[60] his collection of poems (1832) was hailed by the **North American Review** as "the best volume of American verse that has ever appeared."[61] Indeed, it has been asserted that (as a poet) Bryant "holds a position in American letters akin to that of Wordsworth in English, as America's great poet of nature with which more than one hundred of his total of about 160 poems deal..... (and that) he possessed a sensitively artistic perception of what was lovely in nature, and the capacity for its imaginative interpretation, which are not equalled by any other American writer."[62]

It is not nature in general, but the "untouched nature of the New World and of New England in particular, which Bryant's verse pictures with definiteness and accuracy."[63] With this descriptive power were joined "an elemental piety a pervading sense of the transiency of all things, and a meditative philosophy."[64] All these features would have endeared

Bryant to the Victorians, British as well as American and Sri Lankan. According to recent critics, Bryant "believed poetry should provide "direct lessons in wisdom" through "truths which the mind instinctively acknowledges."[65]

However, although Bryant was clearly and profoundly influenced by Wordsworth, he was not considered objectionable like the latter for a very important reason: Bryant's God remained ever a Divine Being distinct from His creation——i.e., Nature is simply the visible token of God's transcendent beauty and awful power, as in Young and Thomson; in other words, Nature was not, as with Wordsworth, Shelley and many other Romantic poets,a **substitute for** God. This short lyric "To A Waterfowl" was written in 1815 and published in 1818, and called by Matthew Arnold "the most perfect brief poem in the language."[66]

(5) **Henry Wadsworth Longfellow** (1807–1882) was the author of two poems prescribed for detailed study in the English literature syllabus of Trinity College, Kandy in the 1860s——"A Psalm of Life," (1838) and "Excelsior" (1842). Longfellow, like Bryant, was an American, not a British poet. Longfellow's popularity and reputation were great, both at home as well as abroad.[67] "No other poet has anything like your vogue," Nathaniel Hawthorne is reported to have written to his fellow poet Longfellow in 1855. In London, 10,000 copies of Longfellow's poem "The Courtship of Miles Standish" were sold on the first day.[68] W. C. Bryant, the author of "To A Waterfowl," praised Longfellow's "exquisite music and creative power."[69] Hawthorne on another occasion wrote to Longfellow: "I take vast satisfaction in your poetry, and take very little in most other men's."[70] European criticism of Longfellow's poetry was also very favourable, for Prof. Philarete Chasles, of the College of France wrote in 1851: "Longfellow seems to us to occupy the first place among the poets of his country."[71] Longfellow's poetic reputation in the mid-19th century appears to have been so high that **Blackwoods Edinburgh Magazine** declared in February 1852: "In respect of melody, feeling, pathos, and that exquisite simplicity of expression which is the criterion of a genuine poet, Mr. Longfellow need not shun comparison with any living writer"[72] and the London **Spectator** spoke of "the sweet and limpid purity.....and the thoroughly original conception and treatment of his later poems, especiallv that which will doubtless live as long as the English language, "Hiawatha."[73] Even recent critics concede that Longfellow was indisputably one of the most popular poets who ever lived: "His popularity in his own lifetime was great, unbroken by the Civil War, honoured by Oxford and Queen Victoria, and finally by Westminster Abbey."[74]

The art of Longfellow has been sometimes described as "an outstanding example of popular taste."[75] Perhaps the most popular and typical among Longfellow's short poems in Victorian times was "A Psalm of Life" (1838), dismissed by modern standards as "a work of melancholic cliche on mutability."[76] Next perhaps in popularity came "Excelsior", "The Wreck of the Hesperus", "The Village Blacksmith", "Evangeline", "The Rainy Day", "Hiawatha", and "Paul Revere's Ride", all well-known and exceedingly popular anthology-pieces in America, Britain and Sri Lanka throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries, though now often referred to derogatorily as "sentimental classics of bathetic rhetoric and self-pity raised by their readers to levels of myth."[77] As James D. Hart has pointed out, however, "a later age, with different standards, has accused Longfellow of undue didacticism

and excessive symbolism as in "A Psalm of Life", "Excelsior", "The Village Blacksmith" and "My Lost Youth", and "The very simplicity that made him a children's poet has lessened his mature audience, since despite his great metrical skill, he is lacking in passion and high imagination, and is too decorous, benign and sweet."[78]

"A Psalm of Life", on which the Trinitians in Kandy (and perhaps most other Sri Lankan schoolboys in English 'Colleges', including the present writer) were nurtured, "stresses the importance of a full and sincere activity in making the most of life's brief span, rather than succumbing to moods of vain regret or dejection."[79] "Excelsior," the companion-piece of "A Psalm of Life", "figuratively depicts the life of a man of genius, as he maintains his individualistic purpose, resisting temptations, and ignoring warnings. Climbing the mountain of his career, he passes beyond the village and the monastery, repeating his idealistic motto, until he is found dead on the highest glacier. Even then a voice is heard from the sky, proclaiming the motto as a promise of immortality."[80]

Both poems are didactic, moralistic, solemnly serious and abound in clichetic but highly aphoristic, quotable and memorable, lines and phrases like "The soul is dead that slumbers" ("A Psalm of Life", l. 3), often antithetically balanced, as in the stanza from the same poem:

> Life is real! Life is earnest !
> And the grave is not its goal!
> Dust thou art, to dust returneth,
> Was not spoken of a soul. (ll. 5–8).

and in lines like "Art is long, and Time is fleeting" (l. 13); "In the bivouac of life, / Be not like dumb, driven cattle ! Be a hero in the strife!" (ll. 18–20); "Let the dead Past bury its dead!/Act,—act in the living Present! / Heart within, and God o'erhead!" (ll. 22–24); "Learn to labour and to wait" (l. 36). The poem also contains that highly aphoristic quatrain which would have echoed in every 19th century and early 20th century schoolboy's memory:

> Lives of great men all remind us
> We can make our lives sublime,
> And departing, leave behind us
> Footprints in the sands of time (ll. 25–28).

The poem is clichetic and conventional in its morality, but embodies in easily memorisable words and phrases certain general moral virtues, i. e., a code of life and conduct built upon a foundation of courage, bravery, self-sacrifice, moral uprightness, endurance, Christian piety, and steadfast endeavour. The poem would have obviously endeared itself to the Victorian missionary educators for all these qualities.

"Excelsior", Longfellow's other poem is a specific symbolisation of moral uprightness, unrelenting endurance and courageous endeavour: a poem particularly appropriate as an exemplary model to youthful readers, for its hero is a youth bearing a banner with the strange device "Excelsior!" considered a suitable motto for Sri Lankan schoolboys.

Thus in both Longfellow's poems "A Psalm of Life" and "Excelsior", the "approved" elements or ingredients considered desirable and even essential in the Sri Lankan context were plainly in evidence——i.e., character-building ,didacticism, pithy aphoristic expression, a deep underlying faith in God and religion, and the sentiments of idealistic patriotism and loyalty to the authorities in power. The presence of all or some of these elements in combination undoubtedly contributed much towards the inclusion of Longfellow's poems in the literature syllabus.

(6) **James Grahame** (1765–1811). Another poem listed in the Trinity College English literature syllabus (without mention of the author) was "Paul Before Agrippa." This poem has upto now remained unidentified by previous writers on English education in colonial Sri Lanka. In spite of extensive search by the present writer in 19th and 20th century anthologies of English poetry, no poem bearing the name "Paul Before Agrippa" has been discovered. However, a short poem bearing a title that differs only very slightly in the wording of the given title has been located in the collected works of a comparatively minor English poet of the early 19th century called James Grahame.[81] The title of the poem reads "Paul Accused Before the Roman Governor of Judea,"[82] which was probably the longer title originally given to the poem which was abridged to "Paul Before Agrippa" for convenience. The poem is a versification of the incident in the **New Testament**[83] in which Paul is brought before Herod Agrippa, the Roman Emperor of Judea who finds Paul guiltless of any offence.

From the point of view of the missionary educational authorities, James Grahame too clearly possessed the essential prerequisites for an "approved" author. He was a classical scholar who "used seldom to walk abroad without a volume of the classics in his pocket, and had a copy of the Greek Testament always by his bedside to employ his waking hours."[84] His more famous fellow-poet Thomas Campbell described him as having once spent "the night alone in pouring out extempore hymns to God, in a depth of musical intonation and with an enthusiasm of devotion"[85] which Campbell never heard equalled. Grahame achieved fame with his devotional poem "The Sabbath"; his editor-biographer described him as having been "Pious as a habit and as a necessity ; he swam in devotional feeling as in his native element."[86]

At the end of Grahame's **Poetical Works** is to be found a series of short poems called "Biblical Pictures." These are versified narratives of incidents taken from the Bible[87] and bear titles like "The First Sabbath", "The Finding of Moses", "Japhtha's Vow", "Saul and David", "Elijah Fed by Ravens", "The Birth of Jesus Announced", "Jesus Walks on the Sea and Calms the Storm", "The Death of Jesus", "Jesus Appears to the Disciples" and "Paul Accused Before the Tribunal of the Areopagus", the themes and content of them being self evident.

"Paul Before Agrippa", probably the same poem as the one prescribed for study at Trinity College,is, like the other "Biblical Pictures," a straight–forward versification in blank verse of the well-known **New Testament** incident; the poem is not artistically distinguished, being more prosaic than poetic in the treatment of the theme. The style is pseudo-Miltonic, with its deliberate inversions of sentence, clause and phrase structure (for example: "Dauntless,

he forward came", l. 3; "A silence dead/Succeeds each pause", ll. 8, 9; "The peal/Tremendous louder rolls", ll. 7,8; "The listening band/of soldiers forward lean'd" ll. 10,11; "No more he feels", l. 13).

The inclusion of Grahame's piece, it is clear, was motivated mainly by pietistic, religious considerations rather than by strictly literary criteria, Grahame being another clergyman among the authors of the poems included in the syllabus. In his own time, Grahame appears to have been a great favourite with the early 19th century reading public. We learn, for example, that "Three new editions of Grahame's most famous poem "The Sabbath" were called for in a year, and as poet of "The Sabbath" Grahame was much respected by Scott, while he was the object of one of Byron's most gratuitous sneers in "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers."[88]

(7) **Thomas Babington Macaulay** (1800–1859). The Trinity College syllabus in poetry also included without any mention of the author, as in the case of "Paul Before Agrippa," "Lays of Ancient Rome"and "Extracts from the Spanish Armada." These two poems may be identified with the poems by Lord Thomas Babington Macaulay. However, both present certain problems which call for some discussion since these problems have not been dealt with by any earlier writer on English education in 19th century Sri Lanka.

In **The Complete Works of Macaulay,** Vol. XII,[89] the poem "Lays of Ancient Rome," together with its prefaces introducing each separate 'lay' comprises 130 pages of printed text. Previous writers have overlooked the fact that the length of this poem makes it very unlikely, perhaps impossible, that all the "Lays" would have been prescribed to the young Trinitians. In the absence of definite information on this point, therefore, a decision has to be arrived at on the basis of relative probabilities.

Macaulay's "Lays of Ancient Rome" consists of 4 verse narratives ('Lays') viz., "Horatius", "The Battle of the Lake Regillus", "Virginia" and "The Prophecy of Capys". In his general preface to the lays, Macaulay, having described "the process by which the lost ballad-poetry of Rome was transformed into history" (i.e., into prose from the original verse), declared his intention to reverse this process, i. e., to re-transform some portions of early Roman history back into the poetry out of which they were made.[90] In doing so, Macaulay, influenced to some extent by "our own (i.e., traditional English) ballads, and more from Scott, the great restorer of our ballad-poetry"[91] adopted the dramatic **persona** of the medieval **troubadour** or oral teller of tales as well as popular ballad metres, in order to render in verse form the Roman stories that were available to him.

Of the four "Lays of Rome" versified by Macaulay, the first and most important as well as the most popular was "Horatius." This is one of the poems (together with 'A Psalm of Life' and 'Procrastination') that has survived in the school English literature syllabuses in Britain and Sri Lanka upto the mid-20th century. Thus it is probable that it was "Horatius" (of the 4 'Lays of Ancient Rome') that was read by the young Trinitians in the 1860s. However, even then the problem appears to be only partially solved. Even "Horatius" could not possibly have been included in the Trinity College syllabus in its entirety, for in its

complete version the poem contains 70 stanzas, each stanza being (variously) 8,9, or 10 tetrametre lines in length. It is therefore quite likely that only the central dramatic episode of this 'Lay', the part of the poem describing the defence of the bridge by the brave Horatius, and not the the entire poem, was prescribed for study by the schoolboys. This supposition is probably strengthened by the fact that it is this part of the poem that is normally included in popular anthologies of English poetry.

The "central" portion of the poem commences with Stanza XXVIII, beginning with the lines

> Then out spake brave Horatius,
> The Captain of the Gate.....

and continues up to the end of the poem. Since even this section of the poem is probably too long for schoolroom use, being much longer than the other short poems included in the syllabus, it is probable that only a few stanzas beginning with Stanza XXVIII were included.

"Extracts from 'The Spanish Armada", the last item on the Trinity College syllabus, raises two problems: (a) the identification of the poem and (b) the identification of the lines included in the 'Extracts'. Neither problem can be solved definitely in the present state of our knowledge, unless and until an actual textbook used by an old Trinitian of the 1860s comes to light. Problem (a) arises because at least two fairly well-known poems exist on the subject of the Spanish Armada—again, a problem of which no previous writer on English education in colonial Sri Lanka appears to have been aware. Macaulay's poem on the Spanish Armada, an incomplete fragment, is entitled "The Armada——A Fragment" (1832) and consists of 74 lines. Robert Southey is reported to have written a poem entitled "The Spanish Armada", which was unfortunately excluded from his **Poetical Works** (and hence has not been available for consideration in the present study). The Trinity College syllabus refers to the poem as "The Spanish Armada". While the possibility exists that it may have been Southey's poem that was prescribed, it may be presumed that it was Macaulay's poem that was used at Trinity, especially because "Extracts from "The Spanish Armada" occurs immediately after Macaulay's 'Lays of Ancient Rome' on the syllabus. Macaulay's fame and eminence as the author of the famous **Minute on Education** of 2nd October 1835 and therefore as the chief architect of English education in India and Sri Lanka also make it likely that he was the author of the poem, rather than Robert Southey, one of the Lake Poets who were, individually as well as collectively, considered to be **personae non grata** in colonial Sri Lanka for reasons to be indicated below.

The main feature that probably commended Macaulay's incomplete fragment on the Spanish Armada to the educational and administrative authorities in Sri Lanka (presuming that the poem was prescribed in its entirety) was probably its expression of a strong vein of British patriotism. Macaulay at the outset indicates what he wanted to express : the bravery and valour of the British in the face of grave danger from Spain in the form of the Armada:

> Attend, all ye who list to hear our noble England's praise;
> I tell of the thrice famous deeds she wrought in ancient days,
> When that great fleet invincible against her bore in vain
> The richest spoils of Mexico, the stoutest hearts of Spain. (ll. 1–4).

However, Macaulay's greatest qualification for inclusion in the literature syllabus (a unique one that perhaps no other writer possessed at the time) was extra-literary: he was a member of the Board of Education for India at the time and was also the author of the famous **Minute on Indian Education** of 2 February 1835, the document that was instrumental in first formulating a policy of "English Education" in India——as such Lord Macaulay was really the father of English education, both of English language as well as English literature, in the East. In addition to his close connections (administratively) with India, Macaulay was also one of the most prominent English prose-writers and politicians during the Victorian period, and this, in combination with his connections with India, made him an eminently suitable, nay, an essential and indispensable, representative on an English literature syllabus in India or Sri Lanka. Macaulay, in short, was that rare phenomenon: the combination in the same man of a direct formulator of British colonial policy and an eminent man of letters, in addition to his other achievements : he was "a great debater, and enormously well-read, and had a prodigious memory, so that he knew **Paradise Lost** and many other literary classics literally by heart".[92]

(8) **Dr. Samuel Johnson** (1709-84), the famous essayist, lexicographer, editor of Shakespeare, and literary critic, was the only prose writer to appear on a 19th century school English literature syllabus, apart from Lord Bacon, one of whose essays was prescribed for the examination for the Turnour Prize at the Colombo Academy. His oriental prose romance, **Rasselas or the Prince of Abyssinia** (1759) appears as a prescribed text in the course of studies for the Colombo Academy's "senior" students in the 1860s. Again, it cannot now be ascertained whether the entire novel was studied in class, or whether only extracts from it were prescribed, and, if the latter, which specific part or parts.

Rasselas is a highly didactic tale with an ostensibly Oriental (Middle Eastern) setting in which the principal characters search for happiness under the guidance of a sage, only to find in the end that "Human life is everywhere a state in which much is to be endured and little to be enjoyed"——a highly serious, sombre, pessimistic philosophy in keeping with the serious, reflective moral code of the Victorians, especially the Christian missionaries. Dr. Johnson's heavy morality, coupled with the pseudo-Oriental background of Abyssinia would have been sufficient to have recommended it for inclusion in a school English literature syllabus in Sri Lanka.

It is not difficult to see why the more popular and successful 18th and 19th century English novels (there was a great deal of fiction available at this time by Defoe, Richardson, Fielding, Smollett, Sterne, Goldsmith, Fanny Burney, Maria Edgeworth, Jane Austen and Sir Walter Scott) were automatically precluded from selection ——either they erred on the romantic, sentimental side, or contained accounts of "vulgar lower class life" or of roguery (as in Defoe, Fielding, Smollett and Sterne with touches of ribaldry and obscenity) or were too satirical of the governing and or clerical classes to be satisfactory for classroom use. Although, by the middle of the 19th century, Dickens, Thackeray, and George Eliot had emerged as important novelists, their social criticism (especially Dickens' radical criticism of religious missionaries and of the Victorian upper and middle class) would have been unpalatable and dangerous from the point of view of the colonial missionary and administrator stationed in Sri Lanka.

The 19th century novelists' exposure of the evils of Victorian capitalist society was no fit fictional fare for the Sri Lankan schoolboy to feed upon——he had to be given a 'rosy' picture of the civilisation, culture, and living conditions in the mother country (Britain) in the mid-19th century.

Thus, in fiction (as in poetry) the formulators of the English literature syllabuses had perforce to fall back constantly upon the second-rate, mediocre and/or the little known author or to omit certain literary genres (fiction for instance) altogether, for non-literary reasons.

Part III

The English Literature Syllabuses: General Features

An overall survey of the English literature syllabuses used in the most prominent "English Colleges" of early and mid-19th century Sri Lanka brings out several striking features. The most conspicuous feature of the syllabuses is the lack of balance between the three basic genres of literature—Poetry, Fiction and Drama. Most modern school and university English literature syllabuses attempt a more or less equal division into these three categories; the 19th century literature syllabuses, on the other hand, display a striking lack of such balance, a lop-sidedness, with a heavy weightage and bias towards poetry at the expense of fiction and drama. The syllabuses examined above contain no prescribed plays at all, and only one work of fiction, **Rasselas** by Dr. Johnson, a work which is not a 'novel' in the strict sense, but rather a moral treatise masquerading as a novel. While it may be presumed that drama was excluded partly because most plays (especially the Elizabethan plays) are probably too long for classroom study and also cannot be usefully studied in parts (unlike verse), most novels too would have been precluded for the same reasons. In addition to the reasons already indicated, the non-inclusion of fiction in the syllabus may have been due to the antipathy that persisted throughout the early 18th century towards works of fiction.[93]

Poetry appears to have monopolised the English literature syllabuses of 19th century Sri Lankan English Colleges, partly for reasons of convenience (shortness of length) and partly for non-literary reasons. In the selection of specific poems (and extracts from poems), non-literary considerations unfortunately appear to have superseded strictly literary-critical criteria. Looking at the detailed syllabus, one is struck by the fact that none of the poets represented was of recognised "classic" status except Milton; but, as pointed out above, the passage selected from Milton's **Paradise Lost** is one of the most dull, prosaic, unpoetic and "unmiltonic" passages in Book V and perhaps in the whole poem. In most cases, political and religious factors appear to have been considered to be of greater importance in the selection of poems than strictly literary criteria.

The syllabuses obviously raise a very significant question : Why are the major poets of the 18th and early 19th centuries conspicuous by their absence in these syllabuses? Their omission is so glaring and complete as to appear to be the result of deliberate exclusion. Even if Chaucer, Spenser and Shakespeare were excluded for being too remote in time and archaic in their language, the total omission of the great poets of the Restoration and Augustan

periods (John Dryden and Alexander Pope respectively) and after them of the first generation of Romantic poets, (William Blake, William Wordsworth, S. T. Coleridge, Lord Byron, P. B. Shelley and John Keats) could not be so easily explained away.

Although at first sight it may seem that the major Romantic poets were too close in time to have established their poetic reputations, such a line of thought appears erroneous when the poets who **were** included are closely scrutinised. Whereas Blake, Byron, Shelley and Keats all died between 1821 and 1827, Coleridge in 1834 and Wordsworth in 1850, Macaulay died even later (in 1859), W. C. Bryant (author of "To A Waterfowl") in 1878, and H. W. Longfellow (author of 'A Psalm of Life' and 'Excelsior') in 1882. The inclusion of the poems by Bryant and Longfellow suggests that contemporaneity could not have been the main reason for the exclusion of the first generation of Romantic poets and that the crucial operative factors have to be looked for elsewhere — probably in the religious and political beliefs and ideologies of the poets concerned. As already indicated, the American poet W. C. Bryant was widely known to have been influenced by Wordsworth. This poses the question why, if Bryant (and the so-called "pre-Romantics," Edward Young and James Thomson) qualified as "nature" poets, Wordsworth, the acknowledged Nature poet **par excellence** should have been deliberately excluded altogether.

Another strange phenomenon in the syllabus is the total **exclusion** of the Restoration and Augustan poets and the first generation of Romantic poets as against the **inclusion** of two pre-Romantic (i.e., post-Restoration and post-Augustan) poets who lived and wrote **after** the Augustans but **before** the Romantics—James Thomson and Edward Young, whose poems were written in 1730 and 1742 respectively. Again, no conceivable reason except the possibility that Thomson and Young were considered harmless and unobjectionable from the religious and political points of view compared to the Restoration, Augustan and Romantic poets could be adduced to explain the choice of the makers of the syllabuses.

Yet another amazing feature of the selection of poetry texts is the inclusion of two **American** Victorian writers W. C. Bryant (1794-1878) and H. W. Longfellow (1807–1882) in preference to British Victorian poets who were contemporaneous with them, especially Lord Tennyson (1809–1892) and Robert Browning (1812–1889). The real reason for the exclusion of Tennyson and Browning may have been their expression, through their poetry, of religious doubt, scepticism, and wavering faith in God and religion. Considering the fact that most of Tennyson's poems were published in collections as early as 1830, 1833 and 1842 and that he was appointed Poet Laureate in 1850 on the death of Wordsworth, no other cogent reasons could be offered for the exclusion of Tennyson, whatever reasons there may have been for the non-inclusion of Browning.

Thus the English literature syllabus used in Sri Lanka in the late 19th century appears to have been a lop-sided and idiosyncratic selection which deliberately brushed aside all the important Restoration, Augustan, Romantic and Victorian English poets, gave undeserved prominence to two minor English pre-Romantics, (Thomson and Young), to two undistinguished American poets (Bryant and Longfellow) and to the little-known poet Macaulay (Macaulay the prose-writer, of course, was admittedly more distinguished).

The most important Restoration poet, John Dryden (1631–1700) and the most important Augustan poet, Alexander Pope (1688–1744) do not appear to have been looked upon with much favour by the religious and administrative "establishment" in Victorian Sri Lanka. It is probable that in their view Dryden had committed an unpardonable sin in supporting Oliver Cromwell's republicanism in writing the early poem entitled "Heroic Stanzas on the Death of Oliver Cromwell" (1659) just a few months before the restoration of Charles II in 1660 where he eulogised Cromwell, "Our Prince", as a man who "derived his grandeur from Heav'n alone" (stanza 6) asserting also that "to our crown he did fresh jewels bring" (stanza 7). This poetic 'miscalculation' was a fatal indiscretion which remained a permanent blot upon the first page of Dryden's collected poems. As if the panegyric on Cromwell was not enough to damn him, Dryden had into the bargain cast himself into the wilderness by engaging in sly satiric digs at the merry monarch Charles II (through the character of David in **Absalom and Achitophel** (1681) and in attacking priestcraft and monogamy in such lines as the following:

> In pious times, ere priestcraft did begin,
> Before polygamy was made a sin,
> When man on many multiplied his kind,
> Ere one to one was cursedly confined,.....
> When nature prompted and no law denied
> Promiscuous use of concubine and bride,
> Then Israel's Monarch after heaven's own heart
> His vigorous warmth did variously impart
> To wives and slaves, and, wide as his command,
> Scattered his maker's image through the land.
>
> (Absalom and Achitophel, ll. 1–10)

One could picture in one's imagination the prim, modest, serious Christian missionaries and administrators including the Governor shaking their heads at the author of such obscenities, blasphemies and seditious sentiments! The fact that Dryden had become a Roman Catholic in 1686 and had then been obliged to relinquish his position as Poet Laureate and Historiographer Royal with the accession of William of Orange and the restoration of the Protestant succession (after the Roman Catholic James II) in 1688, his religious scepticism, and anti-clericalism could hardly have helped to make Dryden a pet of the Sri Lankan establishment and to give him a place in the English literature syllabus. Nor did Dryden's poem **The Hind and the Panther** (1687), a verse fable satirising both sides in the religious controversy between the Roman Catholic church and the Established Church improve his plight: he had in fact antagonised both the Catholics and the Established church by writing that poem.

Alexander Pope (1688–1744) was probably considered not better than Dryden as a candidate for representation on the literature syllabus by the missionaries and the bureaucrats in power during the 19th century in Sri Lanka. Pope, like Dryden, was a Roman Catholic at a time when Catholics in England still suffered civil disabilities. Though a dominant poetic figure among the Augustans, Pope's optimistic deism (as expressed in **The Essay on Man**) and his almost Swiftian contempt for his fellows in his satirical poetry would have made him

a bad choice for inclusion in a colonial literature syllabus, the teaching of which would invariably have been in the hands of clergymen-teachers of the Established Church.

What were the principal charges against the first generation of English Romantic poets? Without doubt, they were all highly suspect, and considered 'undesirable' to say the least, on two counts, one religious and the other political. William Blake, the eldest of the first generation of Romantics, was a rebel and visionary who was "completely at odds with all the official doctrines of his time, theological, political and aesthetic."[94]

William Wordsworth, the greatest of the Romantic poets, at least "for a brief but important period probably deemed himself a deist."[95] Coleridge had described Wordsworth in 1796 as "at least a semi-atheist."[96] According to Fairchild, "We may infer that Wordsworth was heterodox at this time."[97] In **Tintern Abbey** Wordsworth had declared himself "a worshipper of Nature" (l. 152). Nature in fact was "the only God Wordsworth knew at this time,"[98] and the words "pantheism," "panantheism," and "pansychism" have been used by critics to characterise the nature of Wordsworth's religious belief and to distinguish it from orthodox Christianity.

"The Sage of Highgate," S. T. Coleridge, Wordsworth's chief comrade-in-arms, too, was suspect with regard to his religious beliefs. He had sinned by "decrying an anthromorphic conception of God wherever it may be found"[99]; his concept of God as a "spirit" rather than a being with anthropomorphic features could not be accommodated within the ambit of accepted orthodox Christianity.[100] Moreover, Coleridge had predicted that "The age of priesthood will soon be no more,"[101] in one of his essays.

Shelley differs from Wordsworth and Coleridge in explicitly denying that he is a Christian.[102] He had become notorious for his attacks on Christianity in his pamphlet **The Necessity of Atheism** (co-authored by him with his friend Thomas Hogg, for which both friends were expelled from Oxford University in 1811). **The Necessity of Atheism** was "almost the first in England openly to champion atheism."[103] Moreover, Shelley had attacked the priesthood vehemently in one of his earliest poems, **Queen Mab** (1813),[104] thus enraging and antagonising the missionaries both in Britain and in Sri Lanka. In **Queen Mab,** the fairy queen declares unequivocally: "There is no God!" (Canto VII); in the same Canto, Ahasuerus the Wandering Jew attacks the Almighty. Clearly, lines like the following in **Queen Mab** could hardly have made Shelley a favourite of the Christian missionaries:

(1) A cowled and hypocritical monk
Prays, curses, and deceives. (Canto II)

(2) Let priest-led slaves cease to proclaim that man
Inherits vice and misery (Canto IV).

(3) But for thy aid,
Religion! But for thee, prolific fiend,
Who peoplest earth with demons, hell with men,
And heaven with slaves (Canto VI).

Again, in the **Ode to Liberty** Shelley had made himself the sworn enemy of the missionaries by his fond wish expressed in the lines

> O that the pale name of PRIEST might shrink and dwindle
> Into the hell from which it first was hurled (stanza xvi).

In the same **Ode** he refers to "Anarchs and priests who feed on gold and blood" (stanza iii) who "drove the astonished herds of men from every side" and hankers after a time when "the free would stamp the impious name/Of "king" into the dust" (stanza xv). Thus, Shelley's exclusion from the college English literature syllabus was assured, in fact a foregone conclusion; his name probably led all the rest among the sceptics and atheists.

Byron, close friend of Shelley, also believed in a kind of pantheism or "nature worship."[105] In his letters he attacked "the scoundrels and priests, who do more harm to religion than all the infidels that ever forgot their catechisms!"[106] Unlike Shelley, however, Byron did not attack Christianity or God openly; nevertheless, he too was hardly a favourite of the establishment, for "he was a doubter who found no satisfaction in his doubts.....Sentimental deism was the only positive form of belief to which he could lay claim." On one occasion Byron had confessed: "The more I think the more I doubt; I am a perfect sceptic."[107]

John Keats, like Shelley, "was an avowed non-Christian,"[108] though he, too, like Byron, never attacked Christianity or its priesthood directly in his poetry.

In their old age, however, all except Shelley and Keats became orthodox believers, but such late conversions would not have sufficed to compensate for their youthful 'indiscretions' in the eyes of the missionaries.

From the administrative aspect, too, almost every important Romantic poet was a **persona non grata** in colonial Sri Lanka, for they had either attacked the royalty and the nobility in their poetry, or were (politically) supporters of radicalism, revolution, and Jacobinism, and either supported or sympathised with the French Revolution. As Crane Brinton has shown, "Almost to a man, the English romanticists were actively interested in politics."[109] When the "first generation of revolt" comprising Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey first began to write, "they were all Jacobins of one shade or another," although, "by the time they had entered old age they had become unmistakable Tories."[110]

Details about Wordsworth's long residence in France, his connection with the patriot Beaupuy, his undisguised sympathy for the French Revolution and his stay in London as a disciple of William Godwin, the celebrated author of **Political Justice** (1793), that Bible of Anarchism, are well known.[111] Wordsworth's comrade, Coleridge, held similar views and soon after leaving Jesus College, Cambridge, wrote for the **Morning Chronicle** "a series of sonnets which are filled with the idiom of sentimental radicalism." Next Coleridge was found in Bristol, editing **The Watchman,** "a journal that seemed to the sober citizens of Bristol dangerously revolutionary."[112] It was here that the great scheme of "Pantisocracy" was worked out by Coleridge and Southey——a project for forming a small communist society

in America on the banks of the Susquehanna.[113] From all this, concludes Crane Brinton, "Coleridge has a definite revolutionary belief."[114] All this, no doubt, did not escape the attention of the educational authorities in 19th century Sri Lanka.

To the second generation of Romantic revolt belonged Byron and Shelley. Though of aristocratic birth, "Byron from the first was the friend of the poor and downtrodden;"[115] he was a humanitarian, if not a radical revolutionary. Byron believed that "Kings oppress; therefore republics do not."[116] According to Brinton, he was "as bitter against kings as any Jacobin, (though) not equally bitter against the nobility."[117] "The truth is, he was in all things a son of the Revolution,"[118] concludes Crane Brinton.

As many critics including Brinton have pointed out, Shelley's political ideas were taken over almost intact from his would-be father-in-law, William Godwin, that high priest of anarchism and author of **An Enquiry Concerning Political Justice** published a few years after the French Revolution in 1793. Almost all the principal ideas of Godwin are expressed by Shelley in his early Utopian poem **Queen Mab** (1813). **Queen Mab** was a condemnation not only of Jehovah and Christianity, but also of the entire capitalistic economic and adminstrative system in its savage attacks on kings, nobles, administrators, priests and judges. Anticipating socialists of a later Marxist vintage, Shelley wrote: "There is no wealth but the labour of man."[119] Shelley's ferocious attacks on the use and abuse of hereditary power, his contempt for the capitalist classes, his concern for the downtrodden, his conviction that labour alone constitutes wealth, all justify his later adoption by leaders of the socialist movement as one of their inspirers. Shelley was really a pre-Marxist radical humanitarian, although he did not advocate at any time violent revolution and insurrection to capture state power. Karl Marx himself recognised Shelley as one of his predecessors in socialist thought when he said that "he (Shelley) was a revolutionist and had he lived (he) would always have been one of the advance guard of socialism."[120] Bernard Shaw, likewise, paid a tribute to Shelley, declaring:"Had Shelley lived fifty years later, he would have been a Social-Democrat with strong leanings toward the most democratic communism attainable and practically workable."[121]

P. B. Shelley, the self-declared atheist and social revolutionary was therefore the last person to have been included in an anthology of poetry for impressionable young schoolboys in a loyal British colony like Sri Lanka in the 19th century. It is probable that Shelley was kept out not only from the English literature syllabus of English colleges but even from the school libraries.[122]

Part IV

Methods of Teaching English Literature in 19th Century Schools in Sri Lanka

The chief method of teaching English literature in the English colleges of Sri Lanka in the 19th century appears to have been the memorisation of the prescribed texts especially in the case of poetry. Even in Indian colleges at this time, "all that was expected of students was an accurate memory."[123] The memorisation of the poems prescribed (or the more

important parts of them, if the poems happened to be too long for memorisation in full), was followed by the constant repetition of them, as was done almost till the middle of the 20th century. V. L. O. Reimann described the manner in which English language and literature were taught at Trinity College, Kandy in the second half of the 19th century as follows: "Much poetry had to be memorised and recited."[124] Even passages of prose appear to have been committed to memory: "Passages from Macaulay were read and had to be reproduced."[125] Memorisation was probably accompanied by paraphrase or explanation of the meanings of sentences and constructions, for (again at Trinity) "Lines from **Paradise Lost** (were) paraphrased.[126] It is probable that the method of memorisation was found to be the most practical in a colonial context where the pupils were taught through the medium of an alien tongue; as Ludowyk pointed out, "The curriculum was quite unsuited to Ceylon, and needless repetition was resorted to by the pupil in order to grasp the unfamiliar content of what was placed before him."[127]

Much time appears to have been spent on teaching the pupils the correct use of the English language—i.e., on the teaching of grammar and composition. "English Composition," it would have been noted, appears as one of the components of the syllabus (in most of the lower classes, it was the **only** element). Thus at Trinity College, "A great deal of time was spent in the teaching of correct English.....Each week an essay was written and this was ruthlessly criticised on the following Monday morning. The students were even expected to attempt English verse, not to make them poets, but to teach them how to select words, the meaning and power of words, the dignity and style and the music of well-accented prose."[128] James de Alwis described the methods of teaching used by Mr. Dupy, whose private school he attended in 1830: "So very careful was (Mr. Dupy) to make me pronounce my words correctly, and with the proper emphasis, that he actually made me repeat after him each word some twenty times."[129]

Concluding Remarks

The foregoing discussion has brought out some of the characteristic features of British colonialist policy as it was applied through education and educational institutions in 19th century Sri Lanka and probably in other British colonies like India, Malaya and Burma during the same period. It shows clearly how educational principles had perforce to be sacrificed to political and administrative expediency and how, as a result, the missionary control of education in colonial societies led to the suppression of true literary merit. This in turn led inevitably to the unmerited elevation of mediocre poets to prominent places on the school curriculum, ultimately resulting in non-representative, lop-sided, badly selected, and unsatisfactory English literature syllabuses from a modern point of view.

From the evidence presented in the present paper, the conclusion that the 19th century English literature syllabuses used in the most prominent "English Colleges" in Sri Lanka were drawn up less in accordance with literary criteria than with non-literary ones is inescapable. To be included in the literature syllabus at this time a poem or other literary work and its author above everything else had to possess certain "negative" qualifications like religious orthodoxy, a tendency towards heavy and conventional moralisation, political conformism

and a strong sense of patriotism towards the mother-country (Britain); proven literary merit was only a secondary consideration. To be on the safe side, writers who were suspected of religious heterodoxy (like Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron), belonged to sects other than the Established Church (Dryden, Pope), or guilty of atheism (Shelley, Keats) were automatically excluded despite their literary merit and reputation. Attacking the monarchy or the priesthood were, needless to mention, capital offences. Similarly, authors who criticised or attacked the prevailing capitalist economic and administrative system (like Shelley) were also carefully excluded.

On the positive side, in keeping with the Victorian doctrines of "self-help" and **laissez-faire,** and the idea of "character-building," a poem was considered suitable for school use if it had a clear didactic, moralistic content, a pointed lesson or moral. The particular circumstances of the crown colony status of Sri Lanka at the time also made it desirable that the items included in the literature syllabus be expressive of loyalty to the mother country, and if possible, contain some eulogisation of the "greatness" and "benevolence" of Britain towards her colonies.

From the modern point of view, therefore, the "English literature" syllabuses used in 19th century "English Colleges" were highly unsatisfactory and unsuitable for the purpose of inculcating a wide knowledge of English literature, its history, and landmarks, or imparting a rigorous training in the principles of literary criticism. It would have been surprising if such had not been the case, in view of the principles of selection (or lack of them) that operated in the compiling of the syllabuses. As has been shown already, the great landmarks of English literature as well as some of the greatest creative writers in English find no place on these syllabuses. These "English Literature" syllabuses appear to us today to have been only one of the many methods and devices used in Sri Lanka (and other former British crown colonies like India) by the imperialists to produce in their colonies "a class of persons (Sri Lankan) in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect,"[130] in the words of one of the authors represented in these syllabuses, Lord T. B. Macaulay.

To sum up: the precedence accorded to non-literary criteria over literary criteria in the preparation of the literature syllabuses resulted in the following glaring defects in the literature curricula: (1) the syllabus was ludicrously lop-sided, consisting almost exlusively of poetry, drama and fiction being meagrely represented, if at all; (2) the syllabus did not cover systematially the various periods of English literature, or include the reading of some at least of the main landmarks of English literature; (3) the "classic" writers of English literature were conspicuous by their absence, the most prominent places in the syllabus being given either to mediocre poets and poems, or to unimportant works by reputable writers (cf. the selections from Milton and Macaulay); (4) the preference of mediocre American poets over the great English Augustan, Romantic and Victorian poets added insult to injury and became tantamount to the abandonment of all critical standards; and (5) the relevance of the selections to a specifically Sri Lankan (or at least an Oriental) context was disregarded, except perhaps in the case of **Rasselas.**[131]

It is evident that such an unsatisfactory literature syllabus as the one described above could not have contributed in a significant way towards the production either of good scholars and critics of English literature, or of good creative writers in the English medium. The consequences of the use of such unimaginative syllabuses are reflected in the poverty and paucity of both English literary studies as well as good creative works in English during the 19th century in Sri Lanka.

Appendix

This appendix contains the texts of two poems prescribed in the English literature syllabus which are now relatively unaccessible to the ordinary reader.

(a) W. C. Bryant : **"To a Waterfowl"** (1818)

Whither, midst falling dew,
While glow the heavens with the last steps of day,
Far, through their rosy depths, dost thou pursue
Thy solitary way?

Vainly the fowler's eye
Might mark thy distant flight to do thee wrong,
As, darkly painted on the crimson sky,
Thy figure floats along.

Seek'st thou the plashy brink
Of weedy lake, or marge of river wide,
Or where the rocking billows rise and sink
On the chafed ocean-side?

There is a Power whose care
Teaches thy way along that pathless coast—
The desert and illimitable air—
Lone wandering, but not lost

He who, from zone to zone,
Guides through the boundless sky thy certain flight,
In the long way that I must tread alone,
Will lead my steps aright.

(b) James Grahame: **"Paul Before Agrippa"** (1808)

The judge ascended to the judgement–seat;
Amid a gleam of spears the apostle stood;
Dauntless, he forward came; and look'd around,
And raised his voice, at first, in accent low,
Yet clear; a whisper spread among the throng:
So when the thunder mutters, still the breeze
Is heard, at times, to sigh; but when the peal
Tremendous, louder rolls, a silence dead
Succeeds each pause, moveless the aspen leaf.
Thus fix'd, and motionless, the listening band
Of soldiers forward lean'd, as from the men,
Inspired of God, truth's awful thunders roll'd.
No more he feels, upon his high-raised arm,
The pondrous chain, than does the playful child
The bracelet, form'd of many a flowery link.
Heedless of self, forgetful that his life
Is now to be defended by his words;
He only thinks of doing good to them
Who seek his life; and, while he reasons high
Of justice, temperance, and the life to come,
The judge shrinks trembling at the prisoner's voice.

* * * * * * *

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42. See fn. 23 above.
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93. For example, at Trinity College, Kandy, in the 1860s, "Works of fiction—seem to have been carefully excluded (from the school library), due perhaps to the rigid old-world ideas of the giants of those days." Reimann, **op. cit.,** p. 21. Dandris de Silva Gunaratne wrote an article on Dickens in **Young Ceylon,** Vol. 1, No. 9, Oct. 1850 where he referred to the contemporary period as a time when "not a few condemn the practice of reading novels as pernicious and prejudicial to sound morals and a healthy intellect."
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114. **Ibid.,** p. 70.
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121. Bernard Shaw, "Shaming the Devil About Shelley" in **Pen Portraits and Reviews,** quoted in R. A. Duerksen, **Shelleyan Ideas in Victorian Literature,** Mouton & Co., The Hague, 1966, p. 172.

122. Despite all this, however, Shelley's poetry was not totally inaccessible to Sri Lankan schoolboys in the colonial era. For example, Anagarika Dharmapala not only read Shelley but also became one of the latter's most fervent disciples after reading "an old copy of Shelley's poems" which he found accidentally in his uncle's house. For details, see the paper mentioned in fn. 104 above.

123. M. Edwardes, **op. cit.,** p. 243.

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125. **Ibid.**

126. **Ibid.**

127. E. F. C. Ludowyk, **The Story of Ceylon,** London, 1967, p. 219.

128. Reimann, **op. cit.,** p. 73.

129. James de Alwis, **Memoirs and Desultory Writings,** Ed. A. C. Seneviratne, Colombo, 1939, p. 3.

130. Thomas Macaulay, "Minute on Education," 2 Feb. 1835.

131. Dr. Samuel Johnson's **Rasselas,** though described as an 'Oriental Romance,' has nothing except a few proper names like 'Imlac,' to make it appear "Oriental"; it was probably selected over other prose works for its heavy moralistic tone and content rather than for its 'Oriental' features.

ADOPTION OF NEW VARIETIES BY RUBBER SMALLHOLDERS IN SRI LANKA: TRENDS, PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

H. M. G. Herath

INTRODUCTION

The development of new varieties of plants with higher yield potential is a major achievement in agriculture in the past few decades. These developments have been more outstanding successes in annual crops such as rice and wheat than among the perennial crops where such developments are intrinsically difficult due to the long term nature of the crop. Nevertheless new high yielding varieties (clones) have been reported in tea, rubber, coconut and a few others. The adoption of these new varieties is important to enhance crop productivity. Adoption, unlike development of varieties which is purely a technical phenomenon is a complex social phenomenon. Adoption is influenced by many agronomic, social, institutional and economic factors. The influence of some of these factors may sometimes be so overwhelming that they may thwart the efforts made in developing new varieties. The objectives of this paper are (a) to examine the pattern of varietal development by the Rubber Research Institute of Sri Lanka (RRISL) (b) to examine the adoption of such varieties and (c) to examine the factors that influence adoption.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT OF RUBBER CLONES IN SRI LANKA

The Rubber Research Institute of Sri Lanka (RRISL) has invested considerable effort in developing new clones of rubber. Early efforts in producing improved clones of rubber basically involved selection and multiplication of outstanding clones, to be used particularly in estates. Such improvements were attempted from 1939 to 1945. Only a very few selections were made during this period such as Millakande 2/3, Wagga 6278 and Hillcroft 28. A few selections made in other countries such as PB 86, PB 26 and PR 107 were also introduced (Fernando, 1973). These introduced materials and local varieties were crossed to yield several clones such as RRIC 36 (Parentage PB 86 X PR 107) and RRIC 45 (Parentage RRIC 8 X Tjirl) whose yield potential was considered satisfactory. RRIC 7 was another variety developed during this period. Approximately 75 selections were distributed to estates during 1954–70 period for budwood. The main objective of selection and breeding during this period was high yields.

The breeding efforts since 1955 were directed towards producing clones which are resistant to diseases such as Oidium and reduced immaturity period. Oidium was widely prevalent during that time. Reduced immaturity period provided an opportunity for farmers to obtain early incomes from rubber. RRIC 52 emerged as a variety resistant to Oidium. However, the yield potential of this variety was low. Hence during the second phase of the breeding programme, RRIC 52 was crossed with other clones such as PB 86 and RRIC 7 to develop clones with high yield potential and disease resistance. These efforts yielded clones such as RRIC 100 (parentage RRIC 52 X PB 86) and RRIC 101 (parentage Ch 26 X RRIC 7), RRIC 102 and RRIC 103. These clones are more disease resistant, more vigorous and also showed early high yields compared to PB 86 in trials (Table 1). Experiments have further revealed that RRIC 100 and 103 reach tappable girth within 4-5 years of age which is about one year before that of PB 86 (Chandrasekera, 1971, 1974; Fernando 1977a, 1977b; Fernando et. al., 1982).

The yield data given in Table 1 show the yield performance of RRIC 100 series clones at the experimental stage. Obviously, the mean yields of the RRIC 100 series clones are higher than that of RRIM 623 and PB 86, ranging from 198 to 1084 kgs/ha/yr during the 2nd year to 9th year of tapping. Similar trends can be observed in the comparative yield data given elsewhere (see Annual review of the RRISL for the years 1979–1982.)

After adequate experimentation, the RRISL recommended new hundred series varieties (RRIC 100, RRIC 101, RRIC 102, RRIC 103) for large scale adoption both by estates and smallholders, in 1973. The RRISL recommended that RRIC 100, can be planted in areas upto 300 meters from sea level and RRIC 102 and 103 in areas upto 600 meters from sea level (Jayasekera and Fernando, 1981). The institute has recommended RRIC 100, 102 and 103 for large scale (more than 10 acres) planting and RRIC 102, 103 for smallholdings below 10 acres.

ADOPTION OF RUBBER CLONES

Since 1981, the World Bank has sponsored a smallholder Rubber Rehabilitation Project in Sri Lanka. The main objective of this project is to promote the replaning programme and improve smallholder processing standards. All rubber holders having less than 50 acres are classified as smallholders in this project. The project covers three administrative districts in Sri Lanka, namely: the Ratnapura, Kalutara and Kegalle districts. These three districts represent the best rubber growing districts in the country accounting for 68 percent of the country's total rubber acreage. The pattern of adoption was examined by conducting a field survey in these districts to gather information through questionnaire based interviews from a selected sample of smallholders. One hunderd smallholders were selected from each of the above districts using multistage random sampling procedure. In the first stage ten Grama Sevaka divisions were selected from each district with probability proportional to size. In the second stage ten villages, one from each Grama Sevaka division was selected. In the final stage, 100 smallholders (10 from each village) were selected randomly. This sampling method thus gave a total of 300 farmers for the three districts. The pattern of adoption was examined by districts using this sample.

The level of adoption of specific clones of rubber (PB 86, RRIC series) or broad groups (seedlings, budded etc.) is given in Tables 2, 3, 4 for the Ratnapura, Kalutara and Kegalle districts respectively. Table 2 shows that 60.6 percent of the rubber acreage in the Ratnapura district is under PB 86. The area under other specific RRIC clones is extremely low being 2.4 and 1.1 for RRIC 45 and RRIC 100 respectively. The broad rubber categories, clonal, seedling and unidentified budded varieties comprised 19.3, 10.0 and 6.2 percent respectively. The adoption pattern in the Kalutara district given in Table 3 provides a similar picture. PB 86 occupies 58.8 percent of the area while RRIC 45 and RRIC 52 occupies 3.0 and 0.9 percent of the acreage which is extremely small. Clonal, seedlings and unidentified budded varieties comprised 20.9 ,8.3 and 8.1 percent of the area respectively. Table 4 indicates the adoption pattern of the different rubber varieties in the Kegalle district. Even here PB 86 occupies 66.0 percent of the area and RRIC 45, RRIC 52 and RRIC 37 occupy 11.5, 1.3 and 1.1 percent of the area. The area under RRIC varieties in Kegalle is slightly encouraging. It is higher than clonal, seedlings and unidentified budded varieties which comprised 8.4, 5.4 and 6.3 percent of the area respectively.

A better insight into the most recent trends in varietal adoption can be obtained by examining the composition of immature rubber. The composition of rubber which is less than seven years old is given in Tables 5, 6 and 7 for the Ratnapura, Kalutara and Kegalle districts respectively. Table 5 shows that the percentage of PB 86 in this category of rubber in Ratnapura District, is even higher than that seen earlier. Nearly 80.0 percent of the less than 7 years old rubber in this district is PB 86. Another clear trend observed is the total lack of clonal and seedling rubber in young plantings. These came next to PB 86 when the total rubber area is considered. Also the unidentified budded rubber has increased to 17.8 percent of total immature area. The extent of RRIC varieties is again very low with 0.7 and 2.0 percent of RRIC 45 and RRIC 100 respectively. The pattern observed for immature rubber in the Kalutara district appears to be similar to what was observed for Ratnapura. PB 86 accounts for 82.3 percent of the acreage and most of the rest is occupied by unidentified budded rubber comprising 14.0 percent of acreage. Clonal and seedling rubber each comprised only 1.7 percent of the acreage: With respect to RRIC varieties it is again a dismal picture with RRIC 45 being the only variety observed occupying 0.3 percent of the total area. The trends observed in the Kegalle district with respect to immature rubber are very similar to the other two districts. PB 86 accounted for 86.3 percent of the acreage. Clonal rubber was totally absent and seedling rubber accounted for a very low 1.5 percen t of acreage. Unidentified budded rubber comprised 9.2 percent of the acreage which has recorded an increase. RRIC varieties however, were again low with RRIC 45 and RRIC 52 comprising 1.0 and 2.0 percent of immature acreage respectively.

The foregoing discussion indicated that Pb 86 dominated the rubber industry in Sri Lanka with clonal, seedlings and unidentified budded rubber coming next in descending order. In terms of actual adoption, the impact of the RRIC varieties on the industry does not appear to be very high. Recent replantings indicate even a stronger perference for PB 86 with unidentified budded clones coming second. A notable feature in recent replantings is the almost total absence of clonal or seedling rubber which is a welcome trend.

The trends observed above for the smallholders are consistent with the results obtained in other studies (CDC, Vol, IV, 1979; Gunewardene, 1980, Jayasena & Herath, 1984). The adoption rates given for estates (50 acres and above) are also similar to the present trends. However, one difference observed in the estate sector is the lower percentage area under seedling rubber (CDC, Vo. III, 1979).

The poor performance observed in terms of adoption of new RRIC varieties may be due to a number of factors. In general, farm size, extension service, land tenure, efficiency of delivery services etc, influence the level of adoption. The importance of some of these factors is examined in the following sections.

FARM SIZE AND ADOPTION

The size of holding (farm size) has been found to be an important factor governing the level of adoption of innovations. Many farmers with smaller holdings have lagged behind in adopting innovations whilst farmers with larger holdings have been quick to adopt such innovations. Thus a positive relationship between holding size and adoption of innovations is generally observed in food crops such as paddy (Chinnappa, 1977; Harris, 1977; Feder and

O'mara 1981; IRRI, 1975). However, this argument is not always true. Most other studies have found no such relationship (ARTI, 1974 and 1975). As far as plantation crops are concerned, a negative or positive relationship between holding size and adoption of innovations has not been widely observed. In this section the relationship between holding size and adoption of improved rubber clones is examined.

The data presented in Table 2, indicate that for the Ratnapura district adoption across different farm sizes reveal no clearly discernible relationship. The adoption of RRIC clones whilst being extremely low reveals a weak positive relationship with farm size in that the extent planted to them increases with increase in farm size. For Kalutara district again no particular trend in adoption with farm size is discernible, In the Kegalle district, the adoption of PB 86 does not show any clear relationship with farm size. However, clonal, seedlings, and unidentified budded clones show a clear inverse relationship with farm size. The adoption of RRIC varieties appeared to be positively related to farm size in the Kegalle district. Larger sized farmers appeared to have planted a larger percentage of their rubber land to RRIC clones.

Even in the plantations which are less than seven years old no particular trend in adoption of improved clones with farm size is noticeable for the Ratnapura District as well as for the Kalutara District. No particular relationship between adoption of improved clones and farm size is discernible. For Kegalle the data indicate a positive relationship between the percentage of PB 86 and farm size. Larger sized farms had a higher percentage of their rubber under PB 86. An inverse relationship between the percentage of unidentified budde and farm size was noted for the Kegalle district.

The examination of adoption of the different rubber clones by farm size revealed no strong relationship with farm size. Most farm sizes including even the very small ones such as the less than 1.0 acre group had a considerable acreage under PB 86 and the proportions are not vastly different in the different size groups. The strong positive correlations between farm size and adoption of new innovations observed in most previous studies on adoption is due mainly to the higher incomes obtained by large sized farms. The availability of the subsidy for rubber replanting in Sri Lanka which covers most of the replanting costs may have to some extent neutralized the effect of farm size thereby weakening the positive relationship observed in other contexts. Thus size of holding does not appear to have significantly affected adoption.

EXTENSION SERVICES AND ADOPTION

The adoption process is generally classified into five stages by extension specialists (Rogers, 1971; Mosher, 1978). These are awareness, interest, evaluation, trial and adoption or rejection. The extension service creates farmer's awareness which is a preliminary for adoption of innovations. A low level of awareness is a hindrance to the modernisation process, It is thus appropriate to examine the role of the institutional and non-institutional information sources in knowledge transfer. If successful adoption of new technologies is to take place, information regarding the availability of new technology must be effectively communicated to the farmers. The different methods of communication of information on rubber clones is given in Table 8. Table 8 shows that the rubber extension officer (REO) has been the source of information for 48.0, 49.5 and 53.8 percent of the farmers in the Ratnapura, Kalutara and

Kegalle districts respectively. Neighbouring farmers have been the source of information for 40.0, 37.8 and 31.9 percent of farmers in the Ratnapura, Kalutara and Kegalle districts respectively.

Advisory leaflets have been used as a source of information by 11.0, 17.1 and 13.2 percent of the farmers in Ratnapura, Kalutara and Kegalle districts respectively. The data thus reveals that nearly 40.0 percent of the farmers in each district do not receive information from any recognised institutional information source. The quality and the effectiveness of information obtained from neighbouring farmers is poor and cannot be relied upon. The use of the printed word is limited due to the limited literary levels of most farmers. There appears a serious extension gap which needs to be corrected.

The seriousness of the extension gap could be better understood by examining the level of awareness. Information on the level of awareness of specific clones is presented in Table 9. PB 86 was known by all farmers in all three districts. The percent awareness of the RRIC series is quite low. RRIC 45 was known by 5.4 percent of the farmers in the Ratnapura district which is very small. In the Kalutara and Kegalle districts 18.3 and 16.4 percent of farmers respectively were aware of RRIC 45.

Approximately 3.2, 5.7 and 5.8 percent of farmers in the Ratnapura, Kalutara and Kegalle districts respectively are aware of RRIC 52. RRIC 100 was known by less than 4 percent of farmers in all three districts. RRIC 101 was known by only 3.2 percent of the farmers in the Ratnapura ditrict. No farmer in the Kalutara district where RRISL is located is aware of RRIC 101. The level of awareness of RRIC 45 in these two districts is higher than that of Ratnapura. It is interesting to note that the level of awareness of specific varieties is higher among the farmers who owned larger holdings between 4–50 acres (Jayasene & Herath, 1984). This may be due to several reasons such as better extension contacts, exposure to mass media or other information sources, higher level of education of those farmers and their personal interest to grow high yielding clones with the hope of maximising profit.

The extension system also influences the attitude of rubber smallholders. Information may be perceived by people in different ways. These perceptions govern attitudes towards the relative merits of the different varieties which in turn determine their adoption decision. Table 10 presents data on the attitudes of farmers of the suitability of the different rubber varieties to their areas. The data show that 88.0, 97.6 and 96.0 percent of the farmers in the Ratnapura, Kalutara and Kegalle districts respectively indicated PB 86 to be the suitable variety for their areas. All other varieties pale into insignificance. RRIC 52 was considered suitable by about 1 percent of farmers in the Kegalle district. RRIC 45 was considered suitable by 1.25 percent of farmers in the Kalutara district and none in both Ratnapura and Kegalle. Most farmers felt RRIC 45 to be low yielding. Any specific suitability of the RRIC 100 series was reported by less than 2 percent of farmers in the Ratnapura district. RRIC series was not considered suitable by any farmer in the Kalutara and Kegalle districts. This is again intriguing since RRIC 101, 102 and 103 have been recommended for these districts by the RRISL.

The popularity of PB 86 was further investigated by examining the response of farmers to specific factors used in the choice of a clone for future planting (Jayasena & Herath, 1984). The data showed that high yield was the predominant reason for the preference or PB 86 by majority

of the farmers. Nearly 82.3, 83.1 and 93.1 percent of farmers in the Ratnapura, Kalutara and Kegalle districts cited high yield as a factor in choosing PB 86 over any RRIC clone except one farmer in the kegalle district. This is contrary to the results and recommendations of the RRISL which reported the RRIC clones to be higher yielders than PB 86. It is worth pointing out here that the higher yields of RRIC varieties as claimed by the RRISL are obtained in their experimental trials. These trials are kept at high standards of management and whether they will give the same yields under field conditions is not clear. Resistance to disease was reported as the second reason for selection of PB 86 by 16.1, 16.9 and 22.4 percent of farmers farmers in the Ratnapura, Kalutara and Kegalle districts respectively. It is worth noting that excepting one farmer in the Kegalle district no farmer considered disease resistance as a factor in any RRIC clones for their planting in the future. The attitudes indicated above by the farmers appear to be heavily loaded against the RRIC clones. This may be due to lack of awareness, knowledge and experience of farmers of the performance of the new clones. This tituation has badly affected the adoption rate of the RRIC clones.

The causal link is now very clear. There is a low level of institutional extension involvement which has created a low level of awareness of the RRIC varieties among farmers. Thus the attitudes of farmers have not changed. They still belive PB 86 which was introduced in the 1940's to be superior. Obviously the extension area appears to be the weakest link in the adoption chain. An intriguing question however is why the level of awareness of the RRIC clones is so low although 50 percent of the farmers still receive extension advice from institutional sources. Investigations revealed that most extension contact is geared to administrative tasks related to subsidy inspections, payment etc., rather than to disseminate information on modern techniques and clones available. Extension officers are expected to carry out all work connected with subsidy payments. This involves inspections, working out quantum of subsidies, visiting regional offices in connection with the processing of papers. This is time consuming and the thin spread of extension service exacerbates the problem further. Table 11 indicates that the principal reason for extension officers, visits to the field is for matters connected with subsidy payments which takes up most of their time basically for administration. Thus the extension system has got overburdened with other tasks to the detriment of extension itself.

LAND TENURE AND CLONAL ADOPTION

Adoption of new technology may be influenced by the nature of land tenure. There is strong evidence, from the Green Revolution that tenants tend to lag behind in the adoption of new technology. According to many other studies however, tenurial relationship is not a serious constraint to adoption of innovations (IRRI, 1975). It is therefore worthwhile examining land tenure and adoption of new high yielding clones of rubber in the three districts. The pattern of rubber land tenure in the three districts is given in Table 12 for the Ratnapura, Kalutara and Kegalle districts respectively. Nearly 68.5 percent of the land is under sole ownership in the Ratnapura district. Other important tenure systems in the Ratnapura district are Nindagam/Viharagam/Devalagam and encroachments which comprised 12.9 and 10.0 percent respectively. Joint ownership also constituted 7.2 percent of the total land area.

Adoption of different rubber clones in the different tenure groups for the Ratnapura district indicates that PB 86 is adopted in 64.8 percent of the acreage by sole owners while the joint owners adopted this in 43.4 percent of their acreage. With respect to RRIC clones it is seen that 3.0 percent of the acreage of the sole owners was under such clones.

The joint owners reported no RRIC clones and other tenure groups reported 6.0 percent of their land under RRIC clones. The percentage of seedling rubber and clonal is generally higher in the other tenure groups comprising nearly 48.0 percent of the area (Jayasena and Herath 1984).

Nearly 72 percent of total land in the Kalutara district is under sole ownership. The encroachments constituted 22.1 percent and is the only other important tenure group. The adoption pattern by tenure shows that 60.1, 45.3 and 58.3 percent of land in the sole owner, joint owner and other categories respectively adopted PB 86. RRIC varieties occupied 4.7, and 10.1 percent of land in the sole owner and joint owner category. No RRIC varieties were observed in the other tenure groups. However, clonal and seedling rubber occupied 45.0 and 35.0 percent of the acreage in the joint owner and other tenure categories.

In the Kegalle district, nearly 91.2 percent of land is under sole ownership. Nearly 6.4 percent of land was jointly owned. The pattern of adoption in Kegalle indicates that nearly 15 percent of rubber land is under RRIC varieties and all this comes in the sole owner category. No RRIC clones were reported by any other category. PB 86 was adopted in 66.4, 58.6 and 73.4 percent of the acreage in the sole owner, joint owner and other tenure groups respectively. Clonal and seedling rubber comprised 37.0 and 21.0 percent of the area under joint ownership and other tenure category respectively. The RRIC clones were comparatively higher in the Kegalle district than either the Ratnapura or the Kalutara district. A higher percentage of sole ownership in the Kegalle district, may be a factor influencing this.

All in all it appears that the level of adoption of new high yielding varieties in all tenure groups is low except Kegalle. The adoption pattern also indicates that joint ownership as such has not been a serious constraint to adoption. This could be so since joint ownership does not deter the owner from using improved planting materials provided under the subsidy scheme if all owners give their consent. The adoption of RRIC clones showed a very weak relationship if at all with tenure in that no RRIC clones were observed in the other tenure groups both in Kalutara and Kegalle in particular where a reasonable proportion of RRIC clones is found. Another important feature in respect of tenure is the large percentage of area observed under clonal and seedling rubber both in the joint owner and other tenure categories. The other tenure group include encroachments, Nindagam, Devalagam etc. which cannot provide any clear titles or registration and hence are not entitled to the subsidy. The non adoption may be more because of lack of funds rather than type of tenure itself.

DISTRIBUTION AND AVAILABILITY OF PLANTING MATERIALS

Planting materials which are needed for replantings, are generally obtained from three main sources, namely, Department of the Rubber controller (DRC), private nurseries and own nurseries. Both the DRC and private nurseries have been very important sources of plant materials particularly for the very small sized farms. As the holding size increases, the private nurseries become more important sources of planting materials than the DRC. For example, 47.1, 60.0 and 33.3 percent of farmers in the 4-below 10, 10-below 25 and 25-below 50 acre size groups obtained planting materials from private nurseries. With further increases in the holding size, there is a tendency to produce their own planting materials. The data for the Kalutara district show that the DRC has been the most important source of planting materials for all sized groups. Kalutara data show an increasing dependency on

the DRC for planting materials as the holding size increases which is a trend opposite to what was observed for Ratnapura. Planting materials obtained from own nurseries were reported by the below 4 acre size groups. In Kegalle the trend is similar to that of Kalutara. The DRC is the main supplier and there was increasing dependence on the DRC for planting materials as the holding size increases. The private nurseries also played an important role providing approximately 50 percent of planting materials for some size groups. Own nurseries were not reported in the Kegalle district.

The main reason for patronising the DRC is the high quality of material in addition to other reasons such as compulsory purchase. Approximately 70.3, 60.5 and 41.1 percent of those who purchased from the DRC in the Ratnapura, Kalutara and Kegalle districts indicated, high quality of planting materials as their main reason for patronising the DRC. Two problems however are obvious in the distribution of the planting materials by the DRC. Firstly, the DRC does not provide an adequate supply of materials and hence a substantial percentage of prospective planters have to patronize the private nurseries. Secondly, even those materials distributed were mainly PB 86 and the DRC had failed to produce sufficient planting material of the new clones in order to make any impact on the industry, This is very clear from Table 13 which shows the targets and actual achievements in the distribution of planting materials by the DRC, under the smallholder rubber rehabilitation project of the World Bank referred to earlier . It is clear that while the target for PB 86 was only 60 percent, nearly 96 percent of the material distributed is PB 86 for recent replantings. The target for RRIC clones was 40 percent whereas the percentage of RRIC clones distributed is between 1.4 and 17.8. Obviously there is a serious supply constraint which must be overcome almoss immediately.

As stated earlier the private nurseries also provided planting material for a large percentage of the farmers. The reasons for purchasing planting materials from the private nurseries show that high quality of plants obtained as the reason reported by 24.0, 57.8 and 50.0 percent of the farmers in the Ratnapura,Kalutara and Kegalle districts respectively. The ease of purchase was considered a reason by 36.1, 47.3 and 50.0 percent of the farmers in the Ratnapura, Kalutara and Kegalle districts respectively.

Distribution by private nurseries has several important implications for the rehabilitation effort. The private dealers who supply planting materials cannot transmit new technology since their ability to convince farmers is limited. Moreover, the private dealers will be mainly interested in having sales of planting materials of whatever kind whereas the DRC has the specific objective of promoting certain clones. Therefore the DRC should be a more reliable and adequate source of planting materials for the modernization effort. Unless this is done substantial technological changes in the rubber industry may not take place.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The foregoing study indicates that the level of adoption of new rubber clones developed by the RRISL is extremely low. The influence of several factors was examined and it is evident that despite popular beliefs, farm size and land tenure did not figure as important constraints to adoption. Two main factors which emerged as very important are inadequate extension services and inefficiency in the functioning of the DRC in providing adequate planting materials.

The very low level of awareness of the RRIC clones is evidence of poor dissemination of information on such clones. Also a large percentage of the farmers receive information from neighbouring farmers which is unsatisfactory. At present extension effort is geared towards immature rubber. The officers are involved heavily on subsidy inspection work. Therefore the necessary advice may not be given on time or not given at all. This situation ought to be changed. The establishment of demonstration plots in farmers fields can create awareness and also correct the negative attitudes of farmers observed earlier. Also the extension service must be strengthened so that they can disseminate information about the new opportunities embodied in the new varieties. They must also be released from administrative work.

The distribution of planting materials was the other main weakness in precipitating a low level of adoption of RRIC varieties. Steps must be taken to ensure that adequate and high quality materials are distributed through the DRC. It is suggested that more DRC nurseries should be established. At present there is one in the Kalutara district only. At least one nursery each should be established in the Ratnapura and Kegalle districts. Steps must be taken to supply sufficient budwood to private nurseries so that they will also contribute to meeting the planting material requirements. However, the activities of the private nurseries must be carefully supervised and monitored to ensure that they conform to DRC stipulations in respect of quality of management of nurseries and the plants distributed.

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TABLE 1

YIELD OF DRY RUBBER FROM LARGE SCALE TRIALS (KG/HA)

Clone	No. of trees	No. of trials1	Tapping year								
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
RRIC 100	981	2	764	996	1558	2066	2488	2657	2493	—	—
RRIC 102	954	4	799	1249	1596	1628	1655	1982	1971	1784	—
RRIC 103	1434	4	781	1176	1430	1692	2115	1962	2054	2298	2177
RRIM 623 (Control)	1088	4	759	1099	1511	1394	1578	1538	1616	1453	—
PB 86	300	1	915	942	1196	1381	1116	1116	1292	1439	1411

Source: RRISL, Bulletin 1981, Vol. 16, P. 25

TABLE 2

AREA ACCORDING TO RUBBER CLONES (ACRES)

RATNAPURA DISTRICT

Holding size (acres)	PB86	RRIC45	RRIC 52	RRIC 37	RRIC 100	Wagga 6278	Unident-ified budded	Clonal	Seedlings	Total
Below 1	2.75 (55.6)	—	—	—	—	—	1.20 (24.2)	0.50 (10.1)	0.50 (10.1)	4.95 (100.0)
1 to below 2	22.86 (52.3)	1.00 (2.3)	—	—	—	—	5.32 (12.2)	7.00 (16.0)	7.50 (17.2)	43.68 (100.0)
2 to below 4	44.35 (50.9)	—	—	—	—	1.50 (1.7)	4.00 (4.6)	16.25 (18.7)	21.00 (24.1)	87.10 (100.0)
4 to below 10	83.66 (70.0)	2.50 (2.1)	—	—	2.50 (2.1)	—	6.00 (5.0)	19.00 (15.9)	5.88 (4.9)	119.54 (100.0)
10 to below 25	24.00 (31.1)	5.75 (7.4)	—	—	2.00 (2.6)	—	8.00 (10.4)	33.00 (42.7)	4.50 (5.8)	77.25 (100.0)
25 to below 50	60.81 (100.0)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	60.81 (100.0)
Total	238.43 (60.6)	9.25 (2.4)	—	—	4.50 (1.1)	1.50 (0.4)	24.52 (6.2)	75.75 (19.3)	39.38 10.0)	393.33 (100.0)

Note: Percentages are given in parentheses.

TABLE 3

AREA ACCORDING TO RUBBER CLONES (ACRES)

KALUTARA DISTRICT

Holding size (acres)	PB86	RRIC45	RRIC 52	RRIC 37	RRIC 100	Wagga 6278	Uniden-tified budded	Clonal	Seedlings	Total
Below 1	4.10 (59.9)	—	—	—	—	—	0.50 (7.3)	1.25 (18.2)	1.00 (14.6)	6.85 (100.0)
1 to below 2	24.76 (49.0)	3.00 (5.9)	—	—	—	—	11.03 (21.8)	9.21 (18.3)	2.50 (5.0)	50.50 (100.0)
2 to below 4	42.34 (53.1)	6.03 (7.6)	2.25 (2.8)	—	—	—	2.25 (2.8)	12.00 (15.1)	14.81 (18.6)	79.68 (100.0)
4 to below 10	67.87 (63.0)	—	0.50 (0.5)	—	—	—	7.50 (7.0)	25.38 (23.5)	6.50 (6.0)	107.75 (100.0)
10 to below 25	36.40 (68.0)	—	—	—	—	—	3.00 (5.6)	14.13 (26.4)	—	53.53 (100.0)
25 to below 50	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	175.47 (58.8)	9.03 (3.0)	2.75 (0.9)	—	—	—	24.28 (8.1)	61.97 (20.9)	24.81 (8.3)	298.31 (100.0)

Note: Percentages are given in parentheses.

TABLE 4

AREA ACCORDING TO RUBBER CLONES (ACRES)

KEGALLE DISTRICT

Holding size (acres)	PB86	RRIC45	RRIC 52	RRIC 37	RRIC 100	Wagga 6278	Unidentified budded	Clonal	Seedlings	Total
Below 1	1.94 (52.6)	—	—	—	—	—	1.75 (47.4)	—	—	3.69 (100.0)
1 to below 2	19.25 (51.5)	0.50 (1.3)	—	—	—	—	7.85 (21.0)	4.25 (11.4)	5.50 (14.8)	37.35 (100.0)
2 to below 4	52.39 (63.8)	7.00 (8.5)	0.75 (0.9)	—	—	—	4.70 (5.7)	8.76 (10.7)	8.50 (10.4)	82.10 (100.0)
4 to below 10	111.20 (68.8)	19.44 (12.0)	4.00 (2.5)	—	—	—	7.99 (4.9)	14.00 (8.7)	5.00 (3.1)	161.3 (100.0)
10 to below 25	23.29 (52.7)	14.00 (31.5)	—	4.00 (9.0)	—	—	—	3.00 (6.8)	—	44.39 (100.0)
25 to below 50	27.00 (100.0)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	27.00 (100.0)
Total	235.17 (66.0)	40.94 (11.5)	4.75 (1.3)	4.00 (1.1)	—	—	22.29 (6.3)	30.31 (8.4)	19.00 5.4)	356.16 (100.0)

Note: Percentages are given in parentheses.

TABLE 5

IMMATURE RUBBER AREA (BELOW 7 YEARS) ACCORDING TO CLONES

(ACRES) RATNAPURA DISTRICT

Holding size (acres)	PB86	RRIC45	RRIC 52	RRIC 37	RRIC 100	Wagga 6278	Unidentified budded	Clonal	Seedlings	Total
Below 1	1.00 (66.7)	—	—	—	—	—	0.50 (33.3)	—		150.00 (100.0)
1 to below 2	6.81 (64.1)	—	—	—	—	—	3.81 (35.9)	—	—	10.62 (100.0)
2 to below 4	18.85 (84.3)	—	—	—	—	—	3.50 (15.7)	—	—	22.35 (100.0)
4 to below 10	44.00 (93.6)	—	—	—	—	—	3.00 (6.4)	—	—	47.00 (100.0)
10 to below 25	5.75 (35.9)	0.75 (4.7)	—	—	2.00 (12.5)	—	7.50 (46.9)	—	—	16.00 (100.0)
25 to below 50	5.00 (100.0)	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	5.00 (100.0)
Total	81.41 (79.5)	0.75 (0.7)	—	—	24.00 (2.0)	—	18.31 (17.8)	—	—	102.47 (100.0)

Note: Percentages are given in parentheses.

TABLE 6

IMMATURE RUBBER AREA (BELOW 7 YEARS) ACCORDING TO CLONES (ACRES)
KALUTARA DISTRICT

Holding size (acres)	PB86	RRIC45	RRIC 52	RRIC 37	RRIC 100	Wagga 6278	Unidentified budded	Clonal	Seedlings	Total
Below 1	1.85 (78.7)	—	—	—	—	—	0.50 (21.3)	—	—	2.35 (100.0)
1 to below 2	12.44 (67.3)	—	—	—	—	—	6.04 (32.7)	—	—	18.48 (100.0)
2 to below 4	22.59 (82.6)	0.25 (0.9)	—	—	—	—	1.50 (5.5)	1.50 (5.5)	1.50 (5.5)	27.34 (100.0)
4 to below 10	18.00 (80.0)	—	—	—	—	—	4.50 (20.0)	—	—	22.50 (100.0)
10 to below 25	18.40 (100.0)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	18.40 (100.0)
25 to below 50	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	73.28 (82.3)	0.25 (0.3)	—	—	—	—	12.54 (14.0)	1.50 (1.7)	1.50 (1.7)	89.07 (100.0)

Note: Percentages are given in parentheses.

TABLE 7

IMMATURE RUBBER AREA (BELOW 7 YEARS) ACCORDING TO CLONES

KEGALLE DISTRICT

Holding size (acres)	PB86	RRIC45	RRIC 52	RRIC 37	RRIC 100	Wagga 6278	Unidentified budded	Clonal	Seedlings	Total
Below 1	1.19 (54.3)	—	—	—	—	—	1.00 (45.7)	—	—	2.19 (100.0)
1 to below 2	13.25 (73.2)	—	—	—	—	—	3.35 (18.5)	—	1.50 (8.3)	18.10 (100.0)
2 to below 4	21.08 (88.6)	—	—	—	—	—	2.70 (11.4)	—	—	23.78 (100.0)
4 to below 10	47.89 (90.2)	1.00 (1.9)	2.00 (3.8)	—	—	—	2.23 (4.1)	—	—	53.12 (100.0)
10 to below 25	3.50 (100.0)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3.50 (100.0)
25 to below 50	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	86.91 (86.3)	1.00 (1.0)	2.00 (2.0)	—	—	—	9.27 (9.2)	—	1.50 (1.5)	100.96 (100.0)

Note : Percentages are given in parentheses.

TABLE 8

NUMBER OF FARMERS ACCORDING TO THE SOURCE OF INFORMATION ON BUDDED CLONES

Source	Ratnapura		Kalutara		Kegalle	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Rubber extension officer	48	48.0	49	59.8	49	53.8
Neighbouring farmers	40	40.0	31	37.0	29	31.9
Advisory leaflets	11	11.0	14	17.1	12	13.2
Relatives	2	2.0	—	—	6	6.6
Training classes	3	3.0	5	6.1	—	—
Estate officials	6	6.0	4	4.9	6	6.6
Films	—	—	1	1.2	1	1.1
Nursery owners	—	—	—	—	5	5.5

TABLE 9

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF FARMERS ACCORDING TO THE AWARENESS OF SPECIFIC BUDDED CLONES

Clone	Ratnapura		Kalutara		Kegalle	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
PB 86	92	100.00	87	100.00	85	100.00
RRIM 623	—	—	—	—	—	—
RRIC 37	—	—	—	—	—	—
RRIC 45	5	5.4	16	18.3	14	16.4
RRIC 52	3	3.2	5	5.7	5	5.8
RRIC 100	4	4.3	3	3.4	2	3.4
RRIC 101	3	3.2	—	—	1	1.1
RRIC 102	2	2.1	3	3.4	—	—
RRIC 103	5	5.4	2	2.2	2	2.3
RRIC 105	1	1.0	—	—	—	—
RRIC 132	1	1.0	—	—	—	—
Wagga 6278	3	3.2	2	2.2	3	3.5
Milla Kanda	2	2.1	—	—	—	—

TABLE 10

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF FARMERS REPORTING MOST SUITABLE BUDDED CLONES FOR THEIR AREA

Clones	Ratnapura		Kalutara		Kegalle	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
PB 86	81	88.0	83	97.6	73	96.0
RRIC 52	1	1.1	1	1.2	2	2.6
RRIC 45	—	—	—	—	—	—
RRIC 100	2	2.2	—	—	—	—
RRIC 101	1	1.1	—	—	—	—
RRIC 102	1	1.1	—	—	—	—
RRIC 103	2	2.2	—	—	—	—
RRIC 37	—	—	—	—	1	1.3
Wagga 6278	—	—	—	—	1	1.3

TABLE 11

Number and Percentage of Farmers Reporting the Purpose of REO's Last Visit.

Purpose of the Last Visit	Ratnapura		Kalutara		Kegalle	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. Subsidy inspection	15	45.5	34	81.0	42	84.0
2. Inspect the land to be replanted	02	6.1	02	4.8	05	10.0
3. Advice on management (planting soil conservation, cover crops, & weeding etc.)	16	48.9	01	2.4	07	14.0
4. Marking planting holes/soil conservation methods	03	9.1	01	2.4	—	—
5. Marking tapping panel	01	3.0	—	—	—	—
6. Distribution of fertilizer	—	—	02	4.8	—	—
7. Distribution of planting materials	—	—	01	2.5	—	—

TABLE 12

PATTERN OF LAND TENURE OF RUBBER LAND

Land Tenure	Ratnapura		Kalutara		Kegalle	
	Extent	%	Extent	%	Extent	%
Sole owned	269.49	68.5	213.70	71.6	324.76	91.2
ointly owned	28.37	7.2	17.38	5.8	22.95	6.4
Leased in/Rented in/ Mortgaged	4.0	1.1	1.50	0.5	2.45	0.7
Encroached	39.53	10.0	65.73	22.1	4.25	1.2
★ Viharagam/Devalagam/ Nindagam	50.94	12.9	—	—	1.75	0.5
Others ★★	1.00	0.3	—	—	—	—
Total	393.33	100.00	298.31	100.00	356.16	100.00

★ Lands belonging to religious organisations

★★ Others - land reform lands

TABLE 13

DISTRIBUTION PATTERN OF RUBBER CLONES TO REPLANTERS UNDER THE SRRP 1981–83

Types of rubber clones distributed	Ratnapura			Kalutara			Kegalle		
	1981	1982	1983	1981	1982	1983	1981	1982	1983
PB 86	98.6	98.0	90.7	100.0	77.6	93.6	99.6	98.4	97.2
RRIC 100	—	—	2.4	—	17.8	—	—	—	0.6
RRIC 101	1.4	0.1	0.8	—	1.0	—	0.7	—	0.9
RRIC 102	—	—	0.2	—	—	—	—	—	—
RRIC 103	—	1.9	5.9	—	3.9	6.4	2.7	1.6	0.8
RRIC 121	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.5

Source: REOS' records, Advisory Services Department

THE SIMLA CONFERENCE AND THE SINO-INDIAN BORDER-DISPUTE

by

Mahinda Werake

Introduction

The Sino-Indian border dispute remains as one of the major unresolved international conflicts in Asia which has a direct impact on the power politics of the region. It is not far from the truth to say that contemporary Sino-Indian relations are largely determined by this issue. Some of the historical roots of the border dispute date back to the Simla Conference which was intended to decide the status of Tibet and demarcate the undefined boundary between India and Tibet. The following is an attempt to examine the importance of the Simla Conference and the validity of the Simla Convention as a historical document.

However, before we embark upon a discussion of the Simla Conference, a brief reference to China's historical relationship with Tibet prior to the Conference may be appropriate. Although there were relations between China and Tibet at least from the T'ang period (617 A.D - 907 A.D), the close relations began in the 13th Century under the Yuan (Mongol) dynasty (1217 A.D - 1368 A.D). During that period, a special "Lama-Patron" relationship developed between the Dalai Lama and the Yuan Emperor. Under that arrangement, the Yuan Emperor accepted the ecclecessatical authority of the Dalai Lama over the Lamaist adherents of the Tibetan and Mongolian regions, in return for Tibet's recognition of Chinese suzerainty over her. That relationship continued under the Ming dynasty (1368 A.D - 1644 A.D) and later during the Ch'ing (Manchu) dynasty period (1644 A.D - 1911 A.D) China won further privileges in Tibet which virtually became a protectorate of China. Nonetheless, Dalai Lama's spiritual and temporal authority in Tibet did not diminish as a result of these developments. Only in the realms of external affairs and foreign policy that China exercised its overlordship over Tibet. The 1911 Revolution in China which removed the Ch'ing dynasty from power also led to Tibet's declaration of indepeneence, in 1912. The new Republic which was set up under Yuan Shih-k' ai's Presidency, vainly attempted to re-establish China's lost position in Tibet by using both 'carrot and stick' methods. It is apparent that Tibet's independence from China was encouraged by Britain which saw it as a golden opportunity to reduce Chinese influence and in its place establish its own authority there.

I

It was the initiative of the British government that persuaded China and Tibet to participate in a Conference at Simla. From the *Final Memorandum* of McMahon it becomes clear that the British interests in that regard were prompted by three main considerations.[1] First, the British government of India was keen to demarcate a secure boundary between Tibet and India. Second, Britain wanted to exploit the Indo-Tibetan trade to its own advantage.

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Third, they were keen to station a British representative in Lhasa and promote British interests and investments in Tibet. Further, to a lesser extent, the British were sensitive to the prospect of Russian and Japanese influence in Tibet which would have threatened the security of India's northern borders.

During the Conference, there was apparent close co-operation between the British and Tibetan sides *vis a vis* China. Even prior to the Conference, the two parties seemed to to have come to some understanding about each other's position.[2] The Tibetan delegate Lonchen Shatra, on his way to India from Tibet, stayed for three months at Gyantse where there was a British Trade Agent named Charles Bell. It is quite likely that the two parties exchanged views on the proposed Conference during that period. As a matter of fact, the Chinese Agent in Calcutta, Lu Hsing-chi. reported that Charles Bell and Lonchen Shatra were intriguing against China.[3] It is worth noting here that the British sources also indicate that British officials in India were aware of the contents of the Tibetan proposals before they were formally submitted to the Conference on October 13, 1913.[4] Moreover, the Tibetan sources reveal that the British and Tibetan sides had secretly negotiated the demarcation of boundary between India and Tibet, and in effect the two sides had already reached agreement by 15th March 1914, before the matter was put to the open Conference.[5] Thus, the Chinese side was purposely kept in the dark while the British and Tibetans were acting in collusion behind the scene. In fact, in his *Memorandum*, McMahon was full on praise for the Tibetans who co-operated with him. Therefore, it appeared that the Conference was going to be an imbalanced affair where Britian and Tibet were lined up against China. Consequently, any decisions of the Conference were destined to be prejudicial to China.

The British intention to conduct the affairs of the Conference on its own terms was demonstrated by several other incidents. For instance, when Chang Ying-t'ang, who was the Imperial High Commissioner to Tibet under the Ch'ing was to be appointed as the Chinese plenipotentiary to Simla Conference, the British government objected to his name apparently because he was instrumental in reducing British influence in Western Tibet. Instead, they suggested that Ivan Chen who was former Councillor at the Chinese Legation in London be sent to India.[6] Conceivably, the British government thought that Ivan Chen would be more co-operative towards them than Chang. Then, there was the question of status of Tibetan and Chinese delegates. The Chinese position was that the Tibetan representative should sign after the Chinese delegate and jointly with him, as they did in the Tripartite Trade Agreement of 1908 which implied Chinese authority over Tibet. However, Britain insisted that the Tibetan delegate should be of equal status with the Chinese representative and should sign separately.[7] Later, when the Chinese government wanted to appoint B. D. Bruce, a British national who served as an officer in the Chinese Customs Service, as Ivan Chen's Secretary, the British government in India protested against his inclusion in the Chinese delegation.[8] Perhaps, the Chinese government would have thought that the inclusion of a British national in their negotiating team would strengthen their position *vis-a-vis* the British. On the other hand, the Indian government apparently believed that having a British Officer on the Chinese side would make the negotiations difficult for them.

The negotiations at Simla continued from October 1913 until April 1914 in the first instance. The second round of negotiations was conducted from May to July 1914. During the period of negotiations both China and Tibet put forward strong claims to prove their control over Tibet. However, one notable difference between the two sides was the fact that the evidence of the Tibetan side were more voluminous than the Chinese. After lengthy negotiations on the respective proposals of Chinese and Tibetan sides, McMahon worked out a compromise formula which was embodied in the Simla Convention. Accordingly, Tibet was to be divided into two parts, namely, the Inner Tibet where China would excercise sovereign rights and Outer Tibet which was to be virtually independent under British patronage. Despite the fact that the Chinese had a *bona fide* claim to the territory to the east of Salween river in Eastern Tibet, McMahon excluded important parts of that territory such as Chamdo from Inner Tibet which was to have come under close supervision of China. More than the Indo-Tibetan boundary, what was unacceptable to China at that stage was the proposal to withdraw from areas that they actually occupied and administered for more than a decade. The *Final Memorandum* clearly shows that McMahon was not sympathetic to the Chinese. His attitude irked the Chinese government so much that President Yuan Shih-k'ai complained to Sir Jordan, the British envoy in Peking, that "the Government of India as represented by Sir McMahon, were aggressive, exacting and unfriendly . . .9

McMahon himself acknowledges that even prior to the convening of the final session of the Simla Conference, he had been using coercion as a tactic against China to win concessions. For instance, on 26th March, 1914, he warned that if China's acceptance of British proposals was not forthcoming, he would withdraw the draft proposals and put forward new proposals that would be less favourable to China.10 On another occasion, he even went to the extent of threatening to "**suspend personal relations**"* with the Chinese Planipotentiary if he did not show a "more reasonable attitude" towards the British Proposals.11

II

However, despite such pressures, when the final sessions of the Conference was called on 22nd April 1914, there was no sign of a settlement in sight. The Tibetan delegate also refused to accept the Draft Convention on the grounds that he could not agree to the idea of reinstating a Chinese representative (Amban) in Lhasa and the inclusion of Derge and Nyarong districts in the Inner Tibet.12 Nonetheless, McMahon himself observed, "I have reason to believe that the attitude of Tibetan delegate today was rather due to his desire to impress Mr. Ch'en than to any intention to reject the present Draft . . .",13 indicating that the Tibetan opposition was orchestrated to put pressure on the Chinese. McMahon said that he was "disappointed" by the attitude of his colleagues and postponed the final session to April 27, 1914, when the Chinese delegate promised to place the final instructions from his government before the Conference.

The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed Ivan Ch'en on April 25, 1914, that with the exception of Article IX, which dealt with the boundary between Inner and Outer Tibet, China was prepared to accept the rest of the Articles **in principle**.*14 As regards Article IX, Ch'en was instructed to state thet China had made "all concessions it could, and now it was up to the British delegate to make further concessions."15 McMahon considered the Chineses reply "vague" and "elusive". When the Conference convened, he maintained hat the Draft Agreement was the best possible solution available and "no new adjustments

* Author's emphasis.

were possible". He further warned that, **"the rejection of the Draft would necessitate a settlement on lines which could not afford equally favourable conditions to the party which withheld its assent".***[16] Thus, once again Ch'en was put under pressure by McMahon. Ch'en said that he could not initial the Draft in its present form without authorization from his government.[17] At this stage McMahon suggested that Ch'en leave the Conference Chamber and think over his decision.[18] After he left, McMahon asked Lonchen Shatra to make a final concession in order to get the Chinese delegate to initial the Convention. He proposed that "a tract of country in the neighbourhood of Lake Kokonor to which the Chinese attached great impotance,' be excluded from Inner Tibet and included in China proper; and the prohibition against Tibetan representation in the Chinese National Assembly be applied only to Outer Tibet."[19] The Tibetan delegate agreed to McMahon's suggestion. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the concessions proposed by McMahon did not amount to any significant gain for China since the Chinese considered the territory in Kokonor (Chinghai), traditionally a part of China, and there were already Tibetan representatives from Inner Tibet (Kham) in the Chinese National Assembly.

The Continued use of intimidatory tactics by McMahon against the Chinese delegate which would have had a psychological impact on him was admitted by McMahon himself in his summing up report. The importance of this factor has not been adequately considered by writers who have dealt with the subject. However, in the opinion of the present writer, it was indeed a crucial factor which compelled the Chinese delegate to initial the Draft Convention. McMahon reports:

> These modifications (the final concessions of McMahon given above), were made in the Convention and in the map, and the **Thibetan representative and I initialled the documents.*** We agreed however, that certain modifications in the Draft would be necessary if our Chinese colleague continued to withhold his consent, and **I specifically mentioned that the words in Article 2, recognizing the suzerainty of China, the cancellation of which had been sanctioned by His Majesty's Government on 21st April, would be omitted unless the Chinese Plenipotentiary initialled the Draft before the conclusion of the meeting.***
>
> In the meanwhile, Mr. Chen and his staff had been closetted with Mr. Rose in a neighbouring room. **It appeared that Mr. Chen found himself in an extremely difficult position. On the one hand, his government though fully informed of the conclusive nature of the meeting, had given him no indication of their willingness to accept our terms; on the other hand, he saw the possibility of losing the Chinese seat in the Tripartite Conference and the danger of the conclusion of an agreement between Great Britain and Thibet alone.*** Mr. Rose had communicated to him the results of my interview with the Lonchen, and had now left him with the doubly initialled documents for a brief period of quiet consideration.
>
> After some delay, Mr. Chen requested that Mr. Rose would see him again for a a few minutes; and eventually the whole party re-appeared in the Chamber with the news that the **Chinese Plenipotiary was ready to initial the Draft and the map, though he would feel bound to await a definite authority from his government before the Convention was formally signed and sealed.***[20]

* Author's emphasis

In the Record of the Proceedings of the 7th Meeting held on 22nd and 27th April 1914, McMahon further explained the circumstances under which the Chinese delegate initialled the Draft Convention:

> The results of the conversation between the British and Tibetan Plenipotentiaries were eventually communicated to him [Ch'en] and he was asked for his final decision. **Mr. Chen then said that in the circumstances he was willing to initial the documents, but on the clear understanding that to initial and to sign them were two separate actions. He also said that he must wait for express instructions from his government before the the formal signature of the Convention.***21

In the final memorandum McMahon admitted, " . . . **there was no alternative but to force the Chinese once more to come to terms by threatening for the second time*** (in fact it was the third occasion when threat was used) to conclude an independent settlement with the Tibetans alone", and the Chinese delegate **"added his initial also rather than risk the conclusion of an agreement in which China would have no part".***22 Here, we should also note that the Draft Convention and the map were already initialled by McMahon and Lonchen before it was given to to Ivan Chen.

The documents of the proceedings of 27th April 1914, found in *The Boundary Question Between China and Tibet,* while basically agreeing with the above accounts given by McMahon himself, throw some additional light on the intimidatory tactics used by McMahon and his staff on that eventful day. One document records:

> It was realized however that the draft in its present form would be unsuitable should the Chinese Plenipotentiary withhold his initials, and should the meeting conclude without arriving at an agreement on a tripartite basis. **It was therefore agreed that, unless Mr. Chen was able to co-operate with them, it might become necessary to eliminate the clause recognising the suzerainty of China, and** *ipso facto* **the priviledges appertaining thereto.***23

Another reports :

> After a little while Sir Henry McMahon then asked Mr. Rose to have some talk with Mr. Chen in a separate room where Mr. Rose said that after all these difficult and long negotiations it was becoming very grave and said **if Mr. Chen left the Foreign Office without initialling the Draft Convention, Mr. Chen would have nothing to do with this office***. Mr Rose then asked Mr. Chen to initial unless his Government had given him distinct orders to do otherwise.
>
> **Mr. Chen expressed regret about his inability of initialling anything and said all he could do was to communicate any reply to his government. He was not authorised to do otherwise. Until he was authorized by his government he could not initial the Draft Convention.***

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* Author's emphasis

Mr. Rose said there was no such custom as to get an order to sign a Convention. To this Mr. Chen replied by giving an example of Labour Convention of 1904, the authorities to sign which Convention was duly obtained by the former Chinese Minister in London. Just then a paper was brought in with a sketch map for Rose. Mr. Rose then said that it came from Sir Henry McMahon and it stated that he had arranged with Lonchen Shatra to delimit a tract of territory in the vicinities of Chinghai to China and to insert the word "Outer" before the sentence "Tibet shall not be represented in Parliament or other similar body". **Mr. Rose then went on to say that the Convention had already been initialled by Sir Henry McMahon and Lonchen Shatra and showed their initials, and again urged that if Mr. Chen did not initial the Draft Convention today, the Article II and IV were to be deleted and the Convention was to be concluded today without China.*** Mr Rose further asked whether the Chinese Government had given authority not to initial the Convention. Mr. Chen replied he had received no authority either express or implied to initial or not to initial it.

Mr. Rose then said **to initial only still required confirmation and ratification by his Government*** otherwise the situation would be a very serious one.

Mr. Chen then replied that he would initial the Draft Convention in order to save the the grave situation on the clear understanding that to initial and to sign were two separate actions,* and to sign the Draft Convention he must wire to his Government for definite instructions.

To this Mr. Rose fully agreed and said everything required confirmation by the resp-pective Governments, before the signature could be given to the Convention.*

Under the circumstances Mr. Chen initialled the Draft Convention and Sketch Map in the Conference Room.[24]

Therefore, it is beyond doubt that the initialling of the Simla Convention by the Chinese delegate was done under pressure. On the same day, Ivan Ch'en telegraphed the Chinese government and informed them that the circumstances forced him to initial the documents. Ch'en was told by McMahon that if he did not do so, Article II and IV would be deleted and Britain would conclude the Agreement with Tibet alone,[25] which meant that China would lose whatever rights and priviledges that it was entitled under the Convention in Outer Tibet.

III

Two days later, on 29th April 1914, the Chinese government repudiated Ivan Ch'en's action and demanded the cancellation of the initialling.[26] At the same time China stressed that it did not wish to break-off the the negotiations. McMahon suspected that China's refusal to accept the Convention was due to Lu Hsing-chi's advice to reject it.[27] Even contemporary writers accept McMahon's reasoning and go to state that it was Lu's advice which led China to reject the initialling.[28] Nonethess, as shown above, even without Lu Hsing-chi's advice it was not possible for the Chinese government to accept the Convention.

* Author's emphasis

First, the Convention disregarded the boundary between Inner and Outer Tibet claimed by China. Second, as a self-respecting sovereign government, China could not accept a treaty which was initialled under coercion.

Although McMahon's own statements quoted above and the other records of the event explicitly prove that the Chinese delegate was forced to initial the Convention when the Chinese government protested against McMahon's action, he dismissed it as an entirely unfounded allegation.[29] Also, in his memorandum regarding the progress of negotiations from 1st May 1914, to 8th July 1914, McMahon stated that when the Chinese delegate initialled the Convention, "there can be no doubt that he did so with a feeling of of great relief",[30] and that he "admitted that he had obtained more favourable terms than could reasonably have been expected".[31] Since this memorandum was written more than two and a half months after the incident, it is conceivable that McMahon purposely changed the description of the events of 27th pril 1914, to mellow the harshness of his attitude. Nevertheless curiously enough, as shown above, he contradicts himself in other places. Most Indian authors, take McMahon's latter statement to argue that Ivan Ch'en initialled the Convetion with satisfaction.[32] According to one of them (whose work appears to be one of the of the best to be written by an Indian author to-date on the subject):

> The map and the proceedings of the Conference on the fateful 27th April would thus demonstrate, **and beyond the shadow of doubt*** that with the modifications in the Kokonor region, all the three Plenipotentiaries including Ivan Chen, **accepted*** the Red and Blue lines defining Inner and Outer Tibet as delimitated (on the Convention map), on behalf their respective governments. This despite earlier Chinese and Tibetan reservations, the former's with regard to the nomenclature and of both in respect of the allocation of districts each coveted of the other.[33]

Most of the Indian writings on the McMahon Line, show a pro-Indian bias. Interpreting the events of 27th April 1914, based on McMahon's later memorandum, they attempt to prove that China in fact accepted the Simla Convention and thereby legitimise the McMahon Line as the historically accepted boundary between India and Tibet in the eastern sector. The same author quoted above points out further that Ch'en in fact put his signature to the document, and therefore he legally signed the Convention.[34]

In this context one could compare the two maps attached to the respective Simla Conventions on which the delegates have have put their signatures. On the first map which is dated 27th April 1914 it is clearly stated, "we hereby **initial*** in token of our acceptance" and just below that endorsement McMahon has **initialled*** it. However, for some unknown reason, Ivan Chen and Lonchen Shatra have signed on the map. On the second map dated 5th July 1914 it is endorsed, "we hereby **sign*** and **seal*** in token of our acceptance" and only McMahon and Lonchen Shatra have put their full signatures on it. Therefore, it is quite clear that the first document was only meant to be a tentative one. The fact that McMahon himself did not sign but initialled the first map and then signed and sealed the second one goes to prove that it is the second map that should be considered as the more authorative one which the Chinese delegate refused to sign. Therefore, one could argue that since China **did not sign*** the final

* Author's emphasis

Convention and the map, she is not bound to accept the McMahon Line as a boundary between China and India. Further, as shown above, both McMahon and Rose had made it clear to Ch'en that initialling would be only the first step before a formal signing of the Convention. It is also important to note that McMahon himself refers to the 27th April Convention as the **Draft Convention*** which implies that he did not consider it as a final treaty.

The fact that the Conference continued until 3rd July 1914, in order to seek China's approval for the Convention makes it more than obvious that the initialled document was only a provisional agreement. Moreover, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the British Home Government had instructed the Indian government on 21st April 1914, that "McMahon may initial the agreement, but signature must be deferred pending reference to Russia".[35] This once again proves that the initialled document was not a final agreement. Finally, both British and Chinese records show that when Ivan Ch'en initialled the Convention he made it explicitly clear that he was doing so with the understanding that initialling and signing were two different procedures and he had to obtain approval from the Chinese government before formally signing it. When he asked for governmental approval accordingly, his request was turned down. Therefore, it is unfair for anyone to claim that the Simla Convention was a valid document at all.

The formal Chinese position on the proposed Draft Convention was explained to the British Minister in Peking by the Secretary to the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who had been sent by the President to meet him on May 1, 1915.[36] The Secretary said that the President's main objection to the Convention was based on the boundary issue, specifically "the inclusion in Outer Tibet of Chamdo and the southern portion of the Kokonor territory". The Chinese had maintained that the southern boundary of Chinghai (Kokonor) was the Tangla range. Later, even Jordan admitted that southern Chinghai, along with Litang, and Batang, had been Chinese territory for some time.[37] Chamdo had been China's central administrative and military base in Kham; and it had been suggested by both Fu Sung-mu and Hu Ching-i (Chinese officials in charge of boundary affairs) to be the capital of the proposed Hsi-k' ang province in South-western China. It was safely under China's control at the time of the initialling of the Simla Convention. As such, from the Chinese point of view, withdrawing from Chamdo was impossible, and it is not surprising that Yuan refused to go along with the British proposal.

For the British, the importance of Chamdo was different. McMahon stated, "I am firmly of the opinion that exclusion of Chamdo from autonomous Tibet would perpetuate present disturbed state of the country and imperial safety of Tibet".[38] Both northern and southern roads leading to Tibet from Szechwan converged at Chamdo, and consequently, Chamdo was of great strategic importance in the Tibetan Marches. Therefore, the British side insisted that the control of Chamdo should be given back to Outer Tibet.

Although China's objection to the Draft Convention centered around the said boundary issue, which was by no means an unimportant one, even in other areas the gains expected for the British and Tibetan sides were substantial. According to McMahon, there were several important gains the British could obtain from the Convention.[39] First, was the right of the British Agent at Gyantse to proceed to Lhasa and directly negotiate with the

* Author's emphasis

Tibetan government in case of need. This was the culmination of a long-cherished dream of the British Government in India to have a representative in Tibet. The Indian government had tried once before to achieve this objective but failed because of disapproval of the Home Government. With this proviso, the British could easily manipulate events in Lhasa in their favour. Thus, whatever advantages the Chinese envisaged in stationing their own Amban in Lhasa, under the Convention, his power would have been skillfully neutralised. Moreover, the close relationship that had developed between Britain and Tibet by then would have lead the Tibetans to rely more on Britain than China, in case of an emergency. Thereby, the British hoped to achieve a significant foot-hold in Tibet. McMahon described the new role Britain hoped to play in Tibet in the following fashion:

> The government of autonomous Tibet will find itself faced with new questions and new responsibilities; they will naturally turn towards British representative for advice and assistance, and on the nature of that advice, the future of Tibet will largely depend.

Second, Britain expected to enjoy commercial privileges in Tibet along with China. In the past, except for the brief Younghusband interlude, Britain's trade interests in Tibet were subordinated to the Chinese. Therefore, from the point of view of Britain, the Convention provided a major break-through.

Third, the British government hoped to become the arbitrator between China and Tibet. Thereby, Britain could exercise indirect control and influence over Tibet, and prevent a recurrence of any future predominance of Chinese power and control there. In that sense, the British expected to make a subtle gain in Tibet.

Fourth, the Convention prohibited China from coming to agreements only with Tibet. Accordingly, in the future China could not enter into any agreements with Tibet without British participation. Here, we should note that the Republican Government of China since its inception until the convening of the Tripartite Conference, on several occasions, acting on the presumption that Tibet was a part of China, attempted to find some accommodation with Tibet without the knowledge and concurrence of the British. If the Chinese overtures had succeeded, China's position in Tibet *vis a vis* Britain would have been significantly strengthened. Such a situation was obviously detrimental to the British interests in Tibet. Thus, the Convention provided checks against any such prospective move by China in Tibet.

Fifth, under the Convention, Outer Tibet would have become virtually independent under British patronage. Thus, while the aspirations of the British Government of India in establishing a buffer zone between China and India would have been accomplished, China's gains in Western Tibet were to be mostly confined to the symbolic reinstitution of an Amban at Lhasa.

Further, the Chinese assertion that Tibet formed a part of China was not to be included in the main text of the Convention, but to take the form of an exchange of notes between Britain and China.

Therefore, the proposed Convention was designed in such a way to weaken China's position and to strengthen Britain's hand in Tibet. Tibet at the end of the Conference was strongly on Britain's side. From China's point of view, the Convention did little (except for the acceptance of China's suzerainty over Tibet, and the right to station an Amban there) to help China regain its control in Tibet, which it had hoped the negotiations at Simlsa would do.

In general, Chinese public opinion was not favourable towards the Simla Conference. The *Ching-ching shih pao*, a Chinese newspaper, while being critical of the Conference, subtly attacked the position of the Chinese government as well. It said, "Tibet has long desired to be independent, and in this she has been egged on by Great Britain, of which she is a puppet," and referring to the division of Tibet it commented, "Great Britain is willing to grant this concession to China because she knows the latter's fondness for an empty name; in fact both Ch'ien and Hou Tsang [Outer and Inner Tibet] will be entirely within Great Britain's power,"[40] When the Chinese government objected to the initialling of the Convention it clearly stated that China accepted all provisions of the Convention except Article IX **only in principle;***[41] thus implying that China desired further negotiations before a final treaty was concluded. In fact at an interview with Jordan on 13th June 1914, the Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sun Pao-ch'i, complained that China gained very little from the Convention.[42] The Minister in London also informed the British Government that China wished to continue the negotiations.[43] The Chinese government hoped that such future negotiations might be carried out between Britain and China, either in London or in Peking.[44] The view of the Chinese government was that the Tibetan question could be settled between Britain and China in the same manner as the Mongolian question had been settled between Russia and China.[45] Thus, it appeared from China's point of view, that the Simla Convention was not a final treaty.

IV

The British government remained determined not to change the Convention. They waited for more than a month, hoping that China would succumb to pressure and ultimately sign the Convention. In the meantime, the Convention was referred to Russia for consent. As a result of those consultations, Article X, which had provided that Britain should act as the arbitrator in disputes between China and Tibet, was modified in the form of a simple provision that the English text of the Convention should be considered authoritative in case of need. Also, a clause was included to the XIth Article saying that the Convention should take effect from the date of signature.[46] It is interesting to note here that Russia wanted the Convention to take effect only after formal signing. It may be that they were betting on on China not to sign it.

On 6th June 1914, Jordan warned China once again that if it did not sign the Convention, Britain would go ahead and sign a separate treaty with Tibet, and that China would be barred from enjoying the privileges provided in the Draft Convention.[47] In reply, the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs informed Jordan that the President felt it impossible for China to proceed beyond the proposals embodied in the previous Chinese statements. He

* Author's emphasis

stressed that if the demand that China should yield her sovereignty over regions not only occupied by her soldiers but administered by Chinese Magistrates were persisted in, the Chinese government would refuse to sign the Tripartite Convention.[48]

The Chinese Foreign Minister proposed a new compromise formula to Jordan with the hope that some agreement could be reached even at the last moment. He proposed : (a) that the territory between the Salween and Tachienlu should form Inner Tibet; (b) that China would have the complete freedom to administer Inner Tibet and consolidate its control there; (c) that the Dalai Lama's ecclesiastical authority in Inner Tibet would be allowed; and (d) that the northern boundary for Outer Tibet should be at the Tangla Range and the south-western portion of Chinghai would be placed in Inner Tibet.[49]

Those proposals reflected significant shanges in Chinese policy toward the Tibetan Marches. It was the first time that China was willing to accept the Marches as a separate entity from the rest of China. In effect these proposals agreed to the Sino-Tibetan boundary suggested by McMahon. Although China was not willing to give up any territory it already held to the Tibetan government, at least technically, it was prepared to accept the British argument that the Tibetan Marches did not belong to China. Evidently, YuanShih-k'ai was eager to come to terms with Britain with some formula which would be palatable to the Chinese people and the British government, for, he needed British support for his monarchical movement.

After mutual consultations among the Indian government, the British Home government, and Jordan, the British government instructed Jordan to inform the Chinese government that it would be impossible to accept the Chinese proposals which would bring the line of Inner Tibet within 200 miles of Lhasa, and the only concession they could grant to China was to lower the northern boundary of Inner Tibet from Altyn Range (A-er-chin-shan), to the K'un-lun range, thereby placing most of Southern Chinghai in China proper.[50] Jordan was further instructed to inform the Chinese government that if they did not agree to the British proposals, the British delegate would call a final meeting of the Conference at the end of the month and Britain and Tibet would go ahead and sign the treaty. He was also asked to notify the Chinese government that, in that event the British government would be compelled to give Tibet whatever assistance against any Chinese aggression. Thus, Britain indicated for the first time that the British government was prepared to provide military assistance to Tibet if Britain and Tibet signed the treaty alone. Jordan conveyed the message to the Chinese government on 25th June 1914.

The Chinese government refuesd to accept the British ultimatum and on 25th June 1914, replied that as a final concession, China was willing to make Jyade a special area of Inner Tibet where "only civil officials will be sent accompanied by a reasonable number of troops to guard them" and promised that "no large bodies of troops will be stationed there."[51] This was meant to meet the objection raised by Britain that the boundary of Inner Tibet proposed by China was within 200 miles of Lhasa and posed a threat to the Tibetan government. The memorandum of the Chinese Foreign Office to the British Minister made it quite clear that there would be no further concessions on the part of China, and emphasized that although China might not sign the Convention. "it has no desire to terminate the negotiations, and it is unable to regard the initialling of the Convention by its special envoy Mr. Ch'en which

took place without instructions as effective". It further said, "if the Tibetans do not cross the Chinese boundary, the Chinese troops will continue to hold the places in which they were originally quartered, and no advance or acts of invasion whatever will take place". Thus, the Chinese government's final position was that it could not sign the Convention in its present form, but hoped to continue further negotiations, and would agree to a cease fire until the issue was resolved. The cease-fire agreed upon by China was maintained until 1917 when the Tibetans began a massive attack on the Chinese positions.

When the British government was convinced that the Chinese side would not sign the Convention, the last meeting of the Conference was scheduled for 3rd July 1914, for the purpose of closing the negotiations.[52] **On that day, Ivan Ch'en told the Conference quite clearly that he would not sign the Convention and that the Chinese government would not recognise any treaty or similar document that might now or hereafter be signed between Great Britain and Tibet.[53] Thereby, China completely disassociated iteslf from the Simla Convention.*** The British and Tibetan delegates then signed a declaration to the effect that China to be debarred from its priviledges as long as China withheld its signature.[54] A separate trade agreement was also signed between Tibet and Britain. Thus, as Lamb has pointed out, the Simla Convention was not formally signed by anyone.[55] McMahon and Lonchen only initialled the revised copies of the Convention containing amended Articles X and XI as agreed upon by Russia and Britain. The proceedings were conducted to give the Chinese representative the impression that the Convention was actually signed by Tibet and Britain.[56] Perhaps it was done with the hope that it would induce the Chinese delegate to reconsider his position at the last moment. Although the trick did work on the previous occasion, this time Ivan Ch'en was under specific instructions not to sign. McMahon in fact wanted to sign the Convention with Tibet, but the Home Government was opposed to it.[57] It may be that the Home Government was concerned about Russia's possible objection to a bipartite treaty between Tibet and Britain which violated the understanding of the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907. Since, according to the first clause of Article XI of the Simla Convention, it was to become effective only after its signature by the parties concerned, the Simla Convention has to be considered as a document which does not carry any legal status and should thus be null and void. The Simla Conference itself, therefore, was a diplomatic failure.

Conclusion

However, the memories of the Simla Conference lingers on in Chinese minds. China contends that the MaMahon Line is an imperialist legacy which was drawn up by the British rulers to safeguard their imperialist motives against the wishes and aspirations of the Chinese people. Therefore, China has called upon India to jointly repudiate the McMahon Line and negotiate a new boundary agreement between the two countries. Late Premier Chou En-lai clearly expounded the Chinese position on the matter when he wrote to Indian Prime Minister late Shri Jawaharlal Nehru on 8th September, 1959, when he stated:

> . . . the Simla Conference was an important step taken by Britain in its design to detach Tibet from China. At the Conference were discussed the so-called boundary between Outer and Inner Tibet and rest of China . . . The so-called McMahon Line was never discussed at the Simla Conference, but was determined by the British

* Author's emphasis

representative and the representative of the Tibet local authorities behind the back of the representative of the Chinese Central Government through an exchange of secret notes at Delhi on March 24, 1914 . . . The so-called McMahon Line was a product of the British policy of aggression against the Tibetan region of China and has never been recognised by any party to the Simla Treaty, it was not formally signed by the representative of the Chinese Central Government, and this is explicitly noted in the Treaty.[58]

As shown above, there is great deal of substance in the main argument of Chou En-lai and the Chinese do have a genuine grievance against the Simla Conference. India should recognise the fact that China was coerced into initialling the Simla Convention which was not signed and ratified by China. Accordingly, as two of the most important nations of the Third World who share a common imperialist heritage it is nothing but proper to re-negotiate their boundaries and reach a long-lasting settlement. In this connection we should note that China has reached fair and reasonable border agreements with India's neighbours Pakistan, Afganistan, Burma, and Nepal. A similar agreement would benefit both China and India who need to divert funds from defence to national development.

In this regard one should also make an attempt to understand the Chinese thinking on the matter. China opposes the Simla Conference and the McMahon Line not merely because they are "imperialist symbols"[59] or due to the Chinese desire to "regain the full territory and standing of the Chinese Empire at its peak".[60] It stems largely from their deep-rooted spirit of nationalism[61] which aspires to complete the recovery of Chinese sovereignty lost to foreign imperialism. Regaining complete sovereignty is important for a nation to establish its identity. China's long stuggle against the unequal treaties was one step in that direction.

Another area in which China's sovereign rights have been violated is in the sphere of national boundaries. China lost a mass of territory to Russian, British, French and Japanese imperialism since the Opium War until the end of the Second World War. Although some of those lands have been recovered since then, China believes that in drawing up of the Indo-Tibetan border by McMahon at the Simla Conference it lost a large tract of territory to India. Thus, the Chinese perception of the events at the Simla Conference still influence her thinking on Sino-Indian relations. This is not to say that the Chinese policy towards India rests soly on the imperatives of Chinese nationalism or the memories of the humiliations at Simla. Nonetheless, it is true that China's bitter experience at the Simla Conference remains to-date a determining factor in shaping Chinese thinking on the Sino-Indian border dispute. The recognition and understanding of this fact by India would pave the way for a speedy resolution of the Sino-Indian border problem and the improvement of their mutual relations.

NOTES

1. Foreign Office, Great Britain (hereafter cited as F. O.), 535/17, No. 231, India Office to Foreign Office, 25th August 1914. encl. 1. Final Memorandum of A. H. Mcmahon on the Simla Conference (hereafter cited as **Memorandum**).
2. Ibid.
3. Lu Hsing-chi, **Hsi-tsang Chiao-she chi-yao,** (Taipei, 1954), p. 45a.
4. F. O. 228/2582, No 57, Viceroy of India (hereafter cited as Viceroy) to Her Majesty's Minister (hereafter cited as HMM), 8th October, 1913.
5. W. D. Shakabpa, **Tibet : A Political History,** (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1968,) pp. 256-257
6. F. O. 228/2580, No. 73, Sir Jordan (Her Majesty's Minister in Peking) to Sir E. Grey (Foreign Secretary), 26th June 1913.
7. F. O. 228/2581, No. 93, Jordan to Grey, June 23, 1913.
8. F. O. 228/2582, No. 49, Viceroy to HMM, 6th October 1913.
9. F. O. 228/2582, No. 27, Jordan to Grey, 21st April 1914.
10. **Memorandum.**
11. Ibid.
12. F. O. 228/2585, No. 28, Viceroy to HMM, 22nd April 1914.
13. Ibid.
14. **Boundary Question betwcen China and Tibet** (hereafter cited as **BQ**) (n. p. Peking 1940), pp. 132-133; Lu Hsing-chi, op cit p. 47b.
15. Ibid. For the text of the Convention see, Ibid pp. 91-96.
16. BQ, p. 120.
17. Ibid.
18. **Memorandum.**
19. Ibid.; BQ, p. 121; **Chnng-Tsang Chieh-wu- i-chien Shu,** (n. p., n. d.,) (hereafter cited as **CCS**,) p. 23a; **Tsang-an Chih-Luch** n. p., 1919, (hereafter cited as **TCL**,) 15 b; Lu Hsing-chi, p. 47b.
20. Memorandum, encl. No. 4, Progress of Negotiations, December 25, 1913 to 30th April 1914.
21. **BQ**, p. 122.

22. **Memorandum.**

23. **BQ**, p. 121-122.

24. Ibid., pp. 140-142.

25. **TCL**, p. 15b; Lu Hsing-chi, p. 48a; F. O. 228/2585, No. 49, Wai-chiao-pu (Chinese Foreign Office) Memorandum to HMM, 1st May 1914. See **BQ**. pp. 91-96 for the text of the Convention.

26. F. O. 228/2585, No. 42, India Office (hereafter cited as India) to HMM, 29th April 1914.

27. Ibid.

28. Alastair Lamb, **The McMahon Line**, 2 Vols (London. Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966) Vol II p. 595.

29. F. O. 228/2525, No. 42, India to HMM 29th April 1914.

30. **Memorandum**, encl. No. 5, Proceedings 1st May 1914 to 8th July 1914.

31. Ibid.

32. P. Mehra, **McMahon Line and After,** (New Delhi: MacMillan, 1974,) p. 244; P. C. Chakravarti, **India's China Policy,** (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1962), pp. 21-22.

33. Mehra, p. 220.

34. Ibid. Perhaps in the ensuing excitement Ivan Ch'en put his full signature instead of his initials.

35. F. O. 228/2585, No. 36, Viceroy to HMM, 27th April 1914.

36. F. O. 228/2585, No. 46, Jordan to Grey, 1st May 1914.

37. F. O. 228/2585, No. 52, India to HMM, 2nd May 1914.

38. Ibid.

39. **Memorandum**

40. F. O. 228/2585, No. 25. Encl, **Ching-ching Shih-Pao**, 12th June 1914.

41. F. O. 228/2585, No. 44, Jordan to Grey, 30th April 1914.

42. F. O. 228/2586, No. 34, Jordan to Grey, 16th June 1914.

43. F. O. 228/2585, No. 47, Grey to Jordan, 1st May 1914.

44. F. O. 228/2585, No. 49, Memorandum from Wai-chiao-pu to HMM, 1st May 1914.

45. **North China Herald,** 2nd June 1914.

46. **Memorandum**. See also, F. O. 228/2585, No. 10, Viceroy to HMM, 7th April 1914.

47. F. O. 228/2586, No. 10, Note from Jordan to Chinese Foreign Ministry, 6th June 1914.

48. F. O. 228/2586, No. 34, Jordan to Grey, 16th June 1914.

49. CCS p. 23.
TCL pp. 19a-19b.

50. F. O. 228/2586, No. 47, Grey to Jordan, 24th June 1914. CCS, p. 24a. TCL p. 20a.

51. F. O., 228/2586, No. 54, Wai-chiao-pu Memorandum to HMM, 29th June 1914.

52. F. O., 228/2586, No. 57, Grey to Jordan, 30th June 1914.

53. **BQ**. p. 147.

54. F. O., 228/2586, No. 64, Viceroy to HMM, 4th July 1914.

55. Lamb op. cit, pp. 518-520

56. F. O., 228/2586, No. 64, Viceroy to HMM, 4th July 1914.

57. F. O., 371/931, No. 30825, Secretary of State to Viceroy, 3rd July, 1914.

58. **Documents on the Sino-Indian Boundary Question,** (Peking, Foreign Language Press, 1960,) p. 6.

59. Lamb, op. cit., p. 590.

60. See for instance, C. P. Fitzgerald ,**China's View of Their Place in the World,** (London, Oxford University Press, 1964).

61. The relationship between Chinese nationalism and foreign policy is discussed in Mary Wright, ed. **China in Revolution: The First Phase,** 1900-1913, 2nd ed., (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1972), Introduction. Joseph W. Esherick, **Reform and Revolution in Hunan and Hubei,** (Berkely, University of California Press, 1976). John E. Schrecker, **Imperialism and Chinese Nationalism : Germany in Shantung,** (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1971). Chang Chung-fu, **Chung-hua min-kuo wai-chiao shih,** (Taipei, 1962), Hu Sheng, **Ti-kuo chu-i yu chung-kuo cheng-chih,** (Peking, 1952). See also, K. M. M. Werake, "Foreign Policy of Yuan Shih-k'ai, with special emphasis on Tibet, 1912-1916", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, Seattle, U. S. A. pp. 1-7 and pp. 131-191.

INFLUENCE OF NATURAL EXPERIENCE ON THE GROWTH OF MATHEMATICAL CONCEPTS - A PIAGETIAN STUDY WITH SRI LANKAN CHILDREN

by

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SUMMARY

This study attempted to measure the influence of natural environmental experience on the growth of mathematical concepts in children of the ages of 5-8 years. A sample of 80 subjects were chosen forming 40 matched pairs, in which 20 pairs of boys and girls of the four age levels (5, 6, 7 and 8 years) were represented. The subjects were selected and matched after assessing a large number of children on natural experience, achievement, intelligence, and socio-economic status. Standard Piagetian test items prepared in parallel forms were administered.

Analysis revealed that those who are high on natural experiences do not show any significant attainment in mathematical concepts to that of the ones who are low on natural experiences. The trends reveal that children of upper middle class homes though they were low on natural experiences tends to be better in mathematical concepts than the children with high natural experiences who usually come from the lower socio-economic homes. Boys showed a significant difference to girls in the growth of mathematical concepts. Also, it was found that the stages of mental growth as recognized by Piaget can be identified among Sri Lankan children as well.

INTRODUCTION

Piaget and his followers have formulated a connected and a plausible account of intellectual growth from birth to adolescence. It was assumed in early days even by Piaget himself that mental progression is a reflection of the maturation of the nervous system. Since then, Piaget and others have become increasingly aware of the part played by properly timed experience in the emergence of successive intelligence structures.

Diverse nature of experience can create differences in the nature of such intelligence structures or schemes and different rates of growth. Experience can be of different forms such as experience in the form of learning and training or constructed and organised. Many of the child's experience in the daily life are unorganized.

Unorganized daily experience which the child assimilates and accommodates may be classified again. On the one hand, experiences which the child receives in direct contact with the natural environment like playing with the natural substances of the environment such as sand and clay may be termed as first-hand experiences. These first-hand experiences or natural experiences are received by the child to a greater degree if the child is allowed to play out of doors in a free way without any objection or obstruction by the parents.

In a country like Sri Lanka, most children belonging to culturally deprived class enjoy this freedom of playing in the open more than the upper middle class children. It is observed that most children in the upper middle classes have less companions in play, they are allowed to mix with a selected group of children, or in most families where there is only one child, a child is forced to play alone by himself. Lower class children are compelled to do their daily household work such as carrying water and firewood, sweeping the house, and buying daily requirements from nearby boutiques. All these experiences can be grouped under first-hand experiences or natural experiences, and this type of experiences are seemed received more by the children of the lower socio-economic classes. Playing games which provide more opportunity of gaining experiences could be a favourable factor in the formation of mathematical concepts. Experiences gained by playing with manufactured toys enjoyed by upper class children may be termed as second-hand experiences and these experiences are not included under natural experiences.

With this background information, it is hypothised that children having a higher rate of natural experiences have a better understanding of mathematical concepts than children having a lower rate of natural experiences.

Experiences vary culturally too, and especially differences in the understanding and growth of concepts may vary in the developed western countries from under-developed countries like Sri Lanka. This leads to the second hypothesis that stages of intellectual growth recognised by Piaget and his followers can be identified among Sri Lankan children too. Thirdly, it was the curiosity of the researchers to find whether there is a significant difference in the growth of mathematical concepts between female and male children.

Harlem (1968), in dealing with Piaget's theory says that the relative importance of the roles of maturation and experience in determining the rate of passing from one stage of mental development to another has to be thoroughly explored. There are numerous researches dealing with how pre-training can affect the growth of mathematical concepts. These researches deal with pre-training in language, pre-training in the understanding of a particular concept and pre-training about the logical thought procedures leading to the understanding of mathematical concepts. In a research on pre-training in language conducted by Remmo Hamel, Vanderveer, Rennie Westerproof (1972), showed that only partial conservers benefitted by this training. Halford and Fulleston, Wallach and Sprott (1969), and Smedslund (1959), dealt with pre-training in the understanding of a particular concept showed that even. though an improvement in the understanding of the concept is seen immediately after training, this understanding is not permanent and is likely to become extinct after a short time.

According to Piaget, before the occurrence of conservation, child should be able to perform operations of multiple classification, multiple relationality and reversability (Piaget 1952). Siegal, Roeper and Hoepre (1966), in an experiment dealing with conservation of substance, provided pre-training in multiple classification, multiple relationality, and reversibility. Here, those who received the training showed an improvement in the understanding of the concept and in the use of situation language in explaining their knowledge of conservation especially concerning the concept of weight. Similar experiments have been conducted by Bell (1970), Smechlund (1961), Wohlwill and Lome (1969), and reached positive results. According to Piaget (1964), if a cetrain cognitive structure grows within the child and reaches a state of equilibrium that concept becomes permanent in him and will never forget it throughout his life.

Nita and Nagavo (1968), studied the influence of learning on the growth of mathematical concepts, especially concerning the concept of weight. It was found that practice and exercises in measurement of weight and knowledge about units of weight gained in a learning situation is helpful in understanding the concept of weight.

The influence of the experiences in daily life on the growth of mathematical concepts was shown by Lovell (1961), and his co-workers. In one of their studies on the conservation of weight, he found that children who showed conservation when dealing with one substancse failed to conserve when dealing with another substance. According to Lovell and Ogilvie a child who has conserved in the weight of a lump of plasticine failed to conserve the weight of a lump of butter. Some could not understand that the weight of a mass of ice and the weight of the water when it melted was equal. Hence, Lovell concluded that experiences in daily life plays a far greater part in the development of mathematical concepts than Piaget allowed. According to Lovell, in the experience of shopping for butter the child may notice and conserve the weight whereas plasticine may be manipulated with no attention to its weight. Hence, Harlam (1968), says that such conclusions are only tentative since no attempt was made to explore the effect of experience in a controlled experiment.

METHODOLOGY

(a) Composition of the Sample

The sample consisted of 80 school children in the age range of 5 years and 6 months to 8 years and 6 months consisting of two equal groups of high and low on natural experience. 20 girls and 20 boys were included in each group. The subjects belonged to four age groups 5 years and 6 months, 6 years and 6 months, 7 years and 6 months and 8 years and 6 months. Hence for the 4 age levels there were 16 groups (Age Level x Sex x High-Low Experience).

(b) Sampling

Through interviews a questionnaire was filled to amount the level of natural experiences. [1] Nearly 200 children were thus interviewed before the 40 matched pairs of subjects were selected from the top and the bottom ends of the ranked list on natural experiences. The children

1. High on Natural Experience — HNE
   Low on Natural Experidnce — LNE

were selected from the same grades to control the variable of learning experience. As the factor of intelligence had to be controlled, children were tested individually by using Raven's progressive matrics. Raven's coloured progressive matrices were used on children of 5 and 6 years age levels.

In the sample, 80 children were arranged in matched pairs according to age, grade achievement, sex, natural experience, and intelligence. Intelligence test marks and natural experience scales were subjected to re-testing to assure reliable matching. It was evident in the selection of the sample that the 2 groups showing high and low rates of natural experience clearly belonged to lower class and upper middle class of the social class structure respectively. The social class representation of the two groups were confirmed by the contents of a questionnaire dealing with socio-economic status which was filled up by the parents of the children concerned.

(c) Testing

All the experimental items that are used to test the six mathematical concepts that are selected were chosen and prepared from the experiments used by previous researchers including Piaget himself.

The experimental items were as follows :

1. Seriation (Beard 1968) and Hyde (1959).
   Apparatus used : Pictures of 10 boy scouts and 10 sticks to match their heights.

2. Class inclusion (Piaget 1952).
   Apparatus used :
   (1) 20 plastic beads, 18 black and 2 white.
   (2) 18 wooden blocks, 10 red and 8 white.

3. Classification: Piaget and Inhelder (1960)
   Apparatus used: Circles, squares and triangles, red, yellow and blue made out of cardboard.

4. Conservation of Substance : (Piaget 1953)
   Apparatus used :
   (1) Rice for continuous qualities and clay for discontinuous qualities.
   (2) Plastic cups of different sizes.

5. Conservation of length : (Piaget, Inhelder and Steminska) 1960.
   Apparatus : 5 pairs of sticks of different length.

6. Conservation of weight : (Piaget 1941)
   Apparatus used : 2 balls of clay and a small balance.

These experimental items can be regarded as having a high degree of validity as they were directly connected with the concepts concerned and have been subjected to experiment in a number of earlier researches.

Items were revised wherever necessary after identifying defects by a pilot test. The experimental items were separated into two parallel tests to make the statistics obtained more reliable. In each test there were 2 items for each concept. The second parallel test was conducted on each child on the same day as the first but separated by a suitable interval of time. The correlation of the marks obtained for the first and second parallel tests was 0.748. The testing situation was controlled by creating similar environments not only in the provision of light and ventilation, but also in minor necessities like table covers, desks and chairs.

(d) Scoring

Marks were given for the individual concepts and the total for all the concepts was not considered. Total for each concept was 8 marks with 2 marks for each item. Marks were given for each item in three levels, '2' marks for the full presence of the concept and '1' mark for partial presence. When there is no clue in any way to indicate the presence of the concept, '0' marks were given. In the analysis 6 marks or above or 75 per cent or above was considered the criteria level for the presence of the concept.

Analysis and Results

The mean and the variance of the marks received for each concept show that the concept of seriation occurs in the Sri Lankan child at the age of 7 years and 6 months followed by the growth of the concept of classification. Statistics show that LNE children obtained the concept of classification earlier than HNE children. For the 4 age levels starting from 5 years and 6 months the mean score of LNE children were 4.4, 4.7, 6.8, 6.9 whereas the mean scores of HNE children were 2.6, 3.9, 6.2 and 7.2. Even though LNE children obtain the concept of classification at 7 years and 6 months HNE children are seen to obtain the concept a little later.

In the concepts of class inclusion, conservation of substance, length and weight, a satisfactory number of children have not reached the expected criterian level of 75 per cent. Hence, in agreement with Piaget's views we can conclude that the concepts will grow gradually in children during the concrete operational period.

Concept of class inclusion is seen to grow more rapidly among LNE children as compared to HNE children. Among the HNE children, at the age level of 8, only 10 per cent have reached the criteria level, while among the LNE children 10 per cent at the age level of 7 and 30 per cent at the age level of 6 have reached the expected criteria level. Even in the concept of conservation of weight, the 6 which gained the criteria level is more in the case of LNE children than HNE children. Among HNE children, 0 per cent at the age level of 7 and 20 per cent at the age level of 8 have gained the concept, while among the LNE children the percentages of those who gained the concept were 20 per cent at the age level of 7 and 30

per cent at the age level of 8. The percentages of those who reached the expected criteria level in different age levels thus show the influence of social class on the growth of the concept of weight.

The concept of the conservation of length too is seen to develop late. It is not seen to develop at a satisfactory level till the age level of 8 at which in both groups 30 per cent have reached the criteria level. Hence, there is no indication of the influence of natural experience on the development of the concept of length.

Statistics show that the concept of conservation of substance also occurs late among the children. But here the concept is seen to occur more frequently among HNE children than LNE children. Among HNE children, the percentage of those who have gained the the criteria level is 10 per cent at the age level of 6 and 10 per cent at the 7 year level. While the LNE group showed 0% at both these age levels. At the age level of 8 both groups showed that 30 per cent have reached the criteria level.

Natural Experience and the Differences of Sex

There is no difference between HNE and LNE girls and between HNE girls and HNE boys in the presence of the concept of seriation. But, there are indications to show that LNE boys obtain the concept earlier than LNE girls and HNE boys. Influences of the differences of sex are seen in the concept of class inclusion. In this concept, at all four age levels, the mean score received by boys are higher than those received by the girls. LNE boys seem to be ahead of HNE boys in the presence of the concept of class inclusion. Among the LNE boys, 20 per cent have reached the criteria level at the age of 6 years and 6 months and 40 per cent at the age level of 8 years and 6 months.

Interaction of sex with the rate of natural experience is clearly seen in the growth of the concept of classification. LNE girls show higher mean score than HNE girls. LNE girls achieve the concept about a year ahead of HNE girls, i. e. at the age level of 7 years and 6 months. Among the LNE girls, 100 per cent reach the criteria level at the age level of 7 years and 6 months. The differecne between LNE and HNE boys is also very clear in the concept of classification. Out of the LNE boys, 80 per cent reach the criteria level at the age level of 7 years and 6 months. The LNE boys obtaining the concept more rapidly than HNE boys is shown by the fact that at the 6 year level itself 40 per cent reach the criteria level.

More marked differences are seen between males and females in the occurrence of the concept of conservation of substance. Only a few reach the criteria level among the girls at the age level of 8. But at the same age level, 60 per cent of the boys reach the expected criteria. Even in the occurrence of the concept of conservation of weight, boys seem to be ahead of girls. Among the LNE boys, 40 per cent reach the criteria level at the age level of 7 years and 6 months and 60 per cent at the age level of 8 years and 6 months.

In all the mathematical concepts dealt with in this experiment, boys seem to be ahead of girls. In the concept of classification at all four age levels, boys obtained higher mean scores than girls. In the concept of conservation of substance in 3 out of 4 age levels and in the concept of conservation of weight in 3 out of 4 age levels, boys showed higher averages than girls; only in the concept of the conservation of length in 3 out of 4 age levels, the girls obtained higher mean scores. Hence, on a general trend, boys seem to be obtaining the mathematical concepts more rapidly than girls. Figures indicating the variances of the marks obtained by boys show higher values than those of girls. Hence, we can arrive at the idea that development of mathematical concepts occur at an average rate among girls and at a more variable rate among boys. Differences in the mean scores of LNE girls and HNE girls are so small than influence of natural experience shown. Yet, in the concepts of conservation, of substance, length and weight, differences in the mean scores of LNE boys and HNE boys are noticeable.

When mean scores of HNE and LNE groups for different age levels are considered separately, two anomolous situations are seen at the 7 year level in class inclusion and in conservation of length. Apart from this, from the age level of 5 years and 6 months onwards up to 8 years and 6 months, the regular increase in mean scores clearly shows the gradual growth of mathematical concepts..

Table I shows the significance of the difference of means obtained by HNE and LNE children of different age levels. The differences are tested for their significance by using 't' test for correlated samples. According to Table I, there is no instance showing a significant difference at .05 level for the age level of 8 years and 6 months. Only at the age level of 7 years and 6 months, there are two instance showing a significant difference, i.e. for the concepts of classification and conservation of weight. Though the statistics show a positive trend towards upper middle class children in the presence of mathematical concepts, the differences are significant only in the concepts of classification and conservation of weight.

Table 2 shows the significance of the differences of the means obtained by LNE and HNE girls and LNE and HNE boys. According to this Table, out of the 24 situations studied in 19 situations, HNE girls are ahead of LNE girls. In 6 situations LNE girls are ahead of HNE girls and in 9 situations there is no difference. Similar statistics denoting the significance levels of HNE and LNE boys showed that, in 16 out of 24 situations LNE boys were ahead of HNE boys, in 4 situations HNE boys were ahead of LNE boys, and in 4 situations there was no difference. Hence, we can discern enough clues to indicate that the extent to which natural experience influence the existence of mathematical concepts is more in the case of boys than girls. Statistics show a significant difference only in two instances concerning girls in the concept of classification at 7 year level and concerning boys the concept of classification at the 5 year old level. Hence, clues are not sufficient to warrant the conclusion that there is an interaction between natural experience and differences of sex.

Table 3 shows the significance of the differences between boys and girls of the 4 age levels in the presence of mathematical concepts. Out of the 24 instances, 7 boys have shown higher mean scores than girls. Hence, we arrive at the idea that boys are ahead of girls in the development of mathematical concepts. But the differences are significant only in 5 instances at 10 per cent level and only in 3 instances at 5 per cent level.

Table 4 shows the significance of the differences in the development of mathematical concepts between various age levels. Statistics show a significant difference between children of 5 year age level and 6 years age level in the concept of seriation. Seriation, class inclusion, classification and conservation of substance, length and weight, indicated significant differences at the 8 year age level. According to Piaget, as the children from the pre-operational stage enters the concrete operational stage, there is a significant difference in the occurrence of mathematical concepts. Sri Lankan children too confirm this Piagetian theory.

Table 5 shows that out of the 20 males and females at each age level, the percentage which reached the 75 per cent criteria level at the age level of 7 years the concept of seriation is present in 100 per cent of the children. In the concept of classification, 65 per cent at the 7 year level and 85 per cent at the 8 year level reach the required criteria level. Conservation of substance, length and weight, gradually grows in children. The percentages being 5 per cent at 6 year level and 7 year level and 30 per cent in the 8 year level. Percentages concerning the concept of class inclusion are not found to be regular. Hence, conclusionary statement cannot be drawn from them.

FINDINGS

Analysis of results leads to following conclusions :

1. There are no significant differences in the growth of mathematical concepts between those having high and low rates of natural experience.

2. Influence of natural experience on the growth of mathematical concepts seem to be more significant among the boys.

3. Concept of seriation is soon to occur at the 7 year old level and concept of classification at 8 year old level. Concepts of class inclusion, conservation of substance, length and weight, are seen to occur at 8 year old level. But, in these concepts, only 30 per cent of the children reach the criteria level. The fact that only 35 per cent reach the criteria level at 8 year old level in conservation of weight indicate that this concept occurs much later.

4. There is a statistical trend to show that the boys assimilate the concepts more rapidly than girls. But, this is not indicated by a significant difference.

5. Different stages of intellectual development recognized by Piaget are seen to occur among Sri Lankan children as well. There is a significant growth in the concept of seriation between the ages of 6 and 7 years. Significant growth is shown in the concepts of classification, class inclusion, conservation of substance, length and weight, between 7 and 8 years.

Hence, these findings indicate that Sri Lankan child enters the stage of concrete operations after passing pre-operational stage between the ages of 7 and 8.

DISCUSSION

The main discovery of the research is that there is no significant difference in the growth of mathematical concepts between HNE and LNE children. But the statistics show a minor positive trend towards the LNE children, indicating that the growth of mathematical concepts may be a little more rapid among them.

According to Piaget's theory, the rate of natural experience should influence the formation of mathematical concepts. Then why do LNE children show a more rapid development of mathematical concepts? This clearly shows the influence of other variables. Since the LNE children belong to the upper middle class of the social structure, influence of social class structure on the growth of mathematical concepts is clearly seen. Therefore, a number of variables which can be included in the social class structure can influence the growth of mathematical concepts. Upper class children's way of life and their environment may be conclusive educational activities and hence even if the amount of natural experience is less, the few experiences that they receive may be in an organised form so that they can be easily assimilated and accommodated. The natural experiences which the HNE child receives may not in an organised form and the child has to organise them with his own effort. Hence, even if more experiences are received the child will need more time to assimilate them and form the necessary concepts.

Assimilation of natural experiences may occur in a meaningful way in an upper middle class child due to the motivation created and encouragement given by the members of the family. He will be in a better position physically and emotionally to assimilate the experiences and develop a firm logical structure conducive to the formation of the concepts. Upper middle class child may be in a better position in sustaining their attention on a stuation for a longer time. He may have the attitude of looking at a situation and dealing with it in a more analytical way. In other words, he may be in possession of a more favourable cognitive style. This idea was clearly experienced during the experiments when some HNE or lower class children, were questioned by the expeimenter they almost instantly provided an answer without pausing to think about the situation at all. The habit of arriving at an idea after careful thinking and consideration seem to be more prevalent among the upper middle class children.

The elaborate code of language which the upper middle class child is shown to possess (Bernctein 1961), may also help in the assimilation of natural experiences. The well balanced personality which most upper middle class children are seen to possess as a result of balanced physical, mental and emotional state will help them to assimilate their experiences meaningfully.

Physically and emotionally handicapped lower class child is not in a position to assimilate meaningfully the numerous natural experieces that he receives due to less attention, encouragement, and interest. When a child is physically weak and subjected to malnutrition, even if the child possesses a higher intellectual power, his intelligent activity is diminished. Joseph Klein (1971), says that children who come from deprived environments have a different cognitive style and less motivation. According to an experiment undertaken by Dorris Calloway referred to in the Unesco Publication, "*The Education on the Move*"

(1972), after a few days of complete protein deprivation with full calories of vitamin and mineral supply there are already signs of mental disabilities. Simple tasks such as recall of names and numbers and simple arithmetic exercises are noticeably affected. Accorfding to Calloway, the consequences of malnutrition are shortened span of attention, reduced mental powers, increased drowsiness, and prolonged sleep cycles, all contributing to a gross reduction of play and learning activities.

The experiences that the upper middle class children receive both within their homes and in the immediate environment such as weighing of different food items, measuring lengths and breadths etc., even though less natural, may be directly related to mathematical concepts. In the above mentioned type of experience, connection to mathematical concepts is already established, while in natural experiences the child has to interpret the connection to mathematical concepts.

Still, natural experience may be regarded as a contributing factor in providing the logical structure of thinking which permits the understanding of mathematical concepts. The fact that the children of the culturally deprived class even with so many variables against them did not show a significant difference to upper middle class children in the presence of mathematical concepts shows the importance of maturation as well as natural experience in the growth of mathematical concepts. Natural experience may be identified as a favourable contributing factor for mental activities of children in the lower income group of society.

In a research conducted by Jam T. D. Wel, Celia B. Lavatells, and R. Stewart Jones (1971), on the influence of social class on the mathematical concepts of class inclusion and classification, lower class children received lower marks than the children of the upper class. Upper middle class children had given more logically constructed answers as compared to that of lower class children. Piaget (1969) and Goodnow (1962), have shown that social class structure can influence the growth of mathematical concepts in children. Almie Miller, Chittenden and Paulo Miller (1966), showed that only a few children from the lower classes have gained the understanding to mathematical concepts. According to the results of their research, mathematical concepts are seen to occur among lower class children an year later than in middle class children. Hence, the present research has obtained results in accordance with Piaget's idea and in conformity to the results of the researches carried out by his followers.

The favourable learning history in the upper class primary schools may also contribute to the better understanding of mathematical concepts by upper class children. Nita and Nagavo in Japan (1966), in a research on the influence of learning history to the presence of mathematical concepts in children, have shown that to create a better understanding of the concept of weight, children should be taught about the units of measurements and given practice in weighing with a scale.

Piaget's ideas about cognitive development have been experimented in various cultures and the results of which have confirmed the idea of the successive stages of mental development. In a research carried out by Greenfield (1966), among the Bush Tribe in Africa, while recognising the different stages of mental development, found that these children differed from

French children in the nature of reasons given as explanations. Siegal and Meimelstein (1965), in an experiment carried out in Prince Edwards Islands found that there is no difference in the understanding of mathematical concepts between non-school going and school-going children. P. E. Poole (1968), in a research conducted with the Hansen tribe in North Algeria recognized the different stages of mental development but found that the English children had a better understanding of mathematical concepts. In researches conducted by Price Williams (1961), with Tiv tribe in Africa, and Frienfield with Wolof tribe in Africa found that the concrete operational stage starts at the age of 8. In a similar research undertaken by the Curriculum Development Centre in Sri Lanka found it true among Sri Lanka children as well.

In the present research too, different stages of mental development recognised by Piaget is evident. Significant differences are shown in the presence of mathematical concepts between age levels of 7 and 8 years. But, according to Table 5, even at the age level of 8, majority of children have not gained the criteria level in the occurrence of mathematical concepts. Table 6 shows the percentages of those who gained conservation for concepts of conservation of weight substance and volume, at different age levels in an experiment conducted by D. Elkind (1961). Comparison of these percentages with the similar percentages of Sri Lankan children show a noticeable difference. The growth of concept may be less rapid among children in countries like Sri Lanka as compared to Western countries due to different methods of bringing up children, unfavourable home and school environments, and due to the higher stage of scientific and technical development found in western countries.

The low reliability found in the statistics obtained for the concept of class inclusion may be due to unambiguous nature of the experimental items concerned. Hydo (1959) in his research, has pointed out that the experiment concerning white and brown beads can easily be misunderstood by the children.

Present research has shown that boys are ahead of girls in understanding mathematical concepts. Out of the 5 situations where significant differences are shown, 4 were to the advantage of boys, and even if there is no significant difference, out of the 24 situations 17 show a positive trend favourable to boys.

In a research conducted by Marian Goldschmid (1967) on the influence of age, sex, IQ, MA, and vocabulary on conservation has found that boys had performed better than girls. She showed that this is the result of more freedom enjoyed by boys as compared to girls. According to the way the children are brought up in our culture too, boys seem to enjoy greater freedom in play and environmental activities. Boys, because of their active nature and freedom, tend to think in a more practical way than the girls who are more imaginative. This practical way of thinking can aid in the understanding of mathematical concepts.

Reasons forwarded by children during the experiment also reveal their mental activity leading to the understanding of the concept. David Elkind (1961) has classified the reasons thus obtained by 4 kinds:

1. Giving irrelevant details (Romancing - Piaget 1951b)
2. Reasons connected with percep ion.
3. Specific reasons.
4. General reasons.

According to the results of Elkinds, experiment perceptional reasons decrease and specific reasons increase with age. This shows that the child gradually frees himself from perceptional thinking and starts thinking in terms of specific activities. In this research too, the reasons put forward for conservation were analysed and 4 kinds of reasons were discovered:

1. Reasons built on perception.
2. Reasons built on activities.
3. Reasons built on relationships.
4. Reasons built on reversibility.

The children at the 5 year old level put forward more perceptional reasons, and as the age increased, reasons built on activities and reversibility were common. Table 7 shows different kinds of reasons given as the percentage of the total number of correct replies. Sometimes, child's understanding of the concept was visible even though he was not able to give a reason. At 5 year age level, there were 18 such instances and only one such instance at 8 year old level. According to Table 8, there were 7 per cent of such instances in the LNE group and 11 per cent in the HNE group. Failure to put forward a reason even though the concept is understood may be taken as a result of language difficulty. Such language difficulty is seen to be more marked among the HNE or lower social class group. According to Table 8, LNE children are ahead of HNE children in reasons built on activities and reversibility, which shows a greater presence of logical thinking among upper middle class children.

Experiences received during experiments

Success of the experiments depends on the aptitude of the experimenter, and the interest and effort taken by him on the experimenter's way of thinking. It influence the nature of the reaction, importance of experimenting the whole group by one single experiment thus realised. Experimental situation is also seen to be influenced by the particular teaching methods prevalent in the school. According to the traditional teaching methods in most Sri Lankan schools, the reason is asked for by the teacher only when the teacher receives a wrong answer from the student. During the experiments there was a feeling among the children that the answer might be wrong when they were asked for a reason for their conservation. Hence, specific instructions had to be given to avoid this situation.

During the experiment, the children had no way of knowing whether the answer given by them was right or wrong. Hence, the children having a higher rate of self confidence may think that all the answers were right and *vice versa*. After the first test, as it is the general practice, children talk among themselves as to the nature of the replies that they had given. As a result of this conversation, children might accept a a wrong answer as a correct one. During the second test, there were enough clues to indicate the possibility of the occurrence of such a situation.

Validity of the findings of this research may be confirmed if they are subjected to further research. It will be possible to ascertain the direct influence of natural experience on the occurrence of of mathematical concepts if such past research makes an attempt in some way to control the social class of the children. In this research a lot of variables are given in explanation of the higher level of occurrence of mathematical concepts among upper middle class children. But the need to find out how the natural experience will directly influence the growth of mathematical concepts is evident.

The validity and reliability of the findings here is limited because a small sample is used which cannot be avoided in this kind of clinical method of research. However, these findings may be helpful in generalising the findings of later researches.

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TABLE 1: Significance of the Differences of Marks Obtained by LNE and HNE Children at Different Age Levels.

Concept	Age 5 yrs to 5 yrs & 6 m.	Age 5 yrs to 6 yrs & 6m.	Age 7 yrs to 7 yrs & 6m.	Age 8 yrs to 8 yrs & 6m.
Seriation	– 1.2	.58	00	– .85
Class Inclusion	– .26	1.35	1.00	– .425
Classification	– 1.82	– 1.06	– 6.74	.394
Conservation of Substance	– .32	.84	– .71	– .516
Conservation of Length	.557	1.24	– 1.6	– .59
Conservation of Weight	.16	.559	– 2.26	– .671

N = 10 P < 05 t df = 9 = Critical ratio = 2.26
df = N–1

TABLE 2: Significance of the Differences of Marks Obtained by LNE and HNE Girls and Boys.

Concept	M A L E S			
	5 yrs 6 m.	6 yrs 6 m.	7 yrs 6 m.	8 yrs 6 m.
Seriation	– 1.373	0.9669	0.000	– 1.000
Class Inclusion	0.4313	– 1.3719	– 1.0527	– 0.6910
Classification	– 3.000*	– 0.1363	– 0.6123	– 0.4082
Conservation of Substance	– 1.000	– 0.4082	0.000	– 0.5897
Conservation of Length	– 1.000	1.000	– 1.000	– 1.2418
Conservation of Height	0.000	0.000	– 1.6329	– 0.8346
Seriation	0.00	– 1.00	0.00	0.00
Class Inclusion	– 1.139	1.00	0.00	0.0788
Classification	– 0.602	1.299	– 6.50	0.1567
Conservation of Substance	0.00	1.290	0.00	0.0000
Conservation of Length	1.00	1.000	0.00	0.6123
Conservation of weight	0.00	1.000	1.632	0.0000

t ; df = 4 p < .20 — 1.476
„ < .10 — 2.015
„ < .05 — 2.776
„ < .01 — 4.604

TABLE 3: Significance of the Differences between Boys and Girls of the 4 Age Levels in the Presence of Mathematical Concepts.

Concepts	From 5 yrs upto 5 yrs 6m.	6 yrs upto 6 yrs 6 m.	7 yrs upto 7 yrs 6 m.	8 yrs upto 8 yrs 6 m.
Seriation	– .553	.535	.00	– 671
Class Inclusion	– .3	– 2.86**	– 1.00	– 1.47
Classification	.603	– .476	– .267	– .932
Conservation of Substance	– 1.00	.440	– 1.76*	– 3.11*
Conservation of Length	.142	.723	– 1.00	– 2.26*
Conservation of Weight	1.973*	– .66	– 1.34	– 1.411

N1 = 10 N2 = 10 C.R. * 0.10 t; df = 18 — 1.734
** 0.05 t; df = 18 — 2.10

TABLE 4: Significance of the Differences in the Development of Mathematical Concepts between the 4 Age Levels.

Concepts	5 yrs. 6 m. and 6 yrs. 6 m.	6 yrs. 6 m. and 7 yrs. 6 m.	7 yrs. 6 m. and 8 yrs. 6 m.
Seriation	1.76*	3.36*	– 2.09*
Class Inclusion	0.008	– 1.45	2.65*
Classification	1.204	3.102*	2.03*
Conservation of Substance	1.85*	0.355	2.86*
Conservation of Length	0.273	– 0.274	3.07*
Conservation of Weight	0.00	1.34	1.84*

* 0.05 t; df = 38 – 1.697
** 0.01 t; df = 38 – 2.423

TABLE 5: The Percentage which reached the Criteria Level in Different Concepts for the 4 Age Levels.

Concepts	5 yrs. to 5 yrs. 6 m.	6 yrs. to 6 yrs. 6 m.	7 yrs. to 7 yrs. 6 m.	8 yrs. to 8 yrs. 6 m.
Seriation	70%	70%	100%	100%
Class Inclusion	20%	00%	5%	20%
Classification	20%	20%	65%	85%
Conservation of Substance	00%	5%	5%	30%
Conservation of Length	00%	5%	5%	30%
Conservation of Weight	00%	00%	10%	25%

TABLE 6: Percentages of those gained Conservation at Different Age Lengths in D Elkind's Experiment (1961).

Concepts	Age Levels						
	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Conservation of Substance	18%	51%	70%	72%	86%	94%	92%
Conservation of Weight	21%	52%	51%	44%	73%	89%	78%
Conservation of Volume	0%	4%	0%	4%	4%	19%	25%

TABLE 7: Different Type of Reasons put forward by Children in Explaining their Conservation

Nature of the Answer	Age Levels			
	8 yrs. to 8 yrs. 6 m.	7 yrs. to 7 yrs. 6 m.	6 yrs. to 6 yrs, 6 m.	5 yrs. to 5 yrs. 6 m.
No reason	1%	2%	12%	18%
Answers built on perception	38.5%	38%	47%	56%
Answers built on activities	16%	15%	6%	4%
Answers built on relationship	30%	40%	28%	22%
Answers built on reversibility	14.5%	5%	7%	—

TABLE -8 Percentages of Different Types of Reasons Put Forward by Children of the LNE and HNE Groups in Experiment of Their Conservation.

Nature of Responses	LNE Group	HNE Group
No reason	7%	11%
Answers built on perception	47%	44%
Answers built on activities	11%	6%
Answers built on relationship	27%	33%
Answers built on reversibility	8%	6%

INVISIBLE LABOUR: A STUDY OF WOMEN'S CONTRIBUTION TO AGRICULTURE IN TWO TRADITIONAL VILLAGES IN THE DRY ZONE OF SRI LANKA*

W. M. Sirisena

Besides contributing to the home front, women in developing countries do play a significant role in agriculture. Their specific roles vary widely depending upon ecological economic, sociological and religious factors . Ester Boserup drew the attention to the economic participation of women in the Third World, by stressing their important role in the rural labour force. The differences in and the nature of male and female contributions to agricultural activities, according to her, depend on the agricultural system itself. The contribution of women is relatively more significant in extensive shifting cultivation while the male contribution is greater in areas where plough agriculture is practised. However, Boserup argued that when there is intensive cultivation of irrigated land "both men and women must put hard work into agriculture in order to earn enough to support a family on a small piece of land" (Boserup 1970:35). The exclusive farming systems identified by Boserup are not found in Sri Lanka. Various combination of farming systems are the characteristic of Sri Lankan agriculture. However, irrespective of the crop combination, a careful and detailed study of female participation in the peasant sector would demonstrate the important role women play in the agricultural sector in Sri Lanka. The present study will attempt to show the female contribution to agricultural production process in two villages in the dry zone where hoth paddy and *chena* cultivation are combined. We will examine the division of labour in the farm household in detail to show that a substantial contribution of labour to paddy and *chena* cultivation comes from women in these villages. Although the general view is that women are assisting males in farm operations we will show that female labour contribution sometimes exceeds that of males. In order to meet the additional demand in labour during peak periods in agricultural cycle women's contribution is crucial in the dry zone of Sri Lanka.

Ecological variations and climatic conditions led to different combination of cropping patterns in different parts of Sri Lanka. For example, the wet zone is characterized by a combination of plantation crops consisting mainly of tea, rubber and coconut and by paddy cultivation. In the government-sponsored new settlements of the dry zone, paddy cultivation is the main agricultural activity. Paddy and *chena* (or shifting cultivation) is the common combination of agricultural practices in the dry zone *purana* villages. The crops grown in *chenas* have changed over the years from mixed subsistence crops to cash crops such as chillies, cowpea and green gram. The labour requirment, the labour involvement and the male-female division of labour in agriculture in Sri Lanka are determined largely by the combination of crops, the type of technology adoped, cultural practices and socioeconomic factors in different parts of the country.

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Attending to household work, preparation of food for the family, rearing of children, taking part in exchanged labour, and assisting men in farm operations are considered women's work in the rural sector of Sri Lanka. Hence, women are not only engaged in domestic chores but also contribute directly to productive work. In the dry zone, where paddy and *chena* cultivation are combined, and in the agricultural settlements in the dry zone, where agticultural operations have to be tightly scheduled so as to make the best use of irrigation, there is a great demand for labour during peak periods. During such periods, the paritici-pation of women in agricultural tasks relieve the short supply of labour. Although women are considered marginal workers, when there is a heavy demand for labour supply for agricultural needs the labour input of rural women is extremely important. In such a situation women's participation is crucially important in order to obtain optimum farm production and optimum use of available resources.

Certain tasks traditionally assigned to male workers in Sri Lanka such as land preparation and threshing of paddy have been gradually mechanized. The tractorization of agriculture in the peasant sector has reduced male labour input in paddy production. But such farm activities as paddy transpalnting, land preparation, crop planting and harvesting in *chena* which are considered predominently female tasks, have not yet been affected by the process of mechanization. Therefore the demand for women's labour in agriculture in the rural sector has increased over the years or remained constant with the introduction of high yielding varieties and new agricultural technology. Although a few affluent households in a village who can afford hired labour (including female labour) have reduced participation of female *family* labour in the cultivation of family farms, majority of households with limited resources have to depend on the labour of women to cultivate their family farms. In addi-tion to working in their small family farms, women of households with limited land resources must also work as hired agricultural labourers in order to earn a supplemetary income as necessary.

Although the women's contribution to agriculture is considerable, her role in the production process tends to be underestimated to a large extent. Generally, men are considered producers and women as reproducers and consumers. The cultural norm that the male is the head of the household has always emphasized the male role, somewhat neglecting the female counterpart who has made an equal contribution to the household activities including agricultural operations. It is here that Boserup's argument becomes relevant because she has correctly drawn attention to the female contribution to household economy. She has pointed out that a careful study of the contribution of women and their allocation of time to agricultural production will give a better understanding of the rural household in developing countries.

In Sri Lanka women have not received the attention that they rightly deserve for their contribution to agricultural production. In studies of labour inputs in rural agriculture the main focus has been on the role of male labour. Ironically even the contribution of women is calculated in terms of man days. For example, one day's labour input in agriculture by a woman is estimated to be equal to only 66 to 75 per cent of one day's labour input by a man. Her daily wages are calculated on this assumption (Wickremasekera 1977:85). However, in certain operations in paddy cultivation such as transplanting, harvesting and

post-harvest operations the women's contribution is equally efficient. Similarly, except in jungle clearence, a woman worker can be considered as efficient as a male worker in most of the operations related to *chena* cultivation. Thus although her contribution is significant in both paddy and *chena* cultivation, her involvement is not properly assessed in terms of efficiency, output, quality and quantity of labour force participation in peasant agriculture. This is all the more important, when one considers that most women in rural Sri Lanka combine housework and remunerative and or non-remunerative farm activity. Women themselves have contributed to the neglect of their contribution to agricultural production by categorizing themselves as non workers or housewives (Jayaweera 1985:87). When women are asked to describe their occupation, their immediate response is to categorize themselves as housewives, because ideally their primary responsibility is towards their home and children. This is their socially accepted role.

In peasant households, males are considered the full-time farmers whereas women always go as the farm helpers.[1] This is mainly because of the cultural norm found not only in Sri Lanka, but also in most countries in South Asia, that adult males have the responsibility of providing for the family (Dasgupta *et al* 1977; Moore and Wickramasinghe 1980:68). Thus the adult males are often considered the core of the labour force in this region. If properly reckoned, women's contribution to agricultural ptoduction in certain areas is even more than that of the males. Hence a rigorous measure of labour force participation of women and division of labour between men and women must be based on a calculation of the actual number of days of agricultural work performed by different household members over the agricultural cycle. Thus a total amount of work by females have to be carefully recorded in order to evaluate their participation in the agricultural production process. Hence, one means of understanding the rural agricultural household better is to study the share and the time devoted by women to agricultural production(Rogers 1980:192).

The available data on the rural labour force participation in Sri Lanka indicate a lower rate of female participation in production activities.

TABLE 1 : Economic activity rates (percentages)

1971*		1978/79**		1981*		1981/82**	
Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
68.5	22.3	50.2	24.1	65.4	22.5	49.3	17.1

Source : * *Census of Population and Housing, Sri Lanka, 1981*
** *Consumer Finances and Socio-Economic Survey 1978/79 and 1981/82,* Central Bank, Colombo.

TABLE 2: Unemployment in Sri Lanka, Rural Sector (Percentages)

1978/79		1981/82	
Male	Female	Male	Female
8.7	26.3	7.3	25.3

Source : *Consumer Finances and Socio-Economic Survey 1978/79 and 1981/82* Central Bank, Colombo.

1 This is the general view of peasants themselves as well as of some of the researchers who have worked among peasants.

This evident low labour force participation rate for women is mainly due to the fact that the majority of women were not full time employees. Such data on the economic role of women in national surveys led to treating the majority of women in developing programmes as dependent housewives and not as producers (Jayaweera 1985:19). However, any one familer with the rural society in Sri Lanka would know that women in the rural sector do take part in productive farm work when there is a demand for their labour. Although they combine housework and farm work wherever possible, the national surveys may be under estimating the female contribution to agricultural production in rural Sri Lanka by lumping them together under the category of housewives. The analysis of micro-level data on employment and labour input for agriculture reveals a different pattern of women's participation. The present study therefore attempts to evaluate the labour contribution of women to the agricultural production in two villages in the dry zone part of Kurunegala District.

The cropping pattern in the dry zone is such that during *maha* season farmers combine both paddy and *chena* cultivation when land and water are available. Two crops of paddy during a year are possible only in places where an assured supply of irrigation facilities is available. Even in the *maha* season some form of irrigation such as small village tanks is necessary to supplement rain water and during *yala* the variability of rainfall is such that cultivation of most perennial crops become a risky venture. Hence employment opportunities, labour input and demand for female labour depend on the cropping pattern of the area, which in turn is determined by rainfall.

The two villages selected for the present study are in the dry zone area of the Kurunegala District. Although coconut and paddy are the common combination of crops in good part of Kurunegala District which from the point of view of climate falls into the intermediate zone, the northern part of the district is characterized by the combination of paddy and *chena* cultivation. In ecological terms, the northern part of Kurunegala district falls within the dry zone and the villages in the area are agroecologically similar to *purana* villages in the North Central Province. Villages from this part of Kurunegala District were selected because of the author's first hand knowledge of the area for a long time.

Moragaswewa, a typical village in the area, has a rainfed tank which supplements the water supply for some paddy lands in the village during the *maha* season. Climatic conditions permit only *chena* cultivation during the *yala* season. Moragaswewa is in the Maho AGA's division and is about nine miles from the Maho railway junction. Heelogama, the other village studied is one of the few villages in the area with a reliable source of irrigation throughout the year. Magalla tank which is connected to Daduru Oya through Ridibendiella provides irrigation facilities for paddy cultivation during both *yala* and *maha*. Although some farmers combine both paddy and *chena* cultivation in Heelogama, availability of assured irrigation facilities enables most farmers in the village to concentrate more on paddy during both *yala* and *maha* seasons. Heelogama is in the Nikaweratiya AGA's division and is about four miles from Nikaweratiya township. Both these willages have motorable roads and easy access to public transport.

Fieldwork for this study was carried out by the author with the help of two reasearch assistants who were graduates in social sciences between August 1978 and May 1979. Farm labour input and other farm activities were recorded by the research assistants every fifth day during the *maha* season from August 1978 to May 1979. Actual labour input by adults and children were regularly recorded during each visit and farm records were systematically maintained throughout the agricultural cycle. In addition, a comprehensive questionnaire was administered and information collected through unstructured interviews and observations by the author and the research assistants. The sample consisted of all the households in Moragaswewa and one third of the households at Heelogama. There were 38 households in the sample from each village. The Heelogama sample was selected randomly using the household lists maintained by the Grama-sevaka of the village. The female labour input into various agricultural activities were taken from the records maintained by the research assistants in the two villages.

Resources in the study locations : land and labour

Land

Paddy and *chena* cultivation is the basis of the rural economy of the dry zone peasants. Since the main economic activity in both study villages is agriculture, land and water are the most important factors of production. The limited irrigation facilities forced the dry zone farmer to combine both paddy and *chena* cultivation. Availability of water determines the amount of paddy that could be cultivated in any village in the dry zone. In the villages concerned the land use pattern, the type of crop grown, the technology used and the employment pattern are all related to the availability of irrigation facilities.

Land ownership and operation shows that most of the farm households in the two villages studied own and operate some paddy and highland (which is used for *chena* crops,).

TABLE 3: Land owned and operated in acres

Paddyland	Total Owned	Owned per household	Total operated	Operated per household
Moragaswewa	165	4.3	138	3.61
Heelogama	151	3.97	116	3.05
Total	316	4.15	254	3.34
Highland				
Moragaswewa	180	4.73	61	1.6
Heelogama	124.5	3.27	37	.97
Total	304.5	4.0	98	1.28

Unlike the rural farmers of the wet zone who had severe pressure on land, *purana* villages in the dry zone had opportunities until recently to release their population pressure by unauthorized expansion into crown land (later such land were regularizded under lease arrangement). Some farmers were able to develop small village tanks and "asweddumize" land below the tank for paddy cultivation but such land is limited even in the dry zone. Therefore the common practice is to encroach on highland for *chena* cultivation when opportunities are available. Even without proper irrigation the dry zone farmer cultivates paddy with rain water when there is land suitable for paddy cultivation.

The land tenure show that in both villages, part of land was *paraveni* or land inherited under traditional land tenure and *sinnakkara* or land purchased under the Land Development Ordinance of 1935; 25% of highland and 39.4% of paddy land at Moragaswewa and 71.5% of highland and 91% of paddy land at Heelogama were of either *paraveni* or *sinnakkara* land. The irrigation scheme under the Magalla tank has taken over all the irrigable land and, therefore, crown land available for further village expansion in Heelogama is limited. The type of land tenure and the land ownership and the availability of irrigation show that Heelogama farmers had better opportunities for paddy cultivation during both *yala* and *maha* with an assured supply of water for their own fields.

Moragaswewa is a typical dry zone village with a small village tank with limited irrigation facilities and with limited *paraveni* and *sinnakkara* land. Therefore people of Moragaswewa have made use of the available crown land around the village for rainfed high land paddy cultivation and *chenas*. When farmers make use of encroached crown land over a period of time land kachcheries allocated such land to the cultivators under the village expansion scheme if they did not own sufficient land to maintain their families. The government leased land (*badu-idam*) represents such land regularized by government deeds. The encroachment of crown land is very common in the dry zone villages when crown land is available in the vicinity of a village. For instance, 67.7% of the highland and 25% of the paddy land at Moragaswewa fall into this category. Farmers encroached into crown land in anticipation of regularizing thir position under government lease. In Moragaswewa 95% of the households had some encroached highland, 31% had more than two acres of such highland; 47.36% of the households had encroached paddy land although availability of suitable land for paddy cultivation was limited. In Heelogama only 34% had encroached highland and only one farmer had as much as one acre of paddy land. This is due to the non availability of suitable crown land near Heelogama for encroachment.

The land operation during 1978/79 *maha* season shows that a total of 138 acres or 3.61 acres of paddy per household were cultivated at Moragaswewa. All the households cultivated some paddy land. Except six households (15.78%) at Moragaswewa all the other households had some highland under *chenas* (Table:4). In Heelogama a total of 116 acres of paddy or 3.05 acres per household were cultivated during 1978/79 *maha*. Only three or 7.89% of the households did not operate any paddy land. However, 16 or 42.1% of the households did not engage in *chena* cultivation. This is due to the ability of the farmers to cultivate two paddy crops a year at Heelogama due to the assured supply of water for both *yala* and *maha* seasons. Those households engaged in off-farm activities especialy government employees, who were part-time farmers, concentrated only on paddy becuase of labour and management constraints (Table 5).

TABLE 4: Amount of Land Owned and Operated, Moragaswewa

Acreage	Paddy Land				Highland (including *chena*)			
	Owned		Operated		Owned		Operated	
	Number of households	Percentage	Number of households	Percentage	Number of households	Percentage	Number of households	percentage
No land	—	—	—	—	—	—	06	15.78
Less .25	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
.26 – .5	01	2.63	01	2.63	—	—	05	13.15
.51 – 1	02	5.26	03	7.89	03	7.89	07	18.42
1 – 2	09	23.68	09	23.68	05	13.15	12	31.57
2.01 – 3.00	06	15.78	06	15.78	09	23.68	08	21.05
3.01 – 5.00	10	26.31	10	26.31	11	28.94	—	—
5.01 – 7.00	06	15.78	06	15.78	04	10.52	—	—
7.01 – 10	03	7.89	03	7.89	02	5.26	—	—
10 +	01	2.63	—	—	04	10.52	—	—
TOTAL	38	100	38	100	38	100	38	100

TABLE 5: Amount of Land Owned and Operated Heelogama

	Paddy Land				Highland (including *chena*)			
	Owned		Operated		Owned		Operated	
	Number of households	percent-age	Number of households	Percent-age	Number of households	percent-age	Number of households	Percent-age
No land	06	15.78	03	7.89	02	5.26	16	42.10
Less .25	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
.26 – .5	—	—	—	—	03	7.89	04	10.52
.51 – 1.00	04	10.52	06	15.78	05	13.15	03	7.89
1.01 – 2.00	09	23.68	09	23.68	05	13.15	12	31.57
2.01 – 3.00	05	13.15	09	23.68	08	21.05	02	5.26
3.01 – 5.00	03	7.89	07	18.42	06	15.78	01	2.63
5.01 – 7.00	04	10.52	02	5.26	04	10.52	—	—
7.01 – 10	04	10.52	01	2.63	02	5.26	—	—
10 +	03	7.89	01	2.63	03	7.89	—	—
TOTAL	38	100	38	100	38	100	38	100

The amount of paddy land operated shows that 65.78% of the households at Moragaswewa and 52.62 at Heelogama operated more than two acres of paddy; 7.89% at Heelogama and 21% at Moragaswewa operated more than two acres of *chena*. This availability of some land at household level and the lack of other opportunities in the village or in the vicinity for off-farm employent made most of the adult males and females in the area depend on farming for their livelihood and most of the economically active labour force was engaged in agricultural production. Therefore the main productive activities of females were also in agriculture and their labour input went into paddy and *chena* cultivation in both study villages.

Labour force and employment

The data on primary and secondary activity of the population in the two villages will show the labour situation in the area. The total population in Moragaswewa at the time of the survey was 217 of which 78 were school going children, children under five years and invalids who did not fall into the labour force. Thus 64.05% of the total population were in the labour force. The female component of the total labour force was 73 or 52.51% where as 66 or 47.48% of the total workforce formed the male component. The employment data indicate that 38.12% (53) adult males and 26.61%(37) adult)females of the labour force were directly involoed in the family farms. Thus 80% of the adult male labour force and 50.68% of the adult female labour force were directly involved in agricultural work in the family farms. There were 33 or 45.2% of the female labour force who categorized themselves as full-time housewives. Of the 14 government employees in the village only three were women, two of them were teachers and one a co-operative worker (Table 6).

Labour availability in Heelogama was similar. There were 72 men and 63 women in the labour force when school going children, children under five years, invalids and old people were left out. Thus 57.44% of the total population in the village were economically active of which 46.66% was female labour. Furthermore, 56 males and 16 females or a total of 53.33% of the total labour force were directly engaged in farm work. Thus 77.7% of the adult male population in the labour force and 25.39% of the adult females in the labour force were involved in the work of the family farm. There were 16 males engaged in off-farm employment, fifteen were in government service and one in trade. Among females in the labour force 43 or 68.25% reported that they were housewives and only four engaged in off-farm activities. All four were engaged as teachers in government service (Table 7).

The greater participation of women in the agricultural work is clear when the secondary activities of the adult population are taken into consideration. As we have already pointed out most of women who categorize themselves as housewives in the rural sector were also involved in the work in the family farms and work as hired labourers in agriculture. The status of hired labourers is such that many women would not admit that tehy work as agricultural labourers. However, when there is a demand for such work, and when the household needs additional income from sources other than they get from their family farms to maintain family's consumption level, women work as agricultural labourers. Thus, most of the women especially of the poor families combine both housework and farm work, but consider themselves housewives because of the sociocultural norms existing in the society.

TABLE 6: Primary Activity by Sex

	Moragaswewa						Heelogama					
	Men	%	Women	%	Total	%	Men	%	Women	%	Total	%
Farming	27	27.27	02	16.94	29	13.36	35	28.45	02	01.78	37	15.74
Farm helper	26	26.26	35	29.66	61	28.11	21	17.07	14	12.5	35	14.89
Hired labour (Agriculture)	01	01.01	00	—	01	00.46	00	—	00	—	—	—
Trade	01	01.01	00	—	01	00.46	01	00.08	00	—	01	00.42
Housewife	00	—	33	27.96	33	15.20	00	—	43	38.39	43	18.29
Government employee	11	11.1	03	02.54	14	06.45	15	12.2	04	03.57	19	08.08
School–going	23	23.23	28	23.72	51	23.61	35	28.45	31	27.67	66	28.08
Children under 5 years	08	08.08	13	11.01	21	09.67	15	12.19	16	14.28	31	13.19
Old and invalids	02	02.02	04	03.38	06	02.76	01	00.08	02	01.78	03	01.27
Total	99	100	118	100	217	100	123	100	112	100	235	100
Number of people in labour force	66	66.66	73	61.86	139	64.05	72	58.53	63	56.25	135	57.44

TABLE 7: Secondary Activiry by Sex

	Moragaswewa						Heelogama					
	Men	%	Women	%	Total	%	Men	%	Women	%	Total	%
Farming	08	08.08	00	—	08	03.68	14	11.38	00	—	14	5.95
Farm helper	09	09.09	36	30.5	45	20.73	07	05.69	40	35.71	47	20.00
Hired labour (Agriculture)	12	12.12	14	11.86	26	11.98	00	—	oo	—	—	—
Hired labour (non Agriculture)	01	01.01	00	—	01	00.46	00	—	00	—	—	—
Trade	05	05.05	00	—	05	02.3	00	—	00	—	—	—
Housewife	00	—	19	16.10	19	08.75	00	—	00	—	—	—
Others	05	05.05	00	—	05	02.30	02	01.62	00	—	02	00.85
Total(engaged in secondary acrivity)	41	41.41	68	57.62	109	50.23	23		40	35.71	63	26.8
Total Population	99	100	118	100	217	100	123	100	112	100	235	100

In fact, some of these women who categorize themselves as housewives were available for farm work almost full time. Only when they have infants and no one such as an elderly parent or grown up child to look after them do they keep away from farm work. Sometimes school going children look after their infant siblings after they return from school so that their mothers could take part in farm work at least for few hours.

In rural areas household work itself is not a constraint to female labour input in agriculture during peak periods of labour demand because women normally adjust their household work according to labour needs. For example, when there is no domestic help available, women prepare their mid-day meal and attend to their other household activities before they go for field work, or they may return home during noon and prepare lunch for the family. They prepare dinner and attend to any other remaining house work, when they return home from work in the evening. Thus, in fact, they have combined both farm work and household work. Such a combination invariably forces them to work more hours in a day than the adult males who are engaged in full-time farm work.

The secondary activities of women in Moragaswewa show that there were 50 or 68.49% of adult women in the labour force who were engaged in agriculture work as farm helpers or agricultural labourers. At Heelogama too 40 adult women or 63.49% of the female labour force reported that farm work was their secondary activity (Table 7). When the means of production (such as land and capital) are limited, but when the labour available is far more than that required for their own small family farms, women tend to supplement the income of the household by working as agricultural labourers. In a situation where paddy and *chena* cultivation are combined but when the farmers who do so cultivate more land than they are able to work with their own family labour and or when there are households with sufficient funds to hire labour, while withdrawing their own women and children from the labour force, there is a demand for labour from outside the household. In such a situation women in poor families make use of the opportunity to earn extra income by working as agricultural labourers in the farms of others. Especially in the dry zone off-farm employment for women is limited. Therefore women in Moragaswewa and Heelogama have to confine themselves to work in the family farm or work as agricultural labourers or combine both.

The labour availability, primary employment and secondary activities of women in both study villages reveal almost a similar pattern. The overall employment situation in both villages show that the opportunities available for both males and females for off-farm employment are limited. Except for the few who were government employees, the entire adult population was engaged in agricultural activities. In the scattered settlements in the dry zone, with small service townships lacking even small rural or cottage industries, the majority of the labour force have to seek employment in farming. Thus, women in both the villages studied, were either engaged in household work or work in farms or they had a combination of these.

Labour utilization in agriculture and the contribution of female labour

The labour utilization for both paddy and *chena* cultivation was assessed by keeping records of labour input into agriculture every fifth day in both villages during 78/79 *maha* season from August to May 1979. There were three categories of labour used for agricultural work namely, family, exchange or *attam* and hired labour. All three types of labour input were found in Moragaswewa for both paddy and *chena* cultivation but in the other village lack of exchange labour was noted and only family and hired labour was used. The traditional pattern of exchange labour use seems to have given way to commercial hiring of labour for cash. The constant demand for hired labour during both *yala* and *maha* for paddy cultivation at Heelogama has eroded the concept of *attam* in that village.

Core of the labour force in most South Asian countries is adult males. This is the norm in Sri Lanka as well and, therefore, adult male labour force participation remains fairly constant in almost all the districts in Sri Lanka (Moore and Wickremasinghe 1980:68). However, the variation in labour force participation is mainly reflected in the female labour force participation. There are various factors affecting this variation. When the demand for family labour is high not only adult males in the household but women and children also have to work in family farms in order to meet the increased demand for labour. Especially when the man/land ratio is high demand for labour increases, apart from males, females are also drawn into the family labour force, to work in their own family farms. In addition, in a situation of high man/land ratio those houses with limited land resources get an opportunity to work as agricultural labourers in the farms of others to supplement the meagre income from their own family farms . The average amount of paddy land operated in both study villages is more than three acres per household which is more than the 2½ acres allocated to a farm household in new settlement areas by the government. Furthermore, the combination of *chena* and paddy during *maha* season in both villages increased the demand for labour and therefore the participation of the female labour force in agricultural activities has become crucial. Being cheap compared to male hired labour, females are hired in both paddy and *chena* cultivation. Furthermore, females were hired for certain tasks such as transplanting of paddy and weeding and harvesting in *chena*, which were more or less considered female tasks.

Paddy is the main crop cultivated in both villages and therefore paddy farming demands the major share of the village labour. The agricultural cycle in the area is governed by the north east monsoon which brings about heavy precipitation from October to January. The seasonality of demand for labour is found in both villages and the female labour contribution depends on the type of agricultural activity in which they take part. Planting, weeding harvesting and processing paddy are the main tasks related to paddy cultivation which are considered female tasks. Female labour input goes into these tasks and their participation depends on the seasonality of these activities.

In Moragaswewa sporadic land preparation activities started in September with the clearing of paddy fields. Since only one crop of paddy is grown in the village shrubs and weeds grow during the rest of the year and therefore the land has to be cleared before ploughing. Although land preparation for paddy cultivation is considered a male job, both sexes do take part in this preliminary land clearing task. The intensive land preparation work takes

place during October. Rain-fed lands take the priority so that that land could be cultivated well in time so as to make the best use of the monsson rain. The cultivation of the land under the village tank is done afterwards. The land preparation task is progessively accellerated during November and by the beginning of January land preparation and sowing is completed. The labour input data collected from Moragaswewa show the farmers, adherance to this time schedule in paddy farming. Although harvesting starts during January, first with rainfed paddy being harvested, the intensive harvesting is done between February and March at Moragaswewa.

The paddy cultivation cycle is more controlled at Heelogama where farmers are blessed with reliable irrigation facilities. Most of the farmers there started land preparation with the issue of water from the tank and most of the land preparation work, sowing or transplanting is done during November-December period. Although no transplanting was done at Moragaswewa due to water constraints, more than 80% of Heelogama farmers did transplant paddy during 78/79 *maha* season. That is the normal pattern of cultivation in that village. The peak period of harvesting falls during February and March. The labour input data from both villages show that labour demand and labour involvement follow this agricultural cycle during 78/79 *maha* season. For example, higher female participation at Heelogama during November, December and January was due to their involvement in transplanting of paddy during that period. Generally transplanting of paddy is considered women's work (Table 8).

TABLE 8: Total labour input for paddy during 1978/79 *maha* by the agricultural cycle (number of days)*

	Moragaswewa			Heelogama		
Month	Men	Women	Children	Men	Women	Children
Sept.	24	06	12	—	—	—
Oct.	575	14	54	18	—	—
Nov.	714	377	35	867	301	—
Dec.	302	166	45	429	878	—
Jan.	171	123	41	102	201	—
Feb.	497	413	95	77	43	—
March	571	423	40	1440	973	—
April	95	02	04	396	98	—
May	68	—	—	—	—	—
Total	3017	1524	326(163 man days)	3329	2494	—

* Number of work days calculated on the basis of number of calendar days worked.

The labour input for paddy in both villages show that there is a considerble share of labour input from females. Although there is a notion that efficiency or productivity of women's labour is less compared to that of men there is no sound basis for such a notion. The relative weighting in the remuneration of adult males, adult females and children is on the following basis: adult male–1.0; female– 0.66–75; child –0.5–.6. This is based on the notion of the differential productivity of different types of labour (Wickremasekare 1977:85). However, women are as efficient and productive as men and it may be that in certain tasks such as transplanting of paddy women are more efficient than men in handling the job. Unfortunately no study has calculated the output of men and women separately in different tasks in order to assess their efficiency. In the present study we have taken both the male and female contribution on an equal basis but child labour was converted into man/woman days on the basis that one man/woman day is equal to two days of child labour.

The data on total labour input show that 32.4% of the total labour input in Moragaswewa for paddy cultivation during *maha* 78/79 came from females (Table 9). At Heelogama female contribution was 42.8% of the total labour input (Table 10). When different categories of labour input are taken into consideration 28.2% of the family labour for paddy cultivation was contributed by females at Moragaswewa but only 22.2% of the family labour contribution came from females at Heelogama. The lesser involvement of female **family** labour was due to the socioeconomic background of the village. The cultivation of two paddy crops a year at Heelogama increased the regular income of the household and therefore Heelogama households are in a better economic position. Hence there is an almost complete absence of children in the labour force and much lower level of female **family** labour input than at Moragaswewa. This is as one would expect as farmers become more prosperous it is usually women and children who leave the labour force before there is a marked reduction in the hours of the farmer himself. However, women's participation in paddy cultivation increased with more women's participation in hired labour. 49.7% of the hired labour input for paddy cultivation at Heelogama was by females. During the cultivation season female agricultural labourers from nearby villages also come to Heelogama for cultivation work. Hence there is a greater participation of women in hired labour at Heelogama, although there is less involment of female **family** labour. At Moragaswewa the hired labour category is even higher with a 52.7% of contribution from females. The employment of females in farm activities and wage work is considerable in both villages. Thus, women share the burden of the household by working on their own farms or as casual workers in other farms.

Women's participation in the production process is further elaborated when their contribution to *chena* is taken into consideration. A total of 61 acres of *chena* were cultivated by Moragaswewa farmers and 37 acres by Heelogama farmers. The data on labour input show that in both villages more women than men were engaged in *chena* work. They have participated in almost all the activities related to *chenas*. 71.1% of the total labour input for *chena* at Moragaswewa and 59.3% at Heelogama was contributed by females. The *chena* cycle shows that most of the *chena* work is concentrated in September through January.

TABLE 9: Type of Labour Input for Paddy Cultivation by Task and by Sex, Moragaswewa

Task	Family			Hired			*Attam*			Total			% of labour input for each task		
	M	W	C	M	W	C	M	W	C	M	W	C	M	W	C
Ploughing	14	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	14	—	—	100	—	—
Nursery Work	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ridge Making	528	—	92	542	—	—	9	—	—	1079	—	92	92	—	7.86
Levelling and sowing	314	245	34	55	300	—	13	7	—	382	552	34	40.16	58.04	1.78
Transplanting	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Fencing	84	9	18	23	—	—	–	—	—	107	09	18	85.6	7.2	7.2
Weeding	29	4	2	7	—	—	—	—	—	39	04	02	87.8	9.75	2.43
Manuring	31	1	3	1	—	—	4	—	—	36	01	03	92.3	2.56	5.12
Pest Control	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Harvesting	528	477	116	12	439	—	56	26	2	596	942	118	37.31	59.65	3.73
Post-Harvest operations	232	16	39	23	—	—	512	—	22	767	16	59	94.24	1.96	3.69
TOTAL	1760	752 (28.22%)	404	663	739 (52.71%)	—	594	33 (5.26%)	24	3017	1524	326 (1.63%)	64.13	32.39	3.46

M — Men
W — Women
C — Children

TABLE 10: Type of Labour Input for Paddy Cultivation by Task and by Sex, Heelogama

Task	Family			Hired			Total			% of labour input for each task		
	M	W	C	M	W	C	M	W	C	M	W	C
Ploughing	69	—	—	94	—	—	163	—	—	100	—	—
Nursery work	28	—	—	35	—	—	63	—	—	100	—	—
Ridge making	243	—	—	401	—	—	644	—	—	100	—	—
Levelling and sowing	103	—	—	107	—	—	210	—	—	100	—	—
Transplanting	41	63	—	22	1150	—	63	1213	—	05	95.06	—
Fencing	—	—	—	12	—	—	12	—	—	100	—	—
Weeding	11	2	—	13	155	—	24	157	—	13.25	86.74	—
Manuring	110	—	—	40	—	—	150	—	—	100	—	—
Pest Control	34	2	—	57	—	—	91	2	—	97.84	2.15	—
Harvesting	329	174	—	919	818	—	1248	992	—	55.71	44.28	—
Post-harvest operations	138	57	—	523	73	—	661	130	—	83.56	16.43	—
Total	1106	298 (21.22%)	—	2223	2196 (49.69%)	—	3329	2494	—	57.16	42.83	—

M — Men
W — Women
C — Children.

TABLE 11: Total labour input for *chena* during *maha* 1978/79 (number of days)

	Moragaswewa			Heelogama		
Month	Men	Women	Children	Men	Women	Children
August	—	—	—	144	122	—
Sept.	653	1215	254	273	95	—
Oct.	236	692	121	243	281	13
Nov.	34	431	84	155	351	27
Dec.	221	1637	391	76	254	33
January	59	359	66	73	367	19
Total	1203	4334	916 (458 man/d)	964	1470	92 (46man/d)

TABLE 12: Total labour input for *chena* and paddy during *maha* 1978/79(number of days)

	Paddy			*Chena*			Total		
	Men	Women	Child*	Men	Women	Child*	Men	Women	Child*
Moragaswewa	3017	1524	163	1203	4334	458	4220	5858	621
Heelogama	3329	2494	—	964	1470	46	4293	3964	46
Total	6346	4018	163	2167	5804	504	8513	9822	667

* Man/woman days.

When the total labour input for paddy and *chena* is taken together there is a great contribution of women to the agricultural activities in Moragaswewa. Thus 54.8% of total labour input for agricultural activities in Moragaswewa is from women. Although the female contribution in the other village is slightly less than that of males 47.2% of labour input for *chena* and paddy is contributed by females at Heelogama. When both villages are taken together, the female participation rate in agricultural activities exceeds that of the males. 51.7% of the total labour input into paddy and *chena* came from females in both cillages.

Female labour input by task in paddy and *chena* cultivation

Labour input for various tasks shows that transplanting, levelling of fields, weeding, harvesting and post-harvest operations are the tasks where speciallzed female contribution is evident in paddy cultivation. At Heelogama 95% of the transplanting, 86% of the weeding and 44% of the harvesting was done by females. In Moragaswewa there was no transplanting due to limited irrigation facilities. But even there females were engaged in levelling the field before sowing paddy. Thus 58% of the levelling, 57% of the harvesting was performed by females. Due to cultural reasons women usually do not get involved in threshing of paddy because farmers believe that they pollute the threshing ground and the yield is less if women

TABLE 13: Type of Labour Input for *Chena* by Task and by Sex, Moragaswewa

Task[1]	Family			Hired		Total			% of labor input for each task		
	M	W	C	M	W	M	W	C	M	W	C
Clearing of land	372	417	142	40	311	422	728	142	34.02	60.11	5.86
Sowing	71	60	27	01	51	72	111	27	36.64	56.48	6.87
Planting	185	219	86	—	171	185	390	86	29.93	63.10	6.95
Fencing	56	17	17	04	—	60	17	17	69.76	19.76	10.46
Weed Control	170	357	112	—	330	170	687	112	18.61	75.24	6.13
Pest Control	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Harvesting	131	1108	421	—	847	131	1955	421	5.70	85.14	18.33
Post-harvest operations	173	320	111	—	126	173	446	111	25.62	66.0	8.29
Total	1158	2498	916	45	1836	1203	4334	916	20.06	72.29	7.63

M — Men
W — Women
C — Children

1 Male involvement in crop protection during the night is not included in the labour input figures. Crop protection is important only few weeks before the harvest and all the farmers were not involved. *Chenas* closer to homes were visited once or twice in the night but farmers did not spend the whole night there. Therefore even if the male participation in crop protection is included the overall female participation still remains high.

TABLE 14: Type of Labour Input for *Chena* by Task and by Sex, Heelogama

	Family			Hired		Total			% of labour input for each task		
	M	W	C	M	W	M	W	C	M	W	C
Clearing land	165	85	—	287	197	452	282	—	61.58	38.4	—
Sowing	10	4	—	—	8	10	12	—	45.45	54.54	—
Planting	76	63	8	67	74	143	137	8	50.35	48.23	1.40
Fencing	—	—	—	30	—	30	—	—	100.0	—	—
Weed Control	66	132	31	85	250	151	382	31	27.50	69.58	2.91
Pest Control	6	—	1	3	—	9	—	1	90.0	—	10.0
Hervesting	110	174	29	—	375	110	549	29	16.32	81.45	2.22
Post-harvest operations	59	97	23	—	11	59	108	23	32.96	60.33	6.70
Total	492	555	92	472	915	964	1470	92	38.87	59.27	1.85

M — Men
W — Women
C — Children

take part in threshing work. But they are engaged in winnoving paddy after the threshing. Furthermore, when labour is hired for various tasks, females are hired for tasks such as transplanting and weeding which are considered female tasks. This is quite conspicuous in the hired labour input for various activities in paddy cultivation (Tables 9 and 10).

Female labour input to various tasks related to *chena* cultivation show that except for making fences to guard the crop and guarding the crop in the night which are considered man's jobs in both villages, women make a relatively higher labour contribution to the activities such as clearing land, sowing, planting, weeding, harvesting and post-harvest operations; 85% of the harvesting at Moragaswewa and 81% at Heelogama is done by females and this indicates the extent to which female labour is important in *chena* cultivation (Table 13 and 14). Our data suggest that in *chena* cultivation women's labour is more significant than that of men. This supports Boserup's srgument that swidden agriculture is more a women's cultivation type than it is of males. It is possible to argue that when paddy and *chena* are combined, more female labour go into *chena* while males concentrate on paddy. However, our data on female labour input into paddy cultivation do not support such an argument. In the villages studied women are equally involved in both paddy and *chena* cultivation. Hence it is clear that in rural Sri Lanka although females are considered marginal labour, in the dry zone villages where there is a great demand for labour during certain months of the year the female contribution to agriculture is very significant. The level of their labour input in the villages studied clearly demonstrates their involvement in productive work related to agriculture in the dry zone.

Females are thus engaged in productive agricultural work in addition to their responsibility for household work. Although domestic work is considered a constraint to productive work, at times of high labour demand domestic wrok is accomodated in various ways to fulfill the labour requirement in field operations (Das Gupta 1977:33). In rural Sri Lanka there are different agricultural tasks specified for men and women but there are some tasks that are interchangeable between men and women. This traditional division of labour is revealed in our data on labour input into different tasks in agriculture. Although there is a difference between the type of work performed by men and women, there is very little objective basis to conclude that work performed by one sex is more productive or deserve higher remuneration than for that done by the other. In both study locations wage difference between the sexes were common. At Moragaswewa the mean wage for a male worker was Rs. 10/- per day and only Rs. 6/- for female worker during 78/79 *maha* season in paddy cultivation. Although the rates paid for males in *chena* cultivation was the same as in paddy cultivation, females who were involved in wage labour in *chena* cultivation received Rs. 5/ per day which is only 50% of the wages paid to men who were involved in the same type of work. At Heelogama where there was greater demand for female labour specially for transplanting paddy, the average wage rate for paddy cultivation was slightly higher than that prevailed at Moragaswewa. Rs 6/85 was the average wage for females; but for *chena* work they were paid an average wage of Rs. 6/20 against Rs. 9/85 to Rs. 10/paid to males for the same type of work in *chenas*. The average wage paid to a male worker involved in paddy cultivation at Heelogama was also Rs. 10/-during that season. This wage difference explained why farmers preferred female hired labour for both paddy and *chena* cultivation. Even tasks that were traditionally considered male tasks such as levelling of paddy fields before sowing were assigned to females at Moragaswewa because of low wages paid to female labour.

Conclusion

Female participation in agricultural production process in two dry zone villages shows that although women are generally considered housewives involved in household tasks, their contribution to agricultural production is considerable. In developing countries the measurement of women's involvement in economic activities is not done accurately. Boserup was among the few to note that "subsistence activities usually ommitted in the statistics of production and income are largely women's work" (Boserup 1970:163). Women's work is underreported and underestimated especially in the area of domestic production. Furthermore, the labour conrtibution of women to their own family farms are not properly evaluated (Sharma 1985:58; Dixon 1982:539). According to some, this is due to the existing sex stratification system which has penetrated into norms, values and social structures creating mechanisms that hide rural women's contribution to Third World agriculture. This in turn creates an image of female dependency on men in those secieties (Rothschild 1985:229). As pointed out by Rothschild even when women work in the fields helping their husbands with agricultural tasks, such work is sometimes defined as a wifely duty rather than as work. The low rate of female participation in economic activities in national census figures is mainly due to the definition of economic activity adopted and due to the way the information is gathered.

Seasonality of agricultural work makes census classification of economic participation based on arbitrary time requirements unsuitable. If the census is taken during the month of relative agricultural inactivity, the result would be different from a census taken during a busy period of agricultural activity (Deere 1983:800). If a long reference period is specified for data collection for a census, seasonal work for which women and childern form a reserve labour pool is likely to be reported (Freedman **et al** 1979:27; Dixon 1982:545). In our study we have quantified the female perticipation during *maha*, the major agricultural season in the dry zone which shows that female labour contribution to agriculture even exceeds the contribution made by the male labour force.

The method of data collection also could affect the counting of female participation. Instead of a questionaire beginning with a person's principal occupation, if it begins with a description of activities in which a person is engaged in, women's response will be somewhat different (Deere 1983). Swarna Jayaweera has shown that only those women who were engaged in wage or regular employment reported that they ewere employed. According to her, "further probing, however, revealed that some 'non-working' women were also involved in income-generating activities in their homes....." In one location although only 18.7% of women were employed acording to their own classification, the figure went up to 47.3% with additional information gathered through further probing (Jayaweera 1979:495). We have shown this difference in our survey making a distinction between employment and secondary economic activity. The latter category gives additional information about greater participation of women in economic activities. In our rigorous measurement of agricultural participation of women by recording the actual number of days of labour input into different agricultural tasks over the agricultural cycle *maha* 1978/79 we have demonstrated their actual contribution to agricultural production in rural Sri Lanka, especially in the dry zone

Although we have not quantified the time spent on household activities, when these two spheres of activities are combined their participation in the household economy is much greater than the contribution of the males who are considered the full-time farm operators. Casinader and others have clearly demonstrated that rural women who are involved in petty commodity production in some villages bring a considerable income to the household which is absolutely necessary for the survival of their families. In fact, their study shows that those women have become the main bread-winners of their households (Casinader *et al* 1982:73-91).

Although women go as farm helpers their physical labour input into various tasks in paddy and *chena* cultivation shows that women's participation in agriculture is crucial. When intensive cultivation practices such as transplanting of paddy and hand weeding are adopted, the increased demand for labour is met by women. Thus women have to absorb not only the labour demand for their own family farms but they have to work as agricultural laboures for wages. When the two types of agricultural activities such as *chena* and paddy cultivation are combined in dry zone Sri Lanka and when timely cultivation is necessary to make the maximum use of monsoon rain and controlled irrigation facilities the resulting upsurge in labour demand for different agricultural work is met mainly by women.

The foregoing discussion demonstrates that the contribution to rural agriculture by different household members cannot be properly understood without proper attention to female participation. Furthermore, any rural development programme cannot be properly designed and implemented without a knowledge of actual and potential labour force participation and access to resources at the local level. Since farming is the major economic acti vity of majority of population in rural Sri Lanka a better understanding of the farm household is a necessary precondition for the implementation of any rural development programme in Sri Lanka. A detailed account of women's participation in economic activities become absolutely necessary if they are to be included as direct participants and target groups in rural development programmes. This is why the gathering of micro-level data such as what we have presented in this study is vital to complement the macro-level data gathered through census and other national level surveys. A different picture of female labour force participation emerges from rural studies which count the labour contribution of all household members, male and female, adult and child (Fong 1980). Such a study would reveal a far higher rate of participation by women. From our study it is clear that in dry zone villages in Sri Lanka female participation in directly productive activities in terms of physical labour input exceeds even that of males who are considered full-time farm operators. When both productive and other household activities are combined females play a very important role in the economy of the rural sector. Nevetherless, their participation and contribution to the rural economy has not received the proper attention it merits. Only detaild studies taking into consideration women's involvement in both directly productive work in the agricultural sector and in household chores will fill the vacuum in knowledge about their participation in the rural economy.

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BOOK REVIEWS

M. M. M. MAHROOF, MARINA AZEEZ, M. M. UWISE, H. M. Z. FAROUQUE, M. J. A. RAHIM, and A. DENIS N. FERNANDO

An Ethnological Survey of the Muslims of Sri Lanka: From Earliest Times to Independence. Colombo: The Sir Razik Fareed Foundation, 1986. xxxi + 262 pages. Rs. 200.

1986 was a landmark year in the publication of scholarly works on Muslims in Sri Lanka. Indeed, a subject that had never before been paid adequate attention either locally or abroad suddenly in 1986 received two major contributions. First, in March there arrived **Muslims of Sri Lanka: Avenues to Antiquity** (M. A. M. Shukri, ed.), published by the Jamiah Naleemia Institute in Beruwala, Sri Lanka. Then in December there appeared **An Ethnological Survey of the Muslims of Sri Lanka: From Earliest Times to Independence** (M. M. M. Mahroof, et al.), published by the Sir Razik Fareed Institute in Colombo. This review will focus on the latter work.

This book takes a historical perspective, examining the social and cultural dimensions of the Sri Lankan Muslim population from its earliest presence to 1948, the year of national independence. If there is any common analytic focus to the separate chapters, all of them being largely descriptive, it comprises the attempt to examine the effects on the local Muslim population of contact with other groups throughout the centuries -- the colonial rulers as well as the other natives, the Sinhalese and Tamils. In other words, the authors have not treated the Muslims as if they were living in isolation, in some religiously and ethnically pristine and ideal state, but more in terms of the reality of the situation: as part of a dynamic and ever-changing larger social and cultural milieu, one that necessarily altered them over the years in certain ways from their original form but through which they have survived with their essential ethno-religious identity largely intact. This point was succinctly established at the outset in the "Introductory Note" written by A. Denis N. Fernando:

> It is clearly seen that Sri Lanka in ancient times was an international entre-pot, where different nationalities settled. [They] no doubt brought with them their traditions, cultures, religious beliefs, science and irrigation technology . . . It is in this same setting that the culture of the Muslims evolved. However, the Arabic–Islamic tradition pervades and is significantly dominant among the Muslims of Sri Lanka (pp. xxx-xxxi).

After this theme of the multi-ethnic and multi-religious origin of the Sri Lankan population is documented both historically and archaeologically in the "Introductory Note," the book proceeds to Chapter I, entitled "The Muslims of Sri Lanka" and written by Marina Azeez. This chapter provides an overview for the book, exploring the early history and occupations of the Sri Lanka Muslims, the origins of the term, "Moor," which is applied to them to this day, the place and time of emigration of the so-called "Coast Moors," and the origins and sociocultural compositions of other smaller Muslim communities — the Borahs, Memons, Afghans, Khojas, Pattanys, and Malays. Azeez ends this chapter on the note of intra–communal diversity and unity, the former being based on both regional differences and differences in origin, and the latter, on the unifying force of Islam — a continuation of the theme established in the previous section.

Chapter II, "Early Muslim Settlement," also written by Azeez, is a more detailed historical survey of the pre-European Sri Lankan Muslim community, in which it is inferred from both written and archaeological evidence that the earliest Muslim presence in the island dates back to the advent of Islam in the 7th century AD, although the presence of pre-Islamic Arab traders was established long before, as early as the 1st century AD. Contact at both times resulted from the fact that Sri Lanka, then called either "Taprobane" or "Serandib," was an important nexus in the Arab west-east-west trade route. Trade having brought the earliest Muslims to the island, they naturally settled first along the coast, primarily in the major sea-ports of Colombo and Galle. Both external and internal trade continued to be controlled by the Muslims up to the arrival of the Portuguese in 1505, when at least the external aspect was forcibly seized by the colonizers and Muslims were forced by persecution out of the coastal areas and into the highland interior, where they were given refuge in the still sovereign Sinhalese Kandyan Kingdom in exchange primarily for acting as commercial links to the outside lowland and coastal areas. Azeez stresses the religious and ethnic tolerance shown to the newly arrived Muslims by the Kandyan King and ruling elite, as well as by commoners, which resulted in harmonious social relations obtaining between the two groups.

In Chapter III, "The Muslims under Portuguese and Dutch Occupation, 1505–1796," M. M. M. Mahroof takes a closer look at the impact of the Portuguese colonial regime on the Sri Lankan Muslims and chronicles the subsequent effects of Dutch control. Mahroof reiterates in much greater detail the persecution of the coastal Muslims by the Portuguese, which was motivated by both commercial interests and long-standing religious enmity, as well as their resulting flight into the welcoming Kandyan Kingdom. He then provides a similar historical treatment for the Dutch period, in which the relatively small remaining maritime Muslim population fared no better, as the Dutch continued the drive to supplant its commercial activities. Mahroof also points out that by this time, the Muslim population had spread from the western maritime area to the central highlands and from there over to the east coast. But throughout this period of European colonial rule, first by the Portuguese and then by the Dutch, the social organization of the Muslims remained essentially unchanged; it consisted of small, exclusive communities centering around small, inconspicuous mosque, Mahroof emphasizes that these communities were educationally self-sufficient; since their children were excluded from the Dutch, largely evangelical schools, their formal education (at least the boys') continued mainly to be Qur'anic centered and their fathers continued informally to teach them their traditional crafts This chapter ends with a detailed description of the socioeconomic aspects of the Muslims in the Kandyan Kingdom, in which Mahroof points out that the Muslims were so readily accepted as traders, as well as physicians and other professionsls, in the Kingdom because the Kandyan feudal hierarchy traditionally held no place for such persons.

Chapter IV, "British Rule and the Muslims," also written by Mahroof, contains an extensive description of the impact of British colonial policy on the Sri Lankan Muslim population. The advent of British rule in 1796 resulted in several important changes vis-a-vis the Muslims. First, the more tolerant and liberal-minded British systematically dismantled the Dutch trade and social restrictions imposed on the west-coast Muslims, resulting in a mass migration back into Colombo. Second, the greater religious toleration shown by the British led to a rebuilding of mosques destroyed by the Portuguese and Dutch and to the creation of new ones, on a much larger and grander scale than before. Third, the institution of a laissez-faire capitalism in which the Muslims' role as traders was both well-recognized and encouraged, resulted in a widening of the gap between rich and poor Muslims, especially in Colombo.

Up to 1850, despite the more relaxed and tolerant attitude on the part of the British, the Sri Lankan Muslim population retained much of the insularity that it had developed earlier in response to the harsh restrictions imposed by the Portuguese and Dutch. This closed orientation to outside influences was most telling in the area of education. Mahroof adduces two reasons for this concervative attitude. First, early British colonial education policy did not reflect their otherwise tolerant attitude, picking up, as it were, where the Dutch system left off. That is, it was dominated by an uncompromising Christian spirit as well as curriculum, which was understandably repulsive to most Muslim parents. As a result, education within the Muslim community continued to be maintained within the Qur'an schools. Second, the economic changes instituted by the British were not yet extensive enough to lead to the necessity felt by the Muslims to seek a Western education in order to take advantage of new opportunities.

But by 1860, the educational insularity of the Muslim community began to weaken, which was brought about mainly by the gradual impact of the British imposed transformation of a subsistence-agrarian economy to one based on import-export commerce, which was dominated by English economic, legal, and political institutions, technology, and most importantly, language. Some Muslims thus began to take the pragmatic attitude that an English-based, academic education, not to replace but to supplement the traditional Qur' anic one, was simply a necessity brought about by a changing reality.

The late 1800s also saw the emergence of several Muslim educational and political leaders. Foremost among these men was Arabi Pasha, the exiled Egyptian political agitator, whose influence was felt most heavily in educational reform and in providing a positive identity as a foil to British domination. Also active in educational reform during this period was Siddi Lebbe, Wappichi Marikar, and I. L. M. Abdul Azeez, the efforts of whom in "modernizing" Muslim education are well documented by Mahroof.

In Chapter V, "The Fortunes of the Muslims in the Period 1901 – 1948," Mahroof explores the impact of certain events and Government policies on the Sri Lankan Muslims as they struggled to obtain a more effective and equitable educational and political stance during this period. These events and policies include the "Fez incident" of 1907, the Great Depression of 1929, the Donoughmore Commission Reforms of the 1930s, and World War II. Unlike in the previous chapter, which was almost completely centered on the Muslims in Colombo, Mahroof broadens the scope of this one to include other areas as well.

Chapter VI, "Muslim Social Organization," also written by Mahroof, examines the different types of Muslim sociopolitical organizations prevalent in Sri Lanka prior to 1948. They include the "**Uurkootam,**" which tended to be found in urban settings, both small and large, the "South-West type" and the "South-West type variant," both occurring in that rural part of the country, the "**Madige** village" and the "**Madige** village variant," both found in the Kandyan, up-country area, and the "**Kudi** type village," present in the eastern maritime region.

In Chapter VII, "The Cultural Heritage," Matina Azeez provides a brief overview on the fundamentals of Islam and of Islamic culture that were introduced by the early Arab traders to Sri Lanka and of the non-Islamic additions that were made to them subsequently as a result of Muslims living among the Sinhalese and Tamils -- thus, the reappearance of the theme of cultural change **and** continuity established in the Introductory Note.

Chapter VIII, "The Language and Literature of the Muslims," written by M. M. Uwise, describes the Tamil spoken by Muslims of Sri Lanka as being a dialect comprising many Arabic, Persian, and Sinhala words The Arabic and Persian words refer for the most part to Islamic concepts, and some of the Sinhala words exist in pure form and others have been "Tamalized." Extensive examples are given of both the dialectical deviations from Indian Tamil and of the various types of "loan words," also in keeping with the theme of cultural syncretism plus the continuation of a core religious identity presented in the Introductory Note. Uwise then presents the Islamic oriented Tamil and Arvi literature, both poetry and prose, that has characterized the Sri Lankan Muslims since the 17th century.

In Chapter IX, "Muslim Education," Mahroof returns to the theme that tended to dominate Chapters IV and V -- namely, education -- this time focusing on it exclusively and in greater detail, but again following a historical framework. He first describes the pre-British system, whish was Qur'an oriented and conducted in **maktabs**, or "elementary" schools, and in **madrasas**, "secondary" schools. He then examines Muslim education under the British, which at first remained largely traditional, as the British system simply continued the Christian focused curriculum established earlier by the Dutch, and then began slowly to include elements of English language and academic learning as the need was recognized to compete more effectively in the English-dominated political, legal, and economic world, but not at the expense of abandoning the traditional Islamic education. Presented also are the changes in British colonial policy concerning government and private schools, specifically as they relate to either the exclusion or accommodation of the Muslims.

Chapter X, "The Ambience of Mosques," again written by Mahroof, explores the historical developments of mosque building in Sri Lanka, tracing their evolution from simple, inconspicuous, and impermanent buildings during the Portuguese and Dutch periods of persecution to larger, grander, and more permanent structures during the more lenient British period. He also links these changes in construction to changes in social organization in the encompassing Muslim community, such as the "**kasbah**" settlement pattern prevalent in certain parts of Colombo during the Dutch period, consisting of a number of tightly packed, multi-room, rectangular houses clustered around a mosque.

In Chapter XI, "Muslim Law," H. M. Z. Farouque first describes traditional, Islamic-based Muslim law as brought to Sri Lanka by the early Arab traders, and then examines the points of conflict between that legal system and those of the Portuguese, the Dutch, and finally the British, focusing, especially during the later period, on attemprs to incorporate elements of Muslim law into Government statutes, resulting in the **Muslim Marriage and Divorce Registration Ordinance of 1929** and the **Muslim Intestate Succession and Wakfs Ordinance of 1931**.

Chapter XII, "Unani Medicine," is a description written by Mahroof and Azeez of the traditional Muslim medical system as practiced in Sri Lanka from ancient times. They first present the "pure" Unani system and then examine the changes occurring in it over time as a result of incorporation of Ayurvedic and Western elements of medicine -- a return to the theme of cultural syncretism and continuity.

In Chapter XIII, "Muslim Architecture, " M. J. A. Rahim traces the development of mosque construction in Sri Lanka from a purely architectural point of view, complementing Mahroof's earlier, more sociological presentation. He first describes the archetypal mosque, explaining how each of its features was influenced by Islam to give it its universally peculiar shape. He then goes on to examine how this archetypal mosque was altered in Sri Lanka, beginning with a small, simple building, without the dome, minarets, coloration, or decora tion of the archetype and developing in time into larger stuctures more closely approximating it.

Chapter XIV, "Social and Ceremonial Customs," is a description written by Azeez of both the main ceremonial occasions associated with and dictated by Islam, as well as the various "life crisis" rituals, i. e., those connected to important stages in a person's life, such as birth, puberty, marriage, and death. Here she is careful to point out that although the core of such rituals has remained essentially Islamic, over the years many aliee elements from neighboring cultures have been incorporated, such as the black dot, or "**pottu,**" placed on the baby's forehead as a protection from the "evil eye," the dowry payment system and the placing of the "**thali**" around the bride's neck by the bridegroom, all of which are Tamil in origin; the Sinhalese derived **rabana**-playing during weddings and puberty rites of both sexes and several Sinhalese food items typically served at weddings; and the long white bridal gown, veil, and gloves borrowed from the West. There is also regional variation in these accouterments, according to whether the Muslims involved live in a predominately Tamil or Sinhalese area or in a large city, such as Colombo. This chapter is another effective illustration of the theme of cultural and religious accommodation **and** retention presented in the Introductory Note.

In Chapter XV, "The Performing and Other Arts of the Muslims of Sri Lanka: A Descriptive Survey," which ends the book, Mahroof briefly explores several examples of Sri Lankan Muslim performing arts, all of whose origins are most likely to be south Indian, such as "**silumbum,**" a form of adult male "ballet," in which the dancers rapidly twirl long sticks as close as possible to each other's bodies without actually striking them; "**kali kambu,**" a less esoteric form of "stick dance," performed by both young and adult males and prepubescent girls, who sing while they dance; and several other types no longer performed, mainly because of the effects of modern, less exacting forms of entertainment.

This book thus presents a comprehensive and, for the most part, clearly written historical account of Muslims in Sri Lanka, treating in detail how various aspects of Muslim society and culture have changed over the centuries as a result of contact with other ethno-religious groups and how certain elements of a core Islamic identity have been essentially retained -- attesting to the remarkable resilience of this identity universally, regardless of the local, larger sociocultural and ethnic milieu in which it is embedded.

But as well and carefully written this book is, it is not without its flaws, which fortunately are of such a minor quality that they do not distract from the overall presentation, but some of which should nevertheless be mentioned in this review.

First, there is the problem of redundancy, especially between Chapter IX and Chapters IV and V with respect to the topic of education : much of the material presented in these two earlier chapters is simply repeated in the later one.

Second, there is a too frequent neglect of sexual distinctions within the community, compounded by over-generalization, especially with respect to education; for example, on p. 52, Mahroof states, ". . . ., it could be said that **every** Muslim received an education during Dutch times" (emphasis added); of the many pages devoted to education, only about two in all (pp. 86-88 and 175) concern female education; and too scanty attention is paid to regional and socioeconomic class differences in regard to education, giving the impression that all Muslims in the country, regardless of class affiliation, received the same kind, level, and quality of education and experienced the same problems as their middle-class brethren in Colombo.

Third, in Chapter V, Mahroof mentions only in passing the 1915 Muslim-Sinhalese riots without giving any details at all as to where they took place, exactly who participated in them, and their immediate and underlying causes. Since these riots mark the only major conflagration in the history of Muslim-Sinhalese relations, it would seem that they should have received greater attention.

Fourth, Chapter VI, "Muslim Social Organization," should more appropriately have been titled "Muslim Political Organization," since Mahroof deals almost exclusively with patterns of authority, rather than with patterns of kinship, descent, and marriage -- topices usually subsumed under the rubric of "social organization" (see Nur Yalman's book, **Under the Bo Tree,** Chapter 13 for a more proper treatment of [Kandyan] Muslim social organization).

Fifth, in Chapter IX, as well as in Chapters IV and V, Mahroof would have done well to consult two papers written by Vijaya Samaraweera, the first entitled "Arabi Pasha in Ceylon, 1883-1901" (**Islamic Culture,** L: 4, 1976: 219- 227) and the second, "The Muslim Revivalist Movement in Sri Lanka, 1880-1915" (in **Collective Identities, Nationalisms and Protests in Modern Sri Lanka,** ed. Michael Roberts, Marga Institute, Colombo). Reference to these two papers would have considerably enhanced the material in these three chapters.

Sixth, in Chapter XIV, Azeez seems to want to have her cake and eat it too in stating, "These [life-crisis rituals] vary from country to country in keeping with the local environment but **strictly conform to Islamic culture**" (p. 235; emphasis added) but then goes on to describe the situation more in terms of its actual reality: namely, the gradual accretion of outside elements onto an essentially unchanging **core** of Islamic beliefs and practices, which is a far cry from any "strict conformity" to such beliefs and practices.

Seventh, in this same chapter, Azeez describes (on pp. 235–236) the traditional forty-day mourning period following burial, but does not mention the four-month and ten-day seclusion period for the widow, which most Sri Lankan Muslims follow. The origin of this custom is likely to be Tamil south Indian, which would make it heterodox with respect to doctrinal Islam, but then so too is the dowry system, the tying of the **thali,** the bride's "throne" and attire, and several other non-Islamic accretions, all of which Azeez does describe.

Eighth, in Chapter XV on the "performing and **other** arts" of Sri Lankan Muslims, Mahroof deals exclusively with arts of a performing nature, not even mentioning visual arts (which presumably are the only type that the "other" arts could be), such as ceramics, basketry, cloth weaving, and especially, jewelry making. A possible key to this exclusion may be found in the first note of this chapter, in which he states that he discusses Muslim "**handicrafts**" in another paper, implying that he considers the above examples of visual arts not as arts per se but as handicrafts. This admittedly trivial terminological difference aside, a brief description of these visual arts/handicrafts would have been welcome.

Ninth, some of the chapters, most notably III, IV, V, VI, VIII, IX, XI, XIV, and XV, end too adruptly, leaving the reader with the desire for a concluding statement, even a brief one.

Finally, one wonders why the authors decided to stop at 1948. Indeed, most of the chapters end begging the question of "What's it like now?" Perhaps this should encourage the same authors, and perhaps other scholars as well, to address this question with a "companion" volume in the near future.

It may seem that Mahroof and Azeez have received more than their fair share of criticism; I hasten to point out, however, that they are responsible for most of the chapters (12 out of 15) and thereby are more open to criticism than the others. I should also add that the overwhelming majority of their writing is above reproach.

To conclude, the above minor criticisms notwithstanding, this book represents a thoroughly researched, competently written, and much needed contribution to the literature on Muslims in Sri Lanka -- and one that indeed pays honor to the memory of the man who inspired it and to whom it is dedicated, Sir Razik Fareed.

George M. Scott, Jr.
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BOOK REVIEWS

HANS WISMEYER **From Charisma to Bureaucracy : Organization and Ideology in the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka.** Utrecht, Holland : State Uiversity of Utrecht, Dept. of Cultural Anthropology, 1986 (ICAU Mededeling, Nr. 23). VII + 371 pages, price not stated.

This is a latest addition to the sociological literature on the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement (SSM) in Sri Lanka. Unlike some of the previous writings on the subject, such as **The Sarvodaya Movement : Self-Help Rural Development in Sri Lanka** by Ratnapala (1978), **Sarvodaya : The Other Development by** Kantowsky (1980) and **Dharma and Development : Religion as Resource in the Sarvodaya Self-Help Movement** by Macy (1983), Wismeyer does not approach the Sarvodaya Movement purely from the angle of a Sarvodaya sympathizer. Nor is he neutral, or ideologically opposed to the Sarvodaya doctrine as is the case with the writings by certain other social scientists including Gunathilake (1981). The following passage from the book well sums up where the author stands in relation to the Movement.

> "Sympathetic as I am to the movement's goals, I do not think the SSM offers the 'last chance to solve the problems of the Third World', as some do. Neither do I think it is 'a dangerous tool in the hands of reactionary forces' as a Sri Lankan news paper puts it. I am, however, convinced that the movement might offer a contribution to solve the urgent problems of Sri Lanka, and, may be, of other countries as well, and thus should be taken seriously by social scientists studying Third World Development" (p. 18).

As suggested by its title, the primary focus of this book is on the changing character of and the dynamic interactions between the organization and ideology of the Sarvodaya Movement. To Wismeyer, the SSM is a social movement in transition. Employing the definition that 'Social movements are more or less organized collective reactions to a perceived strain in the environment on the part of a relatively large number of individuals which are bound together by a more or less developed common ideology' (p.5), the author characterizes the SSM as a mass movement responding to perceived strains in contemporary Sri Lanka society. While admitting that the SSM is at present heavily dependent on foreign aid, the author dismisses the view put forward by the critics of Sarvodaya that it is merely an aid-disbursing agency (see Goonatilake 1981) on account of the evident mass appeal of the Sarvodaya message centred around ideas such as spiritual reawakening, shramadana and revival of a humanistic social order.

In developing a sociological conception of the ideological and organizational shifts of the Sarvodaya Movement since its inception in 1958, the author draws heavily from previous contrbutions to the study of social movements including Webers' views on routinization of charisma, the typology of social movements developed by Oommen and sociology of organizations as developed by Etzioni. According to Oommen,a charismatic social movement in the course of its deveolpment changes from a **charismatic** movement, built around the powerful personality of a charismatic leader who receives the unconditional personal trust of his followers into an **ideological** movement, built around a powerful doctrine with a mass appeal and finally into an **organizational** movement governed by rational-legal norms and bureaucratic principles. Using the above scheme to understand the history of the SSM, Wismeyer argues that in broad terms it is undergoing transition from a charismatic to an organizational movement. He contends that while from 1958 to 1971 the SSM was a primarily charismatic movement with an increasing crystalization of a characteristic Sarvodaya doctrine evolved from a combination of ideas derived from the original Sarvodaya Movement in India, Buddhist philosophy as developed in Sri Lanka and certain alternative conceptions of development as formulated by certain western thinkers, from 1971 to 1986 the Movement has progressed into an ideological movement gradually changing its character in the direction of a bureaucratic rational organization. In the author's own words the Movement as it existed in 1986 is primarily 'an ideological movement which has preserved' some charismatic characteristics, while some of its functions have developed the characteristics of an organizational movement' (p.9). In the light of the above scheme, the problems faced by the Movement in the 1980s, including a manifest gap between its precept and practice are interpreted as problems of an ideological movement confronted with the difficult task of evolving a pragmatic course of action leading to the desired outcomes.

This monograph is based on the author's field research in Sri Lanka in 1982 and 1984, covering a total period of about 12 months. A major part of the fieldwork involved participant observation research at the Sarvodaya Headquarters in Moratuwa and Sarvodaya District Centres in six selected districts in Sri Lanka. The author also took part in Sarvodaya meetings and gatherings at various levels and ascertained the networks and patterns of communication within the Movement through systematic observation. He also read the minutes of various meetings and writings containing the ideology of the Movement. Further, he conducted indepth interviews with nearly 50 key informants within and outside the Movement and administered a mail questionnaire on a sample of Sarvodaya workers at various levels. On the whole the auther employed a variety of tools in order to uncover the different facets of the organization and ideology of the Movement. How the author's role was perceived and facilitated by the SSM is not clear from the book. The author, however, admits that he is withholding certain information relevant to the topic due to ethical considerations.

The book is divided into seven chapters followed by a bibliography and appendices containing the questionnaire and the sampling procedures used in the study. The first two chapters describe the theoretical perspective and methodology of the study, the socioeconomic context, background and the history of Sri Lanka as it relates to the SSM, and features of the six districts chosen for detailed study. Chapter three outlines the formal organization of the SSM from the national level down to the village level. Of the Sarvodaya workers who responded to a mail questionnaire, 49 percent described the SSM primarily as a social service organization, while another 41 percent characterized it as a revolutionary social movement. Further, while Sarvodaya leaders at higher levels more often characterized it as a revolutionary movement, those workers at the lower ends of the hierarchy more often described it as a service organization (see table 7 on page 134). Accordingly, the author concludes that the SSM has become more of an organization than a movement with the passage of time, especially as related to the lower ends of the Sarvodaya hierarchy.

The patterns of communication and decision-making examined in chapter four reveals the overwhelming position of Dr. A. T. Aryaratne within the Movement and its preference for consensus decisions. Wismeyer says that in practice the function of the Executive Council, Sarvodaya's highest decision-making body, is to legitimize decisions taken by Ariyaratne personally or together with a small band of other informal leaders (p.342). Further, the author treats this as evidence for the continuing significance of charismatic leadership within the movement. It is evident however that the Sarvodaya's intermediate level leadership represented by district coordinators are becoming increasingly significant within the Movement both in terms of formal organization and in their capacity as 'doers' as distinct from ideologues. Finally, even though rational legal procedures of a impersonal nature are becoming increasingly established, personal relations also manifested in the formation of 'cliques' and 'cabals', do matter a lot within the SSM, certainly far more than in a comparable government organization.

Chapter five deals with dissent, defection and dismissal from the Movement using case studies. The data show that the primary motivation for dissent and defection is not so much the rejection of the Sarvodaya ideology by the individuals concerned as their attachment to it; many of the defectors resented the emerging business-like or bureaucratic tendencies within the SSM. On the other hand, the SSM leaders cited the violation of Sarvodaya norms affecting its public image as the primary reason for dismissing any of its members from the Movement. On the basis of the latter finding the author concludes that the SSM remains mainly an ideological movement with the primary aim of propagating its ideology. "After all, if the movement were mainly organizational, the violation of norms which refer to the quality of output (efficiency, professionalism etc.)..... would most likely be seen as gravest offences" (p. 344).

Chapter six focuses on the Sarvodaya's relations with certain external agencies including the government of Sri Lanka and international donor agencies. The organizational and ideological impact of these external agencies on the SSM is discussed at length in this chapter. Finally the concluding chapter presents a summary of findings.

On the whole the book provides an expertly account of the direction in which the SSM is moving in regard to its organization and ideology. According to the author's perception, it seems as though the SSM, unlike its counterpart in India, will make the difficult but necessary transition from being a popular social movement into an effective service organization in time to come, provided that the present trends continue in the Movement. However, the author does not deal with some of the relevant aspects such as the problems associated with the inflow of technical experts and their relation with hard-core Sarvodaya workers. The relevance of the Sinhalese nationalist movement as an ideological forerunner to the SSM has not been examined. The Sarvodaya's response to the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka and its ideological implications have not been examined in sufficient detail, as acknowledged by the author himself. The language in the book is rather too technical and this is likely to put off those readers other than the professional social scientists. There are several misspelt words, especially when it comes to local terms. An index would have added to the value of the book. In spite of these shortcomings, this book makes a valuable contribution to the understanding of a complex social movement in Sri Lanka.

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MODERN SRI LANKA STUDIES

VOLUME 1 1986 NUMBER 1

CONTENTS

BOOK REVIEWS

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The Editors welcome articles based on original research in the social sciences with an emphasis on Sri Lanka. However, articles with broader coverage on Asia will also be considered for publication. Contributors are requested to adhere to the following format in preparation of the articles for the journal:

Typescript Typescripts should be double spaced (including all notes and references) and typed on one side of the page only, and should not normally exceed 6000 words. Two copies of all papers must be submitted.

Illustrations Copies of maps and charts may be submitted in manuscript or near-final form. After a paper has been accepted for publication, the author must submit the originals of all illustrations.

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(1) Author's name (no initials) and the dates givien in the body of the text (eg. Farmer, 1957) and the references listed alphabetically at the end of the paper (under the heading References) in the following form:

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CONTENTS

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