

BUDDHISM and CHRISTIANITY in CEYLON
(1796 - 1948)

by

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"Buddhist/Christian Relationships
 in British Ceylon 1796/1948"

"The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom;
 A good understanding have all those who practise it."
Psalm 111 : 10.

"That men may know wisdom and instruction, understand
 words of insight, receive instruction in wise dealing,
 righteousness, justice and equity; that prudence may
 be given to the simple, knowledge and discretion to
 the youth the wise man also may hear and increase
 in learning, and the man of understanding acquire skill."
Proverbs 1 : 15.

Dedicated to Muriel, my wife, supporter, critic and well-wisher.

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Preface.

Prior to the coming of the western colonial powers in A.D.1505 Sinhalese rulers and commoners alike supported Buddhism and gave their religion a position of patronage and privilege. There were a few exceptions to such a policy when periods of civil strife and persecution deprived Buddhism of its special position. Tamil rulers, for instance, usually gave their open support for Hinduism, and Hindu persecution as well as Hindu influences had much to do with the weakening of Buddhism in Ceylon. When European rulers came the Portuguese employed militant means to establish Roman Catholicism in the territories they ruled, whilst the Protestant Dutch rulers depended mainly on worldly inducements to win converts from Buddhism and Hinduism. Therefore, the British inherited an established form of Christianity, a State-supported system of schools and a close co-operation between the colonial official and Christian missionary.

In 1815 Ceylon was under complete British rule and Buddhism enjoyed a privileged position by the Kandyan Convention, but after the Kandyan Revolt of 1818 all religions were declared equal. However, the churches were favoured by the British, the Anglicans and the Presbyterians being "established" by the State till 1881. The Christian community slowly became independent of the British Raj but State links with Buddhism continued to create problems till 1931 when, after a century of debate, the Public Trustee undertook the supervision of Buddhist Temporalities. By 1900 the educational system was efficient but had been dominated by the Christian missionaries to the disadvantage of non-Christians; by 1948 all aided-schools could teach children their own religion. Bitter debates between Christians and Buddhists culminated in the Panadura Controversy of 1873 and inspired the Buddhist revival on two fronts. The Buddhist Theosophical Society was formed to foster Buddhist education and culture, while the Maha Bodhi Society aimed at Buddhist evangelism overseas.

Inspired by the Church, caste barriers were weakened in Ceylon and female education became widespread. Since 1900 the Church has moved away from bondage to the colonial forms of Christianity, and has attempted to

identify itself with Ceylonese customs, art and culture. The emergence of a privileged Buddhism has been a feature of religious life in Ceylon up to 1948, and Christians became aware of their disadvantages as a minority. However, the influence of the Church in education, social service, literature and national culture has been, on the whole, beneficial.

In studies of missionary policy and social activities the original work of K. M. De Silva entitled "Social Policy and Missionary Organisations in Ceylon, 1840-1855," published in 1965, remains a work of great authority. In this research comments were made about the subject from early days of British rule, but on important themes such as Buddhist Temporalities nothing conclusive could be said as no final solution was reached till the 1930's. The present thesis reviews the question of Buddhist Temporalities from the start of British rule to the passing of the Buddhist Temporalities Ordinance, No: 19 of 1931. R. Ruberu's thesis, published in 1962, "Education in Colonial Ceylon," covered the period 1796-1834., but the present research has sought to examine the question of education and how it involved various Christian Missions from 1796 till 1948 when the British period ended. Apart from Ruberu's work on education such authors as L. J. Gratien published shorter researches entitled "The First English School" and "The Story of our Schools" in 1927; J. Ferguson wrote a pamphlet in 1898 on "Public Instruction and Mission Schools;" D. Gogerly was responsible for an article in the Colombo Journal in 1832 on the subject "An Account of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission Schools;" D. B. Kuruppu published his book on "The Ceylon Government's Connection with Education" in 1923. The Rev. Fr. W. L. A. Don Peter published a thesis for the M.A. degree of the University of London on "The Educational Work of the Jesuits in Ceylon" in 1955, and a comprehensive survey was edited by Brian Holmes in 1967 on "Educational Policy and Mission Schools" which high-lighted aspects of Christian missionary involvement in education in British colonies.

Sources dealing with the early British period have been consulted for the policies followed. Colvin R. De Silva covered the sociological

and economic conditions in Ceylon from 1796-1832 and mentioned in passing some features of religious policy which K. M. De Silva treated at greater depth. Information from these sources proved valuable to this present research whilst the writings and observations of early British missionaries have been extensively used as reflecting first-hand experience. Colonial Office documents form a reliable base, especially those connected with Sir James Emerson Tennent who held high office in the colony for many years. Modern sociologists such as Bryce Ryan, Nur Yalman and Ariyapala provided background information for the chapter dealing with caste, rajakariya and the education of women. At the Church Missionary Society, Methodist Missionary Society and Baptist Missionary Society, in London, are valuable documents some of which have not been published previously. The Church Missionary Society documents coded Church Missionary Society C.I./E and the Baptist Missionary Society letters of the Rev. Bruce Etherington, especially on Buddhist Temporalities have been widely used. The Rev. James Cordiner's reports and works have authority as observations and comments obtained from the field, but his population figures have been evaluated by placing them alongside the research done by N. K. Sarkar. At the Baptist Missionary Society's library and archives, the writings of Bishop and Mrs. R. Heber, the Rev. Ebenezer Daniel, the Rev. J. D. Palm and Emerson Tennent provided much material. The London Missionary Society documents used in this research were also found at the Baptist Missionary Society library in London as were the Tract Society Reports dealing with the Buddhist-Christian debate through the use of literature. These writings have been used and controversial literature examined, especially the record of the Panadura Controversy of 1873.

The Legislative Enactments of Ceylon are quoted in this study in connection with educational matters and with the disestablishment of the Anglican and Presbyterian churches. From these legal records information was gathered also about various stages of the Buddhist Temporalities legislation. At the Royal Commonwealth Society library in London are

books and documents relating to Ceylon from which were obtained records of the Christian contribution to Sinhalese culture and Buddhism in scholarly works on the language and religion of the Sinhalese by such writers as Spence-Hardy, Gogerly and Copleston.

Devar Suriya Sena, the Oriental musician, contributed much to native music and folk songs, and his adaptation of the Anglican Holy Communion Service to Sinhalese music has been mentioned in this thesis. Likewise, the Rev. W. S. Senior's famous "Hymn for Lanka" is referred to as reflecting a genuine effort to express a Christian identification with Ceylonese nationalism. An early Christian tract is included together with two educational documents from Methodist and Baptist sources. On the question of State links with Buddhism Tennent's memorandum, Spence-Hardy's argument in favour of complete severance of such links, as well as the House of Commons Reports dealing with the 1848 Uprising, are all widely used as documents of rare value. The latter Reports are referred to as the Westminster Papers in this research. K. M. De Silva made good use of the Grey Manuscripts of the University of Durham, and these were in the nature of private communications between Governor Torrington and Earl Grey, the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The Westminster Papers, however, supply valuable information (obtained at a public investigation by Parliament) about Buddhism and State patronage; the extent of the protests by the various Christian Missions, and the reasons for the 1848 Uprising. These Papers record the public cross-examination of eye-witnesses from the colony on the recent unrest there, especially in Buddhist circles both among the Sangha and laity.

It has been the intention of this research to record some of the policies and programmes involving the colonial authorities, the Church Missions and the Buddhist religion, and to see where and how conflict and confrontation arose, noting various stages during British rule when Christian privilege and power gave way to Buddhist revival and expansion. If in this process Christianity in Ceylon has come under critical examination one can claim the historian's right to be critical while at the same time

showing impartiality in the face of facts. To Dr.E.G.Parrinder, my University Tutor, I express my gratitude for being my friend and guide over many years.

Foreword.

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BUDDHISM AND CHRISTIANITY IN CEYLON, 1796-1948

This is a fine piece of original work on a theme of considerable current importance. Although a thesis, and based on careful study of documents, this book is well written, and takes in turn themes of central interest.

In the modern encounter of religions, and the wide and growing interest in Asian religions, it is important to have reliable statements of the relationships between different faiths. Christianity and Buddhism are two of the greatest world religions, and both have been missionary faiths. The experiences of the Buddhists of Sri Lanka with Christian missions and governments, of different European countries, provides object lessons of mistakes and successes over the last two hundred years, and is a lesson for future dealings with other religions.

Over this small but complex and significant field, Dr.Karunaratna roams with ease and grace, examining facts and theories, and giving impartial justice to all who deserve it. His book is attractive and important, and worthy of a wide market.

(Sgd) Geoffrey Parrinder,
(Professor Geoffrey Parrinder.
Professor of the Comparative Study of Religions,
University of London).

ABBREVIATIONS.

AR/BMS	Annual Report of the Baptist Missionary Society.
BMS	Baptist Missionary Society.
BTS	Buddhist Theosophical Society.
CALR	Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register.
CO	Colonial Office.
CMS	Church Missionary Society.
LMS	London Missionary Society.
MBS	Maha Bodhi Society.
MISS/HER/BMS	Missionary Herald, Baptist Missionary Society.
MMS	Methodist Missionary Society, sometimes referred to as the Wesleyan Missionary Society.
NRS	National Register of Archives.
PRO	Public Records Office.
RAS	Royal Asiatic Society.
RCS	Royal Commonwealth Society.
TSR	Tract Society Report.
YMBA	Young Men's Buddhist Association.
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association.
YWBA	Young Women's Buddhist Association.
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association.

BUDDHISM and CHRISTIANITY in CEYLON

A.D. 1796 - 1948.

- Chapter 1. The first stage of British rule. (A.D.1796-1820).
- Chapter 2. The Kandyan Convention of 1815 and the Kandyan Uprising of 1818. Buddhism becomes a protected religion under the British.
- Chapter 3. The problem of Buddhist Temporalities and the opposition of the Christian Missions to State links with Buddhism.
- Chapter 4. The 1848 Uprising: the causes of this anti-British movement which resulted in modifications of British policy towards Buddhism.
- Chapter 5. Christianity and State patronage in British Ceylon with consequences of denominational dissension, and the problem of continuing nominal Christians.
- Chapter 6. Caste. Rajakariya and the Education of women: an examination of the social system and the impact on it of Colonial and Mission policies.
- Chapter 7. Times of Controversy and the Buddhist Revival.
- Chapter 8. The Christian involvement in Education in British Ceylon: the Four Main Stages.
- Chapter 9. Three major aspects of Mission Education: a detailed analysis.
- Chapter 10. The Church in native dress: an unprivileged minority group in a largely Buddhist society.

Chapter 1. - The first stage of British rule. (A.D.1796-1820.)

Early in February A.D.1796 the Dutch colonial authorities handed over Colombo and the Maritime Provinces to the British East India Company, but for the next two years the Company officials continued to administer the Ceylon territories from their Madras offices. It must be said that the transition from Dutch to British rule took place smoothly, and in the words of S. G. Perera, "on 16th February 1796 all the settlements of the Dutch East India Company in Ceylon passed into the possession of the British East India Company without a struggle, without loss of life, without much expense and without let or hindrance from the King of Kandy."^{1.} No agreement was made at this stage with the Kandyan Kingdom and no concessions asked for or given by either party. In 1798 the British Parliament placed the Ceylon territories under the Crown and so Ceylon became a Crown Colony, a status that was formally accepted by the Treaty of Amiens in 1802.^{2.}

During the administration of the island for two years by the British East India Company a simple anti-missionary policy was followed whereby the Company maintained that it was not its business to spread the Christian religion for fear "that Christian propaganda would disturb its trade."^{3.} These words of G. C. Mendis find support when we notice how between 1796-1798 the schools which were used by the Dutch for purposes of converting scholars to Christianity were neglected by the British. There was at this time a real nervousness about native reaction and resentment over conversions to Christianity, and in India and Ceylon missionary work was, therefore, forbidden by the British East India Company.^{4.} In spite of Portuguese and Dutch attempts to convert the masses amongst the Sinhalese to Christianity the majority of them remained loyal to Buddhism. In the course of his travels in Ceylon at the start of British rule Eudelin De Jonville commented how he came across many Buddhist temples in south Ceylon, and even though large numbers of people had been baptized and church membership figures had increased, Jonville was unable to count many Christians.^{5.} In the Kandyan Kingdom there was still a sovereign Buddhist State which the British did not annexe till 1815. The Buddhist ruler of Kandy had been accepted from ancient

times as the spiritual and temporal head of the Buddhist religion of the Kandyan. In fact, lands belonging to Buddhist organisations were in the words of Lennox Mills, "free from taxation and the priests received from their tenants a large revenue which took the form of a percentage of the crops or of compulsory labour."^{6.}

Like the Portuguese and Dutch before them the British now controlled the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon. Some measure of Roman Catholic and Dutch Protestant influence prevailed in these districts, but the British too had to accept the fact of Kandyan independence which included a State-supported Buddhism. A new factor of great importance emerged in British Ceylon when Buddhists, Hindus and Moslems were allowed official liberty in religious matters. In 1799 Governor North issued a historic edict defining British policy of toleration towards Christians and non-Christians alike, and his far-sighted action has been described by a recent Anglican publication edited by the Rev. H. de Soysa as a "wise and welcome measure."^{7.} that aided the religious situation of that time when many native people had joined the ranks of Christianity for the wrong motives. North's proclamation granting freedom of religion inspired a return to Buddhism of many nominal Christians. The British adopted the attitude that in religious matters they were neutral thus ending the disabilities suffered by non-Christians from Portuguese and Dutch times.^{8.} Here are some of the words of North's proclamation.

"The Administration of Justice : Proclamation of 23.9.1799 Liberty of Conscience and Free Exercise of Religion. We hereby do allow liberty of conscience and the free exercise of Religious Worship to all persons who inhabit and frequent the said settlements of the island of Ceylon, provided always that they quietly and peaceably enjoy the same without offence or scandal to Government; but we command and ordain that no new place of Religious Worship be established without our Licence or Authority."^{9.}

The British did not enforce the Dutch stipulations of a particular religious loyalty for holders of official appointments, and the public service was now open to all citizens who qualified in the normal way. Tennent commented that "monopoly of offices and public employment was not as theretofore to be jealousy preserved for the outward professors of Christianity."¹⁰ In due course the Roman Catholics, for example, began to benefit under British rule as they suffered no civil disabilities such as plagued them in Dutch times. North's policy was aimed at enforcing the due observance of religious duties in each religion "by its own particular professors, and in procuring for each, as far as may be, proper teachers and a decorous maintenance of open worship."¹¹ Maitland, North's successor, continued this progressive policy, and on 27.5.1806 passed a regulation removing disabilities which the Dutch had imposed on Roman Catholics in respect of their marriages. Maitland's law declared valid all marriages "according to Catholic rites since 26th August, 1795, although prescribed Dutch formalities had not been observed."^{12a} His regulation allowed Roman Catholics the "unmolested profession and exercise of their religion." Earlier on by Proclamation issued on 3.8.1796 when the British East India Company ruled Ceylon, Roman Catholic priests had been allowed to minister to their people freely and to officiate at their marriages in Roman Catholic churches.^{12a}

Under the Portuguese Roman Catholics and Dutch Presbyterians there had been religious persecution, or the offering of material inducements and special favours, with Christians in the place of privilege and Buddhists the targets of discrimination. For the sake of government employment and social advantage large numbers of people had become nominally Christian. The Dutch mistakenly seemed to believe that Christians could be made by the mechanical process of baptism, and many Sinhalese viewed this rite as a test for the many civil privileges offered by their rulers. For example, children of Christian parents could inherit land without payment of full taxation or death duties, and thus the baptismal rite grew in importance in the eyes of the natives. Officials from the government went from village

to village and people were summoned to a central spot by the tom-tom beaters while parents attended the ceremony with their children, and a Dutch government official went along "sprinkling the youthful faces with water and repeating the formula of baptism."^{12b.} Unfortunately, such policies from Dutch times prevailed in early British days, and it took almost fifty years of British rule to eradicate them. James Selkirk of the Church Missionary Society deplored the indiscriminate baptisms still practised in his time when Government native preachers or proponents at times "baptised two or three hundred infants and elder children while making the circuit of their districts."^{13.} According to Selkirk, sponsors or god-parents were chosen carelessly when people walking along the road and unknown to the parents of the children, "were called in to be god-fathers and god-mothers."^{13.} Such sponsors were in many cases unbaptised persons with no church links, and Selkirk even claimed that a majority of the Buddhist bhikkhus, (monks), in the maritime provinces were persons "who have been baptised in their infancy."^{13.} Emerson Tennent wrote that in south Ceylon there were Sinhalese Christians who were "worse than the heathen;" they were in fact "actual worshippers of Budhu" who described their religion as the "religion of the East India Company."^{14.} Tennent made three observations on the methods used by Dutch evangelists.

1. So formal was the baptismal process that the Sinhalese coined a term for it. They called it "Christiani - Karenawa," or "Christian making."
2. The local people were well aware that baptism into the Dutch Church gave them civil distinction, and the Sinhalese term for the ceremony bears the literal interpretation of admission to rank or "Kula-wadenawa."
3. This disrespect of many non-Christians can be detected in the following comment. "If two Buddhists quarrel," wrote Tennent, "it is no unusual term of reproach to apply the epithet of an 'unbaptised wretch' (to-gintugua), and when a parent upbraids his child in anger, he sometimes threatens to disinherit him by

saying he will "blot out his baptism from the toambo" (register), 14.

Robert Newstead, who pioneered Methodist work at Negombo, wrote in 1818 that he baptised none unless they were willing to follow regular courses of instruction prior to baptism, or else could offer valid reasons "for their desire to be baptised, beyond what has generally been thought necessary here." 14. It had become obvious that with a few exceptions baptism was desired by the native population "only from secular motives and for secular purposes such as Inheritances of Property, obtaining of Situations, Marriages etc.," 14.

One reason for the presence of nominal Christians in British times was the inevitable Christian bias of the early colonial officials in Ceylon. Like the Portuguese and Dutch before them the British were a Christian power and treated the Christian community with a degree of favour. There was a tendency to recruit government officials mainly from Christian ranks in early British times. 15. Hence, Tennent was not altogether correct when he referred to the Christian religion in Ceylon under British rule as being "unaided by the favour and uninfluenced by the frowns of authority." 16. The fact was that the British continued to treat the churches more favourably than the non-Christian institutions and Tennent mentioned, for example, that "the clergy were invited to itinerate throughout the rural districts at the cost of the Government, for the purpose of keeping alive the knowledge of Christianity amongst the Sinhalese." 16.

The policies of Governor North did much to encourage church life in the colony: one hundred and seventy church-maintained schools received State-aid, and Dutch Reformed Church clergy got a government grant equal to half their previous salaries. (The next British governor, Maitland, reminded the Colonial Office that under the terms of surrender the Dutch were promised that the Reformed Church would be protected as the church then established.) 17. North had advocated the general use of English and welcomed converts to Christianity, 18. and some features of his patronage can be examined:

- a) He abandoned the tax on marriages as far as Christians were concerned.

b) Dutch ministers were re-inducted in their churches when North gave permission for the Dutch Presbyterian Church to be regarded as the Ecclesiastical Establishment. (Maitland in his dealings with the Colombo Consistory of the Dutch Church accepted that church as part of the Establishment.) 19.

c) It was North's wish to find suitable ways of obtaining for Christianity power and prestige in order to avoid "the relapse of the inhabitants into Paganism." 20. Dutch clergy were paid by the British authorities, and salaries varied between £40-£60 at Colombo and other places.

d) In the State-supported parish schools the syllabus centred round reading, writing, arithmetic, the Catechism, Prayers, Bible-Study in Sinhalese or Tamil, and elements of the English language. 21. Through these schools North felt that Christian influence might spread, thereby strengthening "the Government's hold on the people," a hold that appeared to weaken with the return of large numbers of Protestant Christians to Buddhism. 22.

e) Under North's personal directions schools were established in the chief towns in 1801 for orphans and foundlings, but in many instances he revived the Orphan Houses of the Dutch for the poor Burghers and for "high-caste children born to native women by European fathers." 23. All expenses of these orphanages were met by government but the actual running of such places was left to the churches. In November 1802 North imposed a fee of 500 Rix dollars per child on Europeans who sent their illegitimate children to these institutions in the hope that such a fee would "induce fathers to place their Black Bastards there, and prevent the evil which must inevitably proceed from the rapid increase and bad education of that mongrel breed." 24.

f) With North's active assistance the Rev. James Cordiner assumed duties as the Chaplain to the local British garrison. This cleric also became the first British Inspector and Principal of Schools in Ceylon with responsibility in 1801 for 175 parish schools.

g) In 1803 another Anglican priest arrived in Ceylon to strengthen

the work done by Cordiner; he was the Rev. Thomas Twisleton who became Senior Chaplain and later on the first Anglican Archdeacon. There followed in 1805 the first Nonconformist missionaries in British times, De Vos, Erhardt and Palm, who were sent out by the London Missionary Society. ^{25.} North placed them on the Ecclesiastical Establishment knowing that they could render spiritual service, whilst in the moral and political sense they could influence the local Christians to become better informed in their faith about which they were "shamefully ignorant," ^{26.}and became better citizens.

h) North gave full-hearted support to the schools run by the churches, and this pro-Christian educational pattern can be seen in the account of expenses concerning "the English Ecclesiastical and School Establishments on the Island of Ceylon," compiled by the Rev. James Cordiner, dated 1.1.1801.

	<u>Rix-Dollars.</u>
"4 Preachers in Colombo District)	200
Wolfendaal Academy)	1,100
57 Native Schools, 7 Catechists,)	<u>633</u>
Thombo Holders etc.,)	<u>1,933</u>
Galle (European School.))	100
24 Native Schools)	<u>232</u>
	<u>332</u>
18 Schools in Matara District)	159
1 Catechist)	
3 Schools in Batticoloa)	74
1 Preacher)	
8 Schools in Trincomalee District)	134
1 Preacher)	
38 Schools in Jaffna District)	415
1 Preacher, 2 Catechists)	
Thombo Holder etc.,)	
European Orphan Schools at)	
Jaffnapatam)	400

10 Schools in Mannar District)	100	
Catechists etc.,)		
Principal of Schools	250	
Probable expenses of books	<u>50</u> ^{27.}	
	<u>3,847</u>	"

When at the end of 1803 government grants to parish schools were stopped for lack of funds North found a way for school teachers to act as Notaries, and for such duties they received payment whereas in the past they had been only paid for school work. ^{28.} Governor Maitland also continued support for teachers in parish schools until the grants were restored on the orders of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. James Cordiner was back in England at this time and made a strong case for State-aid to schools; and so colonial administration and missionary endeavour were yoked together. When European missionaries and Ceylonese catechists were engaged to revive and maintain the old Dutch parish schools the British were not doing anything that the Dutch had not already done. Also, in England at that time "education was carried out by the Church," and hence North and Maitland were supporting a system that was operating in their own country. ^{29.}

Mention must be made about early British contact with the Kandyan Kingdom and assurances given to protect the King of Kandy and the Buddhist religion. Pledges of alliance and friendship between Kandy and the British representatives go back to the 12th October, 1795 when Article 4 of a preliminary treaty made it incumbent on the British East India Company "to guard and protect the King, Country and Religion of Kandy against all enemies." ^{30.} In 1800 an Embassy was sent to discuss another treaty and Article 9 contained a specific assurance to the Kandyan Buddhists: "The religion of the inhabitants of Candy, their temples, pagodas, and ground attached to them, shall be respected by the English Government, and his Britannic Majesty's subjects shall have strict order not to offer any insult to the objects of the Candian Worship." ^{31.} Unfortunately, other conditions of a political, economic and military nature caused this

proposed treaty to remain unsigned, and MacDowall, the British negotiator, returned to Colombo on 7th May, 1800 "empty-handed". ^{32.}

The attitude of goodwill ^{33.} was, however, coming to an end by 1802 when the Kandyan King made it plain that he was not in favour of a British military presence in or near Kandy. He was suspicious about North's conduct in giving political asylum to Kandyan rivals and pretenders, ^{34.} and there set in a gradual worsening of relationships between the Kandyans and the British so that by June 1802 the Kandyans were guilty of hostile acts on British subjects who were engaged in trade within Kandyan territories. ^{34.} In February 1803 North had gone so far as to proclaim a pretender called Muttuswami as "the rightful heir to the Crown of Kandy," but the pretender did not arouse patriotic feelings of loyalty from the Kandyan rank and file. ^{34.}

Invading British forces were defeated and Muttuswami was executed by the Kandyan King thereby provoking North to make reprisal raids which destroyed many Kandyan villages. Buddhist vihares and devales were also plundered and destroyed while North's final verdict regarding the Buddhist Kingdom of Kandy revealed in what directions his mind had been working. "The influence of the Court of Kandy," wrote North, "over the inhabitants of our territories is of long-standing, and is assiduously cultivated by the Priests of the Buddha who direct their consciences." ^{35.}

Within Buddhism at this time there appeared some restlessness due to caste discrimination in the Sangha, which can be traced back to 1753 when Kirti Sri Rajasinghe, King of Kandy, obtained the services of twenty Siamese bhikkhus to revive the succession of the Sangha that had lapsed over the years. ^{36.} The King issued a formal edict "establishing the Siam Nikaya as a monopoly of the highest caste, i.e., the cultivators." ^{37.} Thus, the Goyigama caste were the privileged caste and the Siam Sect admitted bhikkhus from no other caste. By 1802 a Samanera (novice bhikkhu) of the low country Salagama caste, Ambagahapitiya, in defiance of the practice in the Kandyan Kingdom, went to Burma with five other novices and they were ordained into the Sangha. They returned to Ceylon and founded the Amarapura Nikaya which was meant to be open to bhikkhus of

all castes, thus forming an indigenous movement that constituted a direct challenge and protest against caste distinctions in the Sangha.^{38.} Hence bhikkhus were divided into two main groups, with the Siam Sect exerting the greater influence in Kandyan lands, and the Amarapura Sect having considerable power in British-held Ceylon.

But, the fundamental difference went beyond mere barriers of geography with the Siam Sect only open to Goiygama caste bhikkhus, and the Amarapura Sect catering mainly for the low-caste Salagama. Gradually even the Amarapura Sect became involved in caste discrimination as Bishop Copleston remarked at the end of the 19th century when he wrote that it admitted only "members of the three castes which are usually held to rank next to the highest, the fishers, the cinnamon-peelers and the toddy-drawers."^{37.} Such Sangha divisions gave hopes to Christian leaders of the time that the process of conversion to Christianity would be hastened by a weakened Buddhism.^{39.} Such hopes did not come true for the schism was an attempt to return to a purer practice of Buddhism, and as such, was significant as a protest movement within Buddhism.

Governor North gave no lead to the anti-caste campaign begun by the low-country Sangha and he appeared to have accepted the caste system as a means of giving strength to the political and economic organisation of the territory, and for people of the fisher, washermen, silversmith and cinnamon-peeler castes North employed headmen from their own castes. Lord Valentia in a book describing his travels mentioned that North made himself ex-officio chief of the Vallalas or the Goiygama.^{40.} North's Chief Secretary was made chief of the Karawa caste and in this way recognition was accorded to the most powerful social sections in the island. Then in order to keep the Salagama people happy North proceeded to make himself chief of their caste as well, a post that included some judicial powers.^{40.}

Religion and race caused divisions in society at this time very much as they do today. The Sinhalese were mainly Buddhists; the Tamils were mainly Hindus; Portuguese Burghers were largely Roman Catholics and Dutch

Burghers were Protestants. Moslems formed a small part of the community drawn from Middle Eastern and Malaysian stock. But, from the ranks of the low-country Sinhalese and from the ranks of the Tamils, from Buddhist and from Hindu families, the Portuguese and Dutch had obtained a considerable number of converts to Christianity. Language also divided Ceylonese society with Sinhalese, Tamil, Portuguese, Dutch and English as languages of the different communities. However, Portuguese and Dutch gradually ceased to be important and English became the common language. When North decided in 1802 to accept petitions written only in English he wished to make English financially attractive as the spoken and written language of the colonial administration of the island. ^{41.} This policy soon became evident in schools under North's regime, run by the churches with financial aid from the State, where English education was the order of the day, and Cordiner wrote that "boys learned to read, write and speak the English language, and soon acquire the manners and appearances of British children." ^{42.} It must be remembered that Cordiner spoke as one who held high position in the Colony, being appointed by Governor North in 1799 as Superintendent of Schools. The English school that was opened at Wolvendaal in the old Dutch part of Colombo was pioneered by James Cordiner. It included a Sinhalese, Tamil and English stream, and became known as the Academy or Seminary in Colombo; it had the important role of preparing youths through an English education for the public service. ^{42.}

In later generations English became useful as an effective unifying language in an island of differences and disunities arising from diversities of racial origins, customs, religions, languages, class and caste. Dutch Burghers who were racially less mixed with the native races thought themselves superior to the Portuguese Burghers, many of whom were dark-skinned people. Caste, as already noted divided the Sangha into rival sections, and in such circumstances North believed "in the humanising and civilising value of English and Christianity." ^{43.} He became Christianity's first patron in British times and showed a practical interest in education mainly because it was useful in the spreading of the Christian religion. Colonial Office

hesitation and indifference on the subject of parish-schools did not discourage him as he proceeded to revive these institutions "for the propagation of Christianity." 44. The civil, judicial and military officials of Colombo presented North with a farewell address that fairly summed up the main features of his rule, mentioning that the people will be grateful to him "as the founder of seminaries for their improvement in religion and knowledge, and of various institutions of charity for the relief of their sick and poor." 45. North's contributions to Ceylon were positive in many directions; under him the people enjoyed religious freedom and had opportunities for education in church-run schools where State aid was generously given. Church and State began a partnership that was to continue late into British times, and English began to assume important proportions, a foretaste of its future prominence, especially in education.

There began a class restlessness in North's time, a subject that was to occupy much of the mission policy of later British days. In the low-country converted Sinhalese chiefs called Mudaliyars increasingly occupied important positions in the civil and social set-up of the colony. 46. Such leaders did not reflect the rank and file Sinhalese who remained loyal to Buddhism. In return for financially rewarding employment these native officials supplied their British masters with wrong information leading them to believe that the island would be converted to Christianity in the first half of the 19th century, but the Kandyan chiefs were apparently not so sure about any speedy conversion. 46. The pro-Christian bias of the Mudaliyars and their ignorance of Buddhism can be illustrated by an incident that happened when Maria Graham visited Ceylon in 1809. While at Weligama in South Ceylon she was warned by the Maha (Chief) Mudaliyar that she ought not to enter the Buddhist temple there. The reason was that the Buddhists were in the habit of worshipping the devil at Weligama Temple, but Maria Graham was wiser than the Mudaliyar and was able to distinguish between the true practice of Buddhism and exorcistic ceremonies. She wrote that the Mudaliyar had a mistaken identification of Buddha with Satan, perhaps due

to the Mudaliyar's strong Dutch Protestantism. 47. While the low-country Sinhalese Mudaliyar generally reflected the fact that Portuguese Dutch and British attempts at conversion to Christianity met with some measure of success, the up-country Kandyan chiefs represented the traditional Sinhalese loyalty to Buddhism as their ancient religion.

In spite of religious freedom and toleration the colonial rulers continued to give preference to Protestants and Roman Catholics while Buddhists and other non-Christians still faced disadvantages. The British administration allowed liberty in religious matters but it in no way curtailed its pro-Christian policies in some spheres. No attempt was made, for example, to build and to maintain Buddhist-managed schools where children could receive their own kind of religious instruction. On the other hand, Ceylonese Christians and English Evangelicals were pleased that parish-schools were once more receiving financial aid from the British officials under Maitland. In fact the British monarch had reason to praise Maitland for his work on behalf of the pro-Christian educational system of his time. The following words are quoted from "The Instructions Accompanying the Charter of Justice," dated 30.9.1810, "His Majesty is pleased highly to approve of the Establishment made by you of Public Schools for the improvement of Education and the Extension of the Knowledge of the Christian Religion." 48.

Governor Maitland (1805-1811) viewed the Buddhist Sangha with some suspicion as at this time low-country bhikkhus were in the habit of going up to Kandy for their ordination (Upasampada) ceremony. In order to put an end to this practice, if possible, Maitland encouraged rivalry among bhikkhus of South Ceylon and he also hoped that a Sangha riddled with rival factions would have less influence over the population. In Maitland's view the power of Kandyan Buddhism over the rest of Ceylon could be broken by the establishment of Regional Committees of Bhikkhus, which would decide on "all causes relative either to the bhikkhus themselves or their lands and religious ceremonies." 49. At this time many bhikkhus were going into

different parts of Ceylon from the Mukirigala Vihara and their influence was considerable. Information reached Maitland that a follower of the Nayaka Thera of Mukirigala was endeavouring to build up a rival party at Galle, and the Governor instructed the "Collector secretly to instigate that rivalry while publicly pretending, if necessary, to support the Mukirigala faction." 49. He also informed the Colonial Office about the strength, intentions and loyalties of the Sangha in coastal districts. "They have," he wrote, "about 750 priests, everyone of them nominated specifically by the King of Kandy, and all bound to go to Kandy to report the state of their congregation." 50. The statistics given by Maitland may well be correct but his two other statements were incorrect since the King of Kandy did not nominate low-country bhikkhus, and neither were they bound to make progress reports to him. Yet in Buddhist eyes he was the patron of Buddhism even though he was only the monarch of the Kandyan Kingdom.

Maitland was not anxious to spend money on spreading education till he received instructions from the Colonial Office, and when he re-opened church-schools he was merely carrying out Lord Camden's orders. His experience in Ceylon had led Maitland to the conclusion that "the religious convictions of converts depended on where their profit lay." 51. Emerson Tennent, however, recorded that Maitland co-operated with the Dutch Church in restoring schools and Dutch public charities and also in appointing catechists for work in Dutch churches. 52. It seems strange that he should show so much goodwill towards the Dutch church whilst displaying a certain coldness to the other Christian denominations in their educational labours. But there was support for Maitland's view that the State ought not to bring pressure to bear on the natives towards conversion to Christianity, and Castlereagh at the Colonial Office wrote to Maitland that he would "deem it highly inexpedient to employ the Power and Authority of the State for the purposes of forcing upon the natives a Conformity to our Religion, being convinced that such a System is likely to produce discontent and calculated to generate Hypocrites and Conformists, rather than true Believers." 53.

This must remain one of the most outspoken and fair-minded statements issued by the British Government to one of its colonial governors in Ceylon.

Motivated by practical shrewdness Maitland offered Civil Servants financial rewards if they made themselves proficient in the Sinhalese language, 54. and the Christian Missions supported Maitland as they were already conducting a good amount of education in the vernacular. While North made proficiency in English a matter of financial reward Maitland reversed such a policy, and this was not the only point of difference between the first two colonial governors of Ceylon. North latterly preferred military operations to bring Kandy under British control, but Maitland opted for less costly ways of spreading British power. "I shall be able," he declared, "to get by underhand means and very little money indeed more complete possession of the Kandyans than by war of any kind." 55. Needless to say, Maitland's methods were no more successful than any previous policies and the Kandyans maintained their sovereign status till 1815 when dissatisfied chiefs invited the British to help them get rid of their ruler.

The first stage of British rule came to an end with open State patronage of Christian Missions by Governor Robert Brownrigg who served in Ceylon from 1812-1820. The significance of Brownrigg's governorship can be assessed by some of the momentous events that took place for Buddhism and Christianity alike. In his time the Buddhist Kingdom of Kandy became part of British territory thus making British control an islandwide fact. In matters of education and religion Brownrigg displayed much interest, and under the patronage of Lady Brownrigg a school was opened, while in 1812 her husband inaugurated the Auxiliary Bible Society at Colombo. 56. When the first Baptist missionaries arrived in Ceylon in 1812 they were welcomed and helped by Brownrigg who also "employed Wesleyan missionaries as teachers." 57. The period between 1812-1818 saw Baptists, Wesleyans, Anglicans and American missionaries busily establishing themselves in the island with Brownrigg's support. The London Missionary Society had already sent missionaries in 1805 to Ceylon when North was governor. 58. With Brownrigg's active co-operation the new Missions opened up a number of schools with English

as the medium of instruction, but in rural regions the missionaries soon adopted the vernacular as the best way of teaching people. 59.

James Chater, the pioneer Baptist missionary in Ceylon, wrote that he was received by Brownrigg and his wife who "were both devout Christians and in full sympathy with missionary work,"59. and the first Wesleyan and Anglican missionaries were similarly given a warm welcome by the governor. It was fortunate for Christian Missions that they began in Brownrigg's time because Sir Edward Barnes who succeeded Brownrigg (for a temporary period) was hostile towards the Missions. 59. In establishing and expanding Christian schools, a task begun by North, Chater received encouragement from Brownrigg, and only two months after arriving in Ceylon Chater announced in June 1812 that he was opening "an English school in Colombo, where boarders were to be received, and where the English language would be taught." 59. Chater published a Sinhalese Grammar in 1815 which he later revised and about which Tennent wrote in 1850 that it was still one of the best that had appeared. Writing to the Serampore brethren on 16.6.1816 Chater said that "His Excellency (Brownrigg) took this opportunity to inform me that it had afforded him much pleasure to see a Grammar of the Cingalese language published. When I presented him a copy he sent me 100 rix-dollars as a present." 60a. It was not only secular literature that interested Brownrigg: scripture translation also received his enthusiastic support when after 1812 he became increasingly involved in the work of the Bible Society. In the Ceylon Government Gazette of 31.1.1820 is contained the Address forwarded to Brownrigg by the Church Missionary Society workers. "We saw with thankful acknowledgment," they wrote, "that the peaceable yet strenuous effort which from various quarters were made for the spread of our holy religion, invariably met with your favourable countenance, and in many instances, with your fostering support." 60b. In his reply Brownrigg commented that he cannot doubt "but that under the guidance of Providence the progress of Christianity will be general."

At this time various privileges and positions were offered to converts from Buddhism, especially to ex-bhikkhus. The material advantages far

outweighed conviction in many such converts, and Spence Hardy of the Wesleyan Mission commented on "the long line of baptized priests over whom the church is called to weep." 61. As early as 1814 the Wesleyans were successful in converting a former bhikkhu, and on 12.12.1814 he was baptized at the Fort Church, Colombo, by the Rev. G. Bisset. Petrus Panditta Sekera, the ex-bhikkhu, had as his baptismal sponsors two Wesleyan missionaries, Clough and Armour, and was said to have become a Christian "through the mild, clear and persuasive arguments and exhortations of the Rev. Mr. Clough." 62. The new convert was found employment as a Sinhalese translator to the Government at a fixed salary in view of his "literary qualifications." 62. Aggressive expansion was the keynote of Christian missionary activity under Brownrigg's support. Missionaries such as Chater and his helpers went to Buddhist villages on preaching tours, while on 27.5.1815 Chater, Siers and a Sinhalese teacher went to Kelaniya and preached near the famous Buddhist Temple there. 63. It is recorded that they "contradicted the nonsense of Buddhism," and were joined by the Wesleyan missionaries, Harvard and Clough, at the temple grounds. By this time a bhikkhu influenced by the preaching of these missionaries had decided to make a public renunciation of Buddhism. He read a paper stating his reasons and described Buddhism as a false religion. 63.

Within the next two years in 1817 Sir Alexander Johnston, Chief Justice of Ceylon, took two bhikkhus to England, who having renounced Buddhism were baptized in Brunswick Chapel, Liverpool, by the Rev. Dr. Adam Clarke. The baptismal register of that church contains the following entries:-

"Adam Sereh Goona Mundhi Rathana, late a High Priest of Buddhu, in the island of Ceylon, was baptized in Liverpool on 12th March 1820, by me, Adam Clarke, Minister."

"Alexander Dharma Rama, late a High Priest of Buddhu, in the island of Ceylon, was baptized in Liverpool on 12th March 1820, by me, Adam Clarke, Minister."

Adam Clarke laid hands on the two newly-baptized Sinhalese converts and thrilled his congregation by saying the prayer - "See these sinful worms of earth: Bless to them the cleansing flood." 64a.

There is an interesting account of the coming of these bhikkhus to England in the three-volumed account of the religious and literary life of this great Methodist Minister of the last century whose Brunswick Chapel in Liverpool was a famous non-Conformist place of worship. On 10th May 1818 Adam Clarke wrote:- "I have today received the two high-priests from on board the vessel at Blackwall." It would appear that the Missionary Committee of the Methodist Church placed the two bhikkhus entirely under Adam Clarke's care in order "to be instructed in Christianity and Science."

Having got to know his pupils Adam Clarke commented:- "...and to me, though black, they are comely." Their conversation was definite in that they "evinced not the slightest wish to return either to their Idols, or to the Faith or practice of their Forefathers." When offered gifts by a well-wisher of Brunswick Chapel to mark their baptism the Sinhalese converts refused the gifts in spite of many pleadings. Their reply is worth noting - "We came to England without money, without goods, without clothes, except our Priest's garments; we will take nothing back with us, but one coat a-piece, the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and the books you (i.e. Adam Clarke) have promised us."

Writing to Joseph Butterworth, an evangelical and member of Parliament, Adam Clarke on 7th May 1820 made this observation:- "I judged right, on their earnest application, after eighteen months instruction, to admit them into the Christian Church by baptism, which was ^{administered} to them in Liverpool, 12th March 1820, according to the form of the Established Church of England." Since the converts on their return to Ceylon would continue to receive colonial patronage and support, it must have appeared right for them to be baptized according to Anglican rites. In Ceylon the Anglicans held a position of privilege as being the overseas manifestation of the Established English Church here in England. A Colonial Office document dated 6th May 1820, indicated how much Lord Bathurst, on behalf of the colonial authorities, agreed with moves for extending Christian influence in Ceylon. "Lord Bathurst so strongly feels the advantage which the Sinhalese inhabitants



DR. A. CLARKE AND THE BUDEIST PRIESTS, HIS POPILS, IN HIS STUDY AT MILLBROOK.

(See Vol. II, p. 353)

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of Ceylon may derive from the instruction of any of their countrymen in the Christian faith."

On 30th October 1821 the ex-bhikkhus arrived back in Ceylon under the care of Sir Richard Ottley, a judge who went to the island to serve the judiciary. Adam Clarke had written a tract for the instruction of his two converts, and when subsequently published it bore the title 'Clavis Biblica'. It was a compendium of Scripture Knowledge and contained a general view of the contents of the Old and New Testaments. This tract explained how the principles of Christianity were derived from the Scriptures. It even gave directions as to how best the Bible ought to be read and studied daily. Clavis Biblica in Adam Clarke's own words was "originally drawn up for the Instruction of two High Priests of Budhoo, from the Island of Ceylon."

Adam Mundhi Bathana, on his return to Ceylon in 1821 wrote to Dr. Adam Clarke:-

"On 30th October we arrived at Colombo: the governor is very kind to me, and put me under the Rev. Dr. S----- who came from England as colonial chaplain. With him I study the Christian religion." 64b.

State support for Christian Missions in Brownrigg's time was generous, and Bathurst at the Colonial Office wrote suggesting that the time was appropriate to appoint an Anglican Archdeacon in Ceylon. The normal process of State routine was duly followed and in 1817 the first Archdeacon of Colombo was appointed subject to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of Calcutta. 65. The priest appointed in this case was the Rev. Thomas James Twisleton, and his office was indicative of the fact that the colonial authorities were openly supporting the Anglican denomination just as the State supported it in England.

Missions in general (the Anglicans in particular) and joint Christian ventures such as the Bible Society prospered under the generous support of Brownrigg. In 1819 he wrote to Bathurst at the Colonial Office recommending his brother-in-law, the Rev. G. Bisset, for the post of Archdeacon to

succeed the Rev. T. Twisleton. Among other merits of the applicant Brownrigg noted how Bisset "has now for several years performed the Duties of Chaplain of this colony (and is the Senior) in a manner the more exemplary and advantageous to the cause of the Established Church and the promotion of Christianity." 66. Thus, Church and State appeared to work in close co-operation in Brownrigg's time.

It is well in considering the initial stage of British rule in Ceylon to take note of the percentage of Christians in the population. Under Dutch rule many Protestant converts were only nominally attached to their churches, a fact that was clearly proved in the period immediately following the regulations relating to religious liberty under North when the Buddhist religion in the low-country received an impetus. According to estimates made by the Rev. James Cordiner and dated 1.1.1801 the Protestants numbered 236,109 in Colombo, Galle, Batticaloa, Trincomalee and Jaffna districts. Catholics according to Cordiner, were greater in numbers than the Protestants and non-Christians "were equal to the whole of the Christians." 67. However, six years later, in 1807, when Cordiner published his famous book on Ceylon, he gave the population of the island as an estimated one and a half million people. But, this included the Kandyan population as well as the population of the British territories of the low-country. Excluding the Kandyans "as not being British subjects, the total population was estimated to be about one million," 68. and Protestant Christians were put at 342,000.

Another writer of this period was Anthony Bertolacci, who estimated the population based on food production statistics at about 700,000 inhabitants in 1806. 69. But J. B. Turner in 1923 felt Cordiner's and Bertolacci's figures to be inaccurate, and arrived at a figure not exceeding 600,000 for the population of the maritime provinces. 70. A census made by a Dutch Governor, Van der Graff, in 1789 put the figures for the coastal regions at 817,000. 71. Against such a background James Cordiner presents two sets of figures for 1801, first 236,109 and later 342,000 Protestant Christians. 72. Emerson Tennent writing nearer to these early days, and with Cordiner's estimate of 236,109 Protestants of the low-country in mind,

stated that by 1810 Protestants had dwindled to "less than half that amount, and numbers of Protestants were every year apostatizing to Buddha."^{73.} Between 1796-1806 there was an increase in the number of Buddhist temples from two or three hundred to twelve hundred, and a large number of nominal Protestant Christians "openly avowed Buddhism, which they had secretly never left," wrote J. A. Ewing. ^{74.}

The following figures represent the position of Protestant Christians early in 1801 as stated by Cordiner. He mentioned that Roman Catholics exceeded the Protestants, and that non-Christians totalled as much as all the Christians. Cordiner did not enumerate the non-Christian population of Kandy in his first estimate.

"In the District of Colombo,	101,709
" " " " Galle,	56,509
" " " " Batticolea,	439
" " " " Trincomalie,	588
" " " " Jaffnapatan,	<u>76,864</u> " <u>75a.</u>
	<u>236,109</u>

Cordiner altered and increased these figures by 1807; the Protestants for 1801 numbered 342,000 and he had the support of a writer, Philalathes, who in 1817 wrote that there were 342,000 Protestants in Ceylon at the start of the 19th century. ^{75b.} Population statistics of the late Dutch and early British periods were examined by N. K. Sarkar who produced these figures for the period between 1789 and 1827.

1) 1789 - Van der Graff's census of Dutch lands put the population at 817,000. Sarkar suspects a serious under-enumeration as the census was done for tax purposes, and placed the figure at about two million.

2) 1808-1810 - Bertolacci placed the population of the maritime provinces at 700,000, but "as the statistics of imports, exports and local production of grain was seriously defective, particularly in the Kandyan provinces, such an estimate (based on food consumption) is suspect and probably involved serious under-estimation," according to Sarkar.

3) 1811-1814 - Prolonged famine in the maritime lands reduced the

population by death and emigration to the Kandyan lands. The 1814 census placed the population at 492,000 in British Ceylon.

4) 1821 - The census of the Kandyan population was given as 257,000.

5) 1827 - All the provinces of Ceylon had a population of 890,000.^{76.}

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population (uncorrected for under-enumer- ation) ('000)</u>	<u>Growth rate per cent per year uncorrected population</u>	<u>Corrected growth rate per cent per year</u>	<u>Corrected population ('000)</u>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1789	1,102	-	-	1,788
1809	944	-0.717	-0.717	1,533
1814	736	-4.408	-4.408	1,195
1827	890	+1.609	+1.609	1,445
1837	1,256	+4.112	+1.999	1,734

Sarkar thus proceeded to tabulate these various figures and make the necessary corrections, and in the light of Cordiner's facts and figures regarding Protestants and Roman Catholics, "Sarkar does not challenge Cordiner's estimate, but from the point of view of a modern demographer," wrote Professor T. Ling of Manchester, "produces estimates which certainly conflict with Cordiner's." ⁷⁷

1. History of Ceylon, I. by S. G. Perera, Colombo, 1955, pages 182-183.
2. The Modern History of Ceylon by E.F.C. Ludowyk, London, 1966, page 17.
3. Ceylon Under The British by G.C. Mendis, Colombo, 1952, page 41.
4. The Story of Christendom by C.M. Duncan-Jones, London, 1931, pages 474-475. In 1793 the Company denounced missions as 'indefensible' and 'as striking against reason and sound policy,' and missionaries were not given licences to land in British India. See William Carey, by J.B. Middlebrook, London, 1961, page 9.
5. Journal of a Tour in the Galle and Mature Regions in 1800 by Eudelin De Jonville in Travels in Ceylon, 1700-1800. Edited by R. Raven-Hart, Colombo, 1963, page 78.
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8. The Ceylon Census, 1901, page 83, in Ceylon in 1903 by John Ferguson, Colombo 1903.
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10. Christianity in Ceylon by Emerson Tennent, London, 1850, pages 83-84.
11. Collected Papers on the History of The Maritime Provinces of Ceylon, 1795-1805, by L.J.B. Turner, Colombo, 1923, page 168.
- 12a. Ceylon Government Gazette, dated 28.5.1806. See also Ceylon Under The British Occupation, Volume 1, by Colvin R. De Silva, Colombo, 1953, pages 268-269. See also CO:No:55/1 Proclamation by J. Stuart, dated 3.8.1796, PRO., London.
- 12b. Lanka: The Resplendent Isle by the Rev. J.A. Ewing, London, 1912, pages 7-8. A Baptist Missionary Society centenary publication.
13. Recollections of Ceylon by James Selkirk, London, 1844, pages 515-516. References 12b - 19., 73 - 75b of this chapter are mainly to the legacy left to the British by the Dutch. In chapter 5 of this research references 39 - 52 mention is made of nominal Christianity in British times.
14. Christianity in Ceylon. Tennent, pages 86-88. See also similar comments in The First Report of the Wesleyan Missionary Native Schools on the Negombo Station, September, 1818 by Robert Newstead, page 8, at the Methodist Missionary Society Archives, London.
15. Ceylon Under The British Occupation, Volume 1, page 241.
16. Christianity in Ceylon, pages 77-78.
17. CO:No:54/26. Maitland to Castlereagh, dated 30.9.1807, PRO., London.

18. The Modern History of Ceylon by E.F.C. Ludowyk, pages 31-32.
19. The Christian Religion in Ceylon : Church of England, by H.H. Dulling, 13.1.1923. (Newspaper Article)- From a collection of newspaper articles found by the author in Union Church, N'Eliya, ^{Ceylon} in 1957. The newspaper in which these articles appeared remains un-identified in the file. Hereafter referred to as the N'Eliya Documents.
20. CO.No:54/1, North to the Court of Directors, British East India Company, dated 5.10.1799, PRO., London.
21. Ceylon Under The British Occupation, Volume 1, page 243.
22. The Colebrooke-Cameron Papers, Volume 1, page 28 of the Introduction, Edited by G.C. Mendis.
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26. CO.No:54/17, North to Camden, dated 27.2.1805, PRO., London.
27. CO.No.54/4, Cordiner on the Parish Schools 1801, PRO., London.
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29. Ceylon Under The British by G. C. Mendis, Colombo, 1952, page 41.
30. Ceylon Under The British Occupation, Volume 1, by Colvin R. de Silva, pages 57-58.
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33. Wellesley Manuscripts, No.13. 866. North to Mornington, British Museum, 27.10.1798. The Kandyan Court wished to "remain on constant interchange of good offices," which North felt was most desirable.
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37. Buddhism Primitive and Present in Magada and Ceylon by R.S. Copleston, London, 1892, pages 429-430. See also Caste in Modern Ceylon by B.Ryan, New Jersey, 1953, page 39 based on Copleston's chapters 30-31. (See chapter 2 of this research for caste divisions in the Sangha).
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43. The Modern History of Ceylon. Ludowyk, page 31. See also page 113.
44. The Colebrooke-Cameron Papers, Volume 1, page 28 of the Introduction.
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Chapter 2 - The Kandyan Convention of 1815 and the Kandyan Uprising of 1818. Buddhism becomes a protected Religion under the British.

We now turn to the political and religious situation in the Kandyan Kingdom just prior to 1815 and just after the Kandyan rebellion three years later, dealing with the closing stages of Kandy as a political entity which resulted in the final transfer of State support for Buddhism to a Christian monarchy. "A petty state," wrote Colvin R. de Silva, "medieval in structure, unprogressive in ideas, parochial in policy and diplomacy, and rent by internal dissensions, could not anyhow have checked the advance of a modern imperial power." 1.

Compared with the western-inspired progress made by the low-country Sinhalese in trade, agriculture and industry, the Kandyans were backward but their Kingdom remained the focal-point of Sinhalese-Buddhist nationalism. Governor North had observed that the Court of Kandy exerted great influence on the population of British-held territories, and also that the bhikkhus directed the consciences of the population. 2. But, within Court circles in Kandy there were corrupt chiefs, divided among themselves yet agreed on a common aim to overthrow an unpopular and tyrant King, who over the years had lost popular support. "and blinded by wrath groped from one blunder to another." 3.

Leaders of Kandyan aristocracy, Pilama Talauve, and later on, Ahalepola, led the Court intrigue against Sri Vickrama Raja Singha, and began bargaining with the British in order to oust their King who had displeased members of the Sangha as well as leading chiefs. Coming from South Indian princely stock, the King followed Hindu traditions, and at the Kandyan Court he was surrounded by foreign friends. This led to trouble with bhikkhus and Kandyan chiefs who felt that they no longer had an essential part to play in Kandyan affairs. The King was a South Indian Nayakkar and was accused by the Kandyans of lukewarm support of Buddhism. 4. The following facts are important in understanding the situation:-

- a) The King gave his royal household two villages which were

owned by the Dalada Maligava in Kandy. 5.

b) He placed many bhikkhus in prison for a rebellion that Chief Ahalepola had led.

c) He ordered a bhikkhu of great learning and piety, bhikkhu Paranatala, to be executed. Such action may have been unwise in the circumstances, but in the diary of D'Oyly, an Englishman resident in Kandy, it was claimed that Paranatala "had some connection with the intrigue of Ahalepola." 6.

Two main causes weakened Buddhism in the Kandyan Kingdom as much as the political situation. The first was the worldiness of bhikkhus, and the second was the divisive influence of caste on the religious communities. Many bhikkhus had abandoned their other-worldly disciplines in order to manage temple-lands and incomes. Then the practice of caste led to a weakening of Buddhist life with claims of birth, the presence of Hinduism as a contemporary religion, and the slave society on which bhikkhus depended for maintenance, all combining to create a caste-divided Buddhist community. 7. Mention has already been made of the Goiygama caste which exercised a monopoly over the Siam Sect in Kandyan lands. The Malwatta Chapter in Kandy controlled the largest number of bhikkhus, and was in the hands of Kandyan monks, even though many of its members came from the low-country regions. 8. It must be remembered that the Amarapura Sect which began as a protest movement against the caste monopoly of the Siam Sect later divided itself into caste groups. 9.

Chiefs, bhikkhus and people in the Kandyan Kingdom who were displeased with Sri Vickrama Raja Singha actually invited the British to help them get rid of their ruler. The British Proclamation of 6.3.1815 declared that..... "Led by the invitation of the chiefs and welcomed by the acclamation of the people," the British proceeded to terminate a tyranny in the Kandyan Kingdom. 10. The Kandyan Convention of 2.3.1825 was an agreement between the British and the chiefs and headmen of Kandy, and Article 4 of the Convention vested Kandyan sovereignty in the British Crown

to be exercised through the Governor of Ceylon. A former colonial governor wrote that "the Kandyan Kingdom was thus voluntarily handed over to the British Crown which guaranteed its people civil and religious liberty and the maintenance of their ancient customs." 11. This view was confirmed in 1945 by the Soulbury Commission that discussed Commonwealth status for Ceylon making quite clear that the Kandyan Kingdom became subject to the British Crown "not by right of conquest as did the remainder of Ceylon, but as a result of a treaty by which its integrity, liberty, institutions, laws and religion were to be guaranteed by the British Government, which undertook to devote Kandyan revenue to the improvement and administration of the Kandyan Kingdom alone and to uphold the dignity and power of the Kandyans as a nation!" 12. In his speech from the Throne on 4.2.1948 when Ceylon achieved Dominion status the Duke of Gloucester said that as a result of the Kandyan Convention "the dominion of the Kandyan Provinces was vested in the sovereign of Great Britain." 13.

Despite their experience with the Portuguese and the Dutch the Buddhists of Ceylon came to expect that the British would somehow protect Buddhism, and that their ancient religion would prevail. In British solemn pledges the words used in Brownrigg's proclamation of 16.1.1815, 6.3.1815 and the Convention of 2.3.1815 were clearly meant to afford the highest respect and protection for the Buddhist religion. The Kandyans were promised the following:-

- a) The Buddhist religion would be held sacred and Buddhist Temples protected and maintained.
- b) All classes of people were promised in the name of the British King "the inviolate maintenance of their religion, and the preservation of their ancient laws and institutions." 14.

Kandyan independence was effectively at an end about a month before the signing of the Convention when Sri Vickrama Raja Singha was taken into British custody. British officials, Kandyan chiefs and bhikkhus may not have fully understood the implications of the transfer of power whereby the British monarch who was an Anglican Christian became ruler of all Ceylon,

whilst at the same time, by solemn treaty obligations, assuming the role of protector of Buddhism, its sacred places and properties.

Eventually what was promised to Kandyan Buddhists could not be withheld from the rest of the Buddhists of Ceylon. The famous Article 5 of the Kandyan Convention was worded thus:- "The religion of Boodhoo professed by the Chiefs and Inhabitants of these provinces is declared inviolable; and its Rites, Ministers and Places of Worship are to be maintained and protected." 15. The practical working of Article 5 meant that the religious duties formerly undertaken by Sinhalese Kings now became the responsibility of British governors; the Tooth Relic at Kandy came under British protection, and governors had to ratify appointments and dismissals of bhikkhus. Furthermore, the administration of Buddhist property, the control of domestic matters within the Sangha, and the welfare of temples now became the responsibility of British rulers as 16. heirs "of the Kandyan monarchy." 17.

Sinhalese rulers were traditional guardians of the Buddhist religion, and did in fact come to the temples and shrines as worshippers. They received advice and guidance from the Sangha because between State and Buddhism there existed close co-operation and goodwill from ancient days. In fact Sinhalese rulers were regarded as secular heads of Buddhism whose duty was to protect the sasana. One of their duties was to promote the well-being of Buddhism in the island, and for this reason Buddhist rulers were at times involved in the purification of the Sasana if they found it to be disorganised or corrupt. 18. After the Kandyan Convention all this changed as British rulers were unable to participate in Buddhist ceremonies; apart from being non-Buddhists they lived too far away.

"Buddhist rulers for Buddhist Ceylon" was almost a slogan in previous centuries when, for example, King Kirti Nissanka Malla (A.D.1187-1196) wrote in an inscription that the island belonged to the Buddhists, and that for this very reason "non-Buddhists like Colas and Keralas have no right to the throne of Ceylon." 18. Such a situation had now actually arisen when the British monarch ruled the entire island and his governors and colonial officials became overseers of Buddhism as a result of the Kandyan

Convention. It is not surprising that in such circumstances Buddhism lost some of its inspiration and a sense of weakness set in. Referring to the world of art John Still, a former colonial official in Ceylon, detected a lack of interest which he traced back to the ending of Kandyan national and religious independence. "Now," wrote Still, "all this Art died or nearly died. The motive went as Buddhist Kings began to be succeeded by Christian Governors." 19. Among bhikkhus there grew dissatisfaction as they witnessed the end of Sinhalese state-aided Buddhism. The British were Christians and the rise of a Christian power in Kandy as in the rest of Ceylon was seen as a menace to Buddhism. Christian officials were aloof and detached as they could not participate in Buddhist rites and processions. In April 1815, hardly one month after the British occupation of Kandy some members of the Sangha expressed the view that Buddhist progress depended on the support of a Buddhist ruler. 20.

From now onwards the Maha Nayaka Thero, the Nayaka Theras and Temple officials were appointed by the colonial governor who merely ratified selections already made by the Buddhist authorities. 21. The British Government Agent in Kandy was to be responsible for the protection of the Shrine Room, the Sacred Tooth and the Temple Jewels. He had also to control the work done on various religious occasions by temple-tenants, and grants had to be given out of the income from former royal villages for the upkeep of temples and devales. 21. There were some hopeful Kandyans under the impression that their British rulers would accept this responsibility as the Nayakkar dynasty (A.D.1739-1815) had done, 22. but such hopes were not only unrealistic but they were impossible in the changing circumstances. Hulugalle makes the following comment on the immediate post 1815 situation. "The annexation of Kandy was followed by three years of peace. But an under-current of uneasiness ran through the Governor's despatches to London. He knew that, despite a genuine effort by D'Oyly (the British Resident Agent in Kandy) to conciliate the chiefs and the Buddhist priesthood, British rule was neither popular nor understood." 23.

As a result of the Kandyan Convention Buddhism did retain an

"established" status in British times, and public funds were used in its maintenance, 24. but pressure from English Evangelicals and local opposition from missionaries in Ceylon caused grave problems to the colonial administrators over the practical effects of Article 5. An English member of Parliament, Mr. J. Butterworth, wrote to the Secretary of State for the Colonies on 9.8.1815 expressing the concern of Evangelicals who were ardent supporters of the Missions working overseas, lest Article 5 might work "against the cultivation of the holy Scriptures" in the Kandyan regions and thereby hinder "the peaceable instruction of the Buddhists in the principles of Christianity." 25. It is of interest to note that apart from being a member of Parliament, Butterworth was Treasurer of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in 1820. Similar concern was expressed by missionaries in Ceylon who were alarmed at the extent of State involvement with and patronage of Buddhism. It was felt that other religions could claim similar support and thus arouse controversy resulting in no benefit to any religion. State links with Buddhism involved not only the appointing of Sangha officials and temple management, but included financial support. "Thus, rice and salt to the value of £7-17-1½ per month, and robes costing £29.11.9. a year were supplied to the Maha Nayaka Theras and forty bhikkhus of the two great viharas at Kandy." 26. To the ordinary Buddhist this was no new experience and such State support was accepted as the continuation of ancient traditions when Buddhism was the State religion; temple lands were exempt from taxation and temple-tenants gave part of their crops and their labour towards maintaining temples and bhikkhus. Therefore, Article 5 of the Kandyan Convention disturbed Evangelicals like William Wilberforce who felt that it was likely to hinder future evangelistic efforts and he was "apprehensive of the use of the word inviolate" to describe the position of the Buddhist religion. 27.

Brownrigg was quick to realise that by allowing Article 5 he was creating problems for the present as well as for the future, and the Colonial Office expressed anxiety as to the wisdom of having offered the Buddhists such favourable terms. Hence, on 15.3.1815 Brownrigg wrote to

Bathurst attaching all the documents relating to the Convention and mentioned that Buddhism was revered by all classes of people. Brownrigg remarked that some people had doubts about the future of Buddhism in non-Buddhist hands, and therefore, it became clear to him that British possession of the land "hinged upon this point". Brownrigg maintained that he quietened "all uneasiness by an article of guarantee couched in the most unqualified terms," but admitted that Article 5 "confirms the Superstition of Boodhoo in a manner more Emphatical," than would have been his choice. 28. Bathurst replied expressing alarm that such unequivocal terms should have been offered to the Buddhists, and hoped that the word "inviolable" did not mean that the door was closed to evangelistic activity by Christians; to the spread of the Scriptures or to the "fair and discreet preaching of its Ministers." 29. It may be noted that the colonial administration appeared anxious to spread Christianity in a predominantly Buddhist colony.

The Buddhists believed that the Kandyan Convention in its totality implied that the native political and religious customs, beliefs and traditions would be preserved and safe-guarded. 30. State and Buddhism in 1815 embarked on a difficult and yet unavoidable alliance, and for the remaining part of the century this involvement was to cause annoyance to the Christian Missions. A triangular relationship grew up between State, Buddhism and Christianity with the Colonial Office in London frequently siding with the Christian opponents of Article 5. For better or for worse Article 5 bound the colonial administration in Ceylon closely with Buddhist matters, and we recall that in 1799 Governor North had proclaimed that nobody in Ceylon would be persecuted or discriminated against on religious grounds, while in 1815 Governor Brownrigg by Article 5 gave specific assurances as far as Buddhism was concerned. It can be argued, and the missionaries did, that in 1815 Buddhism was given a special place in the colony, a place denied to Christianity and to the other religions. In 1799 all religions had been given freedom whereas from 1815 Buddhism enjoyed protected status.

The political and religious changes in the Kandyan territories with the advent of the British government in 1815 resulted in a marked decrease

in the influence of the bhikkhus in national life. In the days of Sinhalese sovereignty the bhikkhus were accustomed to receiving homage from lay worshippers, but the new British rulers were not so respectful and were not well versed in Sinhalese customs or Buddhist practices. ^{31.} Native rulers had not only participated in Buddhist ceremonies but had looked to the Sangha for advice, especially at times of national crises. British colonial officials could not, and did not, so identify themselves with Buddhism. Gradually, the bhikkhus were relegated into the background by the chiefs up-country who had sided with the British against the Kandyan King, while in the low-country the Mudaliyars were occupying important positions in civil and social life. ^{32.} One and a half years after the end of the Kandyan Kingdom Brownrigg complained to the Colonial Office about the conduct of the Sangha that "the Priests appear to be the grand movers of these plots, and by their influence over the Chiefs, falling in with any sentiments or disaffection or causes of complaint, they can at all times organise a Party." ^{33.} Brownrigg felt that part of their animosity arose from their jealousy and alarm at "the tottering state of the Boodhoo Faith" which made them unable to "bear the reigning and rising of the Religion of Christianity with goodwill." ^{33.} The Sangha were the traditional guardians of religion and learning and its members had previously exercised influence over royalty and commoner alike. In fact the chief bhikkhus and important lay officials of Buddhism "were scions of great Kandyan families." ^{34.} Their influence and prestige waned in British times even though it was a bhikkhu, Wariyapola Nayaka Thero, "who protested when an attempt was made to haul up the British flag before the signing of the Convention." ^{35.}

Governor Maitland showed respect for non-Christians and their religious customs even though such an attitude displeased some of the Evangelicals in England. He was called a pagan but he made a sharp retort: "If showing proper respect for their feelings when I visit their temples is to be a pagan, I am one." ^{36.} The main body of colonial officials did not act like Maitland, with the result that chiefs and bhikkhus became uneasy at the increasing domination of the land by non-Buddhist foreigners. In these

circumstances the Sangha became the rallying-point of national discontent, especially in the Kandyan districts. "It is hard," wrote Brownrigg, "to fathom their true sentiments being by habit and education deep and artful dissemblers." 37. The Sangha found it difficult to accept that the British governor and his officials could be pro-Buddhist either in principle or practice. In all matters of a religious nature most Sinhalese rulers were respectful of the Sangha, 38. and Brownrigg endeavoured to see that respect was paid to the property of Buddhist temples, and that a proper regard was shown to the due administration of temple funds. For example, lands belonging to the Temple of the Tooth at Kandy were exempted from taxation. 39. There was, however, cause for Buddhists to suspect Brownrigg's sincerity when they observed that he was supporting an English seminary at Kandy, thus increasing the prospects of evangelism by the missionaries. 40.

Causes for unrest were numerous among some important chiefs who under Kandyan rulers had been masters in their own provinces. They had received service and respect from the lower classes of society, and in former days were subject to their own monarch. But, now they appeared to be inferior even to minor officials of the British administration, 41. By 1818 the resentment of the up-country people was so great that Brownrigg felt sure it was only the British military presence in Kandy that prevented an uprising. The military force served to "repress attempts among the chiefs to oppose the measure of reducing them from an aristocratic faction, obstructive of the operation of Government, and oppressive to the populace, to the rank and office of Stipendiary organs for effecting the regulations and orders of the supreme executive authority." 42. Chiefs and bhikkhus now faced a situation where they could easily combine in opposition to British rule: an uprising was not far away.

The population of the former Kandyan Kingdom had an intense dislike of foreign rulers, and this is not surprising after holding their own for over three centuries against the Portuguese and then the Dutch who colonised and evangelised the low-country. Now their leaders had handed over their freedom to the British; caste and class barriers were ignored by the new

rulers; chiefs had lost power, and bhikkhus some of their former influence. Thus, by August 1817 the flames of revolt were setting alight the Kandyan provinces with a Pretender to the Throne of Kandy raising the rebel flag in the up-country regions. He received open support from Chief Kappitipola who was a member of the Kandyan aristocracy. The Pretender was an ex-bhikkhu, one Vilbave, a member of the Goiygama caste. Between July-November 1818 the rebels had removed and kept the sacred Tooth Relic in their custody. It was the traditional belief among Buddhists that the actual possession of the Tooth Relic was a sign of sovereign power ^{43.} and when the British regained possession of the relic on 2.11.1818 it marked the effective end of the uprising leaving the British in complete control of the Kandyan regions. "The rebellion was considered an attempt on the side of the chiefs and of the monks to shake off British power," wrote S.G. Perera, and "hence the governor felt entitled to issue a new Proclamation in 1818, modifying some of the clauses of the Convention of 1815. Buddhism was placed on the same level as any other religion." ^{44.}

The Ceylon Government Gazette on 21.11.1818 published various Proclamations which clearly expressed British policy. There were fifty-six clauses and one of them was of immense importance to Buddhism, since a victorious party was now enforcing its will on a defeated foe with the British taking the view that the Kandyan Convention of 1815 had been nullified by the uprising of 1818. ^{45.} Formerly, the British were entering into an agreement with the Kandyans as willing partners, but now they were imposing terms on a defeated foe. Article 5 of 1815 was now amended by clause 16 of 1818, and contained the following policy terms.

"As well as the Priests as all the Ceremonies and Processions of the Eoodhoo Religion shall receive the respect which in former times was shown to them, at the same time it is in no wise to be understood that the protection of the Government is to be denied to the Peaceable exercise by all other persons of the religion which they respectively profess, or to the erection under due licence from his Excellency of Places of Worship in proper situations." ^{46.}

Whereas in 1815 the British were compromising with Buddhism they were quite determined in 1818 to open the doors of State protection and goodwill to other religions as well. Buddhism was not the only protected religion in the land, but clause 21 of November 1818 confirmed one concession to Buddhism ("the religion of the people") by exempting temple-lands from all forms of taxation. 46. This widened the exemption given to lands held by the Temple of the Tooth in August 1818.

One fact appears to have escaped the notice of the British, namely, that 1815 did not mark the conquest of Kandy and the Kandyan Convention was not an instrument of Kandyan surrender. Therefore, 1818 could not mark a real revolt by colonial people against their colonial masters. The popular uprising of the people was an expression of dissatisfaction against the 'protectors' of Kandyan Buddhism. What was established in 1815 was British protection as far as Buddhism was concerned, but the 1818 Proclamation described itself as the "Declaration of British Sovereignty over the Kandyan Provinces." 47. Whereas in 1795 and again in 1800 the British made moves towards establishing an alliance with the Kandyan Kingdom, the events of 1815 made them play the role of trustee of Kandy and Kandyan Buddhism. By 1818 the atmosphere was one of hostility and with the use of superior military might trusteeship gave way to absolute rule. Therein lies the difference.

Earlier pledges, offered in 1795, and again in 1800, in drafts of diplomatic treaties discussed between the British and the Kandyans, had made it clear that Buddhism would in no case suffer at British hands. In 1795 the British East India Company promised to "guard and protect the King, Country and Religion of Kandy against all enemies." 48. The Treaty negotiated in 1800 offered guarantees of freedom to the Buddhists and respect for their ancient religion. 49. Thus, after 1815 it came as something inevitable when British governors and their agents in Ceylon took upon themselves duties previously carried out in the religious sphere by the former Kandyan rulers. They "enforced the services rendered at religious festivals by those who held Maligava and devala lands, and gave grants towards their expenses out of the revenue of royal villages." 50. The Buddhist Commission of Enquiry in its

Report of 1956 listed certain specific prerogatives traditional to the Sinhalese monarch which were inherited by the British in 1815 as follows:-

- 1) "The appointment and dismissal of ecclesiastical officials.
- 2) The appointment of the Karaka Sabhas (Management Committees) of Malwatta and Asgiriya, and the enforcement of their decisions.
- 3) The custody and protection of the Tooth Relic.
- 4) The organisation and protection of religious ceremonial in Kandy.
- 5) The supervision of the administration of the Buddhist temporalities.
- 6) The appointment of lay-officials at temples.
- 7) Patronage of the education system of Pirivenas." 51.

It now appeared as though the British had inherited these duties by way of the Kandyan Convention, and nothing that happened in 1818 did anything to sever the links forged three years previously. For this reason alone the tenure of Brownrigg as British Governor marked the beginning of British involvement in Buddhist affairs. It is of interest to note that on his return to England, Sir Robert Brownrigg was permitted by King George 3rd, in recognition of the annexation of the Kandyan Kingdom, to "include in his Coat of Arms representations of the Crown, sceptre and banner of the King of Kandy." 52. This marked the end not only of Kandyan Sinhalese freedom, but also the start of British involvement with Sinhalese Buddhism.

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45. CO:No:54/55, Brownrigg to Bathurst, dated 15.3.1815, PRO., London.

46. CO:No:54/73, dated 21.11.1818, PRO., London. See Reference 39.
47. Legislative Enactments of Ceylon, Volume 6, page 194, Ceylon High Commission Library, London.
48. Ceylon Under The British Occupation, Volume 1, pages 57-58.
49. A Description of Ceylon, by James Cordiner, Volume 2, pages 316-318 for details of this proposed Treaty of 1800.
50. Ceylon Under The British, by G. C. Mendis, page 45.
51. The Betrayal of Buddhism. (Abridged version of the Report of the Buddhist Commission of Enquiry), Ceylon, 1956, page 244.
52. British Governors of Ceylon, by H.A.J. Hulugalle, page 35.



Sir Robert Brownrigg, Baronet, was permitted by King George III, after the conquest of Kandy, to include in his coat of arms representations of the crown, sceptre and banner of the King of Kandy.

Chapter 3. - The problem of Buddhist Temporalities and the opposition of Christian Missions to State-links with Buddhism.

The threefold involvement of the colonial authorities, the Missions and the Buddhist system is examined in this chapter. Problems that began in 1815 at the Kandyan Convention were not in fact solved till the 1930s with the final settlement in favour of Buddhism, and the Public Trustee exercising control of Buddhist Temporalities in colonial Ceylon. The stand taken by the Christian Missions was very much against any sort of State links with Buddhism, but the Baptists whilst arguing for complete disestablishment of State links with any religion or denomination, also expressed their view that the Kandyan Convention bound the colonial authorities to some measure of State support for Buddhism.

The Missions' View.

More than any other missionary of this period, Spence-Hardy of the Wesleyan Mission, expressed the opposition of Christians to any support given by the colonial authorities to Buddhism. His views were published in a book in 1839 and merit careful study. There were three main reasons, according to Spence-Hardy, why Buddhism occupied a favoured position in the island in British times.

- 1) Temple and Devala lands were allowed to impose rajakariya duties.
- 2) The British Government remained the guardian and custodian of the Temple of the Tooth at Kandy.
- 3) A monthly allowance was made by the British for the support of bhikkhus, and grants were given for various religious rites and ceremonies such as the Kandy Perahara.^{1.} The verdict delivered on such a relationship by Spence-Hardy left no room for any doubt about his complete hostility....."the convention between the British Government and an idolatrous religious system".^{1.}

Various facts were mentioned in order to prove this argument. Spence-Hardy disliked the use of British armed guards being stationed at the Temple of the Tooth; ^{2.} he questioned why the British authorities in Ceylon did not follow directions given by the Court of the British East India Company on

8.8.1839 to the Governor-General of India "for discontinuing the connection of the Government with the management of all funds assigned for the support of all religious institutions in India." These directions could easily have been applied by the colonial government in Ceylon towards Buddhism, especially the management of temples and their funds and the supervision of religious ceremonies. 3.

Spence-Hardy noted how under the British the "appointment of the Maha Nayakkas, or chief priests, in each of the districts was a countenance of Buddhism by the government." 4. Attention was drawn also to the problems created by temple-ownership of lands, especially as the 21st Clause of the Proclamation of 1818 exempted all temple lands from taxation. Later on that year another regulation had forbidden dedication of lands to bhikkhus lest people thereby exempted themselves from "government services and contributions." 5. Government policy to be made effective had to have some control which could easily be interpreted as 'interference' by Christians. For example, on 18.9.1819 a Proclamation was made at Kornegalle aimed at securing the registration of all lands which were temple-lands on 21.11.1818 within a period of twelve months. The government would, upon registration of such lands, issue a certificate "which was to be the sole proof of the land being exempt from taxation." 5. To the Buddhists this was patronage but Spence-Hardy interpreted it as active support of the national religion which is "accompanied by the worship of demons, and the propitiation of malignant infernal spirits." 6. More support given by the British to the Buddhist cause took the form of appointing twenty bhikkhus to different offices within the Malwatta and Asgiri Chapters "under the sign and manual of His Excellency the Governor, as the representative of Her Majesty." 7.

To Spence-Hardy the British administration represented a Christian power and as such should have made no alliance with paganism. The Tooth Relic should not have been placed in the official custody of the Government Agent; the minor official who was the Temple doorkeeper at Kandy ought not to be paid his thirty shillings allowance by the Government, and the Tooth Relic festival should not involve the Government Agent's supervision. 8.

Continuing this theme, Spence-Hardy wrote about the appointment by the British authorities of Basnaike Nilames, lay chiefs of the main devales who were in charge of money collected at shrines and ^{who} supervised maintenance works. 9. Added to these links with Buddhism consideration had to be given to the financial burden borne by the British authorities in the support of some bhikkhus and the loss of income incurred in exempting temple lands from any taxation whatsoever. Forty-two bhikkhus were stipended by the State, and together with allowances to outstation temples, cost about £150 per year. No less than 22,000 parras of paddy annually were exempt from tax as produce of temple lands. If each parras was valued at one shilling, Spence-Hardy calculated a loss to government of over one thousand pounds in sterling. 10. This was not all: various Buddhist ceremonies and processions were also financed by public funds, and what is more, the "Perahara of Kandy is principally got up at the expense, and by the command, of the British Government." Spence-Hardy produced a copy of a bill forwarded to the Government for "the expense attending the Perahara of the present year." 11.

"For the cost of Sundry Articles for the use of the Maligave and 4 Devales since the Procession.	£.	s.	d.
	3.	10.	6.
For Devil Dancing called Walliyakoon.	3.	13.	2½.
For 13 Outstation Devales.	4.	5.	1.
For carrying Canopy over the Karanduwa (Casket).		16.	0.
For oil and rags."	3.	15.	0.
	<hr/>		
	15.	19.	9½.

Spence-Hardy was quick to admit that by Article 5 of the Kandyan Convention of 1815 "a promise had been given to support heathenism in far stronger terms than any that have been actually used." 12. But, Article 8 of 1815 was mentioned in order to tone down Article 5. It was argued that by exercising the powers vested by Article 8 it was possible for the Government to "redress grievances and reform abuses in all instances whatever." 12. Also, the closing words of the 1818 Proclamation allowed

sufficient room for the British powers to make further provisions and alterations as the need arose. Spence-Hardy was all in favour of using such powers for the purposes of effecting a clean break with Buddhism. 12. He further quoted a Proclamation made by Governor Horton on 9.8.1834 after an abortive effort at rebellion by chiefs and bhikkhus. Whereas Clause 30 of the 1818 Proclamation stated that "the attendance at the Great Feast, which certain people were bound to give, shall be continued to be given punctually and gratuitously," Horton reversed this clause in 1834 and stated that "the Government will no longer interfere to enforce compulsory attendance at religious festivals." 12. The main burden of Spence-Hardy's argument can be summed up in these forthright words:-

"Heathenism has at this moment an influence in Ceylon which it would not otherwise be able to maintain, from the support it receives through the patronage of our Christian Government." 13.

The Rev.J. Selkirk of the Church Missionary Society gave his version of the State's links with Ceylon Buddhism a few years after Spence-Hardy. In a letter written to the Church Missionary Society Secretary in London on 15.2.1841 Selkirk stated how all principal Buddhist bhikkhus were appointed by the colonial governor, and that they "hold their offices bene placits." 14. A list of expenses was produced by Selkirk in proof that the cost of certain Buddhist festivals was met by the British rulers. This list is now reproduced in Selkirk's own words:-

1. "Awurudu Mangalya	£ 5. 10. 5.
2. Nana Muru Mangalya	£ 6. 19. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$.
3. Wahala Pinkama	£25. 4. 0 $\frac{3}{4}$
4. Maha Pinkama	£ 6. 13. 1.
5. Katina Pinkama	£49. 5. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$.
6. Alut Sal Mangalya	£16. 12. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$.
7. Wali Yakum Mangalya	£ 4. 1. 1.
8. Paddy issued to priests of Provincial Temples....	£15. 18. 3.

£130. 3. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$. " 14.

Yet another official document was quoted to prove that the degree of State involvement with Buddhism went far deeper than most people then imagined. An official notification informed people that "a dalada pincama (festival) will be held at Kandy, with the sanction of the government, on Thursday, 29th proximo, and the sacred relic exhibited at the Maligava (temple) to all persons who may desire to attend and make offerings." 15. This notification was signed by George Turnour, the Revenue Commissioner, Kandy Cutchery, on 28.4.1828.

A contemporary of Selkirk was G. C. Trimmell, also of the Church Missionary Society. Opposition to State links with Buddhism was admirably summed up by Trimmell in a letter to Coates at C.M.S. headquarters in London. He said that British soldiers who were non-Buddhists were keeping guard at the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy, and that Buddhist Bana Maduwas (temporary preaching halls) were being constructed on licences granted by Government Agents. Trimmell seems to have forgotten that North's proclamation of 23.9.1799 and Brownrigg's Clause 16 of 21.11.1818 both stated clearly that places for religious worship can be built if permission had been granted by the Government. Quoting Exodus (Chapter 23:32) Trimmell used the words, "Thou shalt make no covenant with them nor with their gods," and went on to say that the Christian government in Ceylon had made an agreement with idolators "not only to sanction their idolatrous worship but to support and maintain it." 16.

Christian clergy resident in and around Colombo submitted a Memorandum in 1851 to the Governor of Ceylon as a protest against the existing links between "a Christian Government and the heathenism of this Island." 17. Within three weeks of receiving the protest the Governor's reply pointed out that the British position was regulated by past treaty obligations. "It gives that religion no other freedom," wrote the Governor, "no other countenance, no other protection as a religion than what the British Government gives in all countries which it has acquired, and yet where Idolatry may exist and prevail.....that is a perfect toleration." 17.

Christian protests at the State's links with Buddhism began to grow in

intensity as the years went by, and often degenerated into virulent anti-Buddhist attacks by clergymen such as the Anglican Archdeacon of Colombo, the Venerable Bailey, who held the view that it was only the support of the British colonial authorities which kept Buddhism alive in Ceylon. Spence-Hardy and Emerson Tennent, representing missionary and pro-Christian colonial official, had expressed similar sentiments in previous years. 18. K. M. de Silva wrote that this conviction increased "the agitation of missionary organisations for a redefinition of the relationship between Buddhism and the Ceylon Government." 19. In the Times of Ceylon of 8.8.1851 there appeared a rousing call for Christian opposition to State links with Buddhism. Three important issues were raised and other articles appearing in the same newspaper (5.8.1851 and 19.8.1851) took a similar view.....

- 1) The Government's policy of patronage towards Buddhism was a disgrace to any Christian government.
- 2) The Bishop of Colombo should send a formal petition to the Queen.
- 3) All Christians should "raise the banner of protest and preach a Crusade against the system of Christian connection with a heathen system." 20.

Governor Anderson's reply was based firmly on British treaty obligations. The governor reminded the critics that in all British territories there was afforded protection for Christians and non-Christians alike, and added that "offensive and abusive attacks on a religion by an opposing but dominant party is not toleration but persecution." Anderson was endeavouring to act on an impartial basis, and in so doing he refused to be identified with Christian interests or views. 21. Resenting Anderson's policies six letters signed by "Vetus," and later acknowledged by Archdeacon Bailey as his work, appeared in the Times of Ceylon between November 1851 and January 1852. These letters were anti-Buddhist in content and displayed the worst possible taste. 21. They argued against State links with Buddhism; denounced the tenets of that religion; spoke of the Tooth Relic as that "disgusting relic from the jaw of a baboon or some other sacred animal," and maintained that

in spite of previous treaties and pacts "faith need not be kept with unbelievers." 21. Three sets of documents must now be examined in some detail, namely, the Clergy Petition to Anderson of 4.12.1851., the Governor's Reply of 29.12.1851 and the Letters of Vetus. They will be referred to as Documents 1, 2 and 3 and together they constitute some of the most important literature on the controversies that surrounded the problem of State-links with Ceylon Buddhism.

Document 1 of 4.12.1851 (based on CO:No:54/293, pages 58-60, PRO., London).

The clergy expressed concern that a Christian Government was maintaining close links with "the heathenism on this Island," and they opposed any practice whereby the British Governor issued Letters of Appointment to bhikkhus and laity to temple and devala posts. A further source of irritation was that the Tooth Relic was kept in Government custody, a relic that was described by the protesting clerics as "an object of idolatrous worship." Their petition accused the State of helping to maintain "an effete superstition, which if left to itself, would gradually disappear before the advance of civilisation and Christian truth." Strange that such confident statements could be put forward seeing that since A.D.1505 the Portuguese, followed by the Dutch in the next century, with their combined and determined evangelistic efforts, had failed significantly to weaken Buddhism. However, the Governor was reminded in the petition of the unsatisfactory situation whereby in the handling of Buddhist Temporalities, civil servants "some of them Anglicans, will be called upon to participate in the service of idolatry."

Document 2 of 29.12.1851 (based on CO:No:54/293, page 62, PRO., London).

Governor Anderson denied that Buddhism received any special favour from the colonial power, and maintained that if Buddhism is protected it is treated in no different way from any other religion in the colonial empire. In fact, Anderson was honest enough to admit that idolatry existed in British-ruled territories but was treated according to the declared principles of religious toleration. Anderson said that any attack on Buddhism or any other religious groups in Ceylon would clearly violate these principles,

and would therefore, amount to persecution. In a communication to Earl Grey at the Colonial Office, London, Anderson showed his sincerity of purpose..... "I often hear parties talking of the sin of Idolatry around us," he wrote, "but it is forgotten that we ourselves have come to a heathen and an idolatrous country, and must bear with it till reason and education have worked the great change and brought about the end desired." Two vital points need commending in Anderson's thinking.

1) A Christian political power had come to a non-Christian land, and must show patience and toleration in a multi-religious society.

2) Any movement towards Christianity should only proceed through peaceful and fair means. Quite obviously, the clergy and their organisations at this time did not share Anderson's views.

Document 3 based on letters written to the Times of Ceylon by Vetus on 21.11.1851, 25.11.1851, 2.12.1851, 9.12.1851, 16.12.1851 and 16.1.1852.

Found in CO:No:54/293, PRO., London.

Letter 1. This was an appeal to all members of Christian communities in Ceylon to write protesting so that the government will be forced by the pressure of Christian objections to abolish all connections between the State and the heathen religions in the island. If such a disestablishment did not take place the government will, in effect, be putting "fetters upon the hands and feet of those persons, whose holy vocation is to convert the benighted heathen and idolator."

Letter 3. This was a strongly-worded protest, abusive in tone and directed against the practice whereby a Christian Government Agent who works in a place "where there is a Wihare, in which is kept this disgusting relic, should have it imposed upon him as an 'imperative duty' to hold in charge such an abominable symbol of gross idolatry."

Letter 5. Included in this letter was a copy of a Letter of Appointment issued by a British Governor to a Buddhist bhikkhu. Vetus objected to such warrants and expressed himself in these words. "I have seen an appointment of a high priest as signed by our Governors. The wording is horrible for a Christian to put his hand to." Yet, this Letter of Appointment was sent by Governor Torrington to bhikkhu Udoomulle Ratnajoti Unanse, and had nothing

that could offend any reasonable religious sentiments. It was worded as follows:-

"By virtue of the Powers in us vested by Her Majesty and reposing especial confidence in your Zeal, Piety, Learning and Loyalty, we have given and granted to the said Udoomulle Ratnajoti Unanse, the provisional appointment of Chief Priest of the Alloot-Wihare Temple, during pleasure, and pending the instructions of the Secretary of State.

"You are, therefore, directed diligently to obey and execute all such orders as you may receive from us, or the Government Agent, and fully to discover and make known to us, or the constituted authorities of Government, all things which may come to your knowledge affecting the Public Interests, and all Treasons or Traitorous conspiracies which you may hear of against Her Majesty's Government. And all Priests and other persons whom it may concern, are hereby peremptorily commanded to respect and obey you as Acting Chief Priest of the Alloot-Wihare Temple so long as you shall hold the said Provisional appointment and pay you all the honours not abrogated by us, which you are entitled to in virtue hereof, by the customs of the Kandyan Provinces.

"Given under our hand and seal at Colombo this eleventh day of April one thousand eight hundred and fifty,

By His Excellency's Command,

(Signed) C. J. MacCarthy."

There was no valid reason why Archdeacon Bailey should have objected to these government-sanctioned Letters of Appointment where no actual selections were made, but only formal approval granted for legal purposes. Those who held such office had to take instructions from the colonial governor and his agents, and what is more, had to play the part of public informers as well. Archdeacon Bailey's reaction to these Letters of Appointment was unfair and based on bigotry.

Governor Anderson had the support of the Anglican Bishop of Colombo whereas the Archdeacon had most of the clergy supporting his anti-Buddhist campaign. The Baptists had also expressed their hopes for a complete

disestablishment between State and all religions in Ceylon. In the letter appearing in the Times of Ceylon on 8.8.1851 the protesting clergy called on the Anglican Bishop of Colombo to petition the Queen, but to his credit, Bishop Chapman "refused to be drawn into this campaign." The Buddhist question, therefore, caused division within the Anglican Church: the Bishop supporting the colonial governor while Archdeacon Bailey and Dr. B. Boake (an educationalist and clergyman) "attacked the Bishop for his stand in pamphlet, speech and sermon." It was the Archdeacon's view that his Bishop stood condemned for his lack of courage in not joining the Christian protest movement. Bishop Chapman felt insulted by the behaviour of his two priests, while Governor Anderson was troubled by the clerics' disobedience towards their Bishop. Earl Grey had nothing but commendation for the Bishop for his loyal support given to Anderson, and condemned Bailey and Boake, both of whom were paid by the State, for publicly attacking the policy of the colonial government. 22a. Thus, Anderson had Christian support as he tried to implement British policy in Buddhist matters. In a letter to Earl Grey on 14.1.1852 Anderson commented that it was "irregular and improper" of the Archdeacon, a servant of the Government to publish newspaper articles attacking "the measure of Government." Buddhism and things held sacred by Buddhists had been "treated and attacked in terms of the most offensive abuse." 22b. Earl Grey sent Archdeacon Bailey and his loyal supporter, Dr. Boake, an educationalist, a severe reprimand for their anti-Buddhist propaganda. What began as a protest at State links with Buddhism soon became a campaign against Buddhism. On 21.9.1852 in the Times of Ceylon it was mentioned that "the punishment of these clergymen was a betrayal itself, and an ignoble surrender to idolatry." 23. Another newspaper, the Ceylon Examiner, had supported Anderson's Buddhist policies and rebuked Archdeacon Bailey for his obstructionist views. According to this newspaper the Archdeacon hardly merited the honour of being called a Christian martyr. "A martyr is one who suffers for conscience sake," commented the Ceylon Examiner, "which is not the case with ^{the} Archdeacon; he is simply the victim of his own unhappy temper." 23. However, the Colonial Office preferred to

discharge in an impartial way its treaty obligations, and Pakington from London assured Governor Anderson that "no representation from other portions of the community will induce Her Majesty's Government to permit any withdrawal of the protection or any infringement of the immunities guaranteed to the Buddhist religion at the Convention of 1815." 24. It is interesting to note that on 2.9.1851 in his Address to the Legislative Council of Ceylon Anderson mentioned that in the Kandyan districts "the greatest tranquility prevails." He had had interviews with Chiefs and Bhikkhus who brought to his notice their troubles and grievances. "I told them, and to their satisfaction," said Anderson, "that I would endeavour to remedy the evils, if found to be such, of which they complained, if I could do so with justice to all, and consistently with the principles which guide the British Government." In all his policies connected with State relations with Buddhism Anderson acted according to these high principles. 24.

The Ceylon Baptists at this time took an independent view and did not join forces with Archdeacon Bailey and the other clergy. They made their position clear in an Address to the Governor, and their stand was based on two main arguments. Firstly, State links with Buddhism can only be severed by negotiations with Buddhists, and secondly, such a change can be facilitated if the government offered to "withdraw State support from all religious denominations alike." 25. This 1852 declaration by the Baptists regarding the independent nature of religious institutions was conveyed by Anderson to Earl Grey on 13.1.1852. Baptists argued for the severance of all State links with Buddhism as well as with the other religions of Ceylon, a case ably expressed by Dr. C. Elliott and two deacons from the Baptist congregation at Colombo. Four aspects of the Baptist position stand out for originality and courage.

- 1) They were not happy with the existing links that bound State with Buddhism.
- 2) They deplored any tendency to ignore the Kandyan Convention and its obligations towards Buddhism.
- 3) They were of the view that the British had in the course of events

violated the Convention of 1815 as far as Buddhism was concerned.

- 4) They disliked Anglican links with the State, a dislike they shared with other Non-conformist Churches. Ludowyk comments about "the meanness of the feuds between the various Protestant sects in Ceylon; the Wesleyans and Baptists resenting the unfairness of the advantages taken by the Church of England of its secular and political privileges." 25.

The Baptist Missionary Society in its Annual Report dated 29.4.1852 contained the following comment from one of its Ceylon missionaries. "We have taken high ground here on the Buddhist question, now considerably agitated, and I feel persuaded the only tenable ground. In memorializing the government we have enunciated the great principle that they have no right to interfere in religion." 26. In 1846, however, Dawson, a Baptist missionary felt that the State's links with Buddhism constituted an "iniquitous alliance," and hoped that once "this pillar which supported Buddhism" gives way with eventual disestablishment Buddhism itself would fall down. "So let it be, into eternal oblivion," wrote Dawson. 27.

The Baptist Memo to Anderson was sent on 2.1.1852 and had nine important points to make by way of analysis of the problem, and ways and means of reaching a satisfactory and honourable settlement. The Rev. J.Allan, Pastor of the Baptist Church at Colombo, played an active part in stating the Baptist view as follows. 28.

- 1) They wished to avoid calling the colonial government of Ceylon a "Christian Government" as such a term implied the "official support of Christianity," a system of patronage that was completely "foreign to the legitimate functions of Government." Here is a re-statement of the classic Free-Church case for freedom from State patronage and State control. In Ceylon, it was pointed out, "there is no law which prevents a Heathen being a Member of the Government."
- 2) The Baptists felt that the main business of the Government was to protect "persons and property of the Governed," and they wished to

- "see the Buddhists as securely protected in their property as any other corporation or number of individuals."
- 3) Referring to the Kandyan Convention of 1815 the Baptists maintained that it was signed between the British Government on the one hand, and the Kandyan people on the other hand: therefore, the British "were bound to maintain and protect the rites, ministers and places of worship of the Religion of Budhoo."
 - 4) It was pointed out that a considerable portion of public revenue had been used by the British authorities "in building places of Christian worship in the Kandyan Country." The Christian ecclesiastical establishment was free to discharge duties that were "avowedly hostile to and aggressive upon Buddhism," and in this sense the British had violated the Kandyan Convention.
 - 5) Buddhist places of worship had been allowed to go to ruin, but at the same time "the British Government contributes largely to build Christian Churches." Reference was made to the building of St. Paul's Church by the Anglicans "beside the crumbling Maligawa in Kandy."
 - 6) Furthermore, it was stated bhikkhus had ceased to receive even "the trifling contributions" they had previously received from the State. But, at the same time the Ecclesiastical Establishment (i.e. Anglican and Dutch Reformed Churches) "has been constantly augmented."
 - 7) The Baptists felt it was unjust that revenue obtained largely from Buddhists should be used for "the support of Christianity. But when this is done in manifest violation of a solemn Treaty, the injustice becomes much more aggravated in foro conscientio."
 - 8) The Baptists wished to uphold the Kandyan Convention in respect of Buddhism, but they were opposed to all forms of State links with any religion.
 - 9) They presented the problem in the form of a twin argument which stated that the Kandyan people had no right whatsoever to withhold loyalty to the British Crown, but at the same time "the British Crown (could not) withdraw from the support of Buddhism." 28.

The Baptist position can be summed-up in the following manner: they were keen historians who saw the need to uphold British treaty obligations towards the Kandyan, and at the same time, they were not in favour of State links with Buddhism. The solution offered seemed too simple for others to accept, namely, that fair play demanded disestablishment for all religions. Buddhist public opinion would then be in a position to consider seriously the essential justice of the British colonial authorities. As for other Christian denominations in Ceylon none ever took such a bold attitude either before or after as the Baptists did in 1852. They were far-sighted in their views for what they demanded took place by 1881 when Anglicans and Dutch Presbyterians were dis-established. 29.

In the light of their stand of 1852 it came as a great disappointment to find a complete reversal of policy by the Baptists by 1905 when they joined with other Christian denominations in following a thoroughly anti-Buddhist policy. Together with Anglican and Wesleyan leaders the Baptists combined to fight against the Buddhist Temporalities Bill of 1904-1905. But, this law was promulgated in 1905 in the face of Christian objections in Ceylon and England led by the missionary forces. Marshall Hartley, of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in London, wrote to the Secretaries of the Baptist Missionary Society and the Church Missionary Society on 8.5.1905 that "our missionaries are exceedingly anxious that every possible step should be taken to oppose the passing of this Ordinance." 30. The missionary opponents made much use of the fact that some leading bhikkhus were also opposed to the new law, and Baring-Gould of the Church Missionary Society informed Marshall Hartley that the "Buddhist priesthood is intensely against this kind of legislation, and the seven high-priests have sent a Petition against it to the King." 30.

The Rev. Bruce Etherington, who worked in Ceylon with the Baptists at this time, figured prominently in the 1904-1905 controversy when the Legislative Council passed the "Ordinance to Consolidate and Amend the law relating to Buddhist Temporalities in the Island." F. D. Waldock, a senior Baptist Missionary, described the new law as one "of a most undesirable nature." 31.

It was Etherington, however, who gave voice to Baptist sentiments in some lengthy letters he wrote to Baynes, Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, on 11.6.1905 and 17.6.1905. He drew attention to the following vital documents in order to add weight to his case:-

- 1) Document No. 1, was a pamphlet written by a Colombo businessman, George B. Leechman. This was a historical survey and summary regarding the Buddhist Temporalities since the British rule began in A.D.1796. (Spence-Hardy's analysis of the subject, however, is at much deeper level and has more force).
- 2) Document No. 2, was the Memorial to the colonial governor, signed by a large and representative Committee, multi-racial and multi-religious in composition. They were of the opinion that the Buddhist Temporalities law would entrench Buddhism as the favoured religion of the land.
- 3) Document No. 3, was considered by Etherington as containing significant evidence in that it was a Petition to the English monarch from some bhikkhus. "They maintained a strong opposition to the Bill on the grounds that it allowed for lay interference in vihara and devala matters." ^{32.} In other words, the bhikkhus were not against State control or management of their temporalities, but resented their own local laity occupying such a position of authority.

The full implications of the 1905 Buddhist Temporalities Bill were explained clearly by Etherington in four points:-

- 1) By the Kandyan Convention of 1815 Buddhism was "established and for a long time supported out of the Revenue."
- 2) In the course of events Buddhism was disestablished, and by various legal provisions enacted over the years "the great Temporalities possessed by the Buddhist Temples (Vihares) and Priests' Residences (Pansalas) were managed by local committees" on a district and regional basis.
- 3) District Committees composed of Buddhist laity and bhikkhus arranged for temple-lands and revenue to be controlled, but nevertheless, "a great

amount of flagrant mis-appropriation and corruption ensued."

4) Therefore, the 1905 legislation made provision to appoint Government Agents and Assistant Government Agents as "ex-officio Chairman of these Committees." 32.

Etherington protested at this point because officials of government who act as Chairmen of District Committees will be responsible for "collection and disbursement of Buddhist religious revenues, the upkeep of Buddhist Temples and institutions, the carrying on of rites of worship etc., in those temples, and in fact the maintenance of Buddhism." 32. This was, in effect, the "maintenance of Buddhism as a part of the Civil Service of Ceylon."

Etherington clarified his protest by stating that the 1905 Legislation would remove any notion that the British Government was neutral in religious matters. It would be endowing and establishing Buddhism to a degree hitherto unknown, and in time lead Buddhism into the orbit of the State which would then become its servant.

For fear of giving the impression that this was altogether a Baptist protest, Etherington provided evidence that even some Buddhists were against the present legislation. Some bhikkhus in the Petition forwarded to the English King refused to recognise (as the 1905 Bill did emphatically) "the laity as having a voice in the management of Buddhism." They pointed out that in Buddhist teaching only the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha are recognised. Yet, did not Buddhist Kings (laymen) take an active part in Buddhist life in days of old as patrons, reformers and even persecuters? More recently, did not Kandyan Kings participate in Buddhist affairs, the last such King being a Hindu of South Indian stock? Perhaps the protesting bhikkhus resented too much lay control over them as envisaged in 1905. Etherington felt that the pro-disestablishment lobby ought to begin work as earnestly in Ceylon as did its counter-part in England. At this point the Baptists of 1852 and 1905 appeared on common ground. Disestablishment involving all religions in Ceylon might well have provided a solution, but it was not fully possible with the ancient rights and traditions of Buddhism. Etherington commented....."As to our action in the matter, my opinion is

that we ought certainly to do all we have in our power to frustrate this attempt, and that just as we would and do work for the liberation of religion from State patronage and control in England, we should, and with far more reason, work for the same in Ceylon." 32.

In Etherington's second letter to Baynes on 17.6.1905 plans were discussed for interviewing the Colonial Secretary in London. He proposed that the protest movement should act without delay to rouse and instruct public opinion in England and Ceylon. The Church Missionary Society (Anglicans,) the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (Anglicans,) the Friends Foreign Missionary Society (Quakers) and the Wesleyan Missionary Society (Methodists) were invited to send representatives to the delegation seeking an interview with the Colonial Secretary. It was also hoped to obtain the support of a Member of Parliament in Westminster who could raise the matter of Buddhist Temporalities in the House of Commons. Etherington's second letter ended with these words:-

"In Ceylon the Buddhists (except the priests) are rejoicing in the prospect of the Bill being passed, which they rightly construe as a State Establishment of their religion." 32.

A dilemma faced the Christian opposition to State links with Buddhism, and Etherington wrote again on 10.10.1905 admitting that together with other Christian denominations in Ceylon the Baptists had been critical but not very constructive in that they had failed to put forward alternative proposals that would take into consideration facts of history. Etherington commented - "I feel the weakness of our position in having no definite suggestion to offer in place of the government attempt to solve a difficult problem and remedy a disgraceful state of affairs. That is where our protest is likely to be coldly received." 32. This fear was justified by the actions taken at the Colonial Office in support of the 1905 legislation.

A deputation of missionaries met the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Alfred Lyttleton, on 6.11.1905 led by Sir W. W. Mitchell, C.M.G., in London, but their request that the Bill be abandoned was not granted. Lyttleton took the view that the Buddhist Temporalities Bill had as its object "the very

right and proper one of preventing fraud and misappropriation of revenues and property belonging to Buddhist Temples." ^{32.} Christians in Ceylon, missionaries and Evangelicals in England, together with some active support from colonial office authorities had exerted much influence since 1815 but on a gradually decreasing scale. By 1905 the British administrators were able to follow their own line of action towards a just solution. Baptists led their fellow Protestants and complained bitterly that "the Civil Service is to be lent to maintain and carry on a religious system," ^{33.} that was non-Christian.

It is now appropriate to consider the policies adopted by the British colonial authorities as the Kandyan Convention of 1815 and Brownrigg's Proclamation of 1818 worked out in practice. The State was somehow linked with Buddhism much to the disgust of the Christian Missions. The Buddhists expected the British rulers to keep faith with treaty obligations but different interpretations caused confusion and conflict both in Ceylon and at the Colonial Office in London.

The Colonial Office View.

A recent British author on Ceylon, S. D. Bailey, gave the following verdict on the complications that arose from Article 5 of the Kandyan Convention. "What this declaration meant was never clear: one view was that in the practical working out of the Convention the British Sovereign succeeded to all the rights and obligations of the Kandyan King in respect of the Buddhist Church." ^{34.} But, it seems clear enough that Governor Brownrigg in 1815 had only reluctantly agreed to Article 5 and not of freewill or personal preference. He was aware of the possibility of civil commotion which would be the outcome of any sort of serious religious disagreements ^{35.}because the chiefs, bhikkhus and people would not have accepted the Kandyan Convention without Article 5. W. E. Gladstone commenting on this point in 1846 wrote that "this recognition of the Buddhist Religion seems to have been considered indispensable to the safe occupation of the Country." ^{36.} The Colonial Office would have preferred if Article 5 of 1815 was "couched in terms less liable to misconstruction," ^{37.} and Brownrigg was reminded

that the word 'inviolable' did not exclude the efforts of missionaries to spread Christianity. If such a limitation was imposed on the Missions Article 5 would surely be at variance with the principles followed by the British Government. 37. It was freely admitted by the colonial authorities at that time that the unqualified support promised to Buddhism in 1815 was essential in order to secure the whole of Ceylon as a British possession. 38.

In the early days following the Kandyan Convention the Colonial Office in London had to face pressures and protests by various Evangelical forces in Britain about State links with Buddhism. Alarm was expressed as stated by E.F.C. Ludowyk that the British had been involved in the support and protection of paganism. 39. Events of 1815 and 1818 had committed British governors to giving formal assent to certain key Buddhist appointments, and Christian rulers in England through their public servants in Ceylon had become closely linked with a pagan and idolatrous religion. This was the view of the Christian Missions and their Evangelical allies in England. A British Parliamentarian, J. Butterworth, wrote to the Secretary of State at the Colonial Office in 1815 and said that "several missions had been sent (to Ceylon). They have established several schools.....it would after this event create extensive alarm at home if our Government should appear to support the religion of Buddho." 40. Clause 21 of Brownrigg's 1818 Proclamation enhanced the fears of Evangelicals in England because it exempted "all lands which are the Property of Temples from all Taxation whatever," as a demonstration of the government's adherence "in favour of the Religion of the People." 41. Even when compulsory service tenures on Rajakariya was abolished by the British on 12.4.1832 it was made quite clear that the new law was not to affect temple-lands as Maligava and Devala lands were exempted from all taxation. 42. One serious consequence of this policy of exempting temple-lands from taxes and temple-tenants from rajakariya duties, was that "many Kandyans made fraudulent transfers of their lands to the temples." 43. Before long officials of the civil administration became involved in sorting out and settling religious disputes connected with Buddhism. Such involvement could, and in due course was, interpreted as

Christians acting in support of Buddhism, however official their duties were. By 1832 the British authorities were becoming acutely embarrassed, and William Colebrooke in his report to the Colonial Office on the political, economic and social reforms necessary in Ceylon, attacked what he termed as the "official support of Buddhism in Kandy." 44.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies, Viscount Goderich, wrote to Sir H. W. Horton, Governor of Ceylon, on 14.9.1832 and brought to the surface some disturbing facts which can be put into the following summary.

- a) The British Government did exercise a prerogative in the selection and appointment of Chiefs and Bhikkhus to Temples.
- b) This amounted to interfering with the religious affairs of the country "although adopted from considerations of policy."
- c) British participation in Buddhist matters was open to "grave objections," had not satisfied the Chiefs and had "checked the improvement of the country."
- d) The crux of the matter was "that any direct sanction from the Christian Government to a Pagan worship should be most carefully avoided." 45.

Goderich then proceeded to give his interpretation of Article 5 of the Kandyan Convention of 1815. He was of the view that treaty obligations of the British Government only demanded for the Buddhists "the free and undisturbed exercise of their Religious Rites as secured to them upon that occasion." 45.

As far as the Buddhist Temporalities were concerned the Colonial Office gave various interpretations for most of the time taking the line that Buddhism's 'inviolable' status did not preclude missionary efforts to spread Christianity in Ceylon by the use of the Scriptures, public worship and public preaching. 46. Colonial governors gave Letters of Appointment to bhikkhus and temple officials but were instructed to be careful not to create the impression that such action was a sanction "from a Christian Government to a Pagan worship." The 1832 ruling by Goderich was meant to limit working out of the Kandyan Convention's Article 5 to a simple guarantee of freedom

of worship to the inhabitants of the land. 45. Horton's Proclamation regarding temple-lands and temple-tenants of 15.9.1834 said in effect that the 1815 religious policy was not to be abandoned now. 47. In the 1840s the missionaries in Ceylon had won the support of an ardent churchman, James Stephen, the Permanent Under-Secretary at the Colonial Office, London. Together they tried to bring pressure to bear on the Ceylon government to sever all links that existed between the State and Ceylon Buddhism. Stephen stands out as one of the most influential allies the missionaries had in official British circles, and this alliance between the missionaries in Ceylon and the colonial powers in London served to keep the problem on the surface during the 1840s. It is difficult to view the 1840s without examining the pro-Christian contribution of James Stephen whose "presence at the Colonial Office" according to the historian K. M. de Silva, appeared to the missionaries "to be the Lord's own work." 47. Stephen claimed that Article 5 of 1815 could not be interpreted as meaning that King George III committed himself and his successors to follow the examples of Kandyan royalty "by lending to the idolatry of the country the same active support and direct countenance." 48. In another minute Stephen wrote that the Kandyan Convention of 1815 did not mean that the English monarch succeeded to the religious duties and customs undertaken and observed by the Kandyan monarchs. 48. The first minute was dated 30.3.1841 and contained a remarkable definition of Article 5. It was Stephen's view that this Article was nothing more than a "contract for absolute toleration which bound the British Government to prevent any interference with the Kandyan religion or every encroachment upon the property dedicated to the maintenance of it." 48. S. E. Ayling, an English historian estimated Stephen's worth to the Missions in the following words:-

"At the Colonial Office the missionaries were pushing against an open door. Here a handful of civil servants in effect governed the Empire. The most important of them was Sir James Stephen, legal adviser and later Permanent Secretary at the Colonial Office, a member of the Clapham Sect, a powerful co-ordinator of missionary endeavour." 49.

This sort of Colonial Office support certainly increased the demands of

missionary organisations for a complete and effective disestablishment between Buddhism and the Ceylon Government. 50. In England this same view was taken by influential British politicians such as W.E. Gladstone who in 1846 said " that it is only the Christian British Government that upholds the Buddhist Religion, and protects it from the spoliation, contempt and abandonment of the Buddhists." 51. Emerson Tennent also expressed the hope during the 1840s that if State-links with Buddhism were severed the way would open for the final victory of Christianity over Buddhism. 52.

We now proceed to examine the contributions made by various British colonial governors in Ceylon as they attempted to solve the vexed question of State-links with Buddhism. Sometimes the attempts were interpreted as pro-Christian : at other times they were described as pro-Buddhist, but the final solution arrived at in the 1900s was within the spirit of the Kandyan Convention of 1815 and the Proclamation of 1818.

Governor Mackenzie (1837-1841) had already decided on some definite policy in that he wished to sign no more Letters or Warrants of Appointment, and instructed his legal advisors to help him draw up some other system of appointments. He allowed several vacancies to remain without endeavouring to fill them, and this meant that bhikkhus and lay-officials of temples, the nilemes, were deprived of their legal position. They were no longer able to safeguard vihara and devala properties, nor could they obtain the services of their tenants as required by law. By his actions Mackenzie created confusion and conflict among the Buddhists and came no nearer to a satisfactory solution. His policies led to a period of indecision and affected the right of bhikkhus to be in charge of vihares, and of their tenants to occupy vihara and devala lands. One incident among many goes to prove the extent of the confusion that followed Mackenzie's policies. G. C. Mendis mentions how a "Dissava seized a vihara and ejected its incumbent, but the bhikkhu could obtain no redress in the courts as he had not been legally appointed." 53.

Governor Campbell (1841-1847) succeeded Mackenzie and found himself in

a difficult position where many temple and devala appointments were vacant; fraud and corruption were on the increase in Buddhist circles and yet there was no practical substitute in sight for the former system of appointments. Campbell had no alternative but to resume the practice of granting legal Letters of Appointment to certain Buddhist officials. It was against this background that Campbell was directed by Lord Stanley in 1844 to effect a break between State and Buddhism without delay. 54. Stanley's communication was important in that he recognised two vital aspects of the Buddhist problem. Firstly, since the Kandyan Convention there was a certain amount of support given to Buddhist religious rites; the Tooth Relic was in the custody of the British Government Agent; bhikkhus of some temples had Letters of Appointment made by the colonial governor, and the British colonial administration did help to maintain some idolatrous ceremonies. Secondly, it was accepted by Stanley that the British responsibility for managing property and temple-lands was in fact unavoidable. Something drastic had to be done and Stanley suggested that the British authority should proceed to "relieve itself from all connections with idolatry," and to begin with Campbell was instructed in 1844 that no further appointments were to be made by the British to vihares and devalas. It was hoped that dis-establishment would thereby be hastened. 55. State links already existing with Buddhism were manifested in many ways but it was not the intention of the British to continue such links. 56. Campbell informed Stanley in 1845 that his administration wished "to give up to the Chiefs and Priests the custody of the relic, and to divest itself of all interference in the appointment of the Priests and in the Buddhist Religion generally." 57.

In 1846 Campbell sent to London the draft of an Ordinance (No:2 of 1846) for Colonial Office scrutiny and approval. The title of the draft legislation was self-explanatory....."An Ordinance to provide for the management of Buddhist vihares and devalas in the Kandyan Provinces." 57. Campbell's intentions were honourable as it was his desire to provide a corporate organisation for the Buddhists with power to elect a Management Committee

which could appoint and dismiss bhikkhus and lay-officials whilst also controlling temple-affairs and temple-funds. This Ordinance could have formed the basis of a reasonable and just settlement, but Christian pressure on the Colonial Office did not allow such a settlement to be made. 58. Five main features of Campbell's Ordinance were:-

- 1) A 16 member committee of ten lay people and six bhikkhus was to be provided.
- 2) Such a committee would act as Guardian of the Tooth Relic and other Temple treasures.
- 3) Powers vested in the British Government by the Kandyan Convention of 1815 and its 5th Article were to be transferred to the new Committee.
- 4) The Commissioner had power to register all temple-lands and commute the services of tenants.
- 5) Once the Committee was formed no lands could be gifted to temples without permission from the British colonial Governor. 57.

Campbell's Committee of Management contained more laymen (chiefs) than bhikkhus who together could take charge of duties previously carried out by the government. The bhikkhus, however, objected to what they described as lay-interference in religious matters. The fact that British colonial officials were also laymen did not seem to matter to them. 59. Objection was also made by the Secretary of State to the Colonies as the Ordinance "increased the power of the chiefs.....he suggested that the Buddhist bhikkhus should take into their hands the management of Buddhist property." 59. The defect in this suggestion was that bhikkhus had no central organisation and by vocation "were prevented from dealing with temporal affairs." 59. W. E. Gladstone, who succeeded Lord Stanley at the Colonial Office, made a genuine attempt towards what he felt could be a just settlement of the Buddhist problem.

Gladstone felt that the British Government was under moral obligation to create some sort of suitable organisation that could manage Buddhist matters. He further envisaged that the setting-up of such an organisation

would result in severing direct State links with Buddhism. Gladstone's proposals made provision for the following.

1) The bhikkhus of each vihare were allowed to select their own Chief Bhikku (Maha Nayaka Thera). Ratemahatmayas (administrators of five Kandyan provinces) and Korales (administrators of sub-districts) where devales were situated were empowered to appoint their Basnayaka Nilames (controllers of finance in the devales of Kandy), while the Diyavadana Nilame (controller of finance at the Dalada Maligava) was selected by the Basnayaka Nilames, and the Ratemahatmayas .

2) When this process of selection and election was over it was finally made effective when the Government "issued an instrument recognising the titles of the parties." 59.

Gladstone's proposals were put into operation but there were obvious snags. For example, temple-incumbents and devale nilames once appointed to their posts became virtual property-owners, whereas monastic rules did not permit bhikkhus to meddle in worldly business. Also, if the wrong sort of bhikkhu or lay-official were appointed there was the real possibility that vihares and devales might be neglected and property mis-used. 59. The British administration was duty-bound, according to Gladstone, to provide a suitable system for the Buddhists to work out their own religious matters. "I conceive that in handing it over to its Professors," wrote Gladstone, "our only duty is to give it, since we must give it, some Constitution, an honest working one." 60. But, such a Constitution was not made in any efficient way, and the abuses and corruptions that followed were inevitable. In Gladstone's view Article 5 of 1815 amounted "to a pledge that the British Government will not deprive the Boodhists of the privileges which they enjoyed" when the British took possession of the country. 60. Gladstone displayed a remarkably interesting mind on Buddhist matters when he spoke of two kinds of Buddhist Temples, one called the Vihare and the other called the Devale. "The Vihare is dedicated to the Ancient Monotheistic(?) Boodhism and is presided over by a Priest. The Devale is dedicated to the innumerable Gods of the Hindoos, whose religion was imported into Kandy by its Sovereign.

This is not presided over by a Priest, but by a local officer called the Basnaike Nilame. It is said by some that as a general rule a Devale is attached to every Vihare, that both form equally part of the National religion of Ceylon, and did so at the time when we became Masters of the Country." 60. Influential laymen held office as Basnayaka Nilame, an office highly esteemed by the Buddhists.

At the Colonial Office, Earl Grey had replaced Gladstone, and in Ceylon Campbell was succeeded by Governor Torrington (1847-1850). Grey wished Torrington to ignore Campbell's Ordinance of 1846 as he felt that to sever all British links with Ceylon Buddhism something more drastic and radical than attempted before was needed. In his interpretation of Article 5 of the Kandyan Convention Grey upheld the right of Buddhists to be free to celebrate their religious rites and to hold "places and property devoted to their worship without molestation from their new (British) sovereign or from anyone else," 61. but in quoting James Stephen's words Grey made clear where he stood. "The Christian Sovereign of a Christian State had no authority to bind himself and his successors to a course of conduct which Christianity unequivocally forbids.....the maintenance of abominations, to which, not merely the revealed law of God, but the general conscience of mankind is irreconcilably hostile." 61.

Torrington, for his part, forwarded a policy document to London as a basis for further action. This was well received by Grey, and by 1847 Torrington handed over the Tooth Relic to the joint-custody of three Buddhists, two of whom were principal bhikkhus. He then made a public pronouncement to the effect that no further temple-appointments would be made by the British authorities. 62. Grey was opposed to any form of support given to "an idolatrous religion" and to the "management of temple lands." 63. In a letter to Earl Grey on 14.10.1847 Torrington made a light-hearted reference to the Tooth Relic of the Buddha. He wished he was allowed to convince the Buddhists that the English Queen "had a splendid Temple called the British Museum in which she would place it and take care of it for them.

That is where it ought to have gone." 63. With such views being held in Ceylon and in England there was every possibility that a clash seemed likely before a climax or a suitable conclusion was reached.

The draft despatch sent by Torrington to Grey suggesting ways for severing all State links with Buddhism was described by K. M. de Silva as "a remarkably uncompromising despatch; it was the high-water mark of missionary influence on colonial policy on Buddhism in Ceylon." 64. Grey's unwillingness to allow Campbell's Ordinance (No: 2 of 1846) to be enacted resulted in devale and vihare vacancies being left unfilled. Temple authorities lost legal status and many temple-tenants began to withhold their services. There was opposition from bhikkhus and laity alike to the policies followed by the colonial authorities summed-up in this protest. "The Queen is the Head of our Religion, and that we wish it to be; that is what you promised and what you are bound to do." 65.

Confronted with this type of reaction to his Buddhist policies Torrington confided in Grey that "Mr. Carr (Acting Chief Justice) says, argue it as you will on the highest moral grounds, in law we have committed a breach of faith." 66. In other words, legal opinion was convinced that the Buddhist problem had been unjustly handled by the British colonial authorities, and what is more, Torrington was forced by the circumstances around him to admit that Buddhist "temples are without Head Priests: those who act cannot legally enforce their rights and are cheated of their dues." 66. The damage was done and the climate was now ready for the 1848 Rebellion, the last such uprising against the British. Historians have acknowledged that this revolt was at least partially due to the actions of Torrington and his administration. K. M. de Silva maintains that Torrington was himself convinced that the 1848 disturbances were manipulated by the chiefs and bhikkhus. The governor was "equally convinced that they had been driven to this opposition mainly by the religious policy of the Government." 67. Not wishing to take all the blame himself, Torrington ascribed the 1848 uprising to colonial policies towards "Buddhism from Mackenzie's time to his own." 67.

Bishop Chapman, the Anglican prelate in Ceylon at this time, was sure that part of the 1848 uprising was due to the taxes imposed on bhikkhus and their recent loss of State support, writing that the "Buddhist priests are said to be the secret instigators of all," and that previously "all the temples, temple-lands and temple priests were exempted from every tax of every kind. The new taxes touch them, and immediately they are up in arms." 68. This summary is supported by the facts and the modern historian, H.A.J. Hulugalle, mentions that measures adopted to sever State links with Buddhism "annoyed the monks and the chiefs, and the taxes irritated all sections of the community." 69. The taxes that aroused public anger were the annual licence of £1 on shop-owners, boats, carriages and bullock carts; the annual licence of 2s.6d. on each firearm and 1s. on each dog. 69.

At first the British governors of Ceylon continued some of the Buddhist duties formerly carried out by Sinhalese rulers, but as the years went by they found such duties "at variance with their Christian ideas" and finally "dissociated themselves from the religious affairs of Buddhism in 1847." 70a. Further, the policy of severing existing State links with Buddhism was carried out by the withdrawing of British sentries from guard duty at the Dalada Maligawa; by entrusting the Dalada to the Nilame or officer of the Temple, and by stopping the £300 annual grant to the temple and the bhikkhus. 70a. Whilst more details about the 1848 uprising appear in the next chapter of this thesis it is sufficient to quote the comments of G. C. Mendis. "It (the Government) interpreted the disturbances to be a rebellion of Kandyan chiefs and bhikkhus to overthrow British rule." 71. In fact, a bhikkhu named Kuddapolla Unanse was court-marshalled for "failing to give information which might lead to the arrest of a rebel.....the monk was shot in his robes." 70a. Captain J. Macdonald Henderson, a military official during the 1848 uprising, wrote a book from an anti-Torrington point of view. Henderson commented with sarcasm on Torrington's hasty action in executing the bhikkhu. He is said to have boasted that he got the bhikkhu shot in his robes "as a grand stroke to strike terror into the natives." 70b. But,

this was not the sort of action that won Buddhist support, and Torrington tried to defend himself by saying that the bhikkhu "was shot in his common everyday dress." 70b. Henderson commented - "It was not, after all, a bishop shot in canonicals." 70b. Faced with such a critical situation in the country Torrington was driven to retreating from his earlier position. He directed the Government Agent of Kandy to take into safe custody the Tooth Relic as it remained a symbol of political power and sovereignty in Buddhist eyes. In 1849 Torrington staged another retreat when he wrote to Lord Grey stating that in Buddhist matters there was an element of "great hardship and confusion" for want of the official warrants of appointment as law-courts only recognised bhikkhus and lay-officials who held Letters of Appointment for only such duly-appointed persons could "recover dues or claim services from temple-tenants." 72. Not surprisingly Torrington requested permission to re-commence the former practice of issuing Letters of Appointment, and took pains to explain that such action "was an official and not a religious act." and therefore, could not be interpreted as State support for Buddhism or its opinions." 72. In the next chapter all the causes of the 1848 rebellion are examined at some depth, especial notice being taken of Torrington's revised views about State links with Buddhism. Most of the information gathered there was obtained from the House of Commons Reports on the 1848 disturbances in the island.

Torrington was succeeded by Governor Anderson (1850-1855) who lost no time in informing Grey that, having fully considered all aspects of the problem, he saw only one practical way out of the difficulties, namely, the continuance of the old practice of issuing Letters of Appointment. This provoked the start in 1851 of organised Christian opposition with the Governor and Anglican Bishop on one side, and the Anglican Archdeacon and clergy on the opposing side. Free Churchmen also sided with the latter group with the exception of the Baptists who wanted the State to disestablish all religions in Ceylon. The winds of mid-nineteenth century liberalism were blowing in colonial circles and a less pro-Christian policy was about

to be implemented. Anderson had in mind the setting-up of Electoral Colleges where chiefs would be given the controlling vote; once the Colleges had chosen candidates for various offices the colonial governor planned to replace Acts of Appointments with simple Certificates of a purely declaratory form recognising the validity of the election. The other proposal was to hand over the Tooth Relic to the Committee which held it in safe keeping between October 1847 and July 1848 prior to the revolt. 73. Circulars were sent out to all Government Agents and their Assistants giving them authority to issue Certificates of Recognition to bhikkhus and basnayaka nilemes in the Kandyan areas.

Opposition to Anderson's proposals, as already noted, came from most sections of the clergy, but the support of the Bishop of Colombo was valuable, and in the long run, decisive as far as the colonial powers in London were concerned. In 1852 there came a decree from London from the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the effect that each Kandyan chief bhikkhu should be elected by his fellow bhikkhus. The government did not do the electing but granted to each appointee a certificate "which while avoiding altogether the form of appointment should simply profess to be a certificate of recognition by the Government of the title of the party elected." 74. By June 1853 Anderson informed the Colonial Office that Buddhism and State had become separated with little trouble. These were the main features of Anderson's disestablishment:-

- a) The Tooth Relic was handed over to Buddhist custody on 20.5.1853.
- b) The first elections under the new system had already taken place, and certificates of recognition had been granted to the new Maha Nayaka of Asgiriya Temple at Kandy; to the new Diyavadana Nileme of the Temple of the Tooth, and to the new Basnayaka Nileme of the Kataragama devale in Kandy. 75.

The Colonial Office was relieved to hear of Anderson's actions and the comment was made in London that the settlement reached was "a good compromise between the demands of the Buddhists and Christians." 76. By 1856 the next stage was reached when the Temple Lands Registration Ordinance (No:10 of 1856) was enacted, and lands with weak or dubious legal titles were taken away from

temple-ownership and placed in government custody. Some sections of the Buddhist public could not be satisfied by any line of action taken by the colonial authorities. There were, for instance, complaints by Buddhists that the "Land Commissioners, appointed in 1859 to administer this Ordinance, deprived the temples of 200,000 acres in the Kandy District alone." 77. However, the fact is that thousands of acres of land were taken away by the government because of weak titles or doubts about true ownership, and not because these were Buddhist lands. The government was carrying out the terms of the 1856 Ordinance in order to bring efficiency into Buddhist property matters.

By the 1870s it was apparent that temple incomes were being misappropriated, and that corruption in temple administration was rampant. Clerical and lay trustees who looked after Buddhist endowments were, by and large, guilty of fraud and mismanagement with the result that after more delay the Buddhist Temporalities Ordinance of 1889 was enacted. 78. But, there was much background work put into ^{easing} the problems of State-links with Buddhism that paved the way for the 1889 legislation. Governor Gregory (1872-1877) made a useful contribution when he appointed a Commission in 1876 composed of the Government Agents of the Western, Central and North-Western Provinces, and three Buddhists to examine and report on all aspects of the problem. 78. The Commission's verdict made it clear that the government must intervene to prevent fraud, corruption and misappropriation of temple treasures. By 1877 it was Gregory's intention to vest the entire control of Buddhist matters in the hands of three Commissioners who were to be appointed by the governor. But, the Secretary of State for the Colonies was not in favour of such governmental involvement, and made a counter suggestion in the form of Boards of Management, "each with an official member who might act as a check on others." 78. But, once again no action was taken till the time of Governor Gordon (1883-1890).

Gordon gave the Buddhist question his earnest attention but in spite of his efforts did not succeed where others had failed. However, the 1889 Buddhist Temporalities Ordinance was a sincere effort whereby Buddhist properties were to be entrusted to Committees of Management according to

districts, such committees being largely controlled by Buddhist laity. Bhikkhus and laymen took part in elections to these committees. Trustees of vihares and devales were then elected by these district committees which in turn were supervised by Provincial Committees throughout the island. Once again it was discovered that the ordinary, uneducated Buddhists were unable to make these Committees work efficiently. 78. There was the familiar chaos and the colonial government was forced to make further amendments to the Ordinance in 1902 with a view to still greater efficiency and control. After eighty^{seven} years of experiments the British government now wished to get the Buddhist problem out of its sphere of responsibility.

This led to the firmest stand yet taken by the Colonial Office in London in 1904-1905 when the Secretary of State for the Colonies brushed aside Christian objections to State-supervision of Buddhist Temporalities, and instructed the British officials in Ceylon "to appoint the Government Agent or the Assistant Government Agent of the districts to act as Commissioner for the purposes of assisting the District Committees." 78. This set the stage for an all-out attack by the Christian missionaries against the implementation of Ordinance No: 8 of 1905; "An Ordinance to consolidate and amend the Law relating to Buddhist Temporalities in this Island." 79. Missionary influence was waning and failing to exert a dominant role in shaping colonial policy in Ceylon. By 1905 the wheel had begun to turn full circle when Alfred Lyttelton, Secretary of State for the Colonies, supported the 1905 legislation in the face of Christian protest.

Government Agents and their Assistants when acting as District Commissioners were required to "assist, direct and control the provincial and district committees of Buddhists which manage the affairs of the properties of the Buddhist religion." 80. No doubt, the Christians had some cause to be alarmed that the Civil Service was being used to promote a particular religion in the island, but it could be reasonably argued that by the 1815 Kandyan Convention the British authorities promised to protect and maintain the religion of the Buddha as in the days of Sinhalese national sovereignty. On 27.11.1905 Alfred Lyttelton addressed an important despatch to Ceylon and uttered the final word

on the subject that had caused so much controversy and confusion.

In the light of Brownrigg's Article 5 of 1815 Lyttelton's wording of 1905 seemed inevitable.....

"The Government made it desirable and even necessary to take powers to prevent more effectively than in the past, misappropriation of trust property, nor can I assent to the contention that to employ Government officers to check speculation is to identify the Government with any particular form of religion. Section 15 of the Ordinance which empowers, though it does not make compulsory, the appointment of Government Agents or their Assistants to control the committee is, I understand, the provision to which especial exception has been taken. I will, therefore, place on record that when the Ordinance has been given a fair trial - say in 5 years time - the matter should be brought up again." 81.

So, the Buddhist Temporalities Ordinance became law and the Christian opponents abandoned hope of reversing this Colonial Office policy. Still further links between State and Buddhism were made when in 1931, according to G. C. Mendis, "the Government pressed by the Buddhists took over once more the responsibility and vested their (Buddhist Temporalities) control in the Public Trustee." 82. This really meant that a Department of the Ceylon Government had a section that concerned itself solely with the control and administration of Buddhist Temporalities. Thus in 1931 as in 1815 we are at the same position with Buddhism receiving State aid. Ordinance No: 19 of 1931 contained positive and realistic solutions to a problem that had previously appeared so confusing. This new legislation contained the following features.....

- 1) It was concerned with the management of all temple-properties in Ceylon and did not confine itself to the former Kandyan territories.
- 2) The Public Trustee was to supervise such management.
- 3) An Advisory Board helped the Public Trustee in this work.
- 4) Trustees were appointed for each and every temple and devale.
- 5) All temple property and all offerings were to be vested in trustees.
- 6) A Register of Bhikkhus was to be kept.

7) The Governor of Ceylon was empowered to make regulations for (a) "the preservation and protection of such Buddhist shrines, temples, inscriptions, and monuments as may be considered to be of historical, archaeological, or artistic interest, and for preventing the same from being defaced by inappropriate or incongruous repairs or additions; for (b) the care and custody of articles of value belonging to temples; for (c) the levying of contributions from the property of temples for carrying out the provisions of this Ordinance; (d) prescribing the measures for the due safeguarding of offerings and collections made at temples; (e) prescribing the forms and manner in which accounts, registers and books are to be kept, the conditions of their inspections and the fees for extracts therefrom; (f) modifying the forms in the schedule and prescribing additional forms; (g) prescribing the matters in which the Public Trustee shall consult the Advisory Board and the manner in which such Board shall conduct its meetings; and (h) prescribing the method of preparing a register of voters for the election of the Diyawadana Nilames and Basnayaka Nilames." 82.

It may be stated that the Colonial Office did not always share nor extend support to the views of Christian Missions even though pro-Christian policies generally held sway during the 19th century. The dawn of the 20th century saw pro-Kandyan Convention policies being followed by the Colonial Office, whilst at the same time the influence and intensity of Christian opposition to State links with Buddhism gradually diminished. What is more, the view that by his 1818 (post-rebellion) Proclamation Brownrigg placed Buddhism "on the same level as any other religion" did not prevent the Colonial Office in following its obligations as laid down by Article 5 of 1815. Sympathy must be extended to the colonial authorities who, if they took the 1815 line of action, were accused of being pro-Buddhist, and on the other hand, if they followed the 1818 line of action they ran the risk of being called pro-Christian. It appears that the authorities were not in a winning position one way or the other.

The Buddhist View.

There were elements of tension and conflict involved in interpreting

the policy of the British authorities towards Buddhism as the religion of the masses, protected from ancient times and promised such status by the British at the Kandyan Convention. The Gampola Perahara case of 1914-1915 throws some light on the problem with the State and Buddhism adopting different views of the Convention of 1815. In August 1912 the Gampola Buddhists were planning their annual Esala Perahara when some local Moslems objected to the Buddhist procession passing their Mosque with drums beating, horns blowing and crowds cheering. But, it was not usual in the Kandyan regions to impose silence or any other restrictions on Buddhist processions. In the first instance, some kind of local action had to be taken by the Government Agent of the Central Province, and his policy was as swift as it was severe. He ordered that no drums or other such musical instrument were to be used within one hundred yards of the mosque. 83. This led to the Buddhists abandoning all plans for their Perahara, and legal proceedings were started to clarify their ancient rights and privileges. It was their firm belief "that a perahara in the old Kandyan Kingdom was in a privileged position by the terms of the Kandyan Convention of 1815." 84. This was the vital factor that the Government Agent had overlooked, namely, that "the religious processions of the Buddhists in the Kandyan country stood on a different footing to those of the maritime country." 83.

In the district court at Kandy the Trustee of the Gampola Temple sought redress by arguing that the Government Agent's order violated Article 5. Dr. Paul E. Pieris, the judge at the District Court hearing, gave his verdict in favour of the Buddhists and agreed with their interpretation of the Convention. On 4.6.1914 judge Pieris "pronounced that the Esala Perahara was a rite of the religion of Buddha, which was undertaken to be maintained and protected under the Convention of 1815." 83. He further ruled that the "accustomed route of the perahara and the continuance of the music was an essential part of the rite," and that "the Kandyan Convention constituted a binding compact unalterable in all following times." 83. This judgement (given by a Christian judge) allowed the Buddhist authorities of the Walahagoda Devale to conduct the Perahara in the traditional manner

through the streets of Gampola, "including that portion of Ambagomawa Street where the Moslems had built in recent years a mosque." 83. But, the Government Agent and the Ceylon Government lost no time in appealing to the Supreme Court.

Thus, on 2.2.1915 two Supreme Court judges reversed the judgement previously given by Dr. Paul E. Pieris. They gave their own reasons for the surprising conclusions they had reached in their interpretation of the Kandyan Convention legalities. Justice Shaw said he did not believe that Article 5 was "intended to give this particular perahara any right to be conducted in a manner different to other religious processions in the colony." 83. Shaw stated that peraharas cannot be conducted apart "from the ordinary police supervision for the protection of the public peace and safety which may appear to the Government to be necessary." 83. Even if Buddhist processions were to be given exemption from normal government regulations by virtue of the Kandyan Convention, Shaw maintained that such privileges were now curtailed and modified by the provisions of the Police and Local Boards Ordinance. Justice Sampayo's reasons were based on two legal enactments subsequent to the Kandyan Convention.....

(a) "If the provisions of the Police Ordinance of 1865 and the Local Boards Ordinance of 1898 in respect of licenses for processions and tom-toms in any way contravened the Kandyan Convention (as this case did) then the following course of action had to be followed.

(b) Neither the District Court nor the Supreme Court had jurisdiction to enforce the Convention as against the Ordinances." 83.

Riots followed this judgement by the Supreme Court and Moslems and Buddhists were engaged in ugly incidents. Martial Law was soon imposed throughout Ceylon with "irresponsible street preachers" going about the land "calling upon the Buddhists to make some demonstration against the Muslims." 85. The Rev. A. G. Fraser, Principal of Trinity College, Kandy, and well-known C.M.S. missionary in Ceylon at that time, wrote with immense sympathy for the Buddhists in this matter, holding the view that by the Kandyan Convention the British made provision for all the practices of

the Buddhist religion to "be maintained and not interfered with. The Buddhists claimed that to stop a procession was to break this law as a procession was most vital to them. In the lower court a Christian Sinhalese judge admitted this, and they won, but in the Appeal Court the English judges said processions were not vital parts of religion. So the Buddhists lost." 86.

A recent British historian of Ceylon, S. A. Pakeman, writing in 1964 said that the Buddhists did not take the view that Article 5 "was abrogated by the rebellion (of 1818) and that the 1818 proclamation took its place." 87. When the colonial governor, Anderson (1850-1855) began to discontinue the prevailing custom of issuing Letters of Appointment to bhikkhus and lay-officials connected with Buddhism, a protest was sent by them to the Secretary of State for the Colonies on 5.1.1852. They pleaded with him not to discontinue the custom and denied "that this custom implies or is understood by any of the Buddhists to imply participation in the tenets and ceremonies of Buddhism." 88. In other words, the Buddhists did not view State patronage as involvement in Buddhist worship. To put it in another way, the Buddhists were in effect saying "Help us now as our Kings did in the past even though you Christians (i.e. British civil servants) cannot obviously worship with us and take part in our religious rites."

Emerson Tennent had been convinced that chiefs and bhikkhus did not look to British protection of Buddhism, nor did they want British management in their religious matters. "But, what they want," wrote Tennent, "under the semblance of interference and appearance of control is really our identification with their religion and the prestige of the Government name as associated with their Appointments and Patronage." 89. This is an assessment of the situation by Tennent that reflects Buddhist sentiments. In the House of Commons Reports from Committees dealing with the troubled times during Torrington's tenure of office there is a set of documents from 1851 that contain a letter from a native to the Colonial Secretary. One reads from this letter that the Kandyan were upset since the British stopped "interfering with and upholding their (i.e. Buddhist) religion." 90.

Also in this collection of Ceylon documents there is a translation from a Proclamation in the Four Korles, the exact wording being -

"This is written by order of the King of Kandy, who preserves the great and other temples." 90. These words of an old proclamation indicate that one of the duties undertaken by Kandyan rulers was the upkeep of temples. By implication such words censure the British authorities for not maintaining Buddhist temples and thereby contributing towards their decay.

Among the Sangha discontent grew as the British colonial authorities failed over the years to maintain a constant policy in the light of what Buddhists expected since 1815. In the mid-nineteenth century Buddhism declined, compulsory labour from temple-tenants had ceased by law, and chiefs and bhikkhus had thereby lost status in society. The old system had allowed "the chiefs to indulge in state pomp, and to have their lands tilled gratuitously, and the priests to reap their large revenues at temple festivals, which since the abolition of Rajakariya, have been much neglected." 91. From the Buddhist point of view the attitude of the British colonial authorities had left Buddhism in a weak and exploited position. By 1848 the colonial policy of dis-engagement from Buddhism had led to the transfer of the custody of the Tooth Relic by the government, an act considered more than a mere insult by Buddhists and one that gave opportunity to the bhikkhus "to work on the superstitions of the vulgar." 91. This comment by a British official gave expression to the concern shown by the Buddhists. Emerson Tennent was honest enough to see the Buddhist position as one of people who felt that they were let down by the British in terms of treaty obligations, and as a consequence, neglected in the island. "I am prepared to justify the policy of the Government in withdrawing from religious interference," wrote Tennent, "but I am not prepared to justify the delay which has taken place in giving them satisfaction by the readjustment of their temporalities." 92.

1. The British Government and the Idolatry of Ceylon, by R. Spence-Hardy, Wesleyan Mission Press, Colombo 1839, pages 43-44, 20-21, Methodist Missionary Society Library, London. (Rajakariya is discussed at some length in Chapter 6 of their Thesis.) The British Government was, according to Spence-Hardy, a Christian power.
2. Spence-Hardy, page 5.
3. Spence-Hardy, pages 11-12.
4. Spence-Hardy, pages 13-17.
5. Spence-Hardy, pages 20-21.
6. Spence-Hardy, pages 11-12.
7. Spence-Hardy, pages 21-22.
8. Spence-Hardy, pages 23-25.
9. Spence-Hardy, pages 26 and 28.
10. Spence-Hardy, pages 29-30. (Parrah = Measure). See Ancient land Tenure and Revenue in Ceylon, by H. W. Codrington, Colombo, 1938, pages 58 and 74.
11. Spence-Hardy, pages 31-32.
12. Spence-Hardy, pages 47-48.
13. Spence-Hardy, page 44.
14. CO:No:54/193, dated 15.2.1841. Selkirk to Coates, Church Missionary Society, Secretary, London, PRO., London.
15. Recollections of Ceylon, by James Selkirk, London 1844, page 386.
16. CO:No:54/193, dated 28.2.1841. Trimmell to Coates at C.M.S. London, PRO., London.
17. CO:No:54/293, (of 1851), page 58, also pages 61-62, PRO., London.
18. Spence-Hardy, page 44 and CO:No:54/229, Torrington to Grey, No.134 of 14.10.1847 with Tennant's minute of 11.10.1847. PRO., London.
19. Social Policy and Missionary Organisations in Ceylon, 1840-1855, by K. M. de Silva, pages 15 and 26.
20. The Times of Ceylon, Colombo, 8.8.1851 at The British Museum, London. Also 5.8.1851 and 19.8.1851. (Letters by Archdeacon Bailey and Clergy).
21. CO:No:54/293, Anderson to Grey, 13.1.1852. Also the Governor's reply dated 29.12.1851 to the clergy Memo of 4.12.1851, PRO., London. (Pages 40, 47-48), and also pages 58-62.
- 22a. CO:No:54/293, Anderson to Grey, dated 14.1.1852.
- 22b. CO:No:54/293, No.18 of 14.1.1852 and No.59 of 8.7.1852, Anderson to Grey and Grey to Anderson. See also Social Policy and Missionary Organisations in Ceylon, K. M. de Silva, pages 117, 119, 120, 121.
23. The Times of Ceylon, Colombo, 21.9.1852. British Museum, London. See also The Ceylon Examiner of 4.9.1852.
24. CO:No:54/293, Pakington to Anderson, No.123 of 4.12.1852, paragraph 30. PRO., London. See also Legislative Council of Ceylon, Governors' Addresses, 1833-1860, Colombo, 1876, Vol. 1. page 245.

25. CO:No:54/293, pages 42-44, dated 5.1.1852, PRO., London. See also The Modern History of Ceylon, by E.F.C. Ludowyk, page 112.
26. AR/EMS, dated 29.4.1852, BMS Library, London.
27. MISS/HER/BMS, July 1846, page 293. See also April 1846, page 244, BMS Library, London.
28. CO:No:54/293, Anderson to Grey, No.17, dated 13.1.1852. With the Baptist Memo, PRO., London.
29. British Governors of Ceylon, by H.A.J.Hulugalle, pages 122-123 contain good arguments in favour of dis-establishment.
30. Etherington to Baynes, BMS, Archives, London, dated 11th and 17th June 1905. In this folio is the letter of Earing-Gould, Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, London, dated 5.7.1905, to Marshall Hartley, Secretary of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, London. The Ceylon Legislative Council had by then passed the Ordinance regarding Buddhist Temporalities, No.8 of 1905. Hartley's letter to the BMS on 8.5.1905 is also in this folio attached to a letter of Etherington to Baynes on 13.6.1905.
31. F. D. Waldock to Baynes, BMS, Archives, London, dated 17.8.1905 re Buddhist Temporalities.
32. Etherington to Baynes, dated 11.6.1905, pages 3-5. BMS Archives, London. See also letter dated 10.10.1905 in this folio. (Also 17.6.1905).
33. MISS/HER/BMS, January 1906, pages 22-23, BMS Library, London.
34. Ceylon, by S.D. Bailey, Hutchinson's University Library, London, 1952, page 116.
35. Ceylon Under The British, by G. C. Mendis, pages 21-22.
36. CO:No:54/223, W. E. Gladstone, comments dated 25.6.1846, PRO., London.
37. CO:No:55/63, Bathurst to Brownrigg, dated 30.8.1815, PRO., London.
38. CO:No:54/55, Brownrigg to Bathurst, dated 15.3.1815, PRO., London.
39. The Modern History of Ceylon, by E.F.C. Ludowyk, London, 1966, page 42.
40. CO:No:54/58, Letter of J. Eutterworth, M.P., to the Secretary of State dated 9.8.1815, PRO., London.
41. CO:No:54/73, of 21.11.1818. See Ceylon Under British Rule, 1795-1932, by Lennox A. Mills, Oxford, 1965, pages 125-126.
42. Social Policy and Missionary Organisations in Ceylon, 1840-1855, by K. M. de Silva, page 67.
43. Ceylon Under British Rule, 1795-1932, by Lennox A. Mills, pages 125-126.
44. Ceylon Under The British Occupation, Volume 2, by Colvin R. de Silva, Colombo, 1962, page 573.
45. The Colebrooke-Cameron Papers, edited by G. C. Mendis, Oxford, 1956, Part II, pages 243-244.
46. CO:No:55/63, Bathurst to Brownrigg, dated 30.8.1815, PRO., London.

47. Social Policy and Missionary Organisation in Ceylon, 1840-1855, page 68. See also pages 15 and 26, 101-102.
48. CO:No:54/193, Stephen's Minute dated 30.3.1841, PRO., London.
49. The Georgian Century, 1714-1837, by S. E. Ayling, MA., London, 1966, page 459.
50. Social Policy and Missionary Organisation in Ceylon, 1840-1855, pages 15 and 26.
51. CO:No:54/223, dated 25.6.1846, PRO., London.
52. CO:No:54/229, Torrington to Grey, No.134 of 14.10.1847, (Tennent's Minute of 11.10.1847) PRO., London.
53. Ceylon Under The British, by G. C. Mendis, pages 80-81, (See also pages 109-110). There were six Disavas or governors of provinces in the Kandyan territories. See Our Heritage II, by S. A. Pakernan and G. C. Mendis, Colombo, 1962, page 177.
54. CO:No:54/293, pages 27-28 and 30, (27.3.1844), PRO., London.
55. CO:No:54/210, dated 24.7.1844, Stanley's despatch to Campbell of 27.3.1844, PRO., London.
56. CO:No:54/293, pages 27-28 and 30, PRO., London.
57. CO:No:54/223, Ordinance No.2 of 1846, Campbell to Stanley, No.37 of 7.2.1846, PRO., London. See also CO:No:54/217, No.96 of 8.5.1845, Campbell to Stanley.
58. Social Policy and Missionary Organisations in Ceylon, 1840-1855, by K. L. de Silva, pages 94-95.
59. Ceylon Under The British, by G. C. Mendis, pages 80,81,82, 109-110. See also Ceylon Under The British Occupation, by Colvin R. de Silva, page 165, (Vol.1.) and page 399 (Vol.2).
60. CO:No:54/223, Minute dated 25.6.1846, PRO., London. See also Jungle Tide, by John Still, London, 1955, pages 213-214 for an account of vihare and devale functions.
61. CO:No:54/227, Grey to Torrington, No.2 dated 13.4.1847, PRO., London.
62. CO:No:54/293, pages 32-33-34-35, (dated 1847), PRO., London.
63. The Durham University Journal, New Series, Volume 23, No.2, page 53, article - "Lord Torrington's Government of Ceylon: 1847-1850," by R. P. Doig, quoting Grey's book - "The Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration."
64. Social Policy and Missionary Organisation in Ceylon, 1840-1855, pages 98-99.
65. The Second Report on Ceylon, evidence of P. G. Woodhouse in page 253, quoted in reference 64 (above) page 104.
66. The Grey Papers, Torrington to Grey dated 15.8.1849. University of Durham. See Social Policy and Missionary Organisation in Ceylon, pages 104-105 and 107 where the Grey Papers are used. See also Torrington to Grey, dated 11.8.1848. The House of Commons Reports on the Affairs of Ceylon in 1850 contain all the official correspondence and records about the 1848 events. The Grey Papers contain private letters from colonial officials in Ceylon to Earl Grey. K.M.de Silva classified these as private papers.

67. Social Policy and Missionary Organisation in Ceylon, pages 106-109.
68. Memorials of James Chapman, D.D., Edited by the Rt.Rev.R.Durnford, Bishop of Chichester, London, page 47. (1892).
69. British Governors of Ceylon, by H.A.J. Hulugalle, page 78,
See also page 77 for reference to new taxes.
- 70a. History of Ceylon, II, by S. G. Perera, pages 97-98 and 100.
See also AR/BMS, 1847, pages 25-26, BMS Library, London.
- 70b. History of The Rebellion in Ceylon during Lord Torrington's Government.
by Capt. J. Macdonald Henderson, London, 1868, page 240. Bhikkhus from Asgiriya and Lalwatte temples in Kandy did not show much shock at the execution of this bhikkhu. "We can prove from books that ancient Kings who were professors of Buddhism put priests to death in their robes." See Reports from Committees, Ceylon Session 1850., Vol.8, Part 2 of 1851, page 236. House of Commons Library, London.
71. Ceylon Under The British, by G. C. Mendis, page 87.
72. CO:No:54/293, pages 32-33-34-35, PRO., London.
73. Social Policy and Missionary Organisation in Ceylon, page 129.
74. British Governors of Ceylon, pages 85-86.
75. CO:No:54/300, Newcastle to Anderson, No.70, dated 6.6.1855, PRO., London.
76. CO:No:54/300, Newcastle to Anderson, No.103, dated 18.8.1853, PRO., London.
77. The Revolt in The Temple, by D. C. Vijayawardhana, page 106.
78. Ceylon Under The British, by G. C. Mendis, pages 131, 146, 147.
79. Etherington to Baynes, BMS, Archives, London, dated 11th June (page 1) and 17th June, 1905. These two letters from a serving missionary in Ceylon contain a critical examination of the Ordinance of 1905.
80. MISS/HER/BMS, January 1906, pages 22-23, BMS Library, London.
81. Ordinance No.8 of 1905, of the Ceylon Legislative Council, Ceylon Government Press. See Memo of Alfred Lyttelton, Sec: of State for the Colonies to the Officer Administering the Government of Ceylon, dated 27.11.1905, in Etherington's File, BMS, Archives, London.
82. Ceylon Today and Yesterday, by G. C. Mendis, Colombo, 1963, 2nd Edition, page 155. See also Legislative Enactments of Ceylon, Volume 5, chapters 193-241, Ceylon Government Press, 1938, pages 655-688 re: Ordinance No.19 of 1931.
83. Riots and Martial Law in Ceylon, 1915, by P. Ramanathan, K.C., C.M.G., London, 1916, pages 2-5.
84. History of Ceylon II. (The British Period and After, 1796-1956), by S. G. Perera, Colombo, 7th Edition, 1959, pages 84 and 113.
85. History of Ceylon II, page 113.

86. Fraser of Trinity and Achimota, by W.E.F. Ward, Ghana, 1965, page 101. Sir Henry Monck-Mason Moore, the last colonial governor of Ceylon, who spent his earlier years in the Ceylon Civil Service from 1910 onwards, blamed the Buddhists fully for the events of 1815. See British Governors of Ceylon, pages 213-214.
87. Ceylon, by S. A. Pakeman, London, 1964, page 64.
88. CO:No:54/293, pages 42-44, dated 5.1.1852, PRO., London.
89. CO:No:54/296, Memorandum on Buddhism by Sir J. Emerson Tennant to Pakington, dated 30th September 1852. This document has a very comprehensive summary of the entire Buddhist problem, written with Tennant's great authority as a man on the spot.
90. Reports from Committees, Ceylon Session 1850, Volume 8, Part 2 of 1851. (Session 4th Feb: - 8th Aug. 1851). Appendix to the Third Report, House of Commons Library, London. (Enclosures 4-5).
91. See above Reports, Paper 3a. Statement of J. J. Staples, Esq., District Judge, Kandy, dated 8.10.1849.
92. See above Reports, Volume 8 Part 1., page 187, for the evidence of Sir James Emerson Tennant, on 25.3.1850.

Chapter 4. - The 1848 Uprising : the causes of this anti-British movement which resulted in major modifications of British policy towards Buddhism.

Was the uprising caused by new taxes especially the Road Tax which even included bhikkhus, or were there also nationalistic and religious causes? It would seem safe to conclude that all three factors played a part in bringing about the last Sinhalese uprising against the British in 1848. Or, perhaps, religious causes played a more dominating part in the events of 1848 than any other factor. At the start it seems proper, therefore, to examine the hostility created by Governor Torrington's Road Ordinance of that year. Capt. J. Macdonald Henderson wrote in great detail of the events before and after the trouble. He spoke of the vast amount of dissatisfaction caused over the road tax because bhikkhus were not exempted. This eye-witness of the anti-British movement in Torrington's time commented that the Buddhists viewed the tax "to be extremely unjust, because by their (bhikkhus') creed they are forbidden either to labour or to possess property." ^{1a.} What is more, Henderson was convinced that "on the cession of the Kandyan territory to the British Government, it was one of the stipulations of the treaty, that the faith of Budhu should be respected and preserved in its integrity." Henderson's, no doubt, was not a popular voice in colonial and Christian circles of his time. ^{1a.}

There was anger in Buddhist circles when it became known that the road tax was to be levied from bhikkhus who by vocation were literally living as beggars. ^{1b.} The only exemptions made concerned the military and the Governor of Ceylon, but all "males over the age of eighteen and under sixty-five had to pay three shillings annually or work six days on the road." ^{2.} Two Ceylonese historians have made it clear that the road tax provided sufficient room for Buddhist anger, but K. M. de Silva suggests that bhikkhus were in fact exempt from such taxation. ^{3.} This conflict is solved when one remembers that some historians refer to the Road Ordinance as first enacted, and others refer to it as amended later in the aftermath of the 1848 uprising. The

original road tax was imposed early in 1848; the uprising lasted about the beginning of and until the end of July 1848, and after this event it was felt expedient that bhikkhus should receive exemption. Hence, the Colonial Secretary moved in the Legislative Council, Colombo, on 27.10.1848 that this be so. Bhikkhus were then "exempted from the performance of labour under the provisions of said last mentioned Ordinance (No.8 of 1848), and from the payment of any sum or sums in commutation of such labour, so long as they continue and are known to be Buddhist priests." 4.

Such a concession extended to members of the Sangha was bitterly attacked by the Anglican Bishop of Colombo. He felt that this exemption placed Buddhism in a privileged position, and in a letter to the Church Missionary Society, made two points to prove his argument. In the first place, Bishop Chapman thought "that none at all should be exempted from so useful a tax." Secondly, if exemptions had to be made at all, Chapman wished that they included Christian clergy as well as Buddhist bhikkhus. 5. In a letter of protest to Earl Grey at the Colonial Office, Bishop Chapman expressed himself in detail, referring to the exemption being made on the ground that "the tenets of Buddhism prohibit the Priests of that religion performing labour of the description contemplated, and forbid to such priests the acquisition of money or other property." 6. It was Chapman's contention that on religious ground the same immunity should be extended to Christian ministers. This seemed logical to the bishop seeing that only recently had the British authorities "so solemnly disavowed, and formally discontinued all connection with the Buddhist religion." 6. Why then, argued the bishop, place the Sangha in the place of privilege now?

Chapman was quick to indicate that there were now three categories of exemptions, namely, the Colonial Governor, members of the Military and the Sangha, a state of affairs that Buddhists would surely interpret "as a high and distinctive tribute to the excellence of their own religion." 6. The three conclusions reached by the bishop form the main burden of his highly reasoned argument before Earl Grey

(1) This sense of privilege and superiority amongst Buddhists was "most prejudicial to the cause of Christianity" because it created discouragement to

all evangelistic ventures.

(2) When a Christian Government (there was no doubt in Chapman's mind about the Christianity of the colonial regions) offers "unrestricted and equal toleration to all religious opinions," there can be no real justification for giving special privileges to a "false creed," thereby causing offence to "those of the truer religion."

(3) Chapman appealed to the British authorities in London, who governed a "Christian Country" not to allow the exemption to the Road Ordinance lest the people of Ceylon conclude that "the British Government is indifferent to the Holy Cause of Christianity." 6.

From Anglican Bishop we turn next to an eminent colonial administrator of the same period. The evidence and examination of P. E. Woodhouse, a former Acting Colonial Secretary in Ceylon, before the House of Commons Committee on Ceylon in 1849 threw further light on the blundering colonial legislation of 1848. 7. When asked the question - "The Road Ordinance had been introduced before the Rebellion, had it not?", Woodhouse gave a brief reply. - "Yes." The next question was directly linked with it "Did not the Ordinance to which you have referred include the Buddhist priests, who were to be subjected to the same tax as every other person in the country?" Once again Woodhouse gave the same answer - "Yes." - but added "originally, it did." The poverty of the bhikkhu and the nature of his vows and calling were not unknown to the colonial legislators, but Woodhouse claimed that not much regard was given to these aspects of bhikkhu life. On the contrary, he maintained that "the vows of the Buddhist priests to possess no property are a perfect fiction." But, such a general statement was only half true as only a select few in the Sangha occupied positions in districts as chief bhikkhus and thereby owned property.

Woodhouse revealed that about five hundred bhikkhus had signed a petition against the Road Ordinance. Bhikkhus, however, were ultimately exempted from the Road Ordinance, an exemption that was made only after the 1848 uprising. To the question - "Was it in consequence of that that the modification took place?" Woodhouse replied thus. "It was deemed advisable to make that concession to the feeling of the Buddhist priests, looking to what had taken

place in the country recently." T. Y. McChristie, a lawyer who spent one year, 1847-1848, doing some legal work in Ceylon, commented that the colonial officials led by Torrington made deliberate attempts to upset Buddhist feeling in the liability of bhikkhus under the Road Ordinance. In spite of protest by bhikkhus and Buddhist laity regarding difficulties and inconveniences that the Sangha would encounter as a result of the Road Ordinance, Torrington "persevered in passing it, and in obtaining Earl Grey's entire approval of it twice repeated." 8.

In the petition sent by the bhikkhus there was a minute by Torrington to the effect that they "state it is contrary to the tenets of their religion, as Buddhist priests, either to labour with their hands or to possess money." But, Torrington, felt that the bhikkhus could obtain substitutes to work for them under the terms of the Road Ordinance. However, on 13.11.1848, seven months after the Ordinance was passed (13.4.1848), Torrington wrote innocently - "In the course of the last few months it has been brought particularly under my notice, in connection with the late events in the interior, that the Buddhist priests are forbidden, by the tenets of their religion to possess any property in their own right, and that mendicancy, as a matter of principle, is enjoined upon them." 8. Emerson Tennent mentioning the bhikkhus' petition confirmed their status as beggars engaged in spiritual labours. Almost complimenting the colonial authorities for their kindness and consideration, Tennant maintained that "as soon as it was made a direct appeal that they should be exempt" on the grounds that the Ordinance violated their religious principles their appeal "was held to be irresistible, and the law was amended in their favour." 9.

H.A.J. Hulugalle commented that fiscal policy aroused the anger of the population in Torrington's time, and mentioned the annual taxes on shop-owners, hosts, carriages, bullock carts, firearms and dogs. 10. Torrington, in a letter dated 14.11.1848 made it clear that the 1848 uprising was due mainly to the religious policy of the British administration. Thus, it is not possible to interpret the uprising merely in terms of economics as though the new taxes alone were the main or sole causes of the rebellion. There was no room for doubt in Torrington's mind.

"The chiefs and priests, always treacherous to the Government and hostile to British rule, and above all, indignant at the course pursued towards them respecting their religion, have been looking eagerly forward for some pretence to fly to arms. I repudiate all supposed connection between the taxation and the rebellion, in which opinion the observations of the colonial secretary, Sir J. E. Tennent, while travelling through the country, further confirm me." 11.

This opinion appears to be confirmed by the observations of Sir T.H.Maddock, a high official of the British East India Company, who happened to be in Kandy during the 1848 uprising. He traced the causes back to the three years prior to the unhappy events of 1848, and mentioned that the bhikkhus had reasons for complaining about a breach of faith by the British authorities, especially in Torrington's time when government links with Buddhism were severed so drastically. 11.

The Chief Justice, Sir Anthony Oliphant, had religious causes in mind when he thought of the unrest in the Kandyan regions. Bhikkhus were discontent at the sight of a declining Buddhism, 12. a theme which was further explained by Mr. Staples, District Judge, Kandy. Staples put forward the following causes:-

- (1) Bhikkhus and chiefs have been disloyal for many years now.
- (2) From the grand festivals they used to make large financial gains, but no longer was this possible.
- (3) Temple-tenants were now freed from compulsory labour at festivals. 12.

When placed alongside such "religious" causes Tennent felt that new taxes hastened the 1848 uprising. 12. This view is strengthened by the petition sent to Earl Grey by some inhabitants stating that the disturbances were due to the "long-cherished desire of the priests and headmen for a resumption of that power which they possessed previous to 1833." 13. In a letter to the Maha Modliyan one of the inhabitants said:- "I do not think the rebellion is owing to the new taxes; they are not even alluded to. The priest pronounced hymns of victory." 13.

C. R. Buller, Government Agent, Central Province, contributed his share to the debate concerning the 1848 uprising. In his evidence before the House of Commons Committee on Ceylon Buller was convinced that the new taxes together with the recent religious measures of the government under Torrington were

entirely the cause of the rebellion. The period between 1843-1848 was a crucial one for change in the Buddhist policies of the British. Buller paid attention to the period and gave many instances to support his analysis of the situation. Till 1843 bhikkhus had income from their temporalities whilst drawing "a stipend for their annual festivals direct from the Kandyan treasury."¹⁴ At that time bhikkhus and basnayaka nilemes "were still inducted into office by the act and deed of the Governor," ¹⁴ but between 1843-1848 such a system was largely altered thereby providing the bhikkhus ample reason to incite the laity against their British rulers. Buller quoted the opinion of Sir Anthony Oliphant, Chief Justice of Ceylon, who having tried some of the 1848 rebels remarked at their trial - "I therefore conclude that this rebellion was hatched by headmen or priests, or both by headmen and priests." ¹⁴ Two references were then made by Buller to the Blue Book of 1849 where on page 190 a letter from an inhabitant, (30.7.1848), contained the following paragraph. "The priests and tenants of Dambool Vihare are the leaders. The object of the rebels is to conquer the country from the English." ¹⁴ The next page of the Blue Book contained a reference (28.7.1848) which expressed disappointment that recent policies of the Government had tended to break the 1815 Convention. "The Kandyan subjects are highly grieved and annoyed since the British Government caused the interference and protection to uphold their religion as proclaimed by the Convention of 1815 to cease." ¹⁴ Buller and Tennent agreed as to what were the underlying causes of the 1848 uprising. In his evidence before the House of Commons Committee on Ceylon Tennent maintained that the main causes of discontent among bhikkhu and chief alike could be traced back to the "measures for separating the Government connection with their temples and religious ceremonies." ¹⁵

Four points made by Tennent regarding the 1848 rebellion attributed more to religious discontent than to the new taxes.

(1) Bhikkhus were to a large extent implicated in the 1848 rebellion, and they were also "greatly implicated in every rebellion that has taken place in the island."

(2) Between chiefs and bhikkhus there existed a common bond of interest which was "opposed to the progress alike of civilization, of Christianity, and of education."

(3) They had from ancient times exerted "a great and overwhelming influence over the great mass of the people."

(4) Tennent quoted Police Magistrate Hanna who felt that "the priests were implicated in the rebellion." In fact, some bhikkhus at Dambool "took an active part in the insurrection and performed the pirit ceremony, "a ceremony necessary to invest him (the Pretender) with the outward distinctions of royalty."¹⁵

Tennent believed that the taxes had little or no influence in causing the troubles, but they had an influence in hastening the rebellion. ^{16.} There was the authority of the eye-witness in what Tennent said, and he confined the discontent to "the priests, headmen and chiefs." He had ^{toured} the land to test the reactions of the people and to explain to them the need of new taxes. In his diagnosis of what happened in 1848 Tennent went further than any previous observer had done when he linked what happened in 1848 with events of 1818. It was, he wrote, "a continuity of causes and motives operating without intermission."¹⁶ If, as some people had assumed, that the new taxes were the causes of discontent, Tennent asked why the rebellion did not spread throughout the island as taxes "applied universally to the people of Ceylon." But, when it came to actual rebellion it is significant that the "insurrection was confined to the Kandyan provinces," which were the historic strongholds of Sinhalese Buddhism. ^{16.}

Perhaps the only contrary view of the 1848 uprising was the one held by H. C. Selby, Queen's Advocate in Ceylon since 1847. He gave evidence before the House of Commons Committee on 7.3.1850 and said that the Sinhalese people especially in the Kandyan regions, were disturbed "in consequence of their believing that the Government were about to impose a great number of taxes upon them." ^{17.} Selby saw the 1848 uprising in terms of hostility towards the fiscal policies of the Torrington administration. To add more weight to his argument Selby mentioned that after the uprising "the dog tax was repealed." ^{17.} But, then, so was that part of the Road Ordinance whereby bhikkhus were liable for road service or a payment. This was not the relaxation of a fiscal policy

that was unpopular, but a direct concession to public feeling among Buddhists. If Selby was correct in his conclusion that taxes caused the 1848 uprising he still left unanswered this question:- "Why was the uprising so manifestly Buddhist inspired and confined to the Kandyan districts, areas where Buddhism and Sinhalese nationalism were free till 1815 from western "influence and domination?" Prior to the 1848 uprising the State was proceeding to break its links with Buddhism, a policy which received full-hearted support from the Christian denominations. After 1848 the State seemed equally anxious to modify such a drastic policy for the sake of peace as well as appeasing Buddhist feelings. The pre-rebellion missionary view was one of jubilation as can be gathered from the following extract taken from a church publication in May 1848 when the Anglican Bishop of Colombo expressed his hopes.

"The Government are about to take, at once, decided steps to remedy the existing evil and shame of our connection with the idolatrous superstitions of the Cingalese. It may not obliterate the reproach of our past Governments, but it will avert its countenance. It will be a galling blow to them (the Buddhists) and frustrate not a little the existing influence of their crumbling power. Surely we ought to follow up the measures of the Civil Government by an increasing effort for their (Buddhists') spiritual advancement. To little purpose will Buddhu be discouraged, if Christ be not preached." 18.

Torrington mentioned to Earl Grey that the British colonial officials in Ceylon had made efforts "to maintain good faith with the chiefs and priests by acting consistently with our professions." 19. However, at the same time Torrington spoke of "the difficult and responsible duties which have devolved on us as a Christian Government, called on to spread the influence of our authority over an imperfectly civilised and superstitious people." 19. It is in this light that we can understand how Torrington disallowed Ordinance No.2 of 1846 "which had been adopted by the Council as a sort of compromise between the Government and the priesthood." 19. In fact, Torrington admitted that this Ordinance "held out some hope of a settlement not altogether distasteful to the two most influential bodies whose interest it affected, namely, the chiefs

and priests." 19. Two years earlier Grey had instructed Torrington not to implement Governor Campbell's Ordinance No.2 of 1846, and had based his instructions on a pro-Christian bias. 20. Torrington followed Grey's orders faithfully but lived to see the confusion and hostility caused in Buddhist circles. He recorded the cause and effect sequence and said that there was now a "complete disavowance of the Government from all connection direct or indirect with the professors of Buddhism." 19. No further Acts of Appointments were to be made to bhikkhus as heads of vihares or to chiefs as heads of devales. Looking at the results of his policy Torrington had to concede that it had "produced the utmost dissatisfaction and mistrust among all parties." 19.

Torrington's moves to sever State links with Buddhism resulted in many complications, and these were mainly due to the inadequate actions of the British Government which did not set up practical measures to deal with the appointment of bhikkhus to temples and lay-officials to devales. Torrington quite frankly referred to "the hardships and injustices resulting to the chiefs and priests," and that such problems "far from being abated are gradually and steadily increasing." 20. He maintained Governor Mackenzie had followed a mistaken Buddhist policy by taking the view "that any document proceeding from him for the appointment of priests was a direct encouragement to and interference with the Buddhist religion.....carried away as he was by a religious scruple. He mistook an act purely temporal for one of a spiritual nature." 21. While Torrington was right in his verdict on Mackenzie's Buddhist policy it must be mentioned that Torrington himself was a late convert to the view he expressed after the 1848 uprising. Prior to that Torrington was eager to disestablish at Grey's orders without adequate provision for the legal oversight of Buddhist Temporalities.

What were the complaints made by the Sangha? According to Torrington the bhikkhus were bitter about their inability "to obtain their dues, or indeed any of their rights of property." 21. The results could be classified thus:-

- (a) Bhikkhus faced distress and hardship in their daily lives.
- (b) Temple property was being neglected and temples allowed to decay for

want of repairs and regular maintenance.

(c) The administrative machinery was not available for the control and supervision of property and finance.

About ten months after the 1848 uprising Torrington was showing a fairer grasp of the historical position, and went on to show more inclination towards solving the problems than before. He was convinced that the British agreed (in 1815) to "fulfil all the duties devolving on the King of Kandy." 21. One such duty was the appointing of bhikkhus to different Buddhist temples, and only those so appointed were legally recognised. In fact, the selection of bhikkhus was done by their fellow bhikkhus after which the British colonial governor issued a formal Act of Appointment through a legal document or certificate.

Torrington thereafter admitted that the traditional duties inherited by the British were neglected or ignored as time went by because of Christian pressure on the colonial authorities. He faced a grave situation in post-1848 Ceylon and wrote that "the whole country is disturbed, and crime greatly increased by the injustice of the Government in neglecting to perform its duties; duties which no one else can legally perform," 21. He claimed that the situation in the country after the 1848 uprising "imperatively demands the interference of Government." 21. In order to defend his suggestions and to vindicate such 'interference' from history Torrington reminded Grey that some Kandyan Kings were not Buddhists: they were Hindus but nevertheless fulfilled certain Buddhist duties. Likewise, the British who were generally Christians could also discharge some duties towards Buddhism without identifying themselves with the worship of the Buddhists.

The Auditor-General took the view that pending a final settlement it was proper and necessary for the colonial government in Ceylon to interfere in certain Buddhist matters. He felt it wise "to resume the practice which was found in every way to work well." 21. The government should once again appoint bhikkhus and basnayaka nilemes without mentioning their various spiritual duties, such legal appointments serving only to secure for these people their many temporal rights. The Queen's Advocate, however, took a contrary view and was

strongly opposed by Torrington: the former nevertheless accepted the following facts without question:-

- (1) Bhikkhus and chiefs were experiencing hardships and injustices.
- (2) There were difficulties involved in passing legislation on Buddhist matters.
- (3) It was almost impossible to satisfy the objections from all sides.

In the Queen's Advocate's opinion Torrington would not be justified in re-commencing a practice which was so clearly discouraged by the Secretary of State. Also, that any retracing of British policy "would have an injurious effect on the native mind." 21. Finally, he stated that "Christian ministers (in Ceylon and in England) would express strong dissatisfaction at any return to the practice of past days." 21. But, Torrington did not think it was a mistake to retrace some aspects of Buddhist policy, and as to objections by Christian ministers, they ought to be reminded that this was a "simple question of temporalities totally disconnected from all religious participation." 21. What is more, Torrington pointed out that if Christian ministers exercise "a strong and firm hand over their own temporalities they should not desire to deprive anyone of his just rights." 21.

The views of Emerson Tennent, Colonial Secretary, were quoted by Torrington to further his new policies. Tennent had said that "the evil has become so great that it is the duty of Government to interfere." 21. While legislation might tend to establish and entrench Buddhism and was, therefore, not contemplated, Torrington saw Buddhist matters as needing temporal attention. He wrote that owners and custodians of Buddhist properties have the same claim as other colonial subjects for protection of rights and enjoyment of their privileges. Three observations are worth recording:-

- (1) "We are bound to protect them (Buddhists) in the exercise of their religion."
- (2) "The Buddhist religion is the religion of the people."
- (3) "By Government appointing priests we have a hold and a satisfactory check over their proceedings; we can ensure the appointment of the best intentioned and most respectable of the priests." 21.

Two possible courses of action were in Torrington's mind, namely, the introduction of complicated legislation which might result in the perpetuating of Buddhism in the colony, or the practice of an "unobtrusive interference on the part of the Government" which could bring peace and justice to Buddhism. 21. Torrington desired to see bhikkhus and lay-officials having authority such as could be recognised by the Courts of Law. The real modification in Torrington's Buddhist policy came when he suggested that as an interim measure his administration "was bound to maintain the Buddhist priesthood in the enjoyment of their just rights, and to furnish them with the power of enforcing their legal claims." 21. His views on the Buddhist question were made more moderate as a result of his analysis of the 1848 uprising, its causes and aims. It must be said that Tennent's supporting views enhanced this changed attitude as can be gathered from a minute submitted on 8.5.1849, addressing himself to Torrington, when he said that the Ceylon situation was almost an exact parallel to the British scene if Church and State became disestablished. Such a move had taken place in Ceylon as far as Buddhism was concerned, but provision for legal administration of temple-property was most inadequate. Tennent suggested that such provision be now made just as the temporalities of the Church of England are controlled by bishops and clergy by "the direct authority and security of the civil power." 22. The final word on the subject may lie with Charles J. MacCarthy who was Auditor-General of Ceylon in 1849. R.P. Doig, writing in the Durham University Journal in 1962 commented thus on the 1848 uprising. "The ostensible causes of the trouble were the imposition of new taxes and a road ordinance, but probably the chief factor was the religious question." 23. This verdict had already been expressed by MacCarthy in a letter to Grey on 10.5.1849. When the Kandyan Kingdom was ceded to the British it was agreed by treaty to respect Buddhism. Large estates were owned by temples but such property was administered and held in trust by individuals appointed by the King. McCarthy explained why bhikkhus could not hold worldly possessions by the very nature of their calling, and stated that "the disposal and entire control of their temple-lands

rest entirely with the State, no matter what be its religion, or the religion of the monarch personally." 23. Hence bhikkhus and lay-officials were appointed by the British, a duty viewed by MacCarthy as "a purely secular function of sovereignty." 23.

Then followed the opposition of Christian groups in Ceylon with the support from Evangelicals in England, and this type of pressure caused the earliest hostility amongst the Buddhists. British governors refused to sign warrants of appointments; missionaries "intensely ignorant of the real point at issue, agitate in Exeter Hall, in the newspapers, at last in Parliament," and the Colonial Office decided to disconnect the British Government from the idolatry of Ceylon. 23. In time the Kandyans viewed such action as a breach of faith, and imagined some wicked plan to persecute or eradicate Buddhism. They pleaded for State supervision of temporalities through legally appointed bhikkhus and laity. MacCarthy maintained - "Now this is only their side of the question, and it is quite strong enough." 23.

For the colonial policy towards Buddhism MacCarthy had nothing but contempt. He spoke of the "notable scruple of conscience," and said - "with singular dexterity we contrive to blow up a rebellion among the Buddhists by a measure which might be entitled "an Act for the perpetual conservation of the Buddhist religion in Ceylon, and for raising a more effectual bar to the propagation of Christianity and of Knowledge." 23.

MacCarthy's communication to Grey contains three points that stand out. Firstly, it was admitted that an undertaking was given to the Kandyans in 1815 that their religion would receive, as in former times, respect and protection. This involved the colonial authorities in certain secular duties regarding appointments and the administration of Buddhist temporalities. Secondly, bhikkhus were really monks who were forbidden to be involved in worldly business by the very nature of their calling. Hence the pressing need for the State to administer properties entrusted to temples and devales by faithful Buddhists. Thirdly, the pressures against the British colonial administration fulfilling such 'Buddhist' duties were directed mainly by Christian Missions encouraged as they were by their Evangelical friends

in England. In such circumstances it could be said that in the 1848 uprising "there was evidently a willingness, if not a desire, to re-establish the supremacy of Buddhism." 24. Such at any rate was the conclusion reached by the Rev. W. Oakley who worked for the C.M.S. at Kandy in 1848.

- 1a. History of The Rebellion in Ceylon during Lord Torrington's Government, by Capt. J. Macdonald Henderson, London, 1868, pages 6-7.
- 1b. History of Ceylon, II, by S. G. Perera, page 98.
2. The Modern History of Ceylon, by E.F.C. Ludowyk, page 78.
3. Social Policy and Missionary Organisation in Ceylon, 1840-1855, by K. M. de Silva, page 107.
4. Report from Committees, Ceylon Session, 1850, Part 2. Volume 8, of 1851, House of Commons Library, London, pages 25-26.
5. CMS. C1/E, page 6, 018, November 15th 1848
6. CMS, C1/E, page 6, 018, November 11th 1848 } CMS Archives, London.
Chapman was protesting about "An Ordinance to alter in certain respects the Ordinance No.8 of 1848 with Clause No.9."
7. Reports from Committees, Ceylon Session, 1850, Volume 12, First Report, pages 183, 185, 186, 301, 305-307. Evidence and Examination of P. E. Woodhouse, House of Commons Library, London.
8. See Foot Note 7, pages 353-354.
9. Report from Committees, Ceylon Session 1850, Volume 8, Part 1, Third Report. House of Commons Library, London. Evidence of Sir James Emerson Tennent, page 309.
10. British Governors of Ceylon, H.A.J. Hulugalle, page 77.
11. Report from Committees, Ceylon Session, 1850, Volume 12, First Report. page 48 and 107. Letter by Torrington dated 14.11.1848 (P.48).
12. Report from Committees, Ceylon Session, 1850, Volume 8, Part 1, Third Report, pages 187, 232-233. Temple lands were not exempt from Rajakariya till 1870. See Chapter 6 references 92-93 of this research. By 1832, however, compulsory attendance of temple-tenants at religious festivals came to an end. See CO:No.54/296, 30.9.1852, See 150. Tennent to Pakington, PRO, London.
13. Report from Committees, Ceylon Session, 1850, Volume 8, Part 2 of 1851. Appendix to the Third Report, pages 19 and 94. House of Commons Library, London.
14. See Foot Note 13, pages 205-212.
15. See above, pages 267-268, 616, 620, 633 and 688.
16. See above, pages 718-719, 721.
17. Reports from Committees, Ceylon Session, 1850, Volume 8, Part 1. Third Report, page 83.
18. The Church Missionary Record, Colombo, May 1848, page 99.
19. Reports from Committees, Ceylon Session, 1850, Volume 8, Part 2 of 1851. Torrington to Grey, 15th November, 1849, Section 30, pages 247-248, House of Commons Library, London.
20. CO.No.54/227, Grey to Torrington, No.2 dated 13.4.1847, PRO., London.

21. Reports from Committees, Ceylon Session, 1850, Volume 8, Part 2 of 1851, pages 260-267, Torrington to Grey, Colombo, 10.5.1849.
House of Commons Library.
22. See above Reports, pages 267-268, 616, 620, 633 and 688 from Emerson Tennent's evidence.
23. The Durham University Journal, New Series, Volume 23, No.2 of March 1962, pages 52-53, Article by R.P.Doig.
24. CMS CI/E O 92/668, page 38. This document contains an account of the Kandians written by the Rev. W. Oakley in 1848, CMS Archives, London.

Chapter 5. - Christianity and State patronage in British Ceylon with consequences of denominational dissension and problems of continuing nominal Christians.

Governor North, at the commencement of British rule in Ceylon, found the Dutch Reformed Church as the State Church, and he continued to pay its Ministers as they used to be paid by the Dutch authorities. To this extent the patronage of State was offered in early British days to a section of the Christian Church. North proposed to send two young Ceylonese abroad for theological training at State expense, but rather than favour the Dutch Church in this matter, he suggested that such candidates return to Ceylon after episcopal ordination. ^{1.} North was keen to introduce the Anglican Church as the established Christian community in the island and he was unhappy to leave the Dutch Church as an independent Church beyond the control of the British authorities. In North's mind it was important that the government of the Church should remain in British hands, especially when the Dutch Church's loyalties pointed towards Holland.

North's words about the Dutch Church reflect his Anglican attitudes. It was governed by "a Society whose Principles indeed are highly venerable, but whose Language appears enthusiastic, and which is not, I believe, under our control, perhaps not even under the countenance of our Prelates." ^{2.} On the one hand, North inherited an already 'established' Protestant Christian Church in the Dutch Reformed denomination, and yet, on the other hand, he was a Church of England product. The measure of State control over the latter made sure of its loyalty and co-operation in State matters whereas the Dutch Church had no such links with the British. When the King of England in 1802 made plans to send some Anglican priests to Ceylon "for the Spiritual Government of His Majesty's Protestant Subjects," North rejoiced. He had become alarmed at the speed which was driving the Dutch Protestants to profess and often to practice the "grossest idolatry." ^{3a.} Early in his governorship of Ceylon North observed that there were Roman Catholic and Protestant Christians, Moslems, Buddhists and those of an "extravagant system of paganism called by the Dutch, the worship of

the Devil." Especially in the maritime provinces the Christian population was large but most of them were nominal Christians bribed by the Dutch into baptism through material inducements. This situation alarmed North who commented that such Christians differed "very little from their Heathen neighbours." Native government officials (who were selected from the Christian ranks) were often suspected with good reason of being involved in Hindu and Buddhist ceremonies. 3b. Not many years later a Secretary of State for the Colonies observed that there was enough evidence that the Government (in England as well as in Ceylon) did, in fact, practice discrimination between various Christian Missions. "The Home Government held that the religious wants of Ceylon should be supplied by the ministers of the established church." 4. However, the London Missionary Society whose missionaries led by the Rev. J. D. Palm arrived in Ceylon in 1805, received tolerance from Governor North. In a letter to his Directors Palm said that North's secretary had replied to a request in the following words. "His Excellency has no objection to allow the Missionary, Mr. Johann David Palm, to reside in this Island, and to preach the Gospel in such places as may appear most useful, and to begin by residing in Jaffna." 5.

This missionary proceeded to learn the language of the people and soon afterwards he wrote wishing North godspeed as the latter left Ceylon. "I wrote to his Excellency Governor North, he being just on his departure from Colombo to Europe, and joined with many in Ceylon in wishing and praying that God might bless him in time and eternity, for he has done in the time of his Government much good, in promoting Christian knowledge, and been very useful to many poor people in Ceylon." 6. In chapter 1 of this research details were given of North's care towards the extension of Christian influence through Mission-schools. What he began as a partnership between Church and State in education was continued long after. The first years of British rule saw the Dutch schools in a neglected state and North did much to revive them.

Following Dutch tradition he obtained European clergymen and native evangelists to overlook the work of these schools. This type of Church-State co-operation was nothing new as "in England at this time education was

carried out by the Church." 7. These were days when schools were also used as places of worship and schoolmasters were engaged in Christian evangelism apart from their usual school work. At Cottewegodda they urged North to publish a proclamation encouraging the spread of Christianity which was in a weak position with temples springing up all around. 7. In fact, this religious influence over education prevailed in Ceylon even before the coming of the Portuguese and Dutch when learning was centred round Buddhist temples and the bhikkhus were the teachers. 8. From the time of North onwards Christian clergy and lay evangelists played a prominent part in education with the full support of the State. It is hard to draw distinctions between evangelistic and educational work in these early years as present day distinctions did not have much meaning at that time.

J. D. Palm wrote to Maitland, North's successor, asking for financial assistance and government protection in his work. A reply was received from the Governor's Chief Secretary, Mr. M. Arbuthnot, dated 6.11.1805 expressing goodwill:-

"Sir

His Excellency, the Governor has received the memorial of the Rev. Mr. Palm, and has directed me to acquaint you that his Excellency is pleased to grant him an allowance of fifty Rix dollars per mensem to commence from the next month. His Excellency will with much satisfaction and readiness, afford to the Rev. Mr. Palm the protection of Government, and assist him in his pious purpose, of fixing his readiness in the interior parts of this country, in order to spread the Christian religion amongst the Ignorant Heathen inhabitants." 9.

By 1810 Palm was able to write out of his own experience that the civil authorities in Ceylon were 'Christian'. As he went about preaching he reminded his hearers of "the invaluable benefits which God has bestowed upon them since they were under a Christian government." 10. This type of language reflects a sense of partnership in that Government and Missionary both accepted a Christian role in the colony. In 1813 tribute was paid to government officials for all

the help given towards the work of the Mission schools. Palm wrote: "By the very laudable exertions of the present Governor (Brownrigg), Sir Alexander Johnstone (Chief Justice), the Honourable and Reverend Mr. Twisleton, and other friends of religion, the care of the schools has been revived." ^{11.} The formation in 1812 of the Auxiliary Bible Society in Colombo under the patronage of Governor Brownrigg pleased Palm who commented that it would not be long before the Scriptures could be distributed in Sinhalese and Tamil. ^{11.}

Palm and two other L.M.S. missionaries received State stipends thereby relieving Mission funds in London of a considerable burden. Sir Alexander Johnstone wrote to the L.M.S. authorities on 4th November, 1812 stating that since September of that year Mr. Palm had been appointed "clergyman to the Dutch congregation at Colombo." ^{11.} It was also hoped that Erhardt would be similarly fixed up at Jaffna whilst head received a small salary from the government for oversight of a school at Amlangoddy. Two things are worthy of attention in this L.M.S. Report for 1813, namely, the colonial authorities in Ceylon were willing to provide the stipend of Christian pastors engaged in pastoral duties, and such provision was also extended to missionaries engaged in scholastic work in institutions of education.

In the folio containing L.M.S. Reports for 1813-1817 it is stated that the printing presses were a great Asset to Christian propaganda, and that one such press that was used by the Missions was the central Government Press. ^{12.} By 1817 there were two presses belonging to the Bible Society, one to the Government, and two to the Methodist mission. From these presses books in four languages were circulated among the people; English, Portuguese, Sinhalese and Tamil. ^{12.} To this extent State support was of advantage to the Missions.

The links between State and Church in Ceylon began in British times under Governor North's administration and grew stronger under Governor Maitland. The latter took the view that was previously held by North, that for purposes of security it was better if the churches were connected to the political Establishment. ^{13.} He was also convinced that under the terms of the Dutch surrender to the British the latter had no other alternative, but "were bound

to protect in the strongest manner" the already established Dutch Reformed Church. ^{14.} Thus, the two Churches that appeared to enjoy privileged status in British Ceylon were the Dutch and Anglican Churches. Under Brownrigg State-Church links were strengthened and missionary consolidation went ahead smoothly. By 1817 Brownrigg (as already mentioned in Chapter 1) was informed by the Colonial Office that the Rev. Thomas James Twisleton had by royal warrant been appointed as the first ever Anglican Archdeacon of Colombo. ^{15.} Two years later Brownrigg was recommending his brother-in-law, the Rev. G. Bisset for the post of Archdeacon on Twisleton's retirement. ^{16.} Established status for the Anglican and Dutch, and also the Scots Presbyterian Church gave these denominations status denied to other religious groups.

Brownrigg, however, gave his support to many Christian denominations at a time when various Christian Missions were settling down. Missionaries from the American Board of Foreign Missions came in 1816, began work in Colombo and later went north to Jaffna "with the approbation of Governor Brownrigg." ^{17.} Anglican missionaries sent Brownrigg a farewell message before he left the island. They mentioned with gratitude how Brownrigg had made 'peaceable' and 'strenuous' efforts to spread Christianity by his active support of missionary ventures. ^{18.} A cordial reply was received which showed how much he wished all Missions well but especially the Anglicans:-

"It has been the principle of my government to extend an equal protection to Missionaries of every religious denomination, who came to this island with the pious intention of propagating among the heathen our holy religion yet, it was natural that I should feel some partial inclination towards a mission of clergymen belonging to the Established Church, which I have always regarded with respect and affection." ^{18.}

Wesleyan missionaries in Ceylon also forwarded to Brownrigg a farewell message thanking him for all he had done to help them in their work as pastors and school teachers. They praised him for supporting "the moral and religious improvement of the inhabitants," special mention being made of "the liberal sanction and extensive countenance which the cause of Christian Missions have invariably met with" from Brownrigg. ^{19.} His reply, dated 30.1.1820,

contained two very important points. Firstly, the main consideration of his period of office in Ceylon was the spiritual welfare of the Ceylonese people; "From the moment of my entering upon the government of this island, I considered the religious improvement of the people to be of paramount importance." 19. Secondly, the business of spreading Christianity was linked with the normal functions of his secular office. "But, it is unnecessary to dwell upon my sincere zeal for a wide extension of the Christian faith, as if it were independent of other motives; because it is, in fact, inseparably connected with the duties of my political office." 19. No British colonial official in Ceylon linked State and Church so closely as did Governor Brownrigg. He was the best ally the Missions had, and much was owed to him for the gains of the Christian denominations in the first decade of British rule.

The consequences of State support for Christianity were in the long run embarrassing to the churches and harmful to Buddhism, with the former assuming false degrees of respectability as the religion of the colonial ruler and the latter becoming increasingly neglected. For example, in early British times the Rev. J. Cordiner reported that the Buddhists of Caltura had laid the foundations for a Buddhist temple in front of the local Christian school. It was so near that according to Cordiner "a whisper may be heard from the one place of worship to the other. It is said to be placed on Government ground, and to be done without permission of any kind, and the Christians are very much hurt by it." 20. Perhaps it was a legitimate complaint if Cordiner and his Christians could have proved that the Caltura Buddhists did not first obtain government permission for such a building. Under North's Proclamation of 1799 such permission was necessary in all circumstances as the wording makes clear:- "but we command and ordain that no new place of Religious Worship be established without our licence or Authority." 21.

During the second era of British rule (1825-1850) the Christian Missions enjoyed State patronage more than ever before. By 1833 the Ceylon Government was spending a considerable amount of public money on the Christian Establishment in the island and Colvin R. de Silva tabulated this expense under two main sections, one costing over £500 and the other less than £500 a year.

Schedule No. 6."Ecclesiastical Officers of the Yearly Value of £500 and Above.

<u>Establishment of 1833</u>	<u>Salary Per Annum</u>	<u>New Schedule</u>	<u>Salary Per Annum</u>
Archdeacon and King's Visitor	£2,000	"	£1,500
Senior Colonial Chaplain	900	"	900
Colonial Chaplain at Galle	700	"	700
Colonial Chaplain at Trincomalee	700	"	700
Colonial Chaplain at Kandy	<u>700</u>	"	<u>700</u>
Total	<u>£5,000</u>	Total	<u>£4,500</u>

Schedule No. 7.Ecclesiastical - Under £500 Per Annum

<u>Establishment of 1833</u>	<u>Salary Per Annum</u>	<u>New Schedule</u>	<u>Salary Per Annum</u>
Colonial Chaplain at Colombo	£ 400	"	£ 400
Sinhalese Chaplain at Colombo	400	"	400
Malabar (Tamil) Chaplain at Jaffna	200	"	200
Clergyman of the Dutch Church	<u>350</u>	"	<u>350</u>
Total	<u>£1,350</u>	Total	<u>£1,350</u> " <u>22.</u>

In 1834 the Senior Colonial Chaplain received a State stipend of £800 per year while the four Colonial Chaplains under him received £400 yearly. Their number was now fixed at four in all, while the salary of the Rev. J.D.Palm of the Dutch Reformed Church was paid at £350 a year. The proponent of the Dutch congregation at Galle was also paid from public funds. 22. In 1837 the Ecclesiastical Department in Ceylon consisted of the following:-

"An Archdeacon (Anglican)

5 European Chaplains

1 Portuguese Chaplain.

2 Sinhalese Chaplains.

2 Malabar Chaplains.

5 Proponents or Preachers of the Gospel to Natives, Registrars, Clerks etc.

1 Clergyman of the Dutch Reformed Church is also supported by the

Government Ecclesiastical expenditure (in 1837) : ordinary

£7,924.1.2 $\frac{3}{4}$: extraordinary £2,240.12.9 $\frac{1}{4}$.

36 Government Schools, expenditure £1,541.

Scholars, 2061 (221 girls).

Head Master, Colombo Academy £200 p.a.

Asst: Head Master, Colombo Academy £100 p.a.

Expenses, grants to missions etc., £1,100 p.a.

Total expenses on Government for

educational purposes £3,000. " 23.

The Methodist missionary and Buddhist scholar, Spence Hardy, gave these facts and figures in 1839 and taken together with Colvin R. de Silva's statistics for 1833 they prove the extent to which Christian enterprise was subsidised by the State. Some figures for 1837 also appear in a communication from Glenelg at the Colonial Office to Governor Mackenzie dated 2.10.1837, once more proving that a considerable financial burden was being borne on behalf of the churches by the colonial government. 24a. In historic documents Glenelg instructed Governor Mackenzie, in 1837 and 1838 that he should explore every possibility and give active encouragement towards the building of "a Church Missionary Station at Badalla or Bintenneinhabited by the wild Tribe of Weddas." 24a The expenses involved in such a venture was not to be a burden on the church but was to be defrayed from the colony's revenue. Mackenzie was further instructed to ensure that financial provision be made for the expenses "incurred by the Bishop in his visitation of Ceylon at the usual intervals, not being less than three years." 24a. Financial help was also given in 1841 to the Scots' Kirk, Colombo, when a new church was built on land donated by the government. Friends of the Kirk contributed towards the new building while the colonial officials sanctioned "a substantial Government grant." 24b. In 1847 Bishop Chapman wrote that the government had promised to finance "from the treasury an equivalent to any sums (within certain limits) raised by subscriptions from private sources, for the building of churches and parsonages, and the maintenance of clergymen." Similar State help was given in 1854 when Scots Kirk

at Kandy was built, and the grant so given by the State was described as "handsome". 24b.

It must be admitted that pro-Christian as Mackenzie was he did not grant a request made by a native Anglican priest, the Rev. S. W. Dias, who petitioned the governor through the Archdeacon on 10.2.1838 to stop the public performance of "Buddhistical ceremonies" by some Christians at the village of Morotto. Dias had in mind devil-dancing; the gift of food to bhikkhus; the offering of flowers at temples and participation in Buddhist processions from preaching sheds to devales or "demon temples." 25. Mackenzie did not wish to interfere or give the impression that government was available to back-up Christian practice. The Chief Secretary, Mr. P. Anstruther, replied to Dias on 13.3.1838 that "His Excellency is decidedly of opinion that any interference on the part of Government would be unavailing and might do much mischief." 25.

The high-water mark of Colonial Office patronage of Christian work in Ceylon was reached with Glenelg's despatch to Governor Mackenzie on 2.10.1837; for the first time a British Governor in Ceylon was officially requested as part of his duties to promote the Christian cause. This was to become an essential part of State policy with no limitations being made with respect to denominations. Mackenzie was instructed to encourage missionary work of the various churches as a priority, the following matters to be treated as important:-

(a) It was a matter of regret that Christianity was not more generally widespread in Ceylon "since the Island first became a possession of the British Crown."

(b) Membership figures indicated the following situation; public worship was attended by 74,787 Christians out of which 72,870 were Roman Catholics. The remaining 1,917 were Protestants among whom were 1,600 members of "the Established Church of England."

(c) Glenelg said that it was "impossible to contemplate without any lively regret the dis-proportion between the means employed for the Religious instruction of the People, and the results hitherto produced." 26.

The partnership between the Colonial Office in London and its subordinate officials in Ceylon worked well for Christianity in general and the Anglican

Church in particular. But, there were some occasions when the financial burden of State patronage appeared too heavy for the colonial administration. Thus, Russell wrote to Mackenzie on 19.3.1840 and complained that "the salaries of the Clergy of the Established Church in Ceylon appear to be unnecessarily high." 27. We note here that in two successive documents from London the Anglican Church in Ceylon was actually referred to as the "Established Church".

The next despatch was dated 13.2.1841 from Lord Russell to Campbell who by then had succeeded Mackenzie as governor. The instructions were similar to the ones sent by Glenelg to Mackenzie. Russell too felt a keen sense of disappointment at the slow progress of the Christian cause: "I have seen with regret the little advance which is made at so great an expense in teaching the doctrines of Christianity, and I beg to call your serious attention to this important subject." 28.

In the 1840's there was an interesting conflict between the Governor of Ceylon and the Bishop of Madras which raised the question of the Anglican Church and its "established" status. The bishop licensed colonial chaplains for duty in Ceylon, but the former felt he could order such chaplains to be transferred to any station of his choice, especially if chaplains turned out to be troublesome. This was not a position the Bishop of Madras was prepared to tolerate and so he asked the Colonial Office, London, to give a ruling as to the extent of obedience he was to show towards the civil authority. 29. He wished to know "whether the Governor is the Head of the Protestant Church of England and Ireland in Ceylon." If so the bishop wished to be instructed "as to the character and extent of the obedience due from the Bishop of the Diocese to His Excellency in that capacity." 29. Lord Russell sent a carefully worded reply saying that "the Queen is the Head of the Protestant Church in England and Ireland and in Scotland by Law, but how far the Governor of a Colony is so, it is difficult to say. I presume a Roman Catholic might be made Governor of Ceylon, though a Roman Catholic Prince of Wales could not succeed to the Crown." 29.

On another occasion the Bishop of Colombo wrote to the colonial governor

in 1846 on the subject of State pensions for retired (Anglican) clergy, and reminded him that it was "in the interests of the State itself to maintain the Church and Clergy in a thoroughly effective discharge of their ministrations." 30. The bishop asked for the governor's support "to urge on the parental consideration of the Imperial Government this needful provision for a willing and devoted class of Servants." 30. So in 1852 Archdeacon Bailey of Colombo was awarded by the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury a pension of £280 per annum as he had "discharged the duties of his office with diligence and fidelity and to the satisfaction of the Government." 31. We note, however, that there is some irony here as Bailey was ^{at} the centre of great controversy by his undignified attacks on Buddhism through the Letters of Vetius mentioned in chapter 3 of this research. By his action he virtually opposed the Bishop of Colombo and the governor of the colony. The latter, Anderson, had complained to Earl Grey about the "irregular and improper" conduct of Archdeacon Bailey, a government servant, who publicly attacked government's policy in Buddhist matters. 32. Christian Missions in Ceylon were treated with favour by the British rulers with the Anglicans, Dutch Presbyterians and the Scots Kirks receiving the status of "established churches." The Anglicans to this day continue to call themselves members of the "Church of Ceylon," a somewhat exclusive term seeing that other denominations were working in Ceylon prior to the arrival of the Anglicans. Free Churchmen resented "the unfairness of the advantage taken by the Church of England of its secular and political privileges," 33. and those comments of E.F.C. Ludowyk are supported by G. C. Mendis who maintained that the Schools Commission (there were many such Commissions since 1834) failed mainly due to its exclusive Anglican flavour. Buddhists, Hindus, Moslems, Roman Catholics and Free Churchmen were displeased at such a monopoly. Also, "the quarrels and jealousies of Christian Sects, the Anglicans and Non-Conformists, which marred educational progress in England affected Ceylon too, and there were conflicts between the Anglican clergy who ran the Government schools and those of other Christian denominations," 33. Captain J. Macdonald Henderson stated that "next in rank to the Governor came the Chief Justice and the Bishop" (of Colombo.) 34.

By 1850 the Anglicans were claiming the ownership of the old Dutch Reformed

Church at Wolvendaal on the outskirts of Colombo, and a bitter controversy raged about the actual right of possession of this historic church. The Rev. D. Tweed of the Dutch Reformed Church stated that "both claimants, the Anglicans and the (Dutch) Presbyterians, displayed great ability and ingenuity in the prosecution of the case," but the latter obtained custody of this oldest Protestant church in Ceylon, 35. built in 1749. Between the Scots Kirk and the Anglicans there was controversy too when in 1862 a Scottish Presbyterian was buried by an Anglican priest in Galle Face cemetery which caused the government to question why the denominational barrier was broken. In 1864 more complaints were made "about Anglican interference in the burial of Presbyterian soldiers in the same cemetery, and a promise was given by the Commandant that such would be prevented in future." 35.

The Rev. James Allen of the Baptist Church complained in 1855 about the conclusiveness of 'established' Christianity:- "The arrogance of one exclusive sect, the cry 'we are the church', 'we are the only authorised teachers', has caused some of our native ministers a good deal of anxiety and trouble, and has thrown a stumbling block in the way of the people." 36. As far as the Anglicans were concerned their privileged position only reflected the status they enjoyed as a denomination in England, and in the light of these times was not seen by them as being unfair. Way back in 1833 the King had instructed Governor Horton that British subjects should not be impeded or hindered in the peaceable exercise of their religious worship, "although such worship may not be counted according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England." 37a. It must not be forgotten that in Britain at that time there were two 'established' churches, namely, the Church of England (Anglican) and the Church of Scotland (Presbyterian). Thus, in 1841 the first Scots' Kirk was built in Ceylon "by equal contributions from Her Majesty's Government" and subscribers. 37b.

Established churches continued to cost the British colonial funds considerable expense. Tennent recorded that Government Expenses for 1857 under the heading "Ecclesiastical : Anglican and Presbyterian Churches" amounted to no less than £9,921.10.0." 38. A few years earlier in his evidence before the House of Commons Committee on Ceylon, Tennent gave details of State support given to various

Christian denominations. The bare facts were as follows:-

"About £10,000 a year to ecclesiastical purposes. (i.e.), £8,500 is devoted to the support of the clergy of the Church of England. £100 was given to the Roman Catholic church for support of clergy and schools. Another grant of £1,400 was given to the Presbyterians of the Dutch Reformed and Scots' Kirk churches. Lastly, the Wesleyans receive a grant of £200." 39.

Tennent had a special compliment for the Baptist churches whose membership was open only to those who had undergone baptism as believers, and were regular at the Holy Communion. They did not receive State aid by way of patronage, and Tennent believed that for this reason they did not attract as many nominal members as other denominations. "The Baptists have 11 missionaries in the island and large congregations in 132 villages, and they support 35 schools with 1,100 pupils. They receive nothing whatever from the Government." 39. The Wesleyans also received little State aid and like the Baptists they had many points to commend them. They were unable by financial inducements to win members; they had no appointments "in their gift which might operate as incentives to deceit;" they could not offer to prospective members attractions of rank or respectability "as motives to profession" whereas the 'established' denominations were frequently "associated in the minds of the natives with patronage and power." 40.

The Sinhalese gave many reasons for their various denominational loyalties. From an official Baptist source of 1862 the following information has been gathered to illustrate the superficial types of converts who were attracted to the churches that were under various degrees of patronage. 41. Perhaps the Roman Catholics alone were exempt in that they received no such support and here the Baptists stood with them independent of the State. Those who were Anglicans advanced these main reasons for their membership in the Church of England in Ceylon.

- 1) Anglican priests were ordained by the Lord Bishop.
- 2) These priests were "authorised by the English Government."
- 3) Anglicans can have their children's names on the Registers.

Anglicans who had links with the Church Missionary Society also had their reasons for being linked with the denomination and expressed themselves in such simple terms as :-

- 1) CMS schools "are in our gardens."
- 2) "Our children obtain food and clothing" from the missionaries.
- 3) "We can obtain all our wants, and therefore, it is better than coming to your churches." 41.

Wesleyan converts also explained the reasons that kept them within the fold. They found that the Wesleyan missionaries granted the wishes of the converts and made it easy for children to be baptized. But a great majority of the people called themselves "Buddhists and worshippers of gods and goddesses. It is the principal religion : we submit to the regulations of the Government." 41. The alliance of Christian Missions and State gave the non-Christian population the impression that Missions were departments of colonial rule. 42. This type of association with the government kept alive the impression that Christianity was a Government concern. It was easy to understand why the Dutch authorities had attracted so many nominal Christians since Church and State had co-operated under Dutch policy, but the British did declare publicly that all religions were to be allowed complete toleration. Yet, apart from the hangover of nominal Christians from Dutch times, there was no remarkable increase in their numbers later in British Ceylon. However, nominal Christians continued to be attracted in so far as some Missions and the State appeared to work together, the latter conferring on the former more status in native eyes.

Early L.M.S. Reports indicate how difficult the work of the Christian community was because the churches had far too many nominal Christians. The Rev. J. D. Palm commented: "We are, indeed, already surrounded with native Christians as well as baptized Heathens." 43. Reasons for such a presence of uncommitted church members were many. For example, Dutch Christianity was spread in such a way that the Sinhalese felt it was most profitable to get baptized and married as Christians. Religion was useful for purposes of employment and for climbing the social ladder. No wonder that people should, as Palm rightly says, feel it "very natural that in their hearts they should

still remain Heathens." 43.

Soon after September 1807 in an undated letter Palm wrote again about the second-rate loyalties of many so called Christians, complaining that parents were not sending children to him for instruction because of their dislike of the Christian religion. "They send their children," he wrote, "to the Heathen schools in preference." It was noted how these people were "very industrious in exercising their Heathen rites," and not surprisingly so in circumstances of new-found liberty under the British. In times past when the Dutch held sway the local people "were under the necessity of forsaking the Heathen ceremonies, and of submitting to the Christian Church." 44. These observations confirm how quickly nominal Christians were reverting back to their Buddhist way of life, and how such a tendency drastically reduced membership figures of Christian Missions with the possible exception of the Roman Catholics who generally stood firm even in the days of Dutch persecution. 45. There was little improvement when Ehrhardt of the L.M.S. wrote in 1813 that they were having to deal with a majority of converts who were baptized by the Dutch "on merely being able to recite the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and Creed." 46. Such converts continued to live "in constant practice of idolatry, having submitted to baptism only for worldly advantage." 46. In a letter written on 17.3.1815 by James Chater to the Serampore brethren is this lament:-

"I have now delivered a number of discourses in Sinhalese, but after all we have heard of the many thousands of Christians in this Island, I am not able yet, among the Sinhalese, even in the metropolis, to find fifty who have so much regard for religion as to wish to hear a sermon." 47a.

Their children presented missionaries of later years equal cause for concern as they showed no real knowledge of Christianity. Ebenezer Daniel, a Baptist missionary commented: "They never attend a place of worship except when their banns are proclaimed, or to get married or to have their infants baptized. They will go in crowds to their pansils, Bana Madoovas, vihares and devales." 47b.

Twenty nine years after British rule began Mrs. B. Heber, wife of the famous Anglican Bishop of Calcutta, made an interesting comment on the numbers of Christians

in Ceylon. She wrote:- "I have heard it said that the numbers of Christians on the coasts and amongst our settlements do not fall far short of half a million; very many of these are merely nominally such, who have no objection to attend our church and, even would, if they were allowed, partake without scruple in her rites; and then, perhaps, the same evening, offer a propitiatory sacrifice to the devil." ^{48.} Bishop Heber, answering questions put to him by the C.M.S. missionaries in Ceylon, was quite emphatic in the guidance he offered. "We are not, I conceive, allowed to baptize the infant child of heathen parents where there is reason to fear that such a child will be brought up in heathenism. We may not even baptize the infant child of heathen parents on the promise of such parents to procure for it a Christian education, unless security of some kind is actually given for its adoption, and removal from its parents' corrupt example, by its sponsor, or some other Christian." ^{48.}

Emerson Tennent wrote in 1852 a Memorandum on State links with Buddhism, and commented adversely on causes for nominal Christianity over half a century of British rule. Too many Christians, according to Tennent, were Christians solely for the social benefits enjoyed by churchmen. State support had given Christianity a false position in society as evidenced, for example, by the fact that many people "have their children baptized by Christian Ministers because the Register is valuable in deciding questions of inheritance. They call themselves 'Baptized Buddhists' and 'Government Christians.'" ^{49.} A.M.Ferguson in 1859 commenting on the religious convictions of the people wrote that most of the people "are still idolaters;" "the bulk of the Sinhalese are Buddhist or Demon Worshippers; the Tamils worship the Hindoo idols; the Moormen and Malays are Mahomedans; the few Parsees are Fire-Worshippers; the professors of Christianity of all classes are under 150,000." ^{50.} P.E.Woodhouse, who for some time was Acting Colonial Secretary, Ceylon, mentioned that some Christians attended Christian as well as Buddhist places of worship. Nominal religion prevailed to such an extent that "a man receives education in one of the towns and calls himself a Christian some years of his life." Then "he goes back to his own village and his own family, and becomes as good a Buddhist as ever." ^{51.}

An Anglican View.

The Rev. G. C. Trimmell of the C.M.S. Mission in 1838 examined the question of nominal Christians in the British period in the light of former Dutch State patronage and the continuing British support given to various Christian Missions. ^{52.} In a letter dated 1st February, 1838, Trimmell addressed himself to the Archdeacon and said that Protestant Christian natives of the Baddegama district participate in "devil ceremonies," make offerings "to the Cataragama God" and offer gifts "to the priests and images of Budhu." Trimmell was alarmed because the villagers were all "Christians by baptism," but in reality they pretended to be Christians "in order to get employment from Christian Gentlemen." The Ven. M.S. Glennie replied on 12th February, 1838, promising to urge the colonial government to change the use of thombos or registers. Glennie was going to ask for a separation of details that would leave births, deaths, marriages and baptisms as matters for church registers for Christians only.

Trimmell next sent a circular dated 19.3.1838 to his fellow C.M.S. workers in Ceylon stating that the Capuwas ("priests to the heathen Gods") and the Yakaduras ("devil priests") were church members by baptism like many Buddhist bhikkhus. Trimmell suggested some form of excommunication as a final act of church discipline as these nominal Christians "attach some importance to the name of Christian and would be very reluctant that their names should be erased from the Christian Registry." The Rev. J. Knight commented that it was impossible for the Anglican establishment to excommunicate Christians of the Dutch Reformed Church, even though they had become vaguely attached to the Anglican Church and got their names "enrolled under the sanction of the Government."

Another C.M.S. missionary, the Rev. W. Oakley, who was stationed in Kandy, agreed with Trimmell and commented that in his area nominal Christians were following similar non-Christian practices. "In July 1837 three large public Devil ceremonies were performed near the Town in which many hundreds of people joined, of whom a very considerable proportion were nominal Christians, both male and female. Several families in the town, persons who have been baptized and married have told me they are now Buddhists, and several Christian families, I know, are accustomed to make offerings at the Heathen Temples." Another of

Trinnell's colleagues, the Rev. J. Bailey, blamed the presence of so many nominal Christians to the "System under which they have been admitted into the Christian Church; and this system is subject to the control of Government, having been adopted by the Dutch and carried on after them by the English." ^{52.} A Church Missionary Society Report of 1848 mentioned that there were only 3,000 Anglican church members in Ceylon and 300 Communicants. "The nominal Christianity of the Dutch period still prevailed, keeping everything at a low spiritual level: new converts were few and far between." ^{52.} Those who argued for State support of the Christian cause consisted of missionaries on the spot, their evangelical allies in England and colonial officials. Governor Campbell, knowing that his political masters in London, like Russell, were in full sympathy, commented in a letter dated 19.4.1845 on his despatch No.131 of 8.8.1844 which contained his Ordinance No.9 of 1844. The aims of this Ordinance were twofold, namely, "to promote the building of places of Christian worship, and to provide for the maintenance of Ministers of the Christian Religion." ^{53.} Campbell writing to Grey on 4.12.1846, mentioned that churches had recently been constructed "towards which private contributions have been liberally made in conjunction with grants from the Colonial Treasury." ^{54.} In fact, the draft Ordinance No.9 of 1844 later became Ordinance No.1 of 1845 whereby all Christian Missions were offered equal State support. Emerson Tennent felt that Campbell's Ordinance was along the correct lines, and spoke of "several Christian communities throughout the island, who, both by the statutes and the constitution of the colony, are entitled to equal support and consideration at the hands of the authorities." ^{55.}

The 1845 Ordinance reflected the attitude of the colonial authorities of grace and favour towards all Christian denominations. Arthur Buller, Queen's Advocate in Ceylon at that time, spelt out his philosophy during the debate in Ceylon's Legislative Council on the draft Ordinance. His pro-church views were reported in the Ceylon Observer on 8.7.1844, and the following extract throws much light on the policy of State patronage extended to Christianity. Powerful forces were working at this time in Ceylon to break State links with Buddhism (Chapters 2-3 and 4 in this research), and Buller's views represent a high-water

mark in the pro-Christian attitude of the colonial rulers.

"It is the duty of a Christian Government by every mild and inoffensive means within its reach to promote the conversion of its heathen subjects. Accordingly, it is the duty of such a Government to give encouragement and support to all who labour towards that end, and the fitting measure of their encouragement must be the zeal and the success of the labourer. The conversion of the heathen is the great object, and it matters little whether it is effected through the agency of the Catholic, the Dissenter or the Churchman; and so long as the heathen becomes a Christian, I care not whether he is qui vult, or qui non vult episcopari." 56.

Buller's claim that all Christian denominations in Ceylon should be supported and encouraged by the State reflected the general feeling. In the past support for the Anglicans and Presbyterians had caused resentment on the part of other denominations. Furthermore, that a colonial administration could be called a "Christian Government" and, therefore, be duty bound to support the Christian cause was not only reasonable in logic but almost obligatory in those days. But, there were those who protested at any links that the State should have with any religion, and the Baptist stand of 1852 was remarkable. There was a voice crying in the wilderness, but nevertheless, it was prophetic. Baptists pointed out how State support of Christianity had contributed in some measure to the decline and neglect of Buddhism. In their Address to the colonial Governor the Baptists remarked that public revenue had been used for building Christian churches in the Kandyan districts as well as for supporting various Christian institutions. It was stated that Buddhist temples were allowed to go to ruin and that bhikkhus no longer received even the small contributions once given by the British government from the time of the Kandyan Convention of 1815. The Baptists mentioned that revenue raised from a largely Buddhist population was being diverted to support Christianity, a state of affairs that constituted a violation of the Kandyan Convention as signed by the British. 57.

The Baptists were not alone even though they were the sole Christian denomination to argue for disestablishment : support came in 1853 from H.C.Selby, Queen's Advocate at that time. He took the view that Ceylon was not a Christian

nation, and therefore, no valid reason existed for an Established Church. 58a. Selby voiced his opinion in the Ceylon Legislative Council debate on the recommendations of the Committee on the Fixed Establishments of the colony. De Silva's verdict on Selby was fair, saying that "he considered it the exclusive duty of each Christian Church to maintain its ministers, and he believed that Christianity in Ceylon would flourish only if the church were independent and self-supporting." 58a. It was Bishop R. Copleston who referred to the rather complicated relations that existed between State and Church in 1879. Copleston mentioned the State and added "of which our church is a Department." 58b.

The Baptists in 1852 and Selby, colonial legal official in 1853, were mounting attacks on State links with the churches. They were fighting the same battle but it was not till 1881 that the Dis-Establishment Act was passed whereby the Church of England, the Dutch Reformed Church and the Scots' Kirk ceased to receive State support. The actual disestablishment took effect in 1886 for the latter two churches, and so "connection with the British government in Ceylon, wrought with many unfortunate consequences, came to an end." 59. Though the final act of Disestablishment was enacted by the State in 1881 the stipend of the Anglican Bishop of Colombo continued to be paid by the State till 1902. This was a gesture towards the then holder of that episcopal office, but his successors had their stipends paid by the Anglican Church authorities.

On behalf of the disestablishment lobby Governor Gregory (1872-77) wrote to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, thus paving the way for the 1881 legislation. It was his considered view that all previous arguments used for the "disendowment of the Irish Church applies with far greater force to Ceylon; public opinion in the colonies was against State-paid religions," and such a situation in Ceylon created resentment "engendered by them and from the tendency to apathy which the certainty of salary without any necessity to work, except the spurs of conscience, often produce." 60. State support of Christian denominations in Ceylon caused much displeasure among other religious sects; established churches becoming too readily identified with the imperial power. In this context Ordinance No.15 of 1881 must remain a landmark in that it passed laws disestablishing three Protestant groups. From 1881 onwards "salaries and

allowances payable to the Bishop and other ecclesiastical persons of the Church of England, out of the Colonial Treasury, have been prospectively abolished." 61.

Earl Kimberley from the Colonial Office in London sent a despatch to Ceylon in 1881 "announcing prospective Disestablishment and Disendowment for the Episcopalian and Presbyterian Chaplains and the Bishop of Colombo, the Government to fill up no more vacancies, but to continue present salaries for five years after each vacancy occurs, and then to hand over church buildings in good repair to Trustees." 62. Ludowyk reviewed the period of Anglican establishment and comments thus:- "The quality of its priests in its early days suffered from the narrowness of political principles which decided appointments in an established church." 63. Bishop Stephen Neill recently made perhaps the clearest and fairest summary of the consequences of Western State-support for Christianity in non-Christian colonial lands. He mentioned that historical reasons had contributed towards making Christianity "a major factor in western culture." For this reason alone Stephen Neill maintains that it was only natural and inevitable that the spreading of Christianity became a part "of the expansion of the West." 64. One direct result of such close connection between the civil power and the religious authorities was "the lofty disregard of and dis-respect for any religion but Christianity, so that the world was divided into Christians and 'heathens', the ignoring of any but western culture." 65.

This type of State-Church link became identified in the minds of the non-Christians with Christian efforts at proselytism, but due to the historical forces at work the Christian missionaries were compelled to labour under the shadow of British colonialism in Ceylon. However, the cause of true religion and the welfare of the colony could have been isolated one from the other by any of the following courses. Either religions could have been placed on the Establishment or all religions could have received impartial attention as having no links with the State at all.

C.N.V. Fernando, the Christian historian says that, "the contrary policy was adopted by the government is understandable considering the circumstances of history. But it was inimical to the spread of true religion." 66.

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Chapter 6 - Caste, Rajakariya and the Education of Women : an examination of the social system and the impact on it of Colonial and Mission policies.

R. Spence-Hardy, Wesleyan missionary and a leading authority in the last century on Buddhism, wrote that the Buddha was opposed to the principle of caste by his "maintenance of an opinion contrary to that of the Brahmans rather than in direct attack upon their system."^{1.} Hardy said that the Buddha "was uniformly the opponent of caste. He proclaimed the original equality of all men. He ordained his priests equally from all classes of the people."^{1.} This universal brotherhood of Buddhism and its absence of cast distinctions in the Sangha drew the following comment from E. G. Parrinder:- "Buddhism was open to all men of all castes, and the Buddha himself, like Mahavira the Jain, was not a Brahmin priest but a member of the warrior caste."^{2.} The existence of caste in Hinduism is well known and Hindu political and religious influence over Ceylon made the Buddhists tolerate caste observances. However, there were some significant differences between Hindus and Buddhists when it came to caste. For example, caste in ancient Sinhalese society had no equivalent of the Brahmans (Hindu priests), and the highest Sinhalese caste, the Goyigama (cultivators), enjoyed no religious privileges or priestly exclusiveness. Sinhalese society had no Kshatriya (warrior) caste such as held prominent position in Hindu India. But, like the Paravars of South India who were of the fisher-caste, the Karawas of Ceylon were designated as a low-caste among the Sinhalese.^{3.}

Unlike India there is no 'untouchable caste' in Ceylon, but the Rodiya caste people have suffered some social disabilities in such matters as the use of village wells and bathing pools. The Rodiyas are a degraded Sinhalese caste like the gipsies of the Indian sub-continent, and in Kandyan society they formed the lowest group of low castes.^{4.} In 1815 the plight of the low-caste Padoowas of Ceylon^{was} described by James Chater, the Baptist missionary:- "These are people of a very low caste, regarded by the higher caste of Cingalese much in the same manner as a brahman^{regards}/a shoodra, or one who has lost caste. They are held in complete slavery, and almost dread the sight of persons of a higher caste. They

are not allowed to dress as they please. The women, for instance, must not cover their breasts, and are only allowed to wear a piece of cloth round the middle. They are employed only in the most servile occupations as palanqueen-bearers and coolies." 5. The Rodiyas, however, were classified even lower than the Padoowas. Secular taboos and not religious sanctions made Rodiyas almost untouchables. They led unclean lives as nomadic people often do; were given to petty thefts and thus became social non-conformists who segregated themselves from the rest of society.

From the Buddhist scriptures it can be seen that the "Buddha himself recognised no difference of caste and social standing among his lay followers in the Sangha." 6. Bhikkhu Rahula made two recent observations on this particular point. Firstly, in the Paharada Sutta the Buddha mentioned rivers that have different names but lose their identity on entering the ocean. Likewise, the four castes lose their identity when they enter the Sangha. Secondly, the Buddha did not make rules for lay people and to that extent did not ignore the caste-system "that was firmly established as a social institution in the world in which he lived. He had to take notice of it though he did not accept it as either necessary or justifiable." 7. In the Sutta Nipata the Buddha is recorded as having said:-

"No outcast is by birth, No brahman is by birth;

By deeds an outcast he, By deeds a brahman he." 8.

But, the Sutta Nipata can be interpreted in various ways. It can be held to support the view that early Buddhists believed that caste contributed nothing to spiritual attainment or to worldly success. For high and low-castes wrong-doing resulted in Karmic involvement. It is, therefore, possible to say that Buddhism did not contradict caste as such but only declared caste is of no use on the road to Nirvana. This by itself is a strong stand against the religious support given to caste in Hinduism. The Buddhist Sangha was not meant to be the monopoly of the high caste, and men from all castes became bhikkhus. 9. Bryce Ryan sums up this new outlook:- "By opening the way to any caste, particularly through a casteless priesthood, Buddhism lost the dynamics of Brahminism." 10.

Under constant Tamil invasions of Ceylon, especially between the 11th and

15th centuries A.D. there was an increase in Hindu influences over Sinhalese Buddhists. These influences mingled with earlier traditions and caste was one concept that became re-shaped under Hindu thought and social practice. Zimmer considers that Karma and Samsara are old Indus Valley ideas that became preserved in Jainism and Buddhism. These ideas are basic to Hinduism and explain caste in terms of human history. In so far as Sinhalese Buddhism accepted a caste system it came under ancient Hindu practice. ^{11.} Whilst the Sangha in ancient Ceylon was casteless Sinhalese laity had no such liberal policy. Slaves, for example, were to be found in Ceylon at various levels of society "in the palace, the houses of the nobility and in monasteries." ^{12.} Thus, Sinhalese Buddhist society had its caste system differing from the Hindu system and yet to some extent moulded by it. B.H.Farmer says that the higher caste, the "Goyigama are often equated with Tamil Vallala both by Sinhalese and Tamils." ^{13.} But, the Brahmins in Ceylon who were priests, royal chaplains and advisors were at no time "a cohesive caste, wielding secular organising power upon sacred grounds." ^{14.} However, in the northern and eastern areas of the island where Hindu influence was great, the Tamils based their caste system directly on South Indian patterns. ^{15.}

Between the 11th and 15th centuries A.D., Tamil settlers and their Hindu practices were on the increase in the island. Hinduism's influence increased with some Sinhalese rulers following the Laws of Manu with their caste teaching. It is said that Vijayabahu I built a lower terrace on Adam's Peak for the use of lower caste worshippers. ^{16.} Nur Yalman noted that Kandyan Buddhism and Tamil Hinduism were closely related in some vital matters even though the two religions have so much to differentiate them from each other. "Many of the Sinhalese castes.....the washermen, the Tom-Tom beaters etc.....have their Hindu counterparts, and the Religion of the 'Buddhist' Sinhalese includes elaborate rituals, ^{addressed} to 'Hindu' deities." ^{17.} One result of Hindu influence can be seen in the existence of the Berava caste in Ceylon. This is the tom-tom beating caste and it retains "something of the degraded status of the Hindu Paraiyan with whom the caste name is shared in derivation, but becomes a functionary of the Buddhist temple." ^{18.} Thus, the untouchable in Hindu India

became a temple-servant in Buddhist Ceylon. Yalman recorded how a high-caste Goyigama Sinhalese once said - "there must always be caste, for at festivals we need drummers and if there were no tom-tom beaters who would do the drumming?" 17.

In matters of race, religion and social custom it is evident that the Ceylonese "are the children of India." 18. These words of Bryce Ryan find support from Nur Yalman who said "that the island is culturally very closely related to South India. Quite apart from the presence of Tamils, the social organisation as well as the entire ideology of religion, even among the Buddhist Sinhalese, relates them to the mainland." 19. The caste-system among the Sinhalese gradually exercised an influential grip, and in three different periods of Ceylon history ranging from the 10th to the 16th century A.D. there are signs of caste-practice.

a) Early Anuradhapura Period. This period can be ended in A.D.933 with the fall of Anuradhapura, or extended till A.D. 1029, which marks the fall of Rahuna to the Cola invaders from South India. The royal family and aristocracy were of the Kashatriya caste, and next in social status came the land-owners called the Parumakas. Then followed the slaves, the hired labourers and the out-castes known as the Candalas. 20.

b) Polonnaruwa Period. During this era (A.D.1055-1236) in addition to the agricultural folk or Govi (Goyigama), there is also mention of the blacksmiths, fishermen, washermen and drummers. "Preference was given in the King's service to men of superior castes." 20.

c) Kotte Period. During this period (A.D.1412-1597), the officials of State and Chiefs were known as 'Lords' or 'Handuru'. They were land-owners of the Govi caste, and traders belonged to another social class. 20.

There are two 15th century (A.D.) documents that give valuable information about caste in Ceylon, the Janavamsa, which appears to be compiled by a bhikkhu, and the Ruvanmal Nighantuwa, a Sinhalese lexicon that classified the hierarchy into Brahmins, Kings, Merchants, Cultivators and men of the Sudra tribe. 21. In the first book the castes were listed according to their social standing, and in the second book the most important castes are mentioned by the royal

author, Parakrama Bahu, 6th. In ancient and medieval times position in Ceylonese society, educational opportunities and employment were regulated by people's caste. Thus, it "was an institution which kept together a community of people by not allowing its members to marry outside the group. It further prevented its members mingling freely with those of other castes by forbidding them to take meals in common with anyone outside their caste." 22. This comment on caste by Ariyapala in 1958 is strengthened by his three observations.

1. Caste directly influenced occupational patterns which "formed the cornerstone of the economic and social life of the country."

2. The sort of employment people followed "determined not only the income of a particular community, but also its social status."

3. Employment was seen in a hereditary light so that the "people had no choice of occupation." 22.

It was into such a background that the Portuguese and Dutch came as rulers of the maritime provinces of Ceylon in the 16th and 17th centuries. Their administrators accepted and made good use of the Sinhalese caste system for purposes of commercial gain. For example, a Dutch Governor of Ceylon, Johan Gideon Loten (A.D.1752-1757) revealed a careful traditionalism in his distribution of Dutch East India Company services among the various castes of the island. People held office according to their caste under the Dutch, and Loten listed them as follows:-

- 1) The high-caste Vollala or Goyigama held offices of local and district government.
- 2) Raddawo or washermen did laundry work and decked the roads with faircloth during ceremonial occasions.
- 3) The toddy (palm-liquor) tappers and the potters and other castes are listed as doing service befitting their social position. 23.

Conversion into Roman Catholicism in Portuguese times often meant a social up-grading to the Paravars of South India and to their counterparts, the Karawas of Ceylon, who were by tradition fishermen. Former caste identity was hidden when new converts adopted Portuguese names at their baptism. 24. In all caste systems there was a ritual value in names of caste, of people and of

places. Hence, it was often to the advantage of lower-castes to change names: it implied a change for the better in social status. 25. Caste and class conferred status and under the Dutch there came a time when such status could be obtained on payment of money. Hugh Cleghorn, who served in Ceylon as the Dutch handed over their lands to the British, wrote how titles used to "gratify the vanity of the natives." One such title was the honour given under "the appellation of Don. It entitled them only to the name and particular dress, and for this honour they paid 50 rupees." 26. Another somewhat higher status was obtained when the title of Maba Don (big chief) was conferred on payment of a double duty. Cleghorn says that a "Pariar by a gratification to the governor, could be exalted to the rank of Modyelar or chief of a district." 26.

Under the Protestant Dutch it was understandable that the pre-dominantly Roman Catholic Karawa caste should be classified as lower than the Salagama or cinnamon-peeler caste. The Dutch made vast commercial profits from the cinnamon industry, and naturally gave prominence to the Salagama people. Hence, even in early British days the Salagama caste was placed ahead of the Karawa caste, 27. but thirty two years later the latter had moved up to second place in the caste rankings. 28. Apart from being traditional fisher folk the Karawa had also become famous as carpenters under the Dutch. 29. During this time the woodworkers and carpenters were in great demand, and people from the lower-castes were seeking employment in these spheres. Skilled labour brought good financial rewards and these in turn led to higher social rating. Cinnamon-peelers in British times did not occupy so important a place in the commercial world as they did under the Dutch. Thus, by 1832 the Salagama caste was classified in tenth place in the caste-system. 30. In urban Ceylon caste began to lose its meaning as people from all classes of society were competing in the commercial world. As they got rich so they looked down on caste, and "the large and prosperous Karava caste (fishers) often claims at least equal, if not higher, rank than the Goyigama (cultivators), who are generally accepted as heading the hierarchy in the interior of the island." 30.

When Governor North came to Ceylon as its first British administrator he showed no anxiety to upset the caste-system which was an integral part of the

political and economic background of the colony. He provided various castes with their own headmen on a district basis, himself becoming chief of the Vollalas or Goyigama caste as well as of the Salagama caste. North's Chief Secretary became chief of the Karawa caste which was the caste of the fisher people. 31. A large number of Karawa people who live on the coastal belt of Ceylon have become Christians since Portuguese times. Through political domination and the pressures of modern economic and social factors these fisher caste people have shown more susceptibility to foreign influences among which Christianity has been a foremost influence. Recent research on the Karawa people was made by M. D. Raghavan who described them as "a community of considerable numerical and political importance." 32. The Karawas were once mainly seafaring people but later spent more and more time as fishermen by way of their caste-occupation. In time, especially under the British, they grew into "a trading community of great wealth and enterprise." 32. The white umbrella and flag of the Karawa caste can be seen in village funerals among the Sinhalese be they Buddhist Karawa or Christian Karawa. But, "as if to testify to the effect of Christianity on the caste-system, some versions of the caste flag contain the Christian cross." 33. Many of the Karawa converts are Roman Catholics and their Christianity can be traced back to the years following A.D.1505. It was under the Dutch that the other low-caste, the Salagama, reached the zenith of economic power in the land, but the Salagama managed to retain their Buddhist religion unlike the Karawas who had become Christians under Portuguese patronage. 34.

Caste had as already noted in Chapter 1, obtained a grip even on the Sangha in Ceylon during the 18th century, especially was this made respectable and official when Kirti Sri ^{Raja} Sinha (A.D.1747-1782) issued a formal edict establishing the Siam Nikaya (Siamese Sect) as the exclusive preserve of the highest caste, the Goyigama or cultivator caste. The formation of low-caste Sangha sects was bound to come sooner or later as protests against the Goyigama domination of the Sangha, 35. and in 1802 the Amarapura Sect was formed as a low-country reaction. From this date the Ceylon Buddhists have had "caste' bhikkhus in their ranks. Originally, the Amarapura Sect had a majority of Salagama caste men as bhikkhus, although meant to be a casteless order. 36. One concludes

that at the start of British rule within Buddhist circles it was not possible to avoid caste considerations. Even to the present day caste factors carry much weight; in many cases the chief incumbent of a temple being named by a local council of lay people who could well be the financially influential members of a particular caste in the village. Caste factors dominate the selection of bhikkhus, and those same factors, especially in rural areas, tend towards caste segregation in temple-worship. 36.

Members of the pre-dominant caste worship in their local temple where the chief bhikkhu will be a person of their own caste. For this reason alone while "there is no formal segregation, Rodiyas and Kinnarayas would be likely to enter at hours when the temple is not usually occupied by others." 36. It was J. Vijayatunga, the Sinhalese novelist, who described such a caste situation in his village in the south of Ceylon where caste and class meant much in secular and sacred society. "Our own Temple in the village is a half-hearted affair. The bhikkhu belongs to the original village stock and looks out and out plebeian. And, on the Full Moon Day almost all the villagers go to worship at their own Temple." 37. Nur Yalman mentions two temples in the Kandyan district, Maluvegoda and Wekumbura, and describes how between the people of these two places there existed a rivalry that was both traditional and had also a bearing on the religious life. At Wekumbura there lived the low-caste people: the "Wekumbura temple belongs to the Amarapura Nikaya." 38. Yalman continued to observe that "the Maluvegoda temple was given to the Siam Nikaya." 38. Caste considerations were here accommodated by the Buddhists, the prevailing mood being one of resignation in the face of something so deep-rooted in the life of the Kandyan (Buddhist) Sinhalese.

The Temple of the Tooth at Kandy employs people of many castes on a traditional basis. From the Goyigama caste come the Chief Bhikkhu and Chief Lay Officials; the 'watchers' of the temple kitchen, the sweepers and letter-carriers are from the Jaggory-(a local sweet made of coconut)-making caste, and the temple drummers are recruited from the Berava caste. They are all given temple lands in return for their services. "Thus, the store-keeper has lands assigned to him in Aladeniya. The singers each have two pala, about half an acre

of paddy land." 39. Yalman wrote how the annual processions or peraheras of the Buddhists give symbolic expression to the "entire superstructure of caste and services." 40. Different castes took part in the temple processions with each caste "performing some token service indicative of its position. Caste groups are paid for taking part in the Kandy Perahera, but the lower castes have lately been complaining about the degrading nature of the ceremonial duties that they are asked to perform by the temple authorities." 40.

Caste manifested itself in social, economic and religious life and presented problems and prejudices to the missionaries. In 1823 the Rev. W. M. Harvard of the Wesleyan Mission in Ceylon listed castes in Sinhalese society and made the following classifications:-

1. "The Vellalabs, or cultivators of the ground, are the principal caste.
2. The next caste is the Carawas, or fishers.
3. The Chandoos or toddy-drawers are principally employed in the culture of the coconut tree, but are not restricted to that employment. (The same was true of the first two castes also).
4. There are several inferior castes: as the tanners, potters, washers, barbers, lime-burners, tom-tom beaters, charcoal-makers, executioners etc.,"
5. Mention was then made by Harvard of the Chalias (Salagama) whose occupation was restricted to the cinnamon industry from the Portuguese and Dutch times. 41.

Valuable as this early British document is from a missionary source, a somewhat more detailed list appeared in 1832 written by a Sinhalese author, A. De Saram. This list had 19 main castes mentioned in descending order of social status as prevailed among the Sinhalese of those days. 42. James Selkirk of the Church Missionary Society commented that the Sinhalese religion recognised (in theory) no distinctions of caste. However, the Sinhalese "do observe caste with the nicest punctuality." 43. Selkirk divided the Sinhalese into twenty one castes, and his caste classification remains one of the most accurate made in Ceylon. This shows that some Christian leaders made a patient study of the caste problem before attempting to find Christian solutions. Such

caste classifications give the general picture but there were regional variations, especially in the Kandyan districts. Yalman mentioned castes not frequently found in the low-country. "In the highlands there is one large caste, the Goyigama, at the top of the hierarchy," wrote Yalman, "with all other castes in the position of small service castes around them." ^{44.} He listed these as follows:-

Beravaya (Tom-Tom Beaters).

Henea (Washermen).

Valan Karayo (Potters).

Vahumpura (Jaggery-makers).

In the commercial centres of the Kandyan regions Yalman mentions the presence of low-country castes ^{such} as these.....

Karawa (Fishers).

Durava (Lime-Burners).

But, in the Kandyan hamlets there are the low-castes. the Kinnarayo (Mat weavers), the Rodiya (Beggars) and the Ahikuntakiyo (Snake Charmers). The castes in the Kandyan highlands were put into three categories by Yalman following local tradition, and thus reflecting how strong a hold caste had on the people.

Group 1, - The Goyigama, highest caste, and its sub-divisions. (Good people).

Group 2, - The Washermen, Tom-Tom Beaters, Potters, and other service castes. (Work people).

Group 3, - The lowest castes such as the Rodiya. (Bad people). ^{44.}

So far it has been clear that one important factor in the breaking down of the caste-barrier was economic. Karawa and Salagama castes were able from the latter part of the 18th century and during the earlier part of the 20th century to take up "profitable lines of occupation and some of them prospered exceedingly." ⁴⁵ Another factor was the refusal of British colonial authorities to maintain caste distinctions when it came to employment in government service. Governor Barnes in his evidence to the Colebrooke Commissioners in 1830 denied that natives of particular castes were alone eligible to certain government posts. "The Government," said Barnes, "is not bound by any restriction whatever, merit is the

chief claim." 46. Barnes proceeded to place the caste-system in Ceylon in perspective by a comparison with the titled aristocracy in England. "There are no situations of Headmen in this island who are hereditary," said Barnes, "no such exclusive privilege as appertain to a British Peer who is born an hereditary Counsellor of the King and a Member of the legislature, besides various other privileges." 46. By 1843 the colonial government abolished all caste considerations previously observed in the choice of jurors for legal services. 47.

A further blow was dealt against caste observances as the influence of Christianity spread through Mission schools. In recent times R. Ruberu wrote that the liberating impact of Christian Mission schools "on the social norms and the social structure of the island has been very considerable." 48. The pattern of Christian action against the caste-system was, on the whole, consistent. The Rev. Thomas Cordiner when he visited the Mission school at Panadura in 1801 mentioned that there were four schoolmasters there and that one of them, Gabriel Fernando, was of the Karawa caste. "On that account," wrote Cordiner, "the other masters wish to exclude him." This happened within the Christian ranks but Cordiner stood his ground and refused to surrender to caste prejudices. He added that Fernando had "done his duty for fifteen years," maintaining in all respects "a good character." 49. There is no doubt at all that this sort of opposition to caste resulted in useful service to the low caste people. Governor Mackenzie in 1839 asked the Baptists for help at Matale so that a Rodiya Mission could be started. Within one year of starting the work rapid progress was made as an extract from a B.M.S. Annual Report records. "In 1840 at Matale, in spite of active opposition of some bhikkhus, Harris, the Baptist missionary at Kandy, baptized twenty-nine persons, five of whom were Rodiyas." 50. A school for these people was established at Matale in 1840 which marked the first attempt to communicate instruction "to that despised and outcaste tribe." 51. During the course of 1842 Harris left the Baptist Mission at Kandy after a series of disagreements with the other Baptist worker, Dawson. Among the accusations made against Harris one in particular stands out. "Harris was accused of counting as converts to Christianity people who knew nothing of the significance of their

conversion, and among other allegations, there was one concerning a Rodiya convert who was found to be living in incest with his daughter." 52.

Two of the low-castes received benefit from Baptist work when the Gahalayas, "one of the lowest in the Kandyan heirarchy of castes," had a Mission school opened for their use, and the Rodiyas were served by the school at Matale. 53. Such bold Christian ventures invoked the contempt and hostility of the rest of the community, especially the high-caste people. "The very fact that a Rodiya or a Gahalaya was accepted as a Christian," wrote K.M. de Silva, "would have sufficed to damn Christianity in their eyes." 53. The missionaries on their part refused to accept caste distinctions or to make any compromise on this vital issue. This does not mean that Christians completely shed their caste prejudices at conversion : people belonging to a society that practised an ancient caste system could not overnight become members of a casteless community. In fact, Thomas Skinner, a colonial civil servant wrote after fifty years' experience that "in Ceylon a high caste family means one of ancient and aristocratic descent, and it is well applied to Christians as to heathens." 54. British colonial servant and Christian missionary both alike displayed anti-caste attitudes, and this must have resulted in some social tension in the face of government policies that ignored caste. Archdeacen Glennie of Colombo mentioned in 1830 that the seminary at Colombo was open to all classes of inhabitants. Caste-tensions were present among the students but it was not the policy of the Christian educationalists to surrender to caste prejudice in any form. In the seminary were "57 Wellalalas who occupy the first room and object to any other caste sitting with them; 3 Chalias, 2 Fishers, 1 Chando, 16 Malabars and 60 Burghers.....these occasionally mix together and occupy the two other rooms." 54

In the Annual Report of the B.M.S. for 1850 details were given about social-service work done by the missionaries among the Gahalayas, a people of degraded status in Kandyan society. The evil effects of alcohol, gambling and the habit of highway robbery were condemned by the teachers in the Mission school. But, due to the violent opposition of some sections of society this school had to be closed down after it was damaged by fire and the local school teacher assaulted. The Gahalayas, however, pleaded with the Kandy Baptists to re-open the work, and

this was done with the help of the Government Agent who dismissed the headman and replaced him with one who was favourably inclined towards Christian work. 55. In the Annual Report of the B.M.S. for 1853 mention was made of the Sinhalese Assistant Minister of the Baptist Church at Weligama who was relieved of his pastoral duties. Pastor A.D. Alwis had twenty-eight members under his care at Weligama and was dismissed "for conduct towards his daughter and the pastor of Kottigahawatte, which rendered him totally unfit to be employed any longer as a preacher of the Gospel." The intensity of anti-caste feeling among the missionaries can be understood when the reasons for Pastor Alwis' dismissal were made known. "His daughter (a baptised church member) married a man of lower caste, but a member of the church. And the father's treatment on this account, and his abuse of the parties, led to his dismissal." 55.

The Christian Missions in Ceylon can take credit for the early victories against caste and class barriers that divided the island's population. Baptists pioneered in the field of social progress as can be seen at Kottigahawatte, near Colombo, where a predominantly Sinhalese congregation had as its pastor for 31 years the Rev. Isaac Whyto Nadan, a Tamil by race. When he died in 1870 his death was lamented by his much loved congregation. 56. At the Baptist church at Beligodapitiya, near Rambukkana, on the rail route from Colombo to Kandy, the villagers belonged to one of the Sinhalese low-castes. Their social position among the higher caste Buddhists was not respected, but the Baptists had succeeded in creating a Christian community at Beligodapitiya, and as time went by, ministers and church members interchanged with other Baptist churches in Ceylon. 57.

It must be remembered that Ceylonese society had divided itself into racial, religious and language groups, and even the Burghers maintained subtle distinctions "those of Dutch origin reckoning themselves superior to the rest." 58. In this context Mission schools inspired a community spirit and unity that helped the growth of a national ideal. At the Matale Day School run by the Baptists pupils were Burghers, Sinhalese and Tamils, belonging to Christian, Buddhist and Hindu homes, 59. but the non-Christian population must have found it almost impossible to "approve of the mixture of castes that must necessarily occur in a Christian

boarding school." 60. Looking at the success of the Baptists till 1922

the Rev. J. A. Ewing remarked that "among those who have been baptised we find diversity of race, and class and religion." 61.

When the Rev. A. G. Fraser was Principal of Trinity College, Kandy, in 1910 five Kandyan Sinhalese chiefs protested to him about admitting low-caste boys into the school boarding. They threatened to persuade other chiefs to join them in withdrawing their children from Trinity if low-caste boys were accommodated. Fraser shrewdly suggested that the chiefs put their protest into writing and that they should, therefore, sign a document. He then informed the protesting chiefs that he would proceed to admit low-caste boys who had a reputation for hard work. "They will make the school go far ahead," said Fraser, who won this particular battle thereby making the school's boarding a place where all castes mixed freely on the basis of equality and freedom. This type of Christian action helped to weaken caste concepts in Ceylon, 62. the process being pioneered by Christian missionaries through schools and social service projects. It was Emerson Tennent who, mid-way through the British period, once remarked that caste-practice interfered with the discipline of school life; marred the harmonising efforts of Christianity and discountenanced all forms of social improvement and progress. 63.

In the prolonged battle against the caste-system there were times when the church appeared to be the agent of compromise, but such action may well have been influenced by motives of urgency or expediency. Harvard and the early Methodist missionaries were challenged by caste prejudice at Colpetty, Colombo. At their school they had 100 boys and 50 girls representing a fair cross-section of Ceylonese society. A Vellalah (Tamil) father who wanted to admit his daughter to this school stipulated that "she should not be classed with children of an inferior caste." 64. In Harvard's own words principle was sacrificed to long-term hopes and expectations. "I hesitated to receive her upon such a condition; but finding the applicant was about to withdraw his child, and having reason to suppose that his example would be generally followed, I concluded upon yielding to their prejudice, leaving the gradual influence of Christianity, the benevolent truths of which we should have frequent opportunities of inculcating, to undermine an evil which we should have failed to expirate at once. I therefore immediately

announced that the children of different castes would be seated apart from each other, a regulation which gave universal satisfaction to the natives." 64.

James Chater, a pioneer Baptist missionary, was faced with the challenge of the caste-system, and voted for expediency instead of strong action along Christian principles. At the Mattakooly School run by the Baptists in 1824 Chater noticed that many children had left the school and no new pupils were forthcoming. Rather than see the school run down to nothing Chater decided to dismiss the Sinhalese teacher "not on account of any fault or deficiency, but on account of his caste. He is of the washermen caste, which is a very low one, and none of the highest castes will send their children to him for instruction." 65. Chater felt that in those early pioneer days a frontal attack on caste would have alienated many of his prospective converts, thereby ruining not only the school but the work of evangelism as well. James Selkirk writing in 1844 mentions that at the Church Missionary Society school at Borella, Colombo, a number of girls left suddenly. Upon investigating the reasons Selkirk was told that these girls had left "because on Christmas day when they were at Cotta enjoying their feast, a girl of low-caste was placed among high-caste girls, and sat upon the same bench, and drank coffee out of the same cup." Selkirk found the situation 'grievous' but followed the course of compromise. 66.

In 1862 the Baptists were guilty of maintaining churches that were racially segregated, but whether this was deliberate racial policy or the result of short-sighted and defective planning it is hard to say. Baptists had two churches in Colombo: "one in the part of the city called the Pettah, composed chiefly of Burghers and persons of European extraction; the other in the suburb called the Grand Pass, and consisting of native Sinhalese Christians." 67. The Scots' Kirk at Colombo and Kandy were exclusive racial churches serving Scottish and Burgher Christians. In fact, in 1922 the Very Rev. J. N. Ogilvie, ex-moderator of the Church of Scotland, visited Ceylon and spent five days at the Scots' Kirk, Colombo, and he went on to describe that church as "the most successful bit of our church work for 'our ain folk' which the East can show." 68. What Ogilvie described was a socially 'closed' church which would not witness to the truly Ceylonese nature of the local church. The Kirk was built in 1841 to cater for

"the increasing number of Scots in Ceylon" and later on welcomed Burghers as well.

In the heart of Buddhist Ceylon there was a Scots' Kirk at Kandy which was like its counterpart in Colombo, exclusively 'white' in its membership. It was described as "largely composed of the Burgher population. Those representatives of the older Dutch community are not less loyal to the Presbyterian Kirk than the Scots themselves." 68. Once again there appeared to be no desire to maintain a church that was above race and class. Such a church could easily have developed in Kandy as in Colombo if Sinhalese and Tamil Christians were incorporated into church membership. With English as the medium of instruction in many schools and as the language of commerce it could be said that native converts were not out of place in English speaking congregations. Also in Kandy is Hillwood School begun in 1890 by the Church of England's Zenana Mission "with a view to the Christian education of Kandyan girls of rank." 69. Another Girls' Boarding School which met with same success in Kandy by 1903 was the Clarence Memorial School for the daughters of Kandyan Chiefs, "full to overflowing with over 50 girls." 70.

This sounds like social snobbery but the real motives may have been to obtain a foothold in Kandyan Buddhist territory for future service among all classes of women. Perhaps it was felt that later on Christian missionary work in Kandyan society could expand through high-caste converts reaching out towards the lower castes. If this was the aim, and Selkirk had earlier hinted at the ultimate Christian victory, then the long-term methods used need not be too critically questioned because the final objective was honourable. However, Hillwood School catered for girls from the Kandyan aristocracy and became an exclusive place for blue-blooded Goyigama females. Mowbray School at Kandy (also an Anglican foundation) catered for the education of Tamil girls, thus carrying into the present day a segregated form of schooling with race and language forming clear boundaries. 71.

In the majority of cases, however, and in the long run the missionaries did not compromise with the caste-system. They fought against caste through their schools and churches and hostels. R. Ruberu paid tribute to the

missionaries and Christian schools for bringing about "permanent changes in the caste-system." 72. The contribution of the Christian churches should not be under-estimated as within their fellowship race and caste barriers ceased to matter, and the Christian community increasingly reflected a truly Ceylonese society that went above traditional caste concepts of Sinhalese and Tamils alike. Christians from different races and castes participated frequently in the sacrament of the Holy Communion, and such an experience often repeated served "to emphasise the ideal of equality within the Christian community." 73.

To appreciate fully the partial de-valuation of the caste-system by Christian influences in British Ceylon one must remember how deeply entrenched caste was in social life. Marriage was determined by caste; eating of meals was done with people of the same caste, and caste was fixed by birth. Each caste was further defined by its particular trade or occupation. 74. Towards the end of the 17th century a western traveller, Martin Wintergerst, described caste-conscious Kandyan society thus:-

"But they are proud of their station, and greatly mock the whites, as they call us, because even if we are of noble blood we do not stand upon our dignity, but everyone does every sort of work; this they never do, since they have special folk to do the work for them, and a man would wear his cotton cloth until it fell to pieces rather than wash it himself; and they have similar ideas as regards cooking and other work. If one of them is a soldier, he ranks as a noble, and his children and children's children must marry into no lesser caste." 75.

The Soulbury Commission in 1945 summed up the caste situation in Ceylon and noted that it still existed in Ceylonese society. But, it was stated that caste was "far less extensive and rigid than in India. There are a number of castes among the Sinhalese, but the distinctions between them are gradually becoming blurred" 76. Christian action came first and then followed Government legislation against caste discrimination. The growth of Christian opposition to caste was sure and steady, and as early as in 1844 at the Wesleyan Mission at Moratuwa there was a large number of Karawa (fisher-caste) converts. This was resented by the Goyigama (farmer-caste) people "who threatened the Christian members of their caste-group with ostracism if they associated with the Karawa

converts. The Christian converts threatened in the event of ostracism to form themselves into a new caste, the Christian caste embracing all who love Christ." 77. The climax of the anti-caste crusade was reached in 1957 when Act No. 21, the Prevention of Social Disabilities legislation was passed in the Ceylon Parliament. This Act imposed penalties "on such forms of caste discrimination as not allowing Rodiya women to cover the upper parts of their bodies. Taboos against the lower-castes are still rigid in Jaffna and some parts of the south." 78. With a measure of pride the Christian Missions claimed in this matter that "of all civilisers the Gospel is the best." 79.

One of the most remarkable aspects of Christian social-service work can be seen in the Veddah Missions undertaken by the Methodists and Baptists. The Veddahs of Ceylon are a nomadic people and belong to the same "racial stock as the pre-Dravidian jungle tribes of South India such as the Irulas and Kurumbars". 80. G. C. Mendis states that the Veddahs "made no contribution to the civilisation of Ceylon, and their only service lay in the help they rendered in forming the Sinhalese race." It is held by Dr. Seligmann, an authority on the Veddahs, that the Bandara cult of the Kandyans, "which consists of making offerings to deceased chiefs and prominent ancestors, is a remnant of the Veddah practice of propitiating the dead." 80. It was amongst these Veddahs that Christian missionaries began work in the mid-nineteenth century. Glenelg at the Colonial Office suggested to Governor Mackenzie that something must be done to bring civilisation to the primitive Veddah race. If a Mission Station could be established in the Veddah territories Glenelg gave permission that "the expenses of the Mission Station should be defrayed from the colonial revenue." 81. With such encouragement from the British administration the Wesleyan Mission commenced a Veddah Mission in 1842 in the Bintenne region. Four important factors are worth bearing in mind about this Christian venture.

1. This was the first Christian attempt to do any religious and social service work among the Veddahs.
2. The Veddah Mission was run by the State and Church working as co-partners.
3. A grant of £200 per year was given for the work of the Veddah Mission

by the Ceylon Legislative Council.

4. Governor Mackenzie himself gave a personal donation of £25 per year in order to establish two schools among the Veddahs. 82.

The policy of State and Church was to obtain conversions as well as to civilize the Veddahs, and on this policy there was no disagreement. Three lines of action followed: priority being given for house construction, for building schools and for the introduction of scientific methods of agriculture. In this social service programme there was a genuine desire on the part of the church to improve the lot of the Veddah people, but it would have been strange if the agents of the church did not attempt any sort of missionary work aimed at the conversion of the Veddah community to the Christian faith. K. M. de Silva's verdict was that "the work of conversion (among the Veddahs) was necessarily superficial, a thin veneer over a solid core of paganism. Men were 'converted' to Christianity who hardly had the most elementary notion of what it meant." 82.

Governor Mackenzie was a large-hearted person who did much to pioneer work among the Veddahs and the Rodiyas, the latter being a much degraded Sinhalese caste very much like the Indian gipsies. 83. Apart from the Wesleyan Mission, which did much of the pioneer work with the Veddahs, the Baptists also displayed interest. In 1839 Ebenezer Daniel was requested by Mackenzie to send an advance party to investigate Veddah conditions, but the two members of the Sinhalese Baptist Church who undertook this mission came back after two months with a negative report. The scattered settlements and the nomadic habits of the Veddahs made it difficult to establish schools or churches in their society. It was left to the Wesleyans to tackle this particularly difficult problem in 1842, but their progress was slow with only one Veddah convert in 1881 and seventy six by 1901. 83. Not only the Veddahs of the interior jungles but the Rock Veddahs who lived along the eastern coasts came within Mackenzie's programme. In 1838 he sent the Assistant Government Agent and some Wesleyan workers from Batticoloa to contact the Rock Veddahs. Mackenzie sanctioned the following offers to be made to these poor people: offers of land and housing; seeds and various tools, and the protection and patronage of the colonial government. The missionaries were available to see that the programme was put into operation,

but theirs was nevertheless, a religious presence. 84.

There was one condition attached to these offers made to the Rock Veddahs, namely, that they should "consent to abandon their forest life and become settlers and cultivators in the low-country." 84. No mention was made about attending church worship or receiving Christian instruction in return for generous aid. Perhaps it was taken for granted that once schools and churches were built these Veddahs would become Christians. By 1847 evangelistic work had met with some success among the Rock Veddahs of the eastern coast, and Tennent wrote "that the whole community have professed themselves Christians, and abandoned their addiction to devil-dances." 84. Tennent made a three point summary of the situation:-

- 1) "Education has made progress."
- 2) "Wesleyan missionaries have been active in community service....."
- 3) "and the great majority (of Veddahs) have embraced Christianity." 84.

R. Spence-Hardy was in Ceylon when the Veddah work began, and he gave credit to Governor Mackenzie for his interest in Veddah welfare. Mention was also made of the Rev. R. Scott, the Wesleyan missionary and Mr. Atherton, the Assistant Government Agent, who combined to direct the good work. These workers displayed "great goodwill and distributed the bounty of the government, which for several years, gave a sum from the colonial treasury to assist them (the Veddahs) in becoming cultivators of the soil, and numbers of them were located, instructed and baptized." 85. It is to be noted that Spence-Hardy wrote in 1864, a good while after the Veddah Mission began.

At the end of the 19th century E. O. Walker looked back on the missionary work among the Veddahs, and came to the conclusion that it was not a long-term success. The following facts are worth noting.

- 1) By 1844 in Bintenne 163 men, 48 women and 85 children were baptized in the Veddah community. But, many "had since relapsed into their former habits." (Walker's set of figures is higher than recorded in the previous figures quoted in this chapter, but will not necessarily be more accurate).
- 2) The Rev. Scott of the Wesleyan Mission was a pioneer worker in the Veddah Mission and was helped by Mr. Atherton, the civil servant.

3) At Batticaloa the Veddahs were helped by the Government to settle down and cultivate the land. "A free school was to be built for every thirty children willing to learn." This venture was a failure in the long run.

4) In 1898 a Wesleyan Mission Station was functioning among Veddahs some fifteen miles north of Batticaloa. This centre owned twelve acres of land planted with coconuts, manioc and Indian corn, and in this way a number of Veddahs were found employment. A school had also been built for forty children who were supervised by a resident instructor." 86.

The abolition of Rajakariya or service-tenures was another sphere in which the Christian impact was felt. The custom of Rajakariya was established among the Sinhalese from the times of the ancient Sinhalese Kings. It meant that one caste of people were confined to a particular trade, and that they had to give the king or landlord a certain free period of service in return for tenure of land or monopoly of trade. Thus, the Salagama caste had to work as cinnamon-peelers, coolies, guards and messengers under the direction of the Cinnamon Department and those who refused to fulfil caste occupations were punished. This practice prevailed in Ceylon when the British arrived in 1796. 87. The traveller, Wintergerst, visited a cinnamon plantation during his travels and made careful observations of what he saw. "Then the peelers, or the Zaliers as they are called, are ordered to appear with their headmen in the Fort; these are a special race, and no one else is allowed to peel." 88. Rajakariya (King's work) originally meant "service rendered to the King," and such service came under two classifications: rajakariya rendered on a compulsory basis and for payment, and rajakariya which was compulsory but not financially rewarded. Hence, the Salagama caste was duty bound to serve in the Cinnamon Department according to the first type of rajakariya, but compulsory and unpaid rajakariya was demanded from all citizens for "the repair and upkeep of the roads and bridges in their particular districts." 89.

In British times, many Salagama people found employment as traders, weavers, fishermen and land-owners. Liability to Rajakariya caused much loss and hardship, and for those who broke the rules of service-tenures "the punishment was in all cases corporal, or as was usual, the exaction of a greater quantity of work." 89.

Thus, the disadvantages of caste-inspired rajakariya were numerous: rajakariya legalised and consolidated various social distinctions created by the caste-system. The early British colonial administrators recognised that liability to rajakariya was conditioned by caste, and "judicial recognition of and decision on the point had to be accorded: consequently, the Provincial Courts were empowered in 1802 to try questions of caste, a power which was expanded and re-acted in 1824. Government found it necessary to enforce caste distinctions for its own purposes." 89. As the Cinnamon Department offered many privileges and had government support, castes other than the Salagama were offering their services since early British days. However, with the "increase in labour and hardship in the Department" in 1814 there was an exodus from the Cinnamon industry. Some Hinnavas of Potupitiya "who refused to work in the plantations on the ground that they belonged, not to the Mahabadda (Great Industry, i.e., Cinnamon) but to the Basnayaka" were flogged on the orders of Mr. J. W. Maitland, Superintendent of the Cinnamon Department. 89.

A historic Order-in-Council was made by the British King on 12.4.1832 when Horton was governor: it declared that "none of His Majesty's native or Indian subjects in the island of Ceylon shall be liable to render any services in respect of the tenure of land or in respect of his caste or otherwise, to which His Majesty's other subjects of European birth and descent are not liable, any law or custom or regulation to the contrary notwithstanding." 90. The economic factor that contributed towards the abolition of rajakariya was stressed by Colebrooke. It bound the people to the land; made it almost impossible for people to change their employment, and therefore, hindered them from accepting "new crafts or new types of work such as business or trade as their sole means of livelihood." 91. S. G. Perera wrote that "the abolition of this system was effected in spite of the opposition of the Buddhist temples, which had derived immense benefit from free labour." 92. As a sop to Buddhist opinion the 1832 legislation abolishing compulsory services was not to effect temple-lands. 93a.

The movement to abolish the practice of rajakariya was opposed by the chiefs and the bhikkhus, especially those in the Kandyan regions. Their influence hinged to a great deal on the continuance of tenurial services, and,

therefore, on the caste system. Chiefs and bhikkhus feared that if rajakariya was to be abolished it would lead to the ruin of vihares and devales that depended so heavily on service tenures given by their tenants. In such circumstances and as a concession to the chiefs and bhikkhus "the service-tenures in the nindagam, devalagam, and viharagam were permitted to remain, and they continued to exist till 1870 when services were allowed to be commuted for payment." 93b.

Buddhists claimed that the abolition of service-tenures in 1870 was due to Christian pressures and protests. It may be more accurate to say that persistent Christian action on behalf of all classes and castes hastened the day when caste-based customs were rejected by the population. The Buddhist Commission of Enquiry in 1956 commented that missionaries found "the system of land-holdings whereby tenants were obliged to pay services to temples and devales in return for their land, preventing the spread of Christianity." 94. The Buddhist Commissioners found evidence from Paper 5, Sessional Papers, 1869-1870 Papers on Service Tenures, and the following extract appears to put across the Christian point of view.

"Christianity is incompatible with the maintenance of this institution, serfdom operating as a direct prohibition of conversion, adding to deprivation of civil rights, the forfeiture of religious liberty. If a temple serf should become a Christian, he could not, of course, perform any of the services in a heathen temple; consequently under the laws as at present administered he would lose his land." 94.

The last stages of rajakariya were reached in 1870 when compulsory services were replaced by direct payments in temple-lands, and all traces of rajakariya vanished from Ceylon in British times. 95. Like its impact on the caste-system Christianity in Ceylon was indirectly concerned with the gradual abolition of Rajakariya. These two aspects of Sinhalese society were linked closely, but by their teaching and practice church and missionary were instrumental in striking at the roots of caste and class. Many Christians came from backward classes and from lower-castes, and soon grasped their prospects and tried to improve their living conditions by seeking better-paid jobs. This invariably meant

moving away from their caste-defined communities. Such a step created mobility of labour and in this way the Christian churches helped to create a new community that became increasingly casteless. Thus, a recent Christian writer commented that the "abolition of Rajakariya is a land-mark in the history of Ceylon which was greatly influenced by missionary effort and missionary ideal. At least in the sight of the law, all people irrespective of caste and creed were on an equal footing, and the low-caste people were unwilling to be satisfied with the limited opportunities they had in the villages." 96.

The Colebrooke-Cameron Commissioners "found an iniquitous feudal system of serfdom known as rajakariya," and made strong recommendations for its abolishment. Colebrooke and his helpers found that rajakariya a) tied people to caste occupations, b) prevented the movement of labour and c) hindered the growth of the national economy. 97. The people could only be released from economic bondage by the abolition of compulsory labour. There is no doubt that Christian influences had a revolutionary effect on such a situation, especially as within the ranks of the churches Christians enjoyed equal status. In Christian schools a new generation was receiving education that fitted all castes, classes and races for a life of freedom, especially in the world of employment. Movements in England must have also played their part in hastening reforms in Ceylon, especially in Colebrooke's time and the contributions made by Adam Smith, Jeremy Bentham and John Wesley influenced the secular and the sacred spheres of English society. To this extent colonial and missionary policies were also influenced bearing in mind that by the Reform Act of 1832 some measure of political power was transferred from the aristocracy to the middle class. 98. By the inspiration generated through Methodism there began the Evangelical Movement which agitated, among other things, for the improvement of the conditions of the poor. The Factory Act of 1831 was one result of such agitation, "the first of a series of social laws passed to protect the workers." 98. Another consequence was the Abolition of Slavery in 1833.

Attention now turns to the Christian contribution to the education of women in Ceylon. There was no slavery of the women in Ceylonese society and

in pre-western times (prior to A.D.1505), women were allowed to work as Buddhist bhikkhanis whilst in Hindu society in India women were not allowed to officiate as Hindu nuns, there being no such order among the Hindus. 99. The Buddha had thrown open the doors of the Buddhist Order to women and this factor contributed "largely to the place of respect women hold in Buddhist society." 100. In Buddhism women had a place of equality with men, and Vijayavardhana says that Buddhism "raised women to an elevation never before attained by them in the Oriental world." 100. In Ceylon we cannot speak so much about the emancipation of women as about the education of women, especially in Buddhist circles. But, unlike in the Maritime Provinces where monogamy was generally accepted as the marriage pattern especially under the influence of Christianity since A.D.1505, polyandry prevailed in Kandyan society as recorded by the Rev. W. Oakley of the Church Missionary Society. 101. in 1848. But the explanation given by Oakley for polyandry places the emphasis on economics rather than on morality: even the question of the equality of women with men not being a consideration. Oakley observed the following reasons for Kandyan polyandry:-

"When property descends to a family in which there are several brothers, instead of dividing it into so many parts, which would make it of but little value to each, and be insufficient to support that number of distinct families, they consent to live together and have but one wife. The children are supported out of the common fund, and are all called by the name of the elder brother." 101.

Christian educationalists pioneered female education in Ceylon where from ancient days women suffered from the concept that they were meant to attend to domestic duties while the men went out to work as bread-winners. Sometimes women helped the men especially at harvest times, but that was the exception rather than the rule. Spence-Hardy gave another, and perhaps more valid, reason for the lack of education among the Sinhalese women. The temples were the earliest centres of learning and bhikkhus were the teachers, but these "priests may not teach girls, and so all mothers are uneducated." 102a. At a time when women's education was practically unknown Christian Missions opened schools for girls. Lady Brownrigg was instrumental in building a school at Moratuwa in 1816

which was "exclusively for the instruction of girls. This school was opened by the Rev. George Bisset on September 20th of that year and was given in charge of Simona Fernando, the first woman teacher ever to be appointed." 102b.

Early British missionaries faced many difficulties, especially the indifference of parents who did not see any good reason for educating their girls. In these circumstances the early missionary programme contained few - if any - "attempts to have female schools." 103. A serious problem facing female education was the economic loss sustained by sending girls to school. They had enough and more work to do at home that "parents very often set very little value on the instruction of female children, and kept them away from schools." 104. Domestic duties came before the luxury of education, especially in a poor society where the girls stayed at home in order "to assist the mothers.., which occasions their frequent absence from school." 103. Traditional prejudices of Sinhalese society robbed the schools of these girls at an early age "when they are taken away and remain at home until they are married." 105. Further, girls were not able to complete their education owing to the early marriages arranged for them by parents. Lack of sufficient and suitable teachers also hindered educational work among girls: the problem was the increasing "difficulty of securing suitable native female teachers." 105. The partial solution to the problem was in the supply of female teachers from the girls' schools, and girls trained in Mission schools were greatly in demand. As doors began to open for the education of girls the missionaries saw opportunities for extending the influence of and instruction in the Christian faith. "The men cannot be Christianised and elevated alone," argued the Baptists. "Here as elsewhere, women's influence is powerful, and if it is exerted on the side of heathenism and ignorance, will be a serious barrier to success." 105.

One of the first problems facing the programme for female education in British times was the financial position of the colony. New taxes were imposed which included the unpopular Joy-Tax, a tax on the wearing of jewels and various ornaments by women, which Governor North imposed as a tax of one shilling on every woman for wearing jewels. The tax on one family was four shillings per year, and needless to say, the Joy-Tax had a prohibitive effect on the school

attendance of girls. 106. Many girls were unable to pay the Joy-Tax and so kept away from schools; then, there was the unwillingness of other girls to pay such a tax at all. The Rev. James Cordiner in his visits to the schools listened to many complaints against the Joy-Tax. "They made the most suppliant petition to me to request His Excellency the Governor to grant them permission to wear their ear-rings when they go to schools." 106. Some parents were known to have kept their daughters at home "on account of the tax on garments," 106. especially when parents had more than one daughter. It was left to Governor Maitland in 1807 to repeal the Joy-Tax which he forthrightly condemned as being oppressive. 107.

If the Joy-Tax was a barrier to the education of girls in early British times the offering of material rewards by some missionaries proved a passing attraction. So keen were these Christian evangelists that they saw to it that "the girls were bribed to attend school by means of gifts of necklaces and beads." 108. James Selkirk mentions the rewards-system at the Girls' School at Mirihani run by the Church Missionary Society. At this school the school-master's wife had permission "to reward the children with needles, pins, thimbles, etc., to commence with." 109. The Rev. J. Knight, a colleague of Selkirk's in Ceylon, in a letter dated 4.2.1823 mentioned two ways through which girls were encouraged to attend schools run by the missionaries. Firstly, Knight made a deal with the school-masters "to pay them 3 fanams per month for each girl whom they could collect to learn to read." 110. Secondly, each girl was promised "a cloth as soon as she knew the letters," but as little success was achieved Knight offered 4 fanams to the teachers for each girl they recruited. Then as the number of girls attending school increased Knight felt the extra expenses were justified if female education prospered. "If by any means, even though attended at first with a little extra expense," wrote Knight, "the wretched custom of bringing up girls in ignorance can be broken and parents be convinced that learning is a real benefit to females, the advantages gained will be an ample compensation." 110. Sister Aley of the C.M.S. offered the girls a free rice meal every day they came to school, and they were also given clean clothes for school use. Mrs. Mayor of the C.M.S. had "to bribe the girls

with some article of clothing in order to ensure their attendance." 111.

The Wesleyans offered rewards of cloth to girls who became proficient at their needlework. 112. This custom of offering various types of attractions to pupils was not something peculiar to Christians, and Rahula points to Buddhist practice on similar lines. In the 6th century A.D. "a scholarly Buddhist monk named Moggallana II (A.D.537-556), attracted children to study the Buddhist Dhamma by offering them sweet meats." 113.

Through various Sisterhoods, European and Ceylonese, the Roman Catholics established and maintained various institutions for the welfare of girls. In 1861 there came to Ceylon the Sisters of the Holy Family who are today in charge of flourishing establishments at Jaffna, Illavalai, Anuradhapura, Kurunegala, Colombo, Wennappuwa and Chilaw. 114. Nuns of the Good Shepherd Order arrived in 1869 and worked in Colombo, Negombo, Kandy, Nuwara Eliya and Badulla. Three years earlier Franciscan nuns of Mary opened an Industrial School for poor girls and women in Colombo. They also conducted a school and an orphanage at Moratuwa further down the coast. Sisters of the Charity of Jesus and Mary taught in schools in Galle, Matara and Kegalle districts, while the Sisters of the Apostolic Carmel worked in Batticaloa and Trincomalee. By 1924 over 300 Sinhalese and Tamil nuns were engaged in service in vernacular schools of the dioceses of Colombo, Jaffna and Kandy. 114. This is by any standards a most creditable record in a land where the education of women was never considered essential.

The wives of missionaries and government officials also displayed enthusiasm for the cause of female education. Lady Brownrigg, a loyal Anglican lay-woman, began the first school for Tamil girls in Colombo, and her fellow Anglican, Lady Johnstone, opened the first school for Sinhalese girls in 1818. The latter was the wife of the Chief Justice of Ceylon, Sir Alexander Johnstone (1805-1817), and both these prominent women were strong supporters of Christian Missions. 115. At Baddegama the Church Missionary Society workers invited local girls to come to their homes where elementary instruction was given free. 116. Through the Mothers' Union and the Girls' Friendly Society the Anglicans did much for the welfare of women and girls. The well-known Sisterhood of St. Margaret, with its headquarters at East Grinstead, Sussex, established in 1837 a Ceylon

House near St. Michael's Church, Colpetty, Colombo. Later, two more Houses were opened at Matara and Moratuwa. These Sisters concentrated mainly on educational work among girls, and by 1924 had begun a native order of St. Margaret's in Ceylon. 117.

Methodists were not behind the other Missions in starting work for women and girls, and four of the largest girls' schools in Ceylon are of Methodist foundation. These are the Methodist College at Colombo, the Girls' High School at Kandy, the Southlands College at Galle and the Vermbadi School at Jaffna. 118. The Methodists ran Native Schools of the Third Class "for the education of females," 119. and girls were educated in their own language as well as in English, and instruction in needlework and lace work was included. 120.

From Government sources we learn that on 15.2.1818 one Mrs. Edema opened a private and fee paying school in Colombo for the education of boys and girls. As if they were inspired by such a private venture Chater and his Baptist helpers opened a similar school at Silversmith Street, Colombo, on 17.1.1822 for boys and girls under the supervision of "a well educated European." 121. Women's work formed an important aspect of Baptist policy and in 1846 the Sinhalese Girls' Boarding School was opened in Colombo by a Mrs. Davies. For some years it was the premier institution of its kind, whilst at Matale and Ratnapura the girls' schools were expanding in size and influence. Baptists sent the Rev. and Mrs. H. Piggott to Ratnapura soon after 1878 and Mrs. Piggott became involved in women's work. She "conducted a girls' school, and carried out systematic visitation in the homes of the people around." 122.

The Baptist ^{school}/at Ratnapura became known as Ferguson's High School, and can boast of having educated Mrs. Sirimao Dias Bandaranaike, Ceylon's first woman Prime Minister, a staunch Buddhist with caste and class links with the Kandyan aristocracy. In 1960 she succeeded her late husband as Prime Minister and was the world's first woman to be elected to such high political eminence. 123.

There can be no doubt that the task of educating women, and thereby releasing them as a new force in non-Christian society, occupied the foremost attention of missionaries during the British period. Charles Fridham wrote in 1849 that "the instruction of females was one of the first subjects to attract the attention"

of the missionaries. 124.

"Perhaps the most unfailingly satisfactory and successful branch of Mission work has been found in the Boarding Schools for girls as well as boys, but especially for the girls." 125. That was a comment made at the end of the last century by J. Ferguson, a Baptist layman. In later British days more girls' schools were opened, and movements like the Girls' Friendly Society and the Young Women's Christian Association served to hasten the time when equal opportunities through education meant more women in professional and public life. When the British period ended in 1948 there were women, Christian as well as non-Christian, in almost every sphere of employment, many of whom were educated in Christian Mission schools.

Note 1. The Joy-Tax.

Colvin R. de Silva suggests that this unpopular tax imposed by North derived its name from the word joie or joias which in the vulgar Portuguese that was then spoken in Ceylon meant jewellery or trinkets. North's Proclamation of 1.4.1800 covered jewellery and ornaments "which are made or consist of Gold, Silver, or other metal, Stone, Pearl, Ivory, Glass, Chank or Bone." Apart from the financial difficulties posed by the Joy-Tax there was yet another problem because certain ornaments, in the case of girls and women, amounted to a badge of caste. 126.

Note 2 - Education of girls was not as widespread as the education of boys until the closing stages of British rule. This was true of State as well as of Mission schools as the following statistics indicate:-

<u>Station</u>	<u>No. of Schools</u>	<u>No. of Children</u>
Kandy	8	229 (202 Boys : 27 Girls)
Nellore	18	579 (524 Boys : 55 Girls)
Baddegama	12	563 (476 Boys : 87 Girls)
Cotta (Kotte)	15	439 (354 Boys : 85 Girls)
Total	<u>53</u>	<u>1810</u> (1556 Boys: 254 Girls).

These figures are in respect of the Church Missionary Society's Village Schools as at June 1833. 127. G. C. Mendis records that in 1848 there were sixty

English schools attended by 2,714 pupils. "They included three Central Schools in Colombo, Kandy and Galle, for boys, three Superior Schools for girls, and sixteen girls' schools." (Though these were really Government schools they were supervised by the Anglican clerical authorities). Mendis is of the opinion that this much concern for the education of girls was inspired at that stage by the Colebrooke recommendations which implied that educational progress will not be fully effective till females were given education on a more widespread basis. 128. This matter received attention as the years went by but progress was slow as the figures for 1912 show. "In all there were 802 Government schools with 84,844 boys and 23,997 girls." (Grant-in-aid schools had 152,993 boys and 77,365 girls). 128. Anglican statistics for 1941 show that denomination as maintaining 252 schools with 15,576 boys and 9,400 girls. It must however, be kept in mind, that when "female education was practically unknown, it was the Church which taught the Sinhalese girl to go to school." 129.

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Chapter 7. - Times of Controversy and the Buddhist Revival.

During the first 50 years of complete British rule in Ceylon (1815-1865) Buddhist bhikkhus held discussions with Christian missionaries, but these encounters were conducted in the presence of few interested or theologically-minded people. In Chapter 1 mention was made of an exceptional instance when two Baptists, Chater and Siers, and two Methodists, Harvard and Clough, went to premises near to the Kalaniya Temple and "contradicted the nonsense of Buddhism." 1. That was in 1815 and in the previous year an ex-bhikkhu, Petrus Panditta Sekera was baptized in Colombo after being convinced by Clough's arguments and by reading Clough's tract. This tract was printed under the title-"A Conversation Between a Buddhist Priest and a Christian Missionary at Belligamme." 2. Petrus' baptism took place on 25th December, 1814 and was conducted by the Anglican Chaplain who introduced another bhikkhu to Clough and Harvard of the Wesleyan Mission. This bhikkhu showed genuine signs of interest in Christianity, and according to Harvard "for several weeks he daily held a controversy with one or both of us." 2.

In 1826 there was some unrest in Buddhist circles regarding pamphlets against their religion allegedly printed at the C.M.S. Press at Cotta, and the Secretary to the Governor wrote to the C.M.S. missionaries drawing attention to the Buddhist complaint. The Buddhists felt, perhaps rightly, that the British governor supported the Christian cause, but the governor reminded the C.M.S. missionaries that their anti-Buddhist literature would only make the population hostile towards Christianity. The C.M.S. missionaries denied all knowledge of the offensive literature, stating that all their publications contained clear identification marks. Yet, placards and printed posters were in circulation that cast "Scoffs and Offensive Reflections upon the Buddhist Religion;" 3. it was such literature that invoked protests by Buddhists.

In 1832 one of Samuel Lambrick's tracts called "An Exposition of the errors of Buddhism" had a wide circulation from the C.M.S. Press at Cotta. A Tract Society Annual Report in London boldly stated that no Christian Government would listen to Buddhist protests about this tract, so that what was denied in 1826 was done quite openly in 1832, and one comes to the conclusion that the first instance

of tract controversy like the second, began with the C.M.S. missionaries and their Printing Press at Cotta. Perhaps it was expedient to deny in 1826 but the circumstances were more favourable to Missions in 1832. The Governor in 1826 was Sir Edward Barnes who was not keen on State support for Christianity, but by 1832 the Colebrooke Reforms were weighted against Buddhism, so giving fresh heart to the Christian missionaries.

An early document at the C.M.S. Archives, London, dated 30th July, 1832, deals with the petition of the inhabitants of Pantura against some missionaries. The Governor was asked to administer a severe reprimand to the missionaries for "preparing and circulating various kinds of books in which the Buddhist Religion, and its Professors, are abused and despised." ^{4.} Great contempt had been brought on Buddhism, and on 15.9.1826, a petition was sent to the Governor on the same subject whose reply on 28.11.1826 assured the Buddhists that the missionaries "should not do their bad actions." Six years later, however, the missionaries were still acting in the same manner "reading and disseminating books which they have prepared to bring contempt upon our Religion and upon us who profess it." ^{4.} Clough, the Wesleyan worker, and several other missionaries were accused of reviling and abusing publicly "Suddedana, the father of Buddha." Hence the simple request in the petition....."and, therefore, we humbly beg that your Excellency will be pleased to prevent in future the impious action which the Missionaries, not regarding the toleration allowed to all Religions by the great goodness of His Most gracious Majesty, the King of England, are doing; and also to visit with proper punishment those persons who are acting against the order previously given by the Government." ^{4.}

From 1865 there began the era of public debate often marked by controversies conducted in public between the two religions at Varagoda, near Kalaniya, in 1865; at Udanvita, near Rambukkana in 1866, and at Gampola in 1871. ^{5.} Buddhist apologists now began to adopt methods formerly used only by Christian missionaries. One such method was the use of the printing press, and before long there was a flood of Buddhist tracts in the island. "Societies for Buddhist propaganda" were established, whilst at Dodanduwa a Buddhist vernacular school was started "on lines similar to those of Mission schools." ^{5.} As public debates became more

frequent in the second half of the 19th century between Buddhists and Christians they sifted the irrelevancies away and made people realise their religious positions. Two Methodist writers declared that "one invaluable result (of public debates) was an open avowal of one faith or the other, and this greatly helped to purify and intensify the Christianity of the Sinhalese." 6.

The Varagoda Controversy, though dated in 1865 was the culmination of previous religious arguments. In November 1856 such debates were making an impact on the Christian community. For instance, the Baptists were at this time making bitter complaints about Buddhist opposition that had begun to assume militant forms. A convert to Christianity had donated a building at Varagoda for religious and educational use, but "the villagers notwithstanding his kindness to them and their children, did their utmost to prevent our having a quiet service." 7. A bhikkhu had been brought to recite Buddhist stories after which there followed shouting, firing of pistols and beating of drums, 7. indicative of the fact that Buddhist opposition was now becoming better organised and more hostile. In 1863 missionaries complained that by lectures, tracts and private influence, "with great swelling words and horrible blasphemies, the priests endeavour to stay the progress of Christianity." 8.

In 1865 the Baptist Church at the village of Gonawala, near Kalaniya, had a pastor named Juan Silva who engaged in controversy at Varagoda with a bhikkhu. 9. At this time the Baptists had 453 members in and around the Colombo district with about 950 "nominal Christians under direct instruction." Kalaniya came under the pastoral direction of the Colombo missionary, and evangelistic efforts occupied an important part of his programme. The spirit of the day can be discerned by the Baptists' description of new converts as those who were "rescued from the deadly soul-apathy of Buddhism." 9. Pastor Juan Silva's direct encounter "with a priest, a champion of the Buddhist faith," resulted in an apparent victory for the Christians. Within one year of the Varagoda controversy we hear of three new preaching stations being established in the same vicinity. From Baptist records we note the following facts about the new stations.

Varagoda.....average attendance12.

Bridge of Boats.....(open air) average attendance 30.

Paliyagodde.....average attendance.....15

57. 9.

The members of the Grand Pass Baptist Church, Colombo, "furnished the means for printing the account of the discussion with the Buddhist priest at Waragoda." ^{9.} Bhikkhus are said to have "assailed Christianity with extreme bitterness," and Christians for their part had begun to realize the "great necessity for an accurate (Bible) translation, as some of their (Buddhist) objections to the Bible were founded on the incorrect translation of the version in use." ^{9.} The debates were compelling Christians to express in new terms the basic teachings of the Bible. In this respect both religions profited by religious controversy.

The Kadugannawa Controversy took place on 26th June, 1871, when a large number of bhikkhus gathered to debate with the Christians. It was estimated that about three hundred bhikkhus were present to lead the laity: "to hear Christianity disproved and Buddhism established." ^{10.} The Rev. Juan Silva spoke for the Christians and appeared to have made some impact on the audience. A Baptist source declared that "the priests there signally failed, as some of the leaders of the people themselves asserted; and our brother Silva was listened to with great attention." ^{10.} From the same source we learn that two more public debates were held on similar lines. On 28th June, 1871, about four hundred people, laity and bhikkhus met for debate with Christians but the result was the same as before. About one month later another debate was conducted with five hundred laity present and twenty five bhikkhus. "These controversies," according to the Baptists, "were arousing people to think, and must ultimately do good." ^{10.}

So far public encounters between Buddhists and the Christians were few and their influence limited to certain areas only, but the far-reaching results of the Panadura Controversy of August, 1873, make it a landmark in Buddhist-Christian relationships in the island. Colonel H.S. Olcott, the Theosophist, when he heard of the Panadura Controversy came to Ceylon in 1880 and organised a Buddhist revival. ¹¹ The Panadura debate involved Buddhists and Protestant Christians and received wide newspaper/publicity. It is from a leading newspaper that the following details are taken. ^{12.} For two days the debate continued, on 26.8.1873 and 27.8.1873, and highly theological and philosophical themes were mentioned by the chief speakers, Migettuwatte Gnananda Thero and the Rev. David Silva. The bhikkhu was a well-known scholar who was an

authority on Oriental languages while Silva (Wesleyan Mission) had also earned a similar reputation. The first part of the debate centred round the Buddha's teaching about the soul.

David Silva's Argument.

According to Buddhism man had no soul, but this theory can lead to the conclusion that the identical, individual person did not receive the reward of his good or bad actions. ^{13.} In Buddhist teaching the Satta or sentient beings are constituted in the five khandhas, namely, the organised body; the sensations; the perceptions, the reasoning powers and the consciousness. Silva tried to prove this by quoting from the Sanyouttanikaya, a section from the Buddha's sermons. He quoted also from the Sutrapitaka. ^{14.} Silva argued that according to Buddhism everything that constituted man will cease to be at death, and that no immortal soul, therefore, exists. Nothing will be left "of the present man : any being which would exist hereafter and suffer punishment or enjoy the rewards for actions committed in this life," which Buddhism maintained, would be the case "must be a different being and could not by any possibility be the identical person who committed those earlier actions." ^{15.} This line of argument led Silva to reason that Buddhism's 'no soul' theory must surely mean that there can be no future rewards for good and bad deeds. Such a teaching, he argued, opened the way to moral chaos in human life as people may well ask - "why lead the good life now if the future has no actual continuity with the past life?" Why not do evil now if the hereafter contains no sanctions? The person who does wrong-doing according to Buddhism suffers not for his misdeeds. This is the result of Buddhism's no-soul theory, the denial of the existence of an Atma (soul). Any religion that teaches such doctrines is actually offering inducements to the unrighteous. ^{16.}

Gunananda Thero's argument.

The bhikkhu replied along two main lines, one meant to give philosophical substance to the Buddhist view of no-soul, the other meant to undermine the authority of the Bible. Gunananda accepted the Buddhist doctrine of Pançaskhanda: when a human being died no part of the five khandhas can be transferred to another world. Then followed the mysterious statement that "the being who was produced at death in consequence of existence here, was not a different being." ^{17.} By reference

to the Christian scriptures Gunananda hoped to add more weight to his argument: the Bible in current use was not the original one composed by Moses and other writers, nor was it the one used by the early Christian Church. But nobody said "it was a different Bible, the substance in both was the same though it was not the identical book: so it was with the Atma." 17. This reply had the conviction and clarity about it that made Gunananda's arguments sound more effective than Silva's.

The bhikkhu referred to deceptions practised by Christians, and mentioned how in Calcutta in order to win Hindu sympathy, Christians called Christ the son of Iswara (Iswaryka sute Kriste), the great god. He accused Christians of clothing Christ in Hindu garments in order to win the Hindus. 18. Likewise, in Ceylon the Christians translated the word Jehovah into the Sinhalese Dewiyawahanse, a word derived from the Sinhalese Deviyo, meaning gods. Christians were, therefore, accused of adapting "themselves to different nations with the view of deceiving them." 18. Gunanada then went on to cite Exodus 20;5, where the words "jealous God" was not accurately translated in the Sinhalese Bible. The word used in the Sinhalese Bible for 'jealous' was 'Jevalita' which meant 'glittering' or 'luminous'. Why did the translators avoid the word 'jealous' in Sinhalese? This was not a case of defective translating but of deliberate deceit, since a jealous god might be the object of non-Christian scorn. It is interesting to note that the Sinhalese Bible published in 1938 by the Ceylon Auxiliary of the Bible Society omits the word 'Jevalita' but instead uses the phrase "with false faiths I am an impatient God".

Gunananda also mentioned that the Bible contained regulations allowing blood-sacrifices and rites similar to those followed by devil-dancers. For example, Exodus 4; 25, records that Zipporah adopted a blood rite when God sought to kill Moses. This, the bhikkhu maintained, was like the action of the Sinhalese devil-dancer facing people afflicted with diseases brought on by the influence of evil spirits. The devil dancer shed the blood of a goat or fowl and parts of flesh were offered to the Devil. Together with other criticisms this aimed at lowering the creditibility of the Christian message. 19.

The Christian reply.

Silva said that in North India the title Iswara had been given to Christ by

the early missionaries because in Sanskrit the word meant "a being endowed with great power and might." 20. Also, the Christians in Ceylon had named God as Dewiyanwahanse not in order to deceive the Buddhists, "but simply because the language did not afford any better word." 20. On the second day of the public debate David Silva was replaced by Mr. F.S. Sirimanne, a catechist of the C.M.S. Ceylon. He took the view that 'jealous' in Exodus did not mean that God was envious like us. Rather, in the Bible, 'jealous' means that God "will not give his glory to another person or thing." 21. References to blood-sacrifices were taken up and Gunananda was accused either of speaking in ignorance or of deliberate distortion of facts. "Zipporah did not, as was alleged, caste the foreskin of her son at God's feet, but at Moses' feet. Her exclamation 'surely a bloody husband art thou to me' clearly showed this." 21. To another statement of Gunananda that Jesus had not remained three days and three nights in the grave (as he had promised to do), Sirimanne explained that according to Jewish calculation the term 'three days and three nights' denoted what we understand by three days. "It was so used in Genesis where it is said that the rain was upon the earth for forty days and forty nights." 21.

The Panadura Controversy made Buddhists and Christians, laity, bhikkhus, clergy and ministers alike, focus their thoughts on matters of scholarship, translation and inter-faith studies. Expository preaching and open-air work suddenly assumed an importance once absent. Whereas in earlier British days it was the missionary who went about conducting religious debates against the Buddhists we notice that in 1873 missionaries were spectators : the actual debate was conducted by native Buddhists and Christians. Whereas in 1815 - for example - the Buddhists had nothing organised to face the missionaries at Kalaniya, by 1873 they were well organised as a religious force such as was destined to play a leading part in the future Buddhist revivalism. 22. Discussion, debate, dialogue between Buddhists and Christians became more and more frequent, and the conversion of a Buddhist family of great influence at Dodanduwa is written up by Dr. S. Josudason in his brief work on Colonel Arnolis Weerasuriya of the Salvation Army. By the time of the Panadura Controversy Arnolis Weerasuriya's father had become a Christian and taken the Christian name of David. The Buddhist temple at Dodanduwa, the Silabimbarama

had as its High Priest or Chief Bhikkhu David Weerasuriya's younger brother. 22.

It is useful to examine in order some of the literature used between 1826-1884 as reflecting some highlights of the Buddhist-Christian dialogue. The Tract Society Annual Reports contain references and quotations from leaflets and books published in Ceylon at this time.

Tract Society Report, 1826. Mention was made of Chater's tract "A Conversation between a Buddhist and his Christian Friend," the first published work of the Auxiliary Religious Tract Society which was formed on 5th September, 1825. 23.

T.S.R. 1830. The Rev. B. Clough, the Wesleyan Missionary, "mentions the completion of the Pilgrims' Progress in Sinhalese." 24.

T.S.R. 1832. The following tracts were printed in Sinhalese.....(a) Extracts from Scripture; (b) On the Sabbath, (c) A Series of Objections, being Reasons for rejecting the Buddhist Faith. 25. The first tract pointed^{out} "the folly and wickedness of Idolatry," and the second was an attempt to win converts by religious arguments. The tract against Buddhism was much in demand and a further 6,000 copies had to be printed. Clough wrote that the bhikkhus "are thrown into a state of general consternation, and convocations of them are held in every district, for the purpose of consulting on the best plan to check its circulation, and counteract its influence among the people." A bhikkhu at Belligam read the essay and renounced Buddhism. 25.

T.S.R. 1833. Lambrick's famous tract "An exposition of the Errors of Buddhism" is mentioned in this report. This tract was issued in 1832 and contained various objections to Buddhism which drew protests from Buddhists. They petitioned the government to withdraw the tract but Tract Society officials were confident that no action would be taken, since it was highly "improbable that any Christian government will ever interfere, and try to prevent anything that may be done to further the interest of Christianity." 26. Another tract that aroused public interest was called "The Lying Prophecy" which was a reply to some predictions made by bhikkhus, predictions which were not fulfilled in 1832 as the bhikkhus had confidently proclaimed. 26.

T.S.R. 1836. A tract was published called "A Warning to Heathens." Constant

propaganda in South Ceylon brought rewards which a missionary described in terms of converts won to Christianity. "I know of six priests (in the Caltura area) who have thrown off their robes, and whose places have not subsequently been supplied." 27.

T.S.R. 1847. This report has a review of the publication, "The Evidences and Doctrines of Christianity." Under the section - "The Existences of God" - there appeared an effort to refute Buddhist doctrines as found in the Buddha's Pali teachings. In another tract, "Man a Moral Agent, and God the Governor and Judge of All," more anti-Buddhist arguments were pursued. 28.

T.S.R. 1848. Among the more popular tracts were the following. "Is Buddha All-Wise?" "Man has an Immortal Soul;" "Buddhism and Christianity" (by the Rev. D.J. Gogerly); "Mirror of Scripture or Companion to the Bible," (by the Rev. E.S. Hardy). Gogerly's work was in Pali and Sinhalese and appeared in five tracts.

Tract No. 1. "All things were made by God," in opposition to Buddha's philosophical system of Causation, from which a creator is entirely excluded.

Tract No. 2. "Man a Moral Agent" dealt with the necessity for a law-giver a Judge, and an executive power to give effect to God's judgement, in opposition to Buddhism, which affirms that there is no Law-giver, no Judge and no Supreme Being.

Tract No. 3. "The Necessity of a Divine Revelation" in which the very peculiar doctrines of Buddha, on transmigration are developed and refuted.

Tract No. 4. "The Truth of the Old Testament" contains teaching about the revelation of God's Will, the giving of the Law.

Tract No. 5. A short account of New Testament teaching about Christ and the Resurrection. 29.

T.S.R. 1850. Two tracts, "Why are you a Buddhist?" and "The Rewards of Christianity and Buddhism" made an impact so profound that "the Christians and Buddhists formed more distinct bodies than heretofore." 30.

T.S.R. 1854. A further two tracts are mentioned as being of particular interest to the Buddhists "The Hopes of the Buddhist" and "Questions on Buddhism," published by the Sinhalese Tract Society. So far it appears that "the press in Ceylon has been entirely in the hands of Christians; the heathen here, however, have learned the value of so powerful an engine, and resolved to procure one to

prop up their falling system." 31.

T.S.R. 1855. An encouragement to conversion was published under the title - "Why should I forsake Buddhism?" - by the Sinhalese Tract Society. 32. Servants of rich families came mostly from non-Christian homes and attempts were made to reach these workers through Christian tracts. It was recorded in 1855 that as "several Christians masters in the island were anxious to procure copies of these publications for their servants," a small library with twenty one volumes was formed. 32.

T.S.R. 1861. The Rev. C. Carter of the Baptist Mission wrote the tract, "Conversation between a Christian Teacher and a Buddhist Priest," while the Rev. F. Rodrigo wrote "The Touchstone." The latter was an attempt to show the "contradictory statements of Buddhism, the absurdities to which it leads, and its inadequacy to meet the wants of fallen man." 33. Another tract was issued called "How Sin can be Forgiven." It was a short account of the Atonement, and was based on Fuller's "Salvation through a Mediator consistent with Reason." This tract mentioned that Buddhism rejected the doctrine of sacrifice for sin.

T.S.R. 1863. During the previous year the Buddhists were busy counter-attacking Christian propaganda by means of lectures and tracts, "opposing the statements in the Bible and the entire agency of missions." 34. In July 1862 a Buddhist lecturer launched a bitter attack on the Christian faith, three of his points being:-

1. Miracles were said to have occurred at the birth of Buddha and Jesus, but those following the birth of Jesus were not miracles but slaughter of many infants. Following Buddha's birth events that began a happy era for the world took place.

2. Jehovah, whom Christians in Ceylon called Deviyo, accepted human sacrifices and burnt offerings which are also accepted by devils.

3. God performed many miracles before he could make Pharoah submit, but Napoleon Bonaparte overthrew Egypt within a matter of hours. 34.

There is little scholarship on the part of this Buddhist lecturer but he does represent the many Buddhists who were now increasingly willing to find fault openly with Christianity whilst extolling the virtues of Buddhism. By 1862 Buddhists had established two printing offices at Colombo and Galle from where

tracts were published and distributed to the rest of the island. The King of Siam gave generously towards the cost of the Lenkopakara Press at Galle, while local Buddhists of the Society for the Propagation of Buddhism built the printing works at Colombo. Previously the Christian Missions received heavy financial support from English missionary societies, and now Buddhists in other lands were likewise financing the Buddhist cause in Ceylon. By 1863 the Buddhist had two printing presses in Colombo, the Lakminipahana and Lakrivikrana Presses, ³⁵ and the Rev. G.H. Gomes of Badulla in the Uva Province, wrote thus:- "I see in this town a large number of Buddhist tracts and books for sale." 35.

T.S.R. 1863. A Buddhist writer at Galle rejoiced at the assistance he had got from the works of some Christian bishops, who spoke of Bible stories in critical tones. ^{34.} Colenso of Natal had published his views on the Pentateuch showing its composite character and thereby denying Mosaic authorship. 36.

T.S.R. 1864. "The Golden Balance" commented on some of the differences between Christianity and Buddhism, and another tract, "Buddhism and Eclipses," sought to point out the false statements put out in the Pirit Sutras. The Chandi and Suriya Sutras were given as examples where eclipses were said to be caused by Rahu's swallowing of the sun and moon. But, the real cause of eclipses were explained in this tract to prove the falsity of Buddhist teaching. Readers were pointed to the Bible as the Way to Salvation and to Christ as Saviour of sinners. This tract was written by the Rev. D. de Silva. 37.

T.S.R. 1882. Two Buddhist-Sinhalese newspapers were started in order to lessen missionary effort and influence, and tracts were circulated by the Buddhists about so-called contradictory passages in the Gospels. Quotations were used in a rather unscientific way as when Matthew 2; 13-22 was contrasted with Luke 23; 7-8. It was said that in one Gospel Herod's death was reported when Jesus was an infant while another Gospel recorded that Jesus spoke to Herod on the day he was crucified, about thirty years later. 38.

Rival literature exerted much influence in religious controversies between Buddhists and Christians, but in this field the Christians had held the advantage since Portuguese days, a position that remained more or less unchanged for the first part of the 19th century. However, their monopoly of the press was now at

its end and the Buddhist revival "gathered momentum with the setting up of presses and the printing of books, pamphlets and reviews propagating Buddhism and attacking Christianity. Piyadasa Sirisena made his contribution with his novels in which he advocated a return to the old religion and the old customs and mode of life." ^{39.} Once the Buddhists began to adopt similar propaganda methods to the Christians the effectiveness of their campaign became much more apparent and their literature was priced at cheap rates so that even the poor people could benefit. By the end of 1880 "the Sinhalese newspaper, Sarasavi Sandarasa, was started to carry on Buddhist propaganda, and an English supplement called "The Buddhist" was added to it." ^{40.}

Expositions of Buddhist teaching, similar to the Christian catechisms, became increasingly fashionable among the Buddhists. Such writings were encouraged when the famous bhikkhu and scholar, Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala, urged his fellow Buddhists to make the best use of Buddhist Catechisms, ^{41.} especially in their schools as a means of instructing young Buddhists. The intensity of Buddhist opposition, especially through literature, can be understood by the remarks of Lapham, a Baptist missionary in the Kandy district. He observed that "Buddhist opposition is now an active and organised force, which must be reckoned with. In the Buddhist newspapers have appeared columns of print against us." ^{42.}

The progress made by the Buddhists and the Sinhalese during the second part of the last century and the first part of the 20th century in the field of literature was amazingly rapid. The following details illustrate this point.

1860. - The first Sinhalese journal was published in Galle by Mr. W. F. Ranasinghe. It was called Lankaloka.

1862-63. - More journals followed such as the Lakrivikirana, Lakmini Pahana and the Arunodava.

1866. - The Janartha Pradipaya began circulation, and claims to be the oldest Sinhalese paper.

1880. - The Sarasavi Sandaresa was published by the Buddhist Theosophical Society.

1896. - The Dinapata Pravritti was published by the dramatist, Don Bastian.

1902. - Piyadasa Sirisena published the Sinhala Jatiya.

1909. - H. S. Perera started the Dinamina.

1930. - The Silumina commenced publication.

1947. - The Lankadipa was first published. 43.

As early as 1863 the Tract Society took notice "of a strong and influential movement of the Buddhists against Christianity," and it was said that "lectures and tracts, opposing the statements made in the Bible and the entire agency of missions, were started at the beginning of last year." 44. This is different from the early days of British rule when Christian propaganda channels were being used against the Buddhists who had no similar avenues for making a counter-attack. In 1817 Christians were referring to the press as a "powerful auxiliary," 45. but by the 1860's the Buddhists were hitting back.

Two British colonial governors also contributed indirectly towards the Buddhist revival in the last century. It was in 1870 that Governor, Sir Hercules Robinson, obtained the expert services of the Sinhalese scholar and Orientalist, James de Alwis, to collect and catalogue Sanskrit, Pali and Sinhalese literary works. 46. Alwis had eighteen years previously published an edition of the Sidat Sangarava, the Sinhalese grammar written in the 13th century. 47. Then, too, there was the excitement in the world of archaeology as Buddhist sacred places were being excavated and damaged shrines repaired. The colonial government did much to restore the ruined cities and holy places of Buddhism in Ceylon. In 1872 Sir William Gregory proposed to the Legislative Council that a museum be built in Colombo which can "throw light on the ancient usages, religious customs and early history of Ceylon." 48. In his last address to the Legislative Council in 1877 Gregory mentioned that efforts were being made "to preserve the ancient literature of Ceylon." He had also taken steps "to obtain reproductions of all other records which are to be found on rocks and detached stones, and which are gradually perishing by the action of time and weather and the ravages of men." 48.

S. G. Perera, wrote that Gregory "supported dis-establishment of the Anglican, Scotch and Presbyterian Churches; he endeavoured to promote the study of the history and philology and the preservation of the ancient literature of Ceylon." 48. Two aspects of Gregory's 48. policy influenced and encouraged the

movement towards Buddhist revival. Firstly, he inspired together with Robinson before him, a renaissance of national and cultural institutions, and secondly, his patronage of the arts and his moves to sever State links with the three established denominations helped the Buddhist cause to an extent that excludes exact measurement. It was in 1873 that Gregory caused his archaeological survey to be made, and by 1877 "detailed plans of the important ruins were made." 48. The ancient inscriptions of Anuradhapura, Polonnaruwa and Mihintale were soon to be classified, a task that was done ably by Dr. H. Müller who was sent to Ceylon by the Colonial Office in 1887. His published work was called The Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon. H. C. P. Bell, a colonial official, commenced a scientific archaeological examination of the North-Central Province. To the Buddhists all those events meant a renewed interest in Buddhism, a revival of a religiously-inspired nationalism, and for the Sinhalese people, an advance in their distinctive culture.

The main factors, however, that helped the Buddhist revival of the 19th century was the reforming zeal of H. S. Olcott, and the overflowing of Buddhist influence overseas. It was Olcott's plan to campaign along two fronts, namely by obtaining more Buddhist schools and by eliminating Hindu influences from Buddhism. When Madame Blavatsky and Olcott began The Theosophical Society in New York in 1875 they set in motion a new force whereby "a few members of the dominant race, white men and women from Russia, America and England, Theosophists, appeared among the Hindus and Ceylonese to proclaim their admiration for the ancient wisdom of the East." 49. European leadership provided by Olcott and the Theosophists inspired native Sinhalese leadership within Buddhist ranks. Christians in Ceylon were under Western leadership since the coming of the Portuguese in 1505, and now in 1880 we reach the point when Ceylon's Buddhism attracted leadership from the West. The Tract Society, London, in 1882 commented: "thousands flocked to see a white man, and particularly a white man who had become a Buddhist." 50.

Having arrived in Ceylon in 1880 Olcott championed the Buddhist cause by starting The Buddhist Theosophical Society with the chief aim of providing Buddhist schools for Buddhist children. 51. Missions in Ceylon had established

many schools in the island with hardly any competition so far from the non-Christians. It was, therefore, in the field of education that the B.T.S. made its most effective contribution to Buddhism. The Tract Society Report, London, in 1882 recorded that "for the first time we had American infidels, calling themselves Theosophists, stirring up the heathen against us. The people were cautioned against sending their children to the mission schools." 52. In 1886 a Buddhist Sunday School was converted into an English language day school which "finally developed into the present Ananda College." 53. By 1890 there were nearly fifty Buddhist schools in Ceylon with institutions for higher learning already established since 1873 when the Vidyodaya Pirivena began at Maligakanda, Colombo, and in 1876 when the Vidyalankara Pirivena was established at Paliyagoda, Kelaniya. Two famous Buddhist scholars, Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala Thero and Ratmalane Sri Dharmaloka Thero led these two Buddhist institutions in those early days. 53. By 1898 there were Buddhist schools spread throughout the Sinhalese-speaking areas with the result that Christian Mission schools faced opposition and competition on an organised basis. 54.

According to a pro-Buddhist view, Olcott arrived to find that "the Buddhists of Ceylon were being crushed in their own land between two grindstones... the British Government and the Christian missionaries." 55. This appears to be an exaggerated opinion but was certainly held in Buddhist circles. In his Preface to the Buddhist Catechism of 1881 Olcott made some critical observations about the actual state of Buddhism in Ceylon as he found it on his arrival. Broadly speaking these observations covered three areas in need of urgent attention:-

- 1) Schools throughout Ceylon were mainly run by Christian Missions, and there were only "a handful of purely Buddhist schools."
- 2) Idols. At many Buddhist temples there were idols "set up for worship and maintained by special endowments or regular donations."
- 3) Hindu influences. Idolatrous ceremonies and customs derived from Hinduism together with some forms of "primitive nature worship" were widely practised by Buddhists. These un-Buddhistic tendencies and traditions were not bringing forth effective protests from Buddhist monks, but rather these monks often overlooked or encouraged such practices. 56.

Olcott felt indignant at such a neglect of Buddhism and was inspired to write his famous Buddhist Catechism in which he mentioned that "all devil-worship, all idolatry, astrology, consultations of omens, and other corruptions of the simple code of the Teacher of Nirvana and the law are repudiated as non-Buddhistic." 56. An inward reformation of Buddhism was therefore begun by Olcott who formulated in his Catechism what he regarded as "the fundamental teachings of Buddhism, purified from all its later mythological corruptions." 56. The Catechism was warmly approved by Buddhist leaders such as Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala Thero and was widely used to instruct Buddhists. In 1891 Olcott wrote an Appendix to the Catechism and called it the fourteen Articles containing the Fundamental Buddhistic Beliefs. 56. The Tract Society Report, London, in 1884 noted that Olcott denied a personal Creator in Clause No.112 of the Catechism, writing that a "personal god Buddhists regard as only a gigantic shadow thrown upon the void of space by the imagination of ignorant men." 57.

The Buddhist Theosophical Society carried out reform and inspired revival and endeavoured "to create a common platform for all Buddhist sects and schools, particularly Hinayana and Mahayana." 58. The full impact of Olcott and the B.T.S. cannot be properly estimated unless a long-term view is adopted, but the early impact on the Christian churches in Ceylon was remarkable enough, and Christian reaction was typically defensive showing shock and amazement. The following aspects of the Buddhists revival were noticed by the Christians. 59.

1. It had European leadership and did its best to overthrow the day-schools run by the Christian Missions. Later on their Sunday Schools were also threatened by the Buddhist Sunday School movement.

2. Public subscriptions were obtained easily for the continuing struggle against Christianity.

3. The Buddhist revival at home led to a Buddhist ecumenical movement that aimed at spreading Buddhism overseas. 59. When Anagarika Dharmapala established The Maha Bodhi Society in 1891 he obtained "zealous support in America and Europe." 58.

The Maha Bodhi Society became the Foreign Missions wing of Ceylonese Buddhism and was the offspring of the B.T.S. inspired Buddhist revival throughout

the island. In other words, Olcott and the B.T.S. became the Home Missions section of Buddhism. It is significant that the revival and reformation of Ceylon Buddhism belonged largely to Olcott who came from the West. At the same time it is noteworthy that the missionary endeavours of Buddhism were inspired and led by a Sinhalese bhikkhu. By 1925 a Buddhist Lodge was opened by Dharmapala in London, thus signalling the success so far achieved by the Buddhist revival in Ceylon. The English Buddhist Society, the oldest in Europe, was formed in London in 1924 by Mr. & Mrs. Christmas Humphreys. It broke away from the Theosophical Society in 1926. Dharmapala founded the British Maha Bodhi Society in London 1925. 60a. A corrupt and neglected Buddhism which Eudelin De Jonville found in his tour of Southern Ceylon in 1800 had not improved by 1880 when Olcott began his work of reformation and revival. 60b. Once these two aims were achieved the foreign missionary vision of the Buddhists became much clearer.

Even though Buddhism was in a weak and confused state when the Portuguese came to Ceylon in 1505, there can be no doubt that under three successive western Christian colonial powers it became still more neglected. 61. But, the formation of The Buddhist Theosophical Society and The Maha Bodhi Society in 1880 and 1891 gave the Buddhists two springboards for future work, and revival at home and missionary endeavour overseas now occupied the attention of a renewed Buddhism. There began to emerge a popular Buddhist movement with wealthy endowments which at the start of this century amounted to at least four hundred thousand acres attached to temples. The Rev. J. E. Ewing, a Baptist missionary made the following observations:-

- a) "The rice-lands in two districts have an annual value of £48,076."
- b) Buddhism was backed by "an active and influential press."
- c) The 1901 statistics derived from the census showed that there were "eight males and eleven female Europeans and Americans as Buddhists." 62.

There can be no mistaking the intentions which lay behind the formation of The Maha Bodhi Society in 1891 by Dharmapala : its main object "was to develop relations between Buddhist and non-Buddhist countries." 63. Some aims were given as being basic to the very existence of the new society, and from a

Baptist source we obtain these details:-

1. The M.B.S. sought to unite Buddhist countries in religious work.
2. Buddha Gaya and other Buddhist shrines were to be restored and properly maintained.
3. The building of a Buddhist temple and preaching hall in Calcutta was to be given priority.
4. It was planned to buy a plot of land to erect a building called The Buddhist College at Calcutta for teaching young men Pali, Sanskrit, English, Indian languages, and training suitable candidates for Buddhist missionary duties.
5. The Society aimed at stationing and supporting bhikkhus from various Buddhist lands at Indian shrines.
6. It was felt that the time had come to commence "a general Buddhist propaganda."
7. The translation of Buddhist literature into foreign languages was treated as urgent business. 64.

While The Buddhist Theosophical Society was inspired by a foreigner, Olcott, we note that The Maha Bodhi Society was a Sinhalese inspired venture which encouraged the maintenance of Buddhist shrines and sacred places in India; encouraged Buddhist propaganda through literature and planned for Buddhist Missions to Christian Europe. Starting with Olcott's reformativ and revivalistic labours and continuing with Dharmapala's more catholic ambitions for Buddhism with its base in Ceylon, Buddhism found a new vitality and finally emerged as what Kraemer called "a world fact instead of a geographically confined reality." 65. It began to influence Western minds with the establishment of Buddhist centres in European capitals such as London, Paris and Berlin. The rate of actual conversion to Buddhism was still low but the significant factor was that Buddhist missionaries were now working in the western world. 66. British leaders of Buddhism were R. J. Jackson, Rhys David and Christmas Humphreys. The latter envisaged an ecumenical Buddhist way of life "synthesizing the different Theravada, Mahayana and Zen" sects. 65. But, it has been said that The Twelve Principles of Buddhism by Humphreys was "heavily pro-Hiniyana,

Theravada." 67.

Dhamapala's labours in London began with the formation of the English branch of the Maha Bodhi Society with the help of the Buddhist Lodge. A few years later this work was consolidated with the arrival of three Sinhalese bhikkhus led by the Venerable P. Vajirarama. 67. Thus, due to the efforts of Sinhalese Buddhists the work of The Maha Bodhi Society expanded in scope as in actual location. It has been said that since 1925 Ceylon has sent many bhikkhus to spread the Dharma in western lands. 67. The Buddhist Society in Britain was followed by The Buddhist Lodge which was part of The Theosophical Society, but after a few years it became independent under the name of The Buddhist Society of London. It had universal links and became a mission centre where bhikkhus from Burma and Ceylon used to reside. By 1948 a Vihara Society was formed to build Viharas in England where English Buddhists of the Theravada and Mahayana schools of Buddhism could worship. 65. Thus it was hoped to offer to the West the whole system of Buddhist philosophy. After nearly 450 years under Christian influence the Buddhists of Ceylon were now engaged, at the end of the British colonial era, in taking the Dhamma to European nations. In the words of a prominent Buddhist layman, the late Sir Baron Jayatilleke, this was nothing new as "hundred of years before Paul started on his missionary journeys in Palestine and the neighbouring countries, the Buddhist Church had sent out Theras (monks) to preach the Dharma (the Doctrine) in every part of Asia." 68.

There is an unmistakable element of Christian influence about the Buddhist revival movement. It is recorded that in 1883 Buddhists were engaged in regular processions of witness which irritated the Roman Catholics, who were also fond of religious processions on high and holy days. It is no surprise, therefore, to learn "that a serious riot took place during Passion Week in 1883 between Catholics and Buddhists." 69. Christian systems and methods were widely used by the Buddhists in order to compete with Christianity. 70. In Roman Catholic areas the Buddhists favoured the use of public processions as acts of Buddhist witness, and in other areas Buddhist preachers went about addressing public gatherings in the open-air. The Buddhist Sunday School movement was based on the Christian custom of weekly instruction given to children. Another influence of

Christianity can be seen in the widespread use of tracts and other forms of religious literature. Olcott's Buddhist Catechism was an imitation of the Bible-catechisms used by Christians since Portuguese days in Ceylon. New converts as well as old believers received regular instruction through carefully prepared catechisms.

Bishop Stephen Neill commenting on this situation wrote thus :- "For many years Buddhists have been willing to learn from Christians; the Young Men's Buddhist Association in Ceylon is not a creation of yesterday." 71. The Rev. J. E. Ewing of the Baptist Church wrote that "under white leadership Buddhism in Ceylon has become an active and organised force." 72. In no sphere was this better evident than in the adopting of Christian techniques. Only, the Buddhists now were showing a militancy that Christians seldom adopted, for not only were Buddhist Sunday Schools functioning but Buddhist pickets were placed along the roads "in order to prevent the children coming to the Christian Sunday Schools." 73. Women's work was placed in the hands of Buddhist nuns who were hard-working and zealous, and the Baptists reported that "the Buddhists have themselves commenced visitation work amongst women; a group of Buddhist women workers have been appointed and these are visiting from house to house." 74. By 1924 work among Buddhist women had progressed well; there were Bible-women and Colporteurs doing women's work for the Christians and this practice caught on among Buddhists too. 75. Then again, just as the Christians celebrate Christ's birth the Buddhists also began to celebrate Buddha's birth "with decorations, lamps, processions, and even with carols by night." 75. This was also the time that the title "Reverend" became used of Buddhist bhikkhus.

Even Christian hymns were taken over by the Buddhists who substituted Buddhist wordings and proceeded to use such hymns for their religious purposes. A Methodist missionary, the Rev. H. Highfield, remarked that the "Buddhist advance is promoted by the imitation of Christian methods." 76. Buddhists were now singing Christian hymns with dramatic changes in terminology. Here are some examples of such imitative use:

" Come sing with holy gladness
 High let your voices ring.
 With hymns of praise and glory
 To Buddha, Lord and King.

Among earth's greatest heroes
 Are none so great as he.
 The wisest of her pundits
 To him must bow the knee.

A Prince yet ever humble
 Gentle and Kind and True.
 To him our hearts best homage
 Our deeper love is due. "

or again:-

"Come, ye Buddhist people, up and let us sing,
 Hymns of praise and glory, to our Lord and King.
 Oft as men exulting, waft his praise on high,
 Deva hosts rejoicing, make their glad reply. "

or

"Crowns and thrones may perish, Kingdoms rise and wane:
 But his glorious Dharma ever shall remain.
 Falsehood can never o'er that law prevail;
 On the truth 'tis founded so it cannot fail.
 Onward, ye who love Him, read the Eightfold Way. "

These hymns were sung at the anniversary of the Buddhist Sunday School at Maradana, near Colombo, in 1909. 76. The Buddhist revival gave a fresh impetus to all forms of Sinhalese culture, and Buddhist leaders such as Anagarika Dharmapala, Walsinha Harischandra and Piyadasa Sirisena did much for Buddhist education, and thereby helped to create in the country a Sinhalese-Buddhist consciousness. 77. A new nationalism linked with a renewed religious spirit swept through Buddhist rank and file. Together with the widespread growth of Buddhist education, the achievement of The Buddhist Theosophical Society, there arose literary and cultural activity among the Buddhist population. S. G. Perera wrote how "Sinhalese literature began to be enriched with new compositions: the drama, the novel, the short story. The drama as a literary composition had never been cultivated by the Buddhists." 78. In the Buddhist institutions of higher learning (the Pirivenas) research and religious studies were undertaken by, and available to, more and more Buddhist scholars. Between

1839 and 1876 the following institutions of Buddhist learning had been established symbolising the rebirth of Buddhism in the island...the Parama Dhamma Cetiya, the Vidyodaya and Vidyalankara Pirivenas. 79.

E.F.C. Ludowyk mentions that together with the Buddhist revival there came into being various societies that were interested "in cultural uplift, which enabled the English educated native to work off his dissatisfactions in unexceptionable activities in temperance societies, literary circles and organisations to redeem the national character from the sordid influences of British materialism." 80. But, Buddhist - inspired temperance societies failed to admit that the Sinhalese used intoxicating drinks long before the advent of western colonial powers. In fact, "arrack (a drink made from coconut juice) is not a Portuguese word, and the Portuguese used for toddy the Sinhalese word 'sura' (rā). Alcoholic drinks were known in the East long before the Portuguese and abstention from them on poya days is included in the pen-sil." 80. It was said that Buddhism was in theory against all forms of alcoholic drink whereas a so-called Christian government encouraged the drinking habit. "The campaign against drink," wrote E.F.C. Ludowyk, "was therefore given additional fervour by Buddhist feeling against the fiscal policy of a 'Christian government' which not only allowed drink but ^{also} made money out of it." 80.

The interests of the government and the Christian Missions were not to be identified in the latter part of the 19th century in Ceylon. For example, no hindrance was placed by the colonial government when Buddhists wished to have their own Buddhist Flag, or when they requested that Vesak, the anniversary of Buddha's birth, enlightenment and death, be declared a public holiday. Governor Sir Arthur Gordon (1883-1890) granted these wishes of the Buddhist population. It was said of Gordon that "he was partial to the headmen and was interested in safe-guarding the property rights of the Buddhist temples." 81. With such favourable circumstances the Buddhist revival grew in strength. The spread of Buddhist education, the widespread use of Buddhist printing presses, the public religious debates, the work of The Buddhist Theosophical Society and The Maha Bodhi Society all combined to make the impact of the Buddhist revival keenly felt in Christian circles. By 1903 the march of Buddhism, revived and reformed,

was going ahead with unabating vigour. The Society for the Propagation of the Faith, an Anglican society, reported that "the whole character of Buddhism has changed during the last few years. Whereas sometime ago the mass of the people knew nothing of Buddhism, and had for their religion little more than devil-worship, Buddhism is now a popular force opposed to Christianity. It is taught in schools which vie with our own, and like them supported by Government Grants. It takes care to familiarize its adherents with all the stock objections to Christianity." 82.

Perhaps one of the main reasons that made for the rapid spread of the Buddhist revival was the establishment of Buddhist-controlled schools and the declining influence of Christian Missions in education. In early British days the State and Missions held a virtual monopoly of education, but in the second part of the last century non-Christian agencies were using schools, especially for purposes of religious instruction. This stage was marked with growing limitations on Missions as regards the imparting of Christian religious teaching to non-Christian pupils. Then followed the first part of the present century when schools became increasingly the responsibility of the State, and all religious groups enjoyed equal rights as far as religious instruction was concerned. These clear stages in the progress of education saw the growing loss of power and influence by the Christian Missions.

Stage 1. The missionaries of the London Missionary Society were working in Ceylon with State-support since arriving in 1805, and Governor North had enlisted these missionaries for church work as well as for school-teaching duties. They became "active in educational work under Government direction," thus fulfilling in part the purpose of their journey to Ceylon. 83. The real aim of these L.M.S. missionaries can be seen in the policy laid down in 1745 at the founding of the L.M.S. in London. Its purpose was the "spreading of the knowledge of Christ among the heathen and unenlightened nations." 83. Therefore, L.M.S. missionaries were free, especially under North's patronage, to use schools as avenues for the evangelism of the non-Christian. As British rule progressed the missionaries became more firmly entrenched in education with non-Christians having no influence over the school system. For the Buddhists, therefore, there

were no such places as Buddhist schools, aided and encouraged by the State. In the temples, however, and in private schools (which were few and far between anyway) some little amount of Buddhist education was available. By 1834 the first Schools Commission began to administer the colony's schools but without any non-Christian representation. The Commission was led by the Anglican Archdeacon of Colombo, some other Anglican clerics and a few State officials. ^{84.}

Following the Colebrooke recommendations it was decided to increase English schools with full State support, and this meant a considerable decrease in the programme for vernacular education. Buddhists were once again at the losing end as they had no voice in educational matters, nor did they have opportunities to learn or to teach in the vernacular. ^{85.} Five points are worth noting as a result of Colebrook's educational recommendations.

- 1) The policy was against the growth of Vernacular Schools.
- 2) Colebrook's comment that State schools were "places where nothing is taught but reading the native languages and counting in the native character" implied that in such schools English education was totally neglected.
- 3) No more money was to be spent on the Vernacular Schools.
- 4) Emphasis was henceforth on English as the medium of instruction.
- 5) Colebrooke recommended that missionaries ought to control vernacular education. This gave the Buddhists (and other non-Christians) little opportunity to shape their educational policies. ^{85.}

G.C. Mendis summed-up the position of disadvantage in which Buddhism found itself in those days. When English became the language of administration the tendency was for Sinhalese to become a neglected, second-class language. At the same time the government espoused the cause of various Christian Missions and helped to advance the benefits of education, but such patronage of Christianity "weakened Buddhism and left the Buddhists at a disadvantage in the public life of the country." ^{86.} We note that by 1841 the Schools Commission was composed of Anglican and Free Churchmen, but as yet there were no other religious denomination represented.

Stage 2. As far back as 1843 religious instruction was limited in schools

to instruction of a non-sectarian character. In 1861 the Rev. Robert Paynter of the Church Missionary Society in Ceylon wrote how the new rules "restrict religious instruction to the first hour of the day, and leave the attendance of the pupils to such instruction optional." 87. The Copy of Rules sent out to all aided-schools by the Schools Commission with orders that such Rules be publicly displayed in all schools left no room for doubt of the neutral position now adopted by the State.

"1) Only the first hour of tuition on each day shall be devoted to Religious Instruction.

2) Such Religious Instruction shall be confined to a simple explanation of the Bible and the leading tenets of Christianity, and shall be conducted in such a spirit as to avoid, if possible, the exclusion of any scholar, on grounds of denominational teaching.

3) No books, other than those approved of by the Commission, shall be used in the schools.

4) Any child, whose parents or guardians shall object to his receiving Religious Instruction, shall be permitted to stand-out of the class during the first hour.

5) Provided, however, that it shall be competent for the Visitor or Superintendent of any school, to examine the classes on religious subjects, on the occasion of any periodical visit: it being understood, however, that such examination shall be confined to the first hour of his visit, and shall be conducted subject to the above restrictions." 87.

By 1870 the Schools Commission was replaced by the Department of Public Instruction under a Director of Education. This was yet another sign that the Christian control of education was coming to an end. More secular influence was making itself evident and various religious groups were represented in the new Department. Also, from 1870 onwards Vernacular education became the responsibility of the government with plans being made for expansion of Vernacular schools. State grants were given to those with a secular educational programme rather than to mere denominational schools. By 1907 Mission Vernacular schools were not allowed to impart Christian instruction to non-Christian pupils,

and by 1939 the Conscience Clause made religious education available to all children according to their parents' religion. These movements all contributed towards encouraging and later consolidating the Buddhist revival, especially in its educational aspects. ^{88.} English and Vernacular schools were now more freely available to Buddhists whereas previously such education was Christian-controlled and used for winning converts to Christianity.

Disestablishment was yet another factor that helped the Buddhist revival in the last century. The severing of State links from some churches removed the last traces of imperial prestige attached to these 'established' denominations when in 1881 the State withdrew its aid from the Anglican, Scots' Kirk and the Dutch Reformed Churches. Serving clergy and ministers were paid their stipends (even after formal disestablishment) until they retired. It was only in 1902 that the Anglican Bishop of Colombo "ceased to be paid by Government, and Letters Patent, issued by the Crown, were formally cancelled." ^{89.} A certain degree of colonial dignity rubbed off on these established churches, and some converts enjoyed the glory of belonging to the 'government' churches. ^{90.} One illustration throws light on this point. The Marriage Ordinance of 1863 was passed enabling registers to be kept by the civil as well as by all the religious denominations. Previously, the only registers were Christian registers, and Bishop Copleston mentioned that many "who were Buddhists at heart made a formal profession of Christianity in order to secure the privilege of duly registered baptism and marriage." ^{91.} This was, no doubt, a religious hangover from Dutch practice. It is interesting to note that in 1836 a Marriage Act was passed in the British Parliament establishing legal status for marriage ceremonies in Dissenting Chapel or Roman Catholic Church, provided that a civil registrar was present. In previous years the Church of England's monopoly had given non-Anglicans just cause for resentment. They continued, however, to be incensed by the compulsory church-rate which lingered on till 1868. ^{91.} In the light of such slow progress in Britain towards denominational equality, the 1863 Marriage Ordinance in Ceylon was far-reaching, including all religious groups, and discriminatory against none. Once again, it happened at a time when it did most to help the swing towards Buddhist revival.

In the latter part of the 19th century as the Buddhist revival flowered it changed the privileged position so far enjoyed by the Christians. It changed also the under-privileged status of Buddhism in Ceylon and equated quite naturally but mistakenly patriotism with loyalty to the Buddhist cause. The Rev. W.J. Noble, who served in Ceylon as a Methodist missionary, told a meeting of Christians in 1937 that it was wrong to believe that "if you are to be a patriot in Ceylon you can only be such by being a Buddhist." ^{92.} Noble was protesting against the unfair linking of religion and nationalism. One detects in such an atmosphere a sense of militancy that the Buddhist revival generated among the Buddhists. By this time Christianity in Ceylon was on the defensive, a change of role from the early days of British colonial rule.

A. CONVERSATIONBETWEEN ABUDDHIST PRIEST AND A CHRISTIAN MISSIONARYAT BELLIGAMME.See Reference 2 of this chapter.

Missionary. Good morning my friend. - Will you give me leave to ask you a few questions about your religion?

Priest. Very willingly, Sir, if they are not too difficult; for I am not very learned in the religion.

M. Pray how long have you been in the situation of a Buddhist Priest?

P. Only about twenty years.

M. Then I suppose you are able to answer any question about the Buddhist religion, as you have studied it for so many years.

P. Sir, there are so many books of our religion, that it would take a man's whole life to understand them all; and hence it is that I cannot engage to answer any difficult question relative to it.

M. That is very candid: tho' I fear such a hard religion cannot be good for poor ignorant people.

P. Yes.

M. But I will promise not to ask any questions of a learned nature. - Will you be so good as to inform me to whom it is you pray, and make your offerings in your temple, from time to time.

P. To Budhu and to his Sermons.

M. But why do you pray to Budhu?

P. Because he was a god.

M. I rather think, my friend, that you are mistaken there. -

Did you never hear of two Buddhist books, called Raja-ratnaw-Cary, and Raja-Vally?

P. I have heard of them, but never read them.

M. Well, I have got them translated into the English language: and those books say that Budhu was the son of a king, in Dambadiva, or the main land of India; and that he came over to Ceylon, and established here.

P. It may be so. Our religion teaches that Budhu was a good man, who, by his holy life and excellent Sermons, became afterwards a god.

M. My friend, you must be aware that there is a great difference between a man and a god.

P. Certainly there is.

M. How then can you think that Budhu, who was but a man like yourself, should become a god? And how can you honour him as a god, by building temples to him, and bowing before his image, when your own religion tells you he was once but the son of a king, and hence only a man like yourself?

P. But he was a good man.

M. Allowing that he was a good man, still that does not constitute him a god.

P. But Budhu preached excellent doctrine, and we worship him on account of his doctrines.

M. I doubt the goodness of some of his doctrines; tho' others of them may be good.

P. They are all good and true.

M. Do you not believe that a good man may sometimes say false things through ignorance?

P. Certainly.

M. But we ought not to follow his ignorance, even supposing him to be a good man, if we can get, at the same time, better instruction.

P. We are very well satisfied with our religion, and do not want to be taught any new religion. You are a gentleman from Europe, where there are a number of learned people. Your religion is good for you European gentlemen: and our religion is good for us Singalese people.

M. But have not Singalese people souls, as well as Europeans?

P. I suppose they have; but we cannot tell much about those high things.

M. My friend: believe it:- Singalese people have souls as well as others; and it as much concerns them to know the true doctrine as it does Europeans!

P. The doctrines of Budhu are all true; and we have lived in this faith for many generations.

M. Budhu may perhaps have been a good man; but I think all he said was not true. - Did not Budhu teach that there is no Supreme Creator and God? and that all things in the world made themselves?

P. The learned priests of our religion say that the world made itself.

M. That is a doctrine which I cannot believe, because it cannot be true. Everything must have had a beginning; and hence must have had a Maker. All things were made by the great God, who himself never had any beginning, and will never have any end.

P. We have not learned that in this country.

M. What would you think if the Aratchy of this place were to publish it abroad that there was no Modeliar in this district; and that therefore the people must pay all their respect and obedience to him the Aratchy?

P. I should think he was mad..

M. But what would the Modeliar do, if all the poor people were to pay him no kind of respect, but were to take their presents and make all their obedience to the Aratchy?

P. Of course he would be very angry.

M. Ah! my friend! Budhu is the Aratchy: God Almighty is the Modeliar. The People of this country pay no respect to God Almighty. They are worshippers of Budhu, but none worshippers of the true God! Surely God must be angry with such a people! Let me advise you to think seriously of this! To the good and true doctrines of Budhu, I would recommend you to pay the strictest attention. But remember the Modeliar is greater than the aratchy; and there is a God in Heaven who is greater than Budhu, and the Maker and Preserver of us all. Think of that God! Pray to that God! Strive to please that God! Be sorry that you have lived so many years without knowing him! And begin to pay him the worship which is due! If you confess your sins he will pardon you, for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ: and will give you his Holy Spirit to make you good; that you may go to Heaven when you die, and live with him for ever. "This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all men to be received; that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners." - "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have

everlasting life." - "Ho! every one that thirsteth! Come ye to the waters: and ye that have no money, Come ye: ^{Come} buy wine and milk, without money and without price." - "The spirit and the bride say Come, and let him that heareth say Come, and whoever will, let him come, and take of the water of life freely." "Blessed are the people which are in such a case: yea, blessed are the people whose God is Jehovah." - "If thou seek him, he will be found of thee; but if thou forsake him, he will cast thee off for ever."

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

Our Father which art in heaven. Hallowed be thy Name: Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven; Give us this day our daily bread; and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us: And lead us not into temptation: But deliver us from evil: For thine is the kingdom, and the power and the glory, For ever and ever. Amen.

THE GRACE.

The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with us all evermore. Amen.

1. AR/BMS 1815. BMS Library, London, pages 144-145.
2. A Mission to Ceylon and India, by W.M. Harvard, London, 1823, pages 363-365. See also pages 269-270.
3. CMS CI/E O 79/61, page 31, CMS Archives, London.
 - a) Letter to CMS missionaries on 28.11.1826.
 - b) Their reply to the Governor's Secretary on 1.12.1826.
 Early signs of the Buddhist Revival can be traced back to this time in Colonial Ceylon. When Olcott arrived in 1880 he had only to shake the tree : the fruits were ready for plucking.
4. CMS CI/E O 113/98, page 46, CMS Archives, London.
5. Ceylon Under The British, by G.C. Mendis, Colombo, 1952, pages 108-109.
6. Ceylon and Its Methodism, by Thomas Moscrop and Arthur Resterick, London, 1906, page 85.
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8. AR/BMS, 1864, page 17, BMS Library, London.
9. MISS/Her/BMS, May, 1866, pages 84-85, BMS Library, London. See also AR/BMS, 1866, pages 51-52.
10. AR/BMS, 1872, pages 79-80, BMS Library, London.
11. Ceylon Under The British, by G.C. Mendis, page 129. See also Ceylon Under Western Rule, by L.H. Horace Perera, Madras, 1959, page 273. "In 1880 Olcott came to Ceylon where he accepted Buddhism." Mendis writes that Olcott "adopted Buddhism." See this chapter, references 49-51, Chapter 8 reference 69 and chapter 9 reference 89.
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13. The Panadura Controversy, page 5.
14. The Panadura Controversy, page 6.
15. The Panadura Controversy, page 11.
16. The Panadura Controversy, page 13.
17. The Panadura Controversy, page 16.
18. The Panadura Controversy, pages 18-19.
19. The Panadura Controversy, page 21.
20. The Panadura Controversy, pages 23-24.
21. The Panadura Controversy, pages 37-39. See Genesis Chapter 7, and Verse 12.
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Chapter 8 - The Christian involvement in Education in British Ceylon:
the four main stages.

There are four main stages in the progress of education in Ceylon, starting from the virtual monopoly exercised by Christian Missions in educational work, and ending with State control of education at all levels and with a growing State neutrality as far as denominations were concerned. To begin with State and Church combined to educate as well as to evangelize and schools seemed the obvious avenues for the latter task. 1. Whenever finances allowed the State helped to maintain schools that were managed by Christian Missions which shared the common aim of converting the heathen. But, this aspect of State patronage went back to Portuguese and Dutch times, the British continuing a pro-Christian policy. 2.

Dharmapala, the Sinhalese ruler of Kotte, whose baptism in A.D.1551 to membership in the Roman Catholic Church encouraged the Catholic cause, gave land to the Franciscans for the building of churches and schools. 3. Under the Portuguese two main subjects taught were Latin and Religious Knowledge, the Jesuits placing more stress on Portuguese than on Latin. All education was free and was geared to the purposes of conversion. Apart from education that was offered to all classes of society the Portuguese also built schools especially for children of Sinhalese nobility. 4.

Under the Dutch the school buildings also became centres for Christian gatherings. In such schools children received instruction in the Christian faith, and baptisms and marriages were also performed by the school teachers who acted as civil registrars. All scholars in Dutch schools participated in Christian worship because education was aimed at fulfilling the goal of spreading the Christian religion. 5. Roman Catholic schools were, however, hindered from doing their work by the Protestant Dutch, and some of their schools were forcibly closed down. The Dutch colonial rulers were anxious to spread their form of Protestant Christianity. 6. When it came to the turn of the British they did not seem inclined to change the policy which they inherited from the Dutch, but there was going to be no persecution of Roman Catholic churches, schools or communities.

Stage 1. - The Church in the forefront in educational matters. For the first period of British rule (A.D.1796-1834) neither the colony's administrators nor the ecclesiastical powers felt inclined to deviate from the colonial policies of the Portuguese and the Dutch. Any change that took place in the British period in the educational set-up can be traced to the last decade of the 19th century, and attributed to mounting Buddhist and nationalist pressures. 7. Between the time of North and Horton, a period of 38 years, schools in Ceylon were Mission-controlled, State-aided and powerful bases for evangelistic work among non-Christians. Education was firmly based in Christian hands, and unlike the Portuguese and Dutch who ruled only parts of Ceylon, the British by 1815 became sole masters of the whole island, thereby being in a position to influence and to control a national pattern for education.

As early as 1805 some L.M.S. missionaries arrived in Ceylon and became "the first non-Roman missionaries" to start work in the British period. 8. They reached Ceylon on 4.2.1805 and received a warm welcome from Governor North, especially as they were sent out "for the purpose of educating native children." 9. James Chater and the Baptists began work in April 1812; Wesleyan Methodists followed in June 1814 and the Anglicans came in 1818 with the Church Missionary Society workers. 10. In 1812 Chater opened his English School in Colombo by which time two aspects of educational policy were becoming prominent. In the first place, schools were already very largely under Christian management, and secondly, English was becoming more and more the medium of instruction. As far as the missionaries were concerned they were doing a service that they undertook at the invitation of the government and the people. 11. Their labours met with a large measure of success and in the first 38 years of British rule the various Christian churches ran 235 schools with over 10,000 pupils. 12. Statistics issued on behalf of the Church Missionary Society indicate their success; in 1818 the C.M.S. had but one school with 44 pupils, but by 1828 it could boast of 48 schools and 1,744 children. 13.

When North showed a special interest in education as a means of spreading Christianity, he was not reflecting the policies of the East India Company in India. The Company had in effect neglected the Dutch schools in the coastal

regions, a neglect which led many Protestants to revert to their former religions. North believed that through Christian-based education the moral improvement of the masses could be achieved. Thus, quite "undeterred by the hesitation showed by Dundas he revived the schools for the propagation of Christianity." ^{14.} The figures provided by the Ecclesiastical Department indicated that the Church maintained about 170 schools, and that out of a population of about one and a half million people more than 342,000 were Protestant Christians. ^{15.} Links between church and school were very closely maintained in North's time as the following facts show.

1. The Senior Chaplain of Colombo became Principal of Schools in Ceylon.
2. Education imparted to pupils "was mainly of a religious type, and periodical inspections were conducted by Colonial Chaplains and Evangelists. Thus, the schools while remaining government establishments assumed a semi-ecclesiastical character." ^{15.}

In a remarkable set of letters the Rev. J. Cordiner, Senior Chaplain at Colombo, at the start of the last century, revealed the close connection between State and education. Cordiner's letters were in the nature of inspection reports submitted to Governor North on the Native Schools and the condition of Protestant Christians. Details of each school inspected were made and dates faithfully recorded by Cordiner during the course of his travels. ^{16.}

Regarding the Colombo School visited on 1.4.1800, the following information was given: the boys "have learned a catechism explaining the principles of the Christian Religion;" they can now "read English tolerably well, write a good hand, repeat the Lord's Prayer and Apostles' Creed, and have entered on the first principles of Arithmetic." ^{16.} At the Galkisse School there were seventy-two boys and twenty-one girls "who were examined in the catechism and repeated prayers." ^{16.} More pupils were attending the Morotto School which had one thousand four hundred and eighteen children on roll. These children could repeat "the Catechism and Prayers with great facility and correctness." Lastly, at Galle schools were found to be in a state of decay and Cordiner wished that they could be repaired without delay. If the Governor could direct this work to be done urgently Cordiner felt that the inhabitants would be grateful and that such

action would "promote the growth of Religion and Knowledge and confer a very great benefit on the country." 16. But, a serious setback was about to threaten the progress of education for due to lack of funds the colonial government was forced to neglect the schools and from 1803 these schools faced many problems. However, the Evangelical lobby in England brought pressure to bear on the Colonial Office, 17. and before long the missionaries in Ceylon once more received some grants from the State. North's successor, Governor Maitland was instructed in 1805 to partially restore these grants. 18. More details of how pressure was put on the Colonial Office in London, and who argued the case for urgent restoration of the grants, will be given later on as Maitland's period is covered in this study.

Under North important features in the world of education began to become better defined. From Dutch times each parish had a Protestant School, and each such school also served as a church and centre for marriage and birth registration. Every school was managed by a team of two or four teachers with a Catechist supervising ten such schools in the area. General oversight was placed in the hands of Dutch ministers of religion who made annual visits to each district in order "to examine the children, to baptise, marry and administer communion." 19. The contribution of North to the educational system of the colony can be summed up as follows:-

1. In the restored Dutch schools clergy and lay evangelists worked as teachers and were paid by the State.
2. Children in these schools were taught the Catechism, Christian prayers and the Bible. 19.
3. Church and School cultivated close links especially with the appointment by North of the Rev. James Cordiner, Senior Chaplain at Colombo, as Inspector and Principal of Schools.
4. Apart from re-starting the old Dutch schools North established a few schools of a "superior nature" for the education of "the children of Burghers and of those Native families eligible to the office of Mudliar and to other Dignities and charges given by Government to its native servants." 20.

5. In re-opening the Dutch parish schools and in financing the cost of education North sought to place the church in control of the schools, and to "promote the growth of religion and knowledge." 20.
6. Compulsory school-attendance and fines for absenteeism were features of Dutch policy. These were not part of the British system even though North came very near to ordering compulsory schooling in his time. He directed his anger at the neglect and apathy of parents in these words: "We do hereby peremptorily order all Protestant parents to send their children to the established schools, and the several modeliaris and other headmen are required to see this order carried out into effect." 21.
7. Parish schools were more or less confined to rural districts, and North opened up Higher Grade Schools in the urban areas. The chief Higher Grade School was at Colombo and was called the Academy or the Seminary. Three similar schools were established in Colombo, one "for the children of the Burghers," one for Sinhalese children of "high caste," and one for Tamil children of similar caste and social status. 20.
8. For boys between the ages of 8-16 years North built Preparatory Schools where they were given "a rudimentary English education" which was made up of "English, the native languages, and the lower humanities." 20.
9. Under North there was established an educational system that maintained the status quo of the class and caste traditions of the Ceylonese. He wrote to Lord Wellesley on 30.10.1799 that there were schools "in which the Cingalese of high-caste, the Malabars and Europeans have placed several of their children." 22.
10. This social segregation and classification was again evident in the Academy or Seminary that North established at Colombo. It had a three-tier system, namely, one school for Sinhalese, another for Tamils and the third for European children. 23. The Academy was a boarding school where scholars were educated, fed and clothed free at public expense. In keeping with their social class the Sinhalese boys were dressed in the same dignified way as their parents "in the full outfit of a modeliar,

long coat, silver lace, and all the rest of it." 23.

Under Maitland (A.D.1805-1812) there existed a two-way link between the State and the Dutch Church. He requested help from that church in the task of "restoring the educational institutions and public charities of the Dutch," and in return he helped the church "by the appointment of catechists and proponents." 24. The period 1805-1808 was a difficult time for Maitland who faced many problems arising out of the neglect of schools since February 1803 due to financial restrictions already referred to earlier in this chapter. The rising cost of education in the colony had driven the Secretary of State on 8.2.1803 to order North to reduce educational expenses from £5,000 to £1,500 per year. 25.

In these circumstances school-teachers became unemployed and many schools were closed down. Yet, a few teachers earned some money by working as Registrars and Notaries, and Maitland helped the teachers as best as he could but his actions were of necessity limited by the Colonial Office's restrictive order to North. School teachers were helped by Maitland in the following manner:-

1. He made them Agents of the Government.
2. He employed teachers as Notaries.
3. They were allowed to sell stamps on a commission basis. 26.

Under pressure from North and Cordiner who were both back from Ceylon service, and due also to some Evangelical pressure, the Colonial Office allowed Maitland to permit an increase in financial support for schools if such expenditure was "absolutely indispensable." 27. The Rev. Claudius Buchanan, Chaplain in India to the British East India Company since 1797, travelled in Ceylon and added his protest to that of North, Cordiner and the English Evangelicals. Buchanan's complaints were written to draw attention to the neglect of the Ceylon schools and churches.

1. There were Protestant Churches in Ceylon without ministers.
2. "The only Protestant preacher in the town of Jaffna is Christian David, a Hindu Catechist. (For Hindu read Tamil).
3. Christianity has been disgraced by the British "neglect of the Protestant Church in Ceylon." 28.

Neglect of the old system of Dutch schools inevitably resulted in the

neglect of the Protestant churches as religious work was centred around these educational institutions. William Wilberforce in one of his letters complained that the government policy in Ceylon had broken up nearly all the schools merely in order to save £3,500, and that about 200 teachers who were instructing over 20,000 "willing learners" have been put out of work as a result. 29. On 11.9.1808 Wilberforce made the following entry in his diary. "All the school masters being dismissed in Ceylon, and we are to save only about £3,500 by what is the moral and religious ruin of the Island." 29. On 12.9.1808 Lord Castlereagh, Secretary of State for the Colonies, pressed by Wilberforce, sent a despatch to Maitland before he sanctioned the full restoration of the grants to schools and requested an explanation of the neglect of Christianity and education in Ceylon. It stated that the "suppression of Native masters in the island" tended greatly "to lessen the means of instructing the inhabitants, encouraging the natives actually converted to relapse to Paganism." 30.

Maitland attempted to enlist the support of the Dutch clergymen to re-establish the schools in the Colombo district. But, the reply of the Dutch clerics implied a return to the old Dutch school-system with a transfer of responsibility for education into the hands of the Dutch clergy, compulsory education for Protestant children and higher education in the seminary for the Burgher children only. 31. These plans were not approved by Maitland who preferred a scheme whereby State control over education was maintained. 31. Like North's system of education, where caste and class divisions were carefully maintained, so under Maitland such an attitude prevailed. At the Academy there were two grades of Proponents who received different stipends based on the following factors:- 32.

"Proponents wearing European dress	<u>Rix-Dollars.</u>
(Tamil or Sinhalese)	50
Proponents not wearing European dress	
(Tamil or Sinhalese)	<u>30.</u>
	<u>80</u> "

It was in the time of Governor Robert Brownrigg (A.D.1812-1820) that Protestant Missions really took root in Ceylon, especially the educational work carried out through the Mission schools. New schools were opened mainly for the

purposes of imparting Christian education, a policy endorsed by the governor.

The Christian Missions had a three-fold task of conversion, education and social service, 33. and in this task they had an ally in Brownrigg. In a letter to the Secretary of State Brownrigg wrote that "the propagation of Christian principles in His Majesty's colony is in a state of active and thriving progress." 34. The Secretary of State encouraged Brownrigg by assuring him that "His Majesty's Government are most anxious to afford means of education and religious instruction. 35. Under Brownrigg's patronage in 1812 the Colombo Auxiliary Bible Society was formed with the twin aims of publishing and distributing Christian literature in vernacular schools, and various types of literature and reading material were made available to the Christian educationalists by the Bible Society at Colombo. 36.

Brownrigg drew up a plan for education in the island and submitted it to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1813. 37. He encouraged all public servants to support the school teachers and catechists in their duties and to see that children attend school and worship regularly. Old schools were to be repaired and Brownrigg suggested that new schools should be built wherever there was a pressing need. Youth from rural areas were to be brought to Colombo in order to receive an English education, and more Proponents were to be appointed so that they can "disseminate moral and religious instruction among the population on a wider scale." 37. Such were the main points of Brownrigg's scheme for the improvement of education, and the Secretary of State had every reason to praise Brownrigg for his hard work which resulted in "the establishment of new schools, the increase in the number of school-masters and religious instruction." 38.

Under Brownrigg's initiative the first Anglican Archdeacon was appointed in 1818, the Anglican Church was established as a State Church, and the Archdeacon was made the 'Chief Education Officer' of the island. Links forged previously by North and Cordiner between the State and Church and Schools were strongly maintained. For instance, the Archdeacon when appointed was encouraged to make regular annual visitations to the principal stations, to see that the Native Teachers and Catechists did their duty, and to preserve the county schools from falling into neglect. 39. The Rev. T.J. Twisleton became the first

Archdeacon of Colombo on 1.4.1818 on a monthly salary of £200 paid by the State. Under him was the Rev. G. Bisset who was Senior Chaplain as well as Principal of Government Schools. 40. Brownrigg employed some Wesleyan missionaries to teach the English language and paid them 50 Rix-Dollars per month for this work. They taught English to native Headmen and their children. 41. It was W.M. Harvard who as a pioneer Methodist missionary in Ceylon wrote saying that Brownrigg had offered them "a monthly allowance for teaching the English language to the children of the principal native inhabitants, in a few of the most important towns." 41. One Methodist writer commenting on the patronage enjoyed by the missionaries in the sphere of education at this time wrote that "he had seen 'copies of teachers' certificates headed by the Royal Arms, and couched in the most official terms and signed by early missionaries." 42.

Reproduced at the end of this chapter is a photo-copy of the First Report of the Wesleyan Missionary Native Schools on the Negombo Station. These details were written by the Rev. Robert Newstead and dated September 1818. They reveal a high degree of organisation in the Methodist educational system. Small mission-schools dotted the Negombo area and catered for boys and girls. It is interesting to note that many languages were used in these Wesleyan schools, namely, English, Sinhalese, Malabar (Tamil), and Portuguese. Biblical instruction was also imparted in these languages with Dutch being conspicuous by its absence. Reading, writing and spelling were also central to the schooling system of the Methodists. Newstead's scholars were "Burghers, Veilalabs, Fishers, Chandos, Parawas, Challias, Blacksmiths, Washers." 43.

Governor Barnes (A.D.1824-1831) was not favourably inclined towards the system of education that gave so much power to the Christian clergy in Ceylon, and was not in favour of continuing the concessions granted by Brownrigg to the workers of the American Board of Foreign Missions which began work first in Colombo and later in Jaffna. He wrote to the Secretary of State for the Colonies: "I should not have hesitated to remove them from the Island at once, as at present I have disallowed the introduction of an additional member of the mission." 44. Unlike Brownrigg who was glad to welcome all Christian missionaries, Barnes was not happy with Americans working as evangelists in a British colony, but the

attitude of Barnes towards the Church Missionary Society was quite different to his stand against the Americans. Both missionary societies were busily engaged in the work of education but the C.M.S. workers "were the only missionaries" Barnes "would wish to see employed in the Island." 45.

On the whole Barnes was not happy that education in Ceylon had got into the hands of the clergy. He made his protests by word as well as by deed: the post of the second school-master in the parish schools was suppressed by Barnes in 1824 on the grounds that expenses must be kept low. 46. He also stopped allowances once given by Brownrigg to missionaries for school work as English instructors to the Headmen and their children. 47. The simple truth is that Barnes did not approve of schools being used for purposes of conversion of their pupils to Christianity. 48. Barnes felt that the denominational system of education in Ceylon with its built-in bias towards the spreading of Christianity could not be justified in a country where over 90% of the population was non-Christian. 49. He was in favour of spreading the school system all over the island, but was convinced that it was no part of the British colonial government's duty to spread the Christian religion. It was to back up this new aspect of educational policy that Barnes withdrew allowances originally paid by Brownrigg "to Wesleyan missionaries for their education work." 50.

Whilst North, Maitland and Brownrigg were anxious to impart Mission-inspired education to the masses in schools maintained out of public funds, Barnes was of the opposite view. If churchmen wished to run exclusive Christian schools he was right, so he felt, in demanding a more broad-based secular type of education, bearing in mind that the majority of people in Ceylon were Buddhists and not Christians. 51. This enlightened view was ahead of the prevailing educational policy of Barnes' time, but it did not find much favour with the powerful missionary agencies in Ceylon or with their equally influential Christian allies in England. For the time being, therefore, Barnes was a voice crying in the wilderness.

The Commissioners of Enquiry, Lt.Colonel W.Colebrooke and Mr.C.H.Cameron, were appointed by H.M. Government in London to report on all matters relating to the administration of the Government of Ceylon. They arrived in 1829 and their investigation covered education, political problems, state of the economy, social

and judicial matters. Between the end of 1831 and the middle of 1832 Colebrooke and Cameron presented their Report 52. and found that the State-controlled schools were "extremely defective and inefficient;" the schools run by the Christian Missions were superior schools, and no further State schools should be built in areas already served by the various Mission schools. 53. There is no doubt that the process whereby the Missions were gaining monopoly of education was further strengthened by Colebrooke's views about the superiority of Mission schools. He reported that "the education afforded by the native priesthood in the temples scarcely merits any notice. In the interior the Buddhist priests have evinced some jealousy of the Christian missionaries." 54.

There were two recommendations in the Colebrook-Cameron Report that had far-reaching consequences for education in Ceylon. Firstly, it was recommended that the Government should not spend money on Vernacular Schools. Furthermore, it was suggested that "the missionaries should be the sole authority in the field of vernacular education." Once accepted by the colonial authorities such a recommendation made the missionaries the "undisputed leaders in the field of vernacular education in Ceylon," and further increased their hold on the complex schools system emerging in the island during this first period of British rule. 54. Secondly, Colebrooke was in favour of establishing more English Schools, a recommendation which when implemented resulted in an inevitable neglect of the vernacular institutions. It was Colebrooke's suggestion that English schools should be in the hands of a Commission composed of Anglican clerics and Government officials which further served to entrench the power of the missionaries over the educational system. Colebrooke wanted more English schools so that more scholars could receive an English education in order to work within the framework of an English administration in the public as well as the private sector. Apart from this Colebrooke also felt that education in Ceylon should be an aid to the "natives to cultivate European attainments." 55.

By 1832 most schools in Ceylon were maintained by the Government, supervised very largely by the various Christian Missions through Chaplains, and managed by the Anglican Archdeacon of Colombo. By 1834 on Colebrooke's recommendation the first Schools Commission was established consisting of Anglican priests and

government officials. Thus, on 19.5.1834 schools were placed under Government paid Chaplains under the management of the Archdeacon of Colombo. 56. thereby assuring the Christian control of education indefinitely. Gogerly, the Wesleyan missionary, remarked that the missionaries in the schools "are all working away at high pressure, and if they do not convert, they certainly civilize." 57. Ceylon in the immediate post-Colebrooke era had two features that stood out in its system of education:- a) It was biased in favour of Christianity more than ever before and firmly controlled by Christian clergy and ministers. b) It was largely based on the English medium which decreased the prestige of the vernacular languages, Sinhalese and Tamil.

There was no Buddhist, Hindu or Moslem representation on the Schools Commission set up in 1834, an injustice that was not remedied till much later. Yet, Mission schools continued to attract pupils, a strange fact but one on which B.Holmes, a London University educationalist, commented that "even where Christianity was rejected, the Mission schools attracted pupils from groups in the community who saw the value of English in commerce, education and politics." 58. So far as the Colebrooke recommendations were concerned they were faithfully implemented in Ceylon within two years. The main features of the Schools Commission were:-

1. All Government and Aided Schools came under the control of the Commission.
2. It was composed of the Anglican Archdeacon of Colombo; Agents of Government in their Districts;
3. Some of the chief civil and judicial officers of the Government including the treasurer of the Government and the Auditor-General were on the Commission. 59.

The duties of the 1834 Schools Commission were clearly defined by the Governor, and included the supervision of schools in the island together with the duty of advising the government of suitable measures "for the establishment of efficient schools and for the extension of education." 60. One main task of the Schools Commission was the duty of recommending school teachers for appointment to government schools. Colebrooke's directive was that "in all instances" such teachers should be "required to possess a competent knowledge of English." 59.

Such a policy led to the replacement of Sinhalese by English as the medium of instruction. In fact, Colebrooke pointed out that over 12,000 children were under instruction but "those who are taught in the English language does not exceed 800." 59. This imbalance was soon to be corrected.

The general picture of the pioneer period of missionary labours, 1796-1834, was one of considerable help given by the Christian Missions to the cause of education. They controlled 235 schools with about ten thousand pupils and with State support so lavishly given to these Mission schools it comes as no surprise to find them well managed in contrast to other schools. Stage 1 in the history of colonial education in British Ceylon saw Christian missionaries attempting to spread their schools widely. In 1832 Vernacular Schools run by the Government were closed down and replaced by five English Schools at main cities such as Colombo, Galle, Jaffna, Kandy and Chilaw. It was fashionable to send children to English Schools, and colonial education in Ceylon was well on the way to becoming an English education. 61.

Stage 2. Era of great Christian influence in education. The period between 1834-1880 was a time when the Schools Commission was under the greatest amount of Christian influence. It has already been noted that this Commission in 1834 was heavily loaded with Christian members, but their representation was confined to the Anglican Archdeacon of Colombo and to some of his clergy much to the dislike of the Nonconformists who viewed with suspicion and jealousy the privileged position of the Anglican authorities. Buddhists, Hindus and Moslems were not pleased with their total exclusion from the Commission, nor at having to send their children to schools run by Christian Missions whose avowed intention was to convert non-Christians. The dominating position of the Christians can be seen from the following figures. "By 1872 there were 200 Government Schools with 10,000 pupils: at the same time there were 400 Christian Mission schools with 25,000 pupils." 62. The 1834 Schools Commission was dissolved in 1841 with very little regret by the population, especially the non-Christians, and in the Central Schools Commission that emerged there was wider representation. More laity were on this Commission than ordained people, and for the first time Anglicans lost their exclusive position of privilege. Nonconformists and Roman Catholic delegates

were appointed to the Commission whose Secretary became Inspector of Schools, assisted by district superintendents. 61. The 1841 Commission was an improvement on the 1834 Commission, but non-Christians were still not represented. However, in 1836 the State established the Colombo Academy which later became Royal College, a secondary school for boys, run on a purely secular basis. English was the medium of instruction here, an institution which symbolised two important features of colonial educational policy of that time. It stood for the principle that secular education without religious bias was possible in a multi-religious society. Royal College also stood for the trend for English education that gained fresh impetus following Colebrooke's report. 61.

Between 1839-1841 new schools were opened by the C.M.S. workers with support from the colonial authorities, for such schools appear to have needed both State support and the expert knowledge and cheap service of the missionaries on the field. From the time of Governor North this sort of partnership had existed between the colonial government and the various Christian Missions. Thus, it comes as nothing strange when the Rev. J. Bailey, Chairman of the Ceylon Church Mission, announced in 1839 that "His Excellency had been pleased to authorise £25 to be paid to the Ceylon Church Mission for the purpose of enabling it to extend its schools." 63. With the knowledge that such support was assured, Bailey made it known that the missionaries "were willing to attend to applications for the establishment of native schools in villages" which in times past were neglected "for want of funds."

The results of such positive planning were soon apparent, and Bailey wrote thus:- "twenty eight new schools were established in our Mission containing upwards of 700 children, and at least ten more schools might have been established had all the applications been complied with." 63. New schools meant an increase in expenditure and the C.M.S. in Ceylon had to find another £213.0.0. on this account. But, more help came from the Governor....."in addition to the above £25.0.0. His Excellency was pleased to give a draft on the Commissioners of the Treasury for £25 where a collection was made after a sermon preached on behalf of the Mission in St. Peter's Church, Colombo, making the aid afforded by the Government towards the above increase in expenditure £50, leaving £163 to be

supplied by the Funds of the Mission." 63. For the year ending June 30th 1841, the Church Mission (C.M.S. Ceylon) got £203.1.10d. as private contributions and the Government gave another £100 for school work. Attached to Bailey's record of school expansion in 1839 is a copy of a letter he received in 1841 informing him of the generous grant from the State. 63.

"Colonial Secretary's Office,

To: The Rev. J. Bailey,

Colombo, 21.9.1841.

Chairman,

Ceylon Church Mission.

Sir,

I am directed to inform you that His Excellency will have much pleasure in moving the Legislative Council for a grant to be made to the Church Mission in Ceylon of £100, the maximum at present disposable of any one Mission.

Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) P. Anstruther, C.S."

But the story is not all in favour of Mission schools which by 1843 had received clear instructions that "only a limited part of the day should be given to religious teaching which should be non-sectarian." 64. A more general religious education was beginning to replace the older and narrower Christian instruction. Also, it is important to note that for the last thirteen years of its existence the Central Schools Commission lost its administrative powers and became a more advisory body with power confined to the Chairman of the Commission. 65. (It is noted that the increase in English education, a feature of post-Colebrooke years, continued to maintain a steady speed. By 1848 there were over sixty English schools with 2,714 scholars). 66a.

By 1864 there were signs that the Central Schools Commission was breaking-up, and by 1870 it was abolished completely. A Director of Public Instruction was appointed to control the island's network of schools. An important step was taken at this stage with the granting of financial aid by the government to those missionary as well as private schools "which had hitherto received no financial help from the Government." 67. This move brought private schools into the scheme

of State aid.

The Anglican Archdeacon of Colombo suggested in 1857 that government grants should be given to all Christian schools in Ceylon. This suggestion was acceptable to the government authorities on one condition only, namely, that religious (Christian) instruction was not made compulsory. 66b. Christian missionaries were unable to agree to making religious education an optional subject, and they received support from the Central Schools Commission. But, when this Commission was dissolved in 1870 a Department of Public Instruction was established in its place which was responsible to the Governor. 66b. This Department marked the emergence of secular control of education when education was taken out of the hands of Christian Missions, and the State began to exert an increasing control of the school system. But, there was one weakness; the Director of the Department of Public Instruction was responsible to the Governor only which meant that the people had no way of expressing their views on their children's education. 68. or making criticisms of the prevailing system and its facilities.

New policies of far reaching importance were now made and their main features can be summed-up as follows:-

1. Vernacular education became the sole responsibility of the State and plans were made to expand such education without delay.
2. Grants-in-aid were paid to all schools which gave a sound secular education.
3. "In order to satisfy the Christian missionary bodies no further restrictions were laid on religious instruction." 69. There was an immediate increase in the educational work of Christian Missions which in 1870 had 229 schools with 8,201 pupils, but in 1872 this number had risen to 402 schools (including 64 Roman Catholic schools) with 25,443 pupils. 69.
4. When the State grants were extended to all secular schools the way became open for non-Christians to build their own schools. Thus, it was possible for the Buddhists to go ahead and build not only schools for their children, but also the *pirivenas* or centres of higher learning at Maligakanda and Paliyagoda, both near Colombo. 69. Figures given

for 1873 in Governor Gregory's speech to the Legislative Council on 14th October 1874 show a good picture of the progress of education, and mention with praise the part played by Christian missionaries. There were 528 aided-schools with 32,594 scholars, but in the ten months of 1874 the number of schools had increased to 586 and the scholars to 34,496. Ninety-six fresh applications for grants were under consideration for new schools most of which were managed by missionary agencies. Gregory declared:-

"I need hardly assure you that I have received this announcement of the vigour with which the Missionaries are progressing, with unfeigned satisfaction. I have visited the schools of different denominations, and have generally found them conducted with efficiency and judgement." 70.

In 1880 three important events took place: in that year the Cambridge Examinations were held for the first time, which gave English education a new status symbol. Also, in 1880 came H.S.Olcott, the American Theosophist, to Ceylon and his impact on Buddhist education was revolutionary in its results. The other event of importance was the formation at Colombo in 1880 of The Buddhist Theosophical Society for the sole purpose of establishing Buddhist schools when a "sum of over a thousand rupees was raised at the inaugural meeting." 69. Thus, Stage 2 in the progress of education ended on a vastly different note than at its beginning in 1834. No more was educational work confined to the Government and to Christian Missions because Buddhist and Hindu schools sprang up in considerable numbers everywhere. One result of such a new development was that Buddhism was poised for revival, stimulated partly by the prozelytism of Christian missionaries, and partly by Olcott's work. 71.

Stage 3 marked a rapid decrease in the influence of Christian Missions in education between 1880-1912. Reporting to B.M.S. London, the Rev.F.D.Waldock wrote from Ceylon in 1883 when things were still looking good for Mission schools. "We have, 2,212 scholars in our day-schools, as compared with 1,965 last year; of these 609 are girls and 1,603 boys; the large majority are children of Buddhist parents." 72. In his Administrative Report for 1900 the Director of Public Instruction gave the following figures:-

- a) By the end of 1889 there were 1,752 schools.
- b) Of these Government schools were 489 in number.
- c) Buddhist schools were 120 in all.
- d) Christian Mission schools totalled 1,143.

The latter two categories of schools were, of course, eligible at this time for State grants. 73. During this time some Nonconformists were troubled in their conscience that since 1870 they had received State grants for their schools. The Rev. J.G. Greenhough, of Leicester, reported to the Baptist Missionary Society in London after visiting Ceylon in 1902 that "it was contrary to Baptist principles to ask Government help for what were primarily and emphatically Christian Schools, and that the receiving of such aid tempted the Schoolmasters to neglect the religious, and give all their attention to the secular part of the instruction." 74.

Whatever the tensions that Nonconformists felt in this period the control of education was slipping quickly away from Christian hands. In 1896 a Board of Education was set up to advise the Director of Public Instruction, and it was composed of the following educationalists in the island. 75.

- 1. Chairman, The Director.
- 2. Principal of Royal College.
- 3. Principal of the Technical College.
- 4. Church of England, nominated delegate.
- 5. Roman Catholic -"- -"-
- 6. Non-Anglican Protestants, nominated delegate
- 7. The Buddhists -"- -"-
- 8. The Hindus -"- -"-

Between 1892-1902 there was a big rise in the number of grant-aided schools (39 per cent), but government-run schools rose only by 13.7 per cent. 76. In 1904 a Government appointed Commission was asked to consider how best vernacular education could spread throughout the island, and its chief recommendations were embodied in the Rural and Town Schools Ordinance of 1906-1907. There were two main points in this law that were implemented throughout Ceylon, namely, that the male population should receive the benefits of vernacular education, and that religious instruction cannot be imparted compulsorily. 77a. Ordinance No.8 of

1907 as amended by No.30 of 1909 laid down clear terms of action regarding education in the vernacular languages as well as directions for religious instruction of scholars in such (vernacular) schools. Section 21 of the Ordinance specified that:- "No school in which religious instruction is given shall be considered a public vernacular school unless the district committee is satisfied that

- a) religious instruction is given only during the times specified in the school time-table.....
- b) religious instruction is not given to pupils of other denominations than that to which the school belongs if the parents object.....
- c) pupils who do not attend religious instruction are employed in other studies during the hours allotted to religious instruction.
- d) such pupils, if their parents object to their being present in the room where religious instruction is given, are either allowed to study in some other part of the school premises during the hours when such instruction is given, or their presence in the school during such hours is excused, and
- e) that a copy of this section in the English, Sinhalese and Tamil languages is conspicuously posted up in the schools." 77a.

This period in the island's educational history (1880-1912) saw a fall in public revenue from 1881 which resulted in retrenchment in the work of education at all levels. Many State-maintained English and Anglo-Vernacular schools were closed down and Christian Missions were invited to manage such institutions wherever possible with the result that by 1889 grant-in-aid English Mission schools more or less controlled all English education in Ceylon. 77b. The following statistics show how the Mission schools grew over the years.

1. Between 1812-1832 there were 235 Mission schools with 10,000 pupils.
2. By 1846 a Teacher-Training College for training Sinhalese teachers was started at the request of the Christian Missions.
3. In 1848 there were 60 English schools with 2,714 pupils.
4. In 1870 the Missions had 229 schools with 8,201 pupils.
5. In 1872 the Missions ran 402 schools (Protestant & Catholic) with 25,443 pupils.

6. In 1890 there were 984 grant-in-aid schools with 73,698 pupils.

(There were fifty Buddhist schools in 1890 and by 1907 the B.T.S. ran 178 schools).

7. In 1912 the State-aided schools were much more in number and influence than the State schools.

8. The figures for 1912 were classified under three headings.

a) Government English Schools.....	5
Aided English Schools.....	187
b) Government Anglo-Vernacular Schools.....	19
Aided Anglo-Vernacular Schools.....	31
c) Vernacular (State) Schools.....	778
Aided Vernacular Schools.....	1,782 <u>77b.</u>

Relations between the Department of Public Instruction and the Christian Missions became strained by 1905, and in order to foster better relationships the Government reconstituted the Board of Education with officials of the Department and various denominational representatives. 78. But the process of State-control of education was gaining strength, and as already noted by 1907 more and more restrictions were imposed on schools run by the missionaries. Legislation passed in 1906-1907 contained very important features which gave local bodies power to commence compulsory vernacular education in urban as well as rural areas. In those regions where Mission schools existed "pupils of other creeds were exempted from religious instruction unless the consent of their parents was given." 79. This compulsory educational legislation with its Conscience Clause marked a great victory for the opponents of Mission-controlled educational policies and practices, but missionaries were not at all happy as shown by a letter written by a Baptist worker in Ceylon, the Rev. B. Etherington who wrote to B.M.S. London, in 1906 that "only the Government and grant-in-aid schools will be recognised under this scheme for compulsory vernacular elementary education." 80. Etherington explained at length how the new laws would effect Mission schools. His views can be summed-up thus:-

1. Most of the grant-aided schools were run by the Missions.

2. Children in such schools who came from non-Christian homes could not be given Christian instruction without the prior consent of the parents. This rule

also applied to religious instruction of Christian children attending Buddhist schools.

3. Etherington and the C.M.S. missionaries were of the view that the Conscience Clause should be modified by Government "so that the onus of setting it in operation lies with the parents and not with the managers." 80.

Public opinion in Ceylon was against the provision of State funds to schools which gave one type of religious teaching to pupils of other faiths. In 1905 the Wace Committee revealed that in many Christian schools large majorities of pupils were non-Christians but that the main aim of the Mission schools was to convert such pupils to the Christian faith. It was said that "funds raised by taxation were used to support a movement for changing the religion of those taxed."81.

Stage 4 sees the movement sway from State patronage to State control steadily gathering momentum between 1912-1948. From early British days in 1796 to Ceylon's national independence in 1948 marked a long period of tension and conflict in educational matters. Earlier opposition to Christian control of education grew until it found momentum and purpose under Olcott and The Buddhist Theosophical Society. Further, it was increasingly felt that the Mission schools were obstacles in the way of a unified State system of education. 82. But, it must be said that if Christian schools had not existed in the last century there would have been very little education in Ceylon. These Mission schools lifted the intellectual standards and prepared a section of the population to face the changes of western inspired rule. Three comments, pro-Christian but nonetheless accurate, from secular sources in colonial Ceylon will help to present a fair idea of the extent and impact of the Christian contribution to education in British times.

a) In 1872 the Governor, William Gregory, of Ceylon visited a Baptist day-school at Kottigahawatte on the outskirts of Colombo, and said that "as far as he could judge, the progress which education had already made in Ceylon, was to be attributed far more to missionary effort than to the operation of Government schools." 83.

b) A Director of Public Instruction, Mr.J.B.Cull, in his Report for 1893 said: "Upon the importance of these schools, their efficiency, and their utility

in the progress of education, there can be no question. Their efforts are now being supplemented from other sources, but in all real advance in education, they have been the pioneers, and claim the strongest recognition." 84.

c) Sir Joseph West-Ridgeway (1895-1903), a former Governor, paid the following compliment to the Roman Catholics at a school Prize-Giving at the turn of this present century. "I wish to express my appreciation and recognition of the noble work which your church is doing in the cause of education, and I fully recognise the obligation under which the Government lies to the religious bodies which have undertaken the burden of educational work in this country." 85.

By the year 1920 the educational policy of the colonial government in Ceylon was moving further and further away from State patronage of any one religious denomination. If there was a majority of scholars in any Vernacular school who were not of the same religious faith as the management of the school, such an institution would be taken over by the State. Religious education was to be geared to the religious persuasion of each pupil and this led the Ceylon Baptists to admit that their Vernacular schools had less than ten per cent Christian scholars. 86. By 1939 further restrictions were made of a specific nature, namely, only Christian children could receive ^{Christian} religious instruction in any denominational school. 87. The full text of the Conscience Clause of 1939 goes as follows:-

"No child belonging to a religious denomination other than that to which the proprietor or manager of an assisted school belongs shall be permitted to attend any Sunday School or any place of religious worship or to attend any religious observances or any instruction in religious subjects in the school or elsewhere unless the parent of the child has expressly stated in writing his consent that his child shall attend such place of religious worship or receive instruction in religious subjects in the school." 88. In 1946/^{the} State Council of Ceylon proposed that government grants should only be given to schools where thirty or more scholars belonged to the same religion as the management. By 1947 it was being suggested that if schools were receiving government grants all religions should be taught in such schools as part of the religious instruction programme. 89. Not only was education becoming more and more a State responsibility.

but all religions in Ceylon were receiving equal treatment within a national education system.

Another feature of this period was the introduction of Free Education, whereby all education from the primary to the university level was to be imparted free of charge in Ceylon as from 1945. "Education was made free (1945) and almost the entire cost of education even in denominational (free) schools was being met by the Government," wrote G.C.Mendis. ^{90.} On 1st October, 1945, the Free Education scheme was started amid great publicity, and was described by S.G.Perera as "another far-reaching step" in the progress of education. ^{91.} All schools that opted to function as free schools received full State-support to meet the salaries of teachers, for equipment, repairs etc., Schools that opted out of the scheme became private schools and received no State-aid at all. When Free Education began there were in all 6,241 schools in Ceylon and only 16 schools exercised the right to remain outside the scheme. ^{92.} The Minister of Education at that time, C.W.W.Kannangara, claimed that Free Education was 'the Pearl of Great Price.' Under the scheme "the government paid all the salaries of teachers and made grants for equipment and maintenance." ^{93.} It was claimed that Free Education would finally "secure a respected position for children, who through education could compete for government service at different levels." ^{93.}

Some missionaries had long expressed doubts about the use of Mission schools for extending Christian influence among the population. As Stage 4 began in 1912 the Rev.S.F.Pearce of the Baptist Mission wrote:- "I am still of the opinion that as direct evangelistic agencies, our day schools are of very little use except as providing real links with the homes from which the children come. For direct results we must look to our Sunday Schools." ^{94.} In the final analysis it must be said that Christian endeavour in the Mission schools did not create a vast Christian community in Ceylon. Such efforts later gave way to the spreading of English education on an islandwide basis. Ludowyk's verdict in this respect is worth quoting. "As hopes of a Christianised Ceylon receded, the Missionary took up the much easier task of providing, under government patronage, and with government aid, education in English for those who could afford it. Evangelical

work was never given up, but its results were disappointing." 95.

Historians and educationalists, Christian and Buddhist, acknowledge the genuine contribution that the Church Mission schools have made in education. Dr.A.D.Silva, a former President of The Buddhist Theosophical Society of Ceylon, speaking at the Diamond Jubilee Address of that society said: "Christian missionaries have rendered much service to the country, and let us not be blind to the benefits they have conferred on the Sinhalese through their schools. Let us give them every credit for the good they have done in offering the people an opportunity for intellectual improvement at a time when theirs was the only agency existing for the purpose." 96.

Dr.R.Ruberu, an expert on education in early British times (1796-1834), made special mention of the fact that Mission schools reduced caste-consciousness; relieved the "plight of the under-privileged", stressed the "ideal of equality;" provided schooling in most parts of Ceylon to people who would otherwise not have received an education, and made secular education available to people of every caste thereby widening their prospects of employment. 97. It might be added that the Hon.D.S.Senanayake, Ceylon's first Prime Minister in 1948, was a distinguished old boy of St.Thomas' College, Mt.Lavinia, Ceylon, one of the leading Christian (Anglican) public schools in the island. Senanayake was a devout Buddhist but he was also on the Board of Governors of his old school. His son, Mr.Dudley Senanayake, who succeeded him as Prime Minister in 1952 was also a distinguished scholar of St.Thomas' College. So also was Mr.S.W.R.Dias Bandaranaike, Ceylon's fourth Prime Minister from 1956-1959. Other Mission schools also trained national leaders, such as Mr.W.Dakanayake, who succeeded Mr.Bandaranaike, and who was educated at Richmond College, Galle, a Methodist high school. Ceylonese national consciousness was stirred mainly through the English education that was given to Christians and non-Christians and largely obtained through Christian centres of learning. 97.

Mr.P. de S.Kularatne, who was formerly Principal of Ananda College, Colombo, the pioneer Buddhist educational institution of British times, received his "inspiration for Buddhist education out of a realisation that in Christian missionary schools there was little consideration for the religious needs of

non-Christians." 98. Yet, Kularatne generously conceded that "he is what he is today because of the noble example of dedication set by the Christian missionaries." 98. A Methodist leader from Britain, D.B.Childe, visited post-independent Ceylon. He observed that Mission education "has not been a very successful means of direct or indirect evangelism in the past..... The Churches in Asia can no longer regard their schools as belonging to the Church: they need to regard them as belonging to the Nation." 99.

Some interesting post-1948 developments in Education.

AR/BMS of 1953, page 26.

Two policy matters are worth recording in the years that followed 1948. The first imposed restrictions on Christian teaching in schools to Christians only, irrespective of whether the schools were State-aided or Private schools run by missionary societies. In doing this the government extended the 1939 Conscience Clause provisions to all types of schools in the island. The second policy reflected a desire to build more and more Buddhist schools at a time when the Government was facing great pressure to make Buddhist teaching a compulsory subject in all State-aided schools to Buddhist children.

AR/BMS of 1957, page 9.

The Buddhist Commission Report of 1956 went much further in its five main proposals:-

1. All Aided-schools should become State owned by 1.1.58.
2. All teachers in Un-aided schools should receive no benefit under the School Teachers' Pension Ordinance after 1.1.58.
3. Children in all schools must be taught their parents' religion.
4. All Teacher-Training Colleges should become State-managed after January 1957.
5. The Wardens of all Boarding Schools should be of the same faith as the majority of the resident children.

The proposals embodied an anti-Christian reaction of the Buddhists, and were aimed at removing Christian influence from education. Buddhist influence was on the increase now that western colonial policies that had been mainly pro-Christian had given way to education that was under the control of the State.

The Assisted Schools' Education Act No.5 of 1960.

This Act legislated for the take-over by the Ceylon Government of all primary and secondary schools except fee-levying private schools. Few schools of the latter category were left in the island and all of them belonged to various religious groups.

The Assisted Schools' and Training Colleges (Supplementary Provisions) Act.

No. 8 of 1961., placed the Director of Education as the Manager of all the Assisted Schools, both denominational and private. State patronage had finally given way to complete State control with education now becoming the responsibility of the State. The 1961 Act prohibited the building of new schools unless State permission had first been obtained. 100.

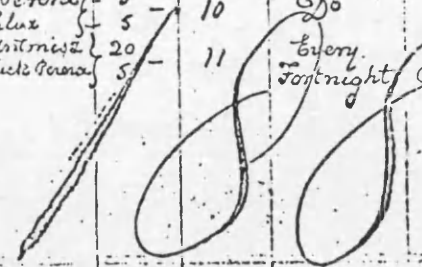
The missionary contribution to education in Ceylon was primarily a pioneer one and confined to the last years of the 18th and effective for almost 75 years of the 19th century. Pastoral care and training of church members should occupy most of the time of all Churches, and while evangelistic efforts cannot be ignored, such efforts should be separated from schools. Such a view was the one that finally emerged in Ceylon, especially with the State showing increasing signs of willingness and ability to undertake responsibility in education on a national basis. 101.

attention
printer.

[The next two pages belong to this chapter and should follow soon after the above words --- "on a national basis."]

Plan of the Schools on the Negombo Station.

Number	Names of Schools, or Places where	When Established	Of what Description	Number of Children Boys Girls	Masters & Mistris's Names	Salaries	Distance from Station	When Visited	General Remarks:
1	Negombo School	Sept 1816	Eng'ling	49	D. D. General a. L. Sisters	20	—	Every Week	Preach Weekly Exp' Monthly
2	Female School	Jan 1815	Eng'ling	2	Mrs. Cramer	5	—	Constantly	We teach ourselves
3	Do	Jan 1815	Eng'ling	3	Mrs. Lourenco	6	—	Do	
4	Grand St. Do	Sept 1818	Eng'ling	20	—	—	—	—	Quite New - a trial
5	Odeppoo	Feb 1818	Do	30	Mrs. Fernando	10	3	Monthly	Often under our eye
6	Catonuake	Oct 1817	Eng'ling	49	Benedict Alvid Don Salarron	10 5	5	Monthly	Masters lives here Preach & Examine
7	Tiedua	Feb 1818	Congalase	44	Bastian Perera Don Abraham	5 5	8	Do	Masters meet weekly
8	Tempale	Dec 1817	Do	30	Cornelius Perera Simon Felix	5 5	10	Do	Do. Do.
9	Akelle	Aug 1818	Eng'ling	60	Abraham Christmis Don Benedict Perera	20 5	11	Every fortnight	Examine Monthly Preach twice in a month.
				303	96				



R.V.

* Expenditure

From Sep 1817	Salaries of Masters & Mistris	1113	Total
To Sep 1818	Books various	434.0	
	Journals, Visitations &c	126.2	
	Miscellaneous, Forms &c	69.2	
			1743

Reckoning 9 Schools here (the 9 has been no expense & c) and 400 Children, the above sum makes little more than 10 paise monthly for each school on an average & something less than 2d. Sterling weekly for each child's education.

Table IV^o 2

State of the Schools.

Schools.	English Testament Readers	Circarive Testament (Readers)	Mozalbar Testament Readers	Portuguese Testament (Readers)	English Reading Books Readers	Congalase Numpyte	Mozalbar Reading	Congalase Alphabets	English Alphabets & small words	English Meters	Congalase Catechisms	Mozalbar Catechisms	Meters on Sand	English Catechisms	Congalase Catechisms	Mozalbar Catechisms	TOTAL.
Negombo School	33	22	15	12	38					33	22	15	+	23	16	13	40
Female Do					10				7								6
Do					17				3								2
Grand St. Do																	
Odeppoo			8		18		19			6		19				11	30
Catonuake	9	20			24	15		11		6	22				32		32
Tiedua		13				21		10			13		24		31		63
Tempale		6				11		19			7		12		11		97
Akelle	2	22			22	20		24		3	20						2
Totals	44	83	23	12	120	67	19	72	10	40	84	34	36	23	90	24	220

Writers on Sand are through the Congalase Alphabet

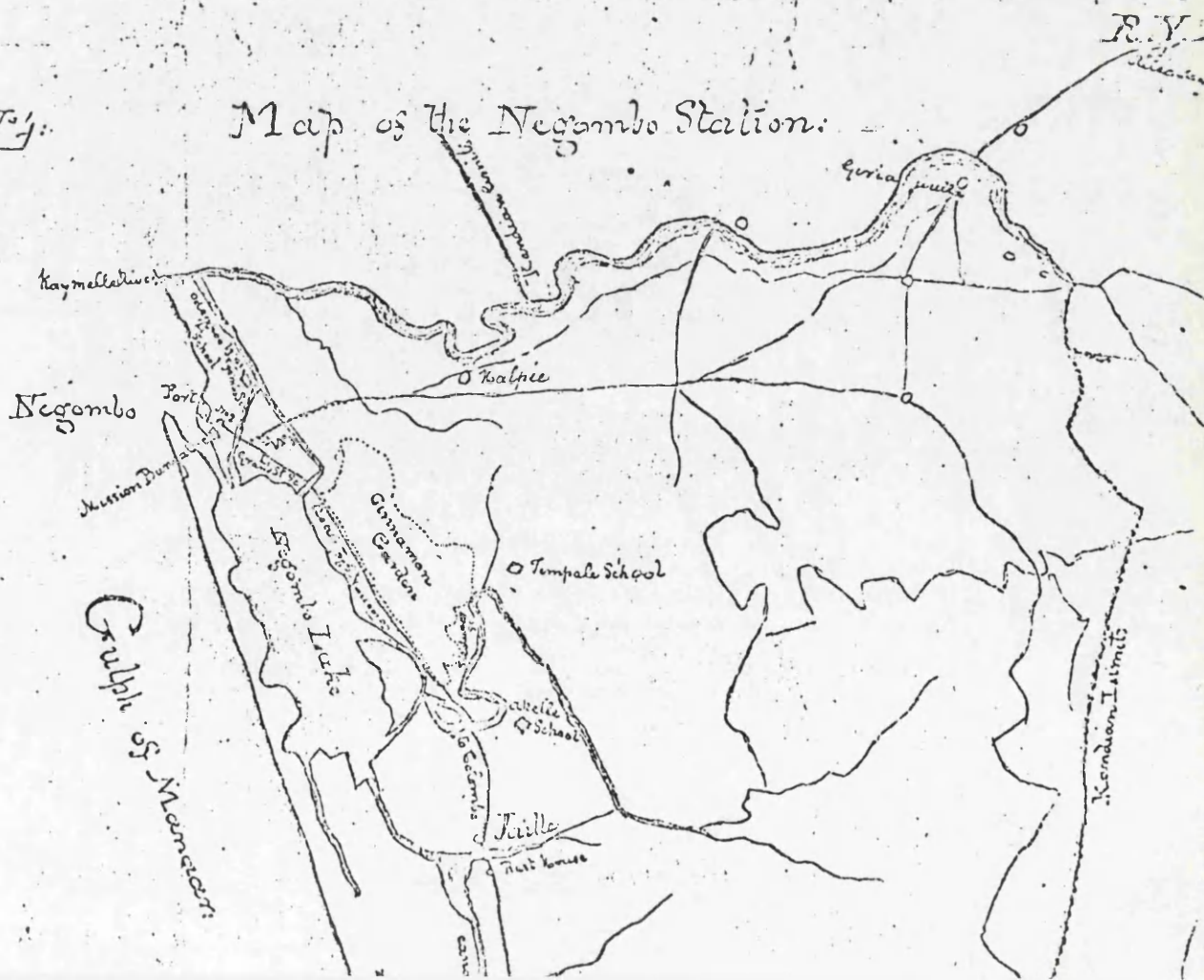
Table N^o 3

Castes, & By whom first Taught.

Schools	Borghers	Kallakits	Fishers	Chanders	Baruwas	Chullias	Blacksmiths	Washers	Total
Negombo No 1	15	7	11	11	2	2	1	.	49
Do - No 2	17	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	19
Do - No 3	.	.	19	.	.	.	.	.	19
Do - No 4	.	.	20	.	.	.	.	.	20
Odeppoo	5	2	29	.	2	.	.	.	38
Catenakke	.	24	.	37	.	.	.	.	61
Ludua	.	3	.	70	.	.	.	3	76
Tempale	.	18	.	33	.	.	.	.	51
Alkelle	1	58	.	4	.	.	4	1	62
Totals.	38	112	79	157	4	2	5	4	401
By Whom	Government Schoolmasters Roman Catholics Buddhist Temples Own Friends Our Schools								14 19 24 36 308
First Taught.									Total <u>401</u>

Table N^o 4.

Map of the Negombo Station.



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5. An Account of the Dutch Church in Ceylon, by J.D.Palm, Royal Asiatic Society Journal, Ceylon Branch, Sections 1-11; 1846-47, page 42. Also A Description of Ceylon, by James Cordiner, Volume 1, London, 1807, pages 155 following. (*Palm Vol:1. Vol:2 is dated 1870*).
6. The Colebrooke-Cameron Papers, Volume 2, pages 71-72.
7. Ceylon Today and Yesterday, by G.C.Mendis, Colombo, 1963, pages 163-164.
8. Christian Missionary Enterprise in the early British Period. Ceylon University Review, Volume 7, page 198, by the Rev.C.N.V.Fernando, 1948.
9. CO:No:54/17, Rules and Regulations of the LMS. Enclosed in North's letter to the Secretary of State, on 27.2.1805, PRO., London.
10. The LMS commenced work in 1805.

<u>The BMS</u> " " in 1812.	}	See pages 140, 141, 143, 146, 149, 201 - 203 of <u>Education in Colonial Ceylon</u> , by R.Ruberu, Kandy, 1962.
<u>The WMS</u> " " in 1814.		
<u>The American Mission</u> came in 1816.		
<u>The CMS Missionaries</u> " in 1818.		
11. The Christian Religion in Ceylon : The Wesleyan Methodist Church. (Newspaper Article) 20.1.1923., 24.1.1923, by the Rev.A.E.Restarick. The N'Eliya Documents. (See also chapter 1 reference 59 and chapter 9 reference 20.)
12. The Church of Ceylon : Her Faith and Mission, edited by The Rev.H.de Soysa, page 125.
13. The Christian Religion in Ceylon : The Church of England. (Newspaper Article) 13.1.1923, by Mrs.H.H.Dulling. The N'Eliya Documents.
14. The Colebrooke-Cameron Papers, Volume 1, page 28 of the introduction. Dundas was a member of Pitt's Cabinet and was Secretary of War and President of the Board of Control of the East India Co., He exerted great power and influence in colonial matters in the time of North. See The Modern History of Ceylon, by E.F.C.Ludowyk, pages 18-19.
15. The Church of Ceylon : Her Faith and Mission, pages 171-172. In Chapter 1 of this Thesis the conflict in population statistics in early British times with special reference to the number of Protestant Christians is closely examined.
16. CO:No:54/4, 1801. Cordiner's Report on Native Schools. (These schools "merit the Patronage bestowed upon them by the Government.") This was the first authentic document on education in early British times in Ceylon. PRO., London.

17. CO:No:55/62. Camden to Maitland regarding the restoration of the school grants, dated 21.2.1805, PRO., London.
18. The Life of Wilberforce, by R.I.and S.Wilberforce, London, 1838, Volume 3, page 378.
19. Ceylon Under The British Occupation, by Colvin R.de Silva, Volume 1, Colombo, 1953, page 243.
20. CO:No:54/1. Letter of North to the Court of Directors, East India Company, dated 5.10.1799, PRO., London.
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24. Christianity in Ceylon, by E.Tennent, London, 1850, page 80.
25. CO:No:55/61. Letter of Secretary of State to North, dated 8.2.1803. PRO., London.
26. CO:No:54/18. Letter by Maitland to the Sec.of State, dated 19.10.1805, PRO., London.
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28. Christian Researches in Asia, by the Rev.C.Buchanan, (New York, 1811, 1st Edition), 2nd Edition, London, 1912, pages 91-93. CMS Library, London.
29. The Life of Wilberforce, by R.I.and S.Wilberforce, London, 1838, Volume 3, page 378.
30. CO:No:55/62, The Sec.of State to Maitland, dated 12.9.1808, PRO., London.
31. CO:No:54/34 - The Deputy Sec.to the Governor to the Rev.Giffening on 4.1.1809., PRO., London. See also Letter of the Dutch clergy to Maitland on 4.1.1809.
32. CO:No:54/37. Minutes of the Governor in Council on 12.10.1809. PRO., London.
33. The Christian Religion in Ceylon : Church of England. (Newspaper Article) 13.1.1923, by Mrs.H.H.Dulling. The N'Eliya Documents.
34. CO:No:54/59. Brownrigg to the Sec.of State, dated 27.3.1816. PRO., London.
35. CO:No:55/63. The Sec.of State to Brownrigg dated 5.4.1812. PRO., London.
36. CO:No:54/59. Brownrigg to William Wilberforce, dated 13.7.1816 regarding the start of the Bible Society's work in Ceylon. (See also chapter 1 references 56, 60b., chapter 5 reference 11., chapter 10 references 1-2).
37. CO:No:54/48. Brownrigg to Secretary of State, dated 27.11.1813. PRO., London.
38. CO:No:55/63. The Secretary of State to Brownrigg, dated 30.7.1814. PRO., London.

39. CO:No:54/62. Brownrigg to Sec.of State, dated 5.11.1816. PRO., London., asking for an Archdeacon.
40. Education in Colonial Ceylon, by R.Ruberu, page 115. (See also CO:No:54/70, PRO., London). The actual warrant of appointment of the Archdeacon was issued on 15.8.1817, CO:No:55/63, PRO., London. See chapter 1 of this research references 65, 66., chapter 5 reference 16.
41. CO:No:54/52. Brownrigg to the Sec.of State, dated 17.8.1814. PRO., London. See also A Mission to Ceylon and India, by W.M.Harvard, London, 1823, page 152.
42. The Christian Religion in Ceylon : Wesleyan Methodist Church. (Newspaper Article) 20.1.1923 and 24.1.1923, by the Rev.A.E.Restarick. The N'Eliya Documents.
43. The First Report of The Wesleyan Methodist Native Schools on the Negombo Station, by Robert Newstead, September, 1818, pages 9-10. H^MS Archives, London.
44. CO:No:54/77. Barnes to Secretary of State, dated 10.10.1820. PRO., London. Barnes took over from Brownrigg in 1820 and acted for two years till February 1822. He assumed duties again in January 1824. See British Governors of Ceylon, pages 36 and 40.
45. CO:No:54/77. The Deputy Secretary to the Governor to the American Missionaries, dated 22.9.1820.
46. CO:No:54/86. Barnes to the Secretary of State, dated 2.9.1824. PRO., London.
47. CO:No:54/52. Brownrigg to the Sec.of State, dated 17.8.1824. PRO., London. See also A Mission to Ceylon and India, by W.M.Harvard, page 152.
48. British Governors of Ceylon, by H.A.J.Hulugalle, Colombo, 1963, page 42.
49. CO:No:54/112. Barnes to the Commissioners of Inquiry, dated 10.9.1830. PRO., London.
50. The Colebrooke-Cameron Papers, Volume 1, page 28 of the Introduction.
51. CO:No:416/6 C.15. Barnes to Commissioners of Inquiry, dated 20.7.1830. PRO., London.
52. The Modern History of Ceylon, by E.F.C.Ludowyk, page 51.
53. Social Policy and Missionary Organisation in Ceylon, by K.M.de Silva, London, 1965, page 142.
54. Educational Policy and The Mission Schools: (Case Studies from the British Empire) Edited by Brian Holmes, London, 1967, page 98, article by R.Ruberu on "Missionary Education in Ceylon."
55. The Colebrooke-Cameron Papers, Volume 1, page 72.
56. Ceylon Government Gazette, dated 7th June, 1834 for Minutes of the Governor on the Appointment of the Schools Commission, PRO., London.
57. Ceylon, by S.D.Bailey, London, 1952, page 128.
58. Educational Policy and the Mission Schools, page 9.

59. The Colebrooke Report, dated 24.12.1831, page 31. See Education in Colonial Ceylon, by R.Kuberu, pages 248-250.
60. Ceylon Government Gazette, dated 7.6.1834, PRO., London.
61. Ceylon Under The British, by G.C.Mendis, page 77. (See also page 76). See also The Church of Ceylon : Her Faith and Mission, page 125.
62. Ceylon, by S.D.Bailey, page 128. At first it was the colonial authorities who looked for Mission co-operation in matters of education. Later the Mission control of education was consolidated.
63. CMS CI/EO 30/132, page 15, CMS Archives, London.
64. Educational Policy & The Mission Schools. Edited by B.Holmes, pages 27-28. See also chapter 9 of this research reference 80.
65. Social Policy and Missionary Organisations in Ceylon. 1840-1855, by K.M.de Silva, London, 1965, page 185.
- 66a. Ceylon Under The British, page 76, (105-107, 129-130. Further comments about Buddhist schools and places of higher learning where the Sinhalese language held pride of place.)
- 66b. Ceylon Under The British, pages 105-106.
67. The Church of Ceylon : Her Faith and Mission, page 173.
68. History of Ceylon, II, by S.G.Perera, Colombo, 1959, pages 178-179.
69. Ceylon Under The British, pages 106-107, 129-130. See also chapter 7 references 11., 49-51 and chapter 9 reference 89.
70. Addresses to the Legislative Council of Ceylon by the Governors of the Colony, Volume 1, 1860-1877, Ceylon, 1877. Gregory's speech is dated 14.10.74, pages 372-373.
71. Ceylon, by S.D.Bailey, page 128.
72. MISS/Her/BMS, May 1883, page 158, BMS Library, London.
73. Educational Policy and the Mission Schools, page 93.
74. Report of a Visit to Ceylon, by The Rev.J.G.Greenhough, MA., dated 4.3.1902, page 4, BMS Archives, London.
75. History of Ceylon, II, page 179.
76. Ceylon Under The British, page 161.
- 77a. Town Schools' Ordinance No.5 of 1906, Rural Schools' Ordinance, No.8 of 1907, The Legislative Enactments of Ceylon. Volume 3. 1900-1913, page 357 re Religious Instruction in Schools, Colombo, 1914. References 77a - 80 of this chapter deal with Vernacular Schools and religious education. See also chapter 7 reference 88.
- 77b. Ceylon Under The British, pages 42, 77, 76, 107, 127, 165, 161.
78. Ceylon Under The British, page 145.
79. Ceylon Under British Rule, 1795-1932, by Lennox A.Mills, London, 1964, page 264.
80. Etherington to Baynes, dated 24.1.1906, BMS Archives, London.

81. The Wace Committee Report, page 4, quoted in Educational Policy and the Mission Schools, page 106.
82. Ceylon Under The British, page 43.
83. MISS/Her/BMS, March, 1873, pages 53-54. BMS Library, London.
84. The Church of Ceylon : Her Faith and Mission, pages 173-174.
85. British Governors of Ceylon, by H.A.J.Hulugalle, page 141.
86. AR/BMS of 1920, page 25, BMS Library, London. See also chapter 9 of this research references 84-85-86.
87. AR/BMS of 1940, page 24, regarding the Education Ordinance No.31 of 1939. BMS Library, London.
88. Educational Policy and the Mission Schools, page 111.
89. AR/BMS of 1946, page 26, BMS Library, London.
90. Ceylon Today and Yesterday, by G.C.Mendis, Colombo, 1963, page 160.
91. History of Ceylon, II, by S.G.Perera, page 230.
92. AR/BMS of 1951-53, page 26, BMS Library, London.
93. Ceylon Between Orient and Occident, by Zeylanious, London, 1970. pages 181-182.
94. AR/BMS of 1912, page 54, Article by the Rev.S.F.Pearce.
95. The Modern History of Ceylon, by E.F.C.Ludowyk, pages 113-116.
96. The Buddhist Theosophical Society Diamond Jubilee Souvenir, Colombo, 1940, quoted in Educational Policy and the Mission Schools, pages 87-88.
97. Educational Policy and the Mission Schools. Edited by Brian Holmes, pages 109-111.
98. The Ceylon Observer, dated 28.3.1968, page 11.
99. Crucible of Ceylon, by Dr.D.B.Childe, London, 1960, page 31.
100. Educational Policy and the Mission Schools, pages 108 and 42.
101. NOW - MMS Journal, June 1970, MMS London, page 8, where Mission schools in Rhodesia faced similar situations: their days of educational pioneering belonging to the early 1900s.

Missionary involvement in Vernacular and English education together with the effort made through the Mission schools to convert the non-Christian population form the three main aspects of the Christian contribution to education in colonial Ceylon. It is now proposed to comment on each of these aspects so that policies pursued and programmes followed can be evaluated within the total context of education between 1796 and 1948, the start and finish of British rule.

Generally speaking the Missions aimed at providing mass education and it was sometimes felt that this could only be done adequately through village schools and by the use of the vernacular. Such a policy was, no doubt, contrary to the Colebrooke recommendations, but this did not daunt missionary determination. One item of policy must be recorded, namely, "where circumstances permitted, a condition of admission to the village school was that the children should receive religious instruction." 1. Yet the popular trend was towards an English education "because it offered the greatest material prospects," and the English schools run by the Missions met a popular demand. 1. It was inevitable that from the start of British rule a place of privilege should be given to English at all levels of society, but various Christian Missions must have agreed with the declared purpose of the Wesleyan Methodists who believed that their Mission schools' "legitimate purpose is to teach Christianity," and that all such educational institutions "are the nurseries to raise up genuine Christians." 2.

The Missions and Vernacular Education.

In spite of the strong bias in favour of a westernized educational system the actual spread of vernacular education was the result of missionary foresight and pleading. It was gradually realised that the Ceylonese could best be reached in their own languages, by their own patterns of thought, and through their own culture. This policy can be described by a Baptist document which stated:- "While we rejoice in the diffusion of the English language in its larger towns, we are well aware that a vast majority of those to whom by our

Mission schools we have access must be taught in their own language or none." 3. An Anglican missionary, The Rev.S.Lambrick, had championed vernacular education as far back as in October, 1818. He had been sent to Kandy only two months previously and wrote to C.M.S. officials in London saying that he had obtained permission from government to open schools, "to teach the children to read and write Sinhalese as a step towards their receiving the special message he had come to deliver." 4.

Governor Mackenzie (1837-1841) took the view that "an exclusive reliance on the English language was an impediment to progress." 5. Mackenzie was greatly impressed by Gogerly and the Wesleyan policy of spreading vernacular education. Among missionaries who laid great emphasis on the vernacular Gogerly was an outstanding crusader, and he got some vernacular schools run by the Wesleyans to qualify for government aid which in former times had been "meant exclusively for English schools." 5. He stressed the need for text-books and his list contained the following:-

"a general reading book, an arithmetic book, a geography and one or more histories (with a treatise of geometry, mensuration and trigonometry to follow) being the irreducible minimum." 6. He urged the Government to print this series of school text-books as well as other works in Sinhalese which were of general interest to a wider public.

Motives, however, were often mixed and Mackenzie as well as Gogerly can be accused of attempting to use the vernacular educational system as a means of spreading Christianity more efficiently than through the English medium. Both, colonial governor and missionary felt that education in the national languages of Ceylon "was merely a prelude to education in the English language." 7. and Mackenzie said that the "primary aim of education was religious; education was a Christian education and a means of conversion." 8.

In rural regions education was available at temples where bhikkhus were the only teachers, but where the standard of learning was not uniform or high. Tennent said that "vernacular education was begun by the Wesleyans in 1817 in the hope of superseding the Buddhist priesthood in this department." 9. Here perhaps was yet another motive for Mission schools undertaking vernacular

education, and James Selkirk of the C.M.S. Ceylon spoke of "the Buddhist and Heathen temples" as places where basic education was imparted to boys only. Selkirk valued such education on a low scale and with some Christian bias mentioned that pupils spent most of their time "reading books which contain little else than the accounts of their system of Idolatry." 10.

The Bishop of Madras, who was kept in touch by Governor Mackenzie about Christian policies in Ceylon, was in full agreement and wrote saying that the best method of spreading the Christian religion was by "the translation of the Holy Scripture into the dialects of the Island." 11. This pro-vernacular policy was confirmed by Tennent who said that from a very early period the missionaries had one object in view, namely, "the education of the Sinhalese through the medium of their own vernacular tongue." 12. Thomas Skinner who spent fifty years in Ceylon said:-

"Let the missionaries enjoy ordinary facilities in extending vernacular education, so that the population may be able intelligently to comprehend Christianity, and the pure and simple Gospel will have its desired effect in enlightening and expanding the minds of the natives, who are susceptible of the highest mental cultivation." 13.

In 1846 Gogerly pressed the Legislative Council to provide enough money for vernacular schools to be established and maintained on a reasonable basis, being convinced that such a grant would help to increase the work of education through the native language. Gogerly mentioned that "hitherto they have supported only English schools. I have every prospect of a grant of £2,600 for education in the Native Languages for 1847." 14. His hopes were fulfilled when the colonial authorities sanctioned "the following Native Educational Estimate for the current year:-

	£.	s.	d.
Native Normal Institution	790.	0.	0.
Preparing and publishing books in the Vernacular languages.	468.	0.	0.
Establishing thirty Singhalese Schools	1142.	0.	0.
Salaries to Singhalese Masters in English Schools	200.	0.	0.
	<hr/>		
	2600.	0.	0.

By 1904 the Ceylon Government had set up a Commission with a view to the expansion of vernacular education. The result was the Rural and Town Schools' Ordinance of 1907 with its chief provision that all males should be provided with vernacular education. This provision was not extended to female scholars at this time, and to this degree, it was defective from the educational point of view. ^{16.} The three years leading up to the 1907 legislation had two well-defined stages:-

1. The policy-making stage when compulsory attendance was demanded in grant-aided schools as in government schools. A suitable conscience clause was also demanded whereby religious instruction could not be imparted compulsorily.
2. The legislation stage came with the Town Schools' Ordinance of 1906 and Rural Schools' Ordinance of 1907, two Acts that gave legal authority to the above policies. ^{17.} Sinhalese and Tamil boys now had opportunity to receive education in the vernacular medium, and this was a reversal of Colebrooke's far-reaching recommendations of 1831 when he had expressed alarm that missionaries were neglecting the English language in Mission schools. More English schools were advocated by Colebrooke in 1831, but by 1904 more vernacular schools were demanded as part of the educational policy of the British administration.

It was said of the Rev.A.G.Fraser of Trinity College, Kandy, that "one of the most controversial things Fraser did was to introduce Sinhalese and Tamil into the school." ^{18.} What had alarmed Fraser was that if any schoolboy at Trinity College spoke in the vernacular he "was thrashed for it." ^{18.} The policy that he pursued was as follows:- "A thorough knowledge of the mother tongue is indispensable to true culture of real thinking power. More, a college fails if it is not producing true citizens; and men who are isolated from the masses of their own people by ignorance of their language and thought can never fulfill the part of educated citizens or be true leaders of their race." ^{18.} Fraser, in fact, was far ahead of the educationalists of his time. Warden W.A.Stone of St.Thomas' College, Mount Lavinia, Colombo, also said in

1907 that "every Sinhalese and Tamil boy should be taught in his own language and no other during his first school years, because boys can only think properly in the language that is their own." 19.

The Missions and English Education. There may appear some contradiction that in the same colonial period the Missions also were in the forefront of English education. Missions appeared to walk a tightrope in education sometimes keeping to a vernacular policy and at other times advocating an English policy. The common factor was religious: could the work of Christian evangelism be done by the use of English and the Vernacular? Missionaries felt that both were instruments that could be used to promote Christianity, but critics should remember that from the start of British rule the Christian Missions had received many requests from the government and the people to open and maintain schools. In cities and towns the missionaries built English schools whilst in rural areas they built Vernacular schools, and this dual pattern emerged with greater emphasis with the passing of the years. As already mentioned in Chapter 1, within two months of reaching Ceylon, the Rev. James Chater of the Baptist Missionary Society, proclaimed in June 1812 that he proposed to open an English School at Colombo as a centre where boarders would receive suitable hostel accommodation, and where the English language would be taught to all scholars. 20.

A combination of Christianity and the English language, it was thought, would introduce the best form of civilization among the colonial subjects of the British Empire. The pattern that emerged in Ceylon was no exception as J.C. Willis observed in 1907 when he wrote that "Ceylon is very much Anglicised so that an English education is alone fitted as matters stand, to qualify a native for employment in anything but ordinary native agriculture or other pursuits." 21. Two years after Chater's English school opened at Colombo the Bishop of London wrote to the Rev. T.J. Twisleton, the Senior (Anglican) Chaplain in Colombo stating that children should receive a thorough grounding in English so that the English language could become a channel to convey truths of the Christian religion. "The instruction of the natives in English is a matter of primary importance," wrote the Bishop, "more especially as the children, in learning the language will imbibe the doctrines and principles of a pure

Christianity." 22. Certainly in the early British period there were missionaries who felt that an English education was an effective means of winning converts to Christianity. Siers, a Baptist worker at Colombo and Hanwella, quotes a local resident as saying that in order "to establish preaching the gospel and sowing the seed of Christianity, the only effectual way would be to establish and open schools to teach the English language." 22.

From the time of the Portuguese city education followed western patterns whilst village education was more traditional with its emphasis on the vernacular. Traditional education was inter-woven with Buddhist and Hindu culture, but under the influence of Ceylon's western rulers urban education was conducted mainly in Portuguese, in Dutch, and finally in English. The cultural back-ground to this type of education was, of course, Christian. From the early days of British rule this pattern in education was followed whereby vernacular schools were found in the villages while the main Christian Mission centres in the cities pioneered English education. Thus, Chater commenced an English school at Colombo in 1812, but it was only in 1846 that the Baptists began a Sinhalese Girls' Boarding school in Colombo. It may be noted that the Baptist schools at Matale and at Ratnapura were English schools for girls. To celebrate 100 years of Baptist work Ceylonese Baptists gave generous support towards the cost of building in 1912 a High School for Boys. A Baptist missionary described such support as a "testimony to the zeal of our people and their desire to promote English education." 23. The foreign missionary and the local Christians of this time agreed on such educational policies which gave English a dominant position.

From a Baptist source comes the following information about the subjects taught, including "reading, writing, geography and arithmetic, all taught in Sinhalese, and the reading and writing of the English language." 24. English was taught as a foreign language very much as French or the Continental languages are taught in schools all over England today. However, the importance of learning English in colonial Ceylon was never under-estimated, and it was described as the most precious acquisition in education, one that "not only excites the respect of the natives, but procures for the young people more

important situations when they go into life; and both these circumstances increase their influence for good." 24. The impression created was that the Sinhalese population preferred an English education mainly because it opened the way to better employment opportunities. In such a situation the Christian Mission schools merely provided what popular demand called for through the schools-system. In fact, Colebrooke was sure that a majority of the population were after education based on the western pattern....."the people in general are desirous of Instruction in whatever way offered to them, and are especially anxious to acquire the English language." 25.

Opportunities to spread the Christian faith were obtained "by way of the keen desire of the Ceylonese, of every belief, to obtain an English education for their sons." 26. Upper classes of Ceylonese society composed of high-caste Sinhalese and Tamils, Burghers and Eurasians preferred to be educated in English. A reaction against the spread of the vernacular system can best be understood when reading Governor Torrington's despatch to Earl Grey at the Colonial Office in 1847, that education in the native language was despised by the Kandyans whose chiefs "asserted that the Kandyans wished to learn the English language, and complained that they had neither schools nor teachers." 27. It is only fair to mention that "both Buddhists and Hindus took to English education as much as the Christians," and in so doing reflected a tendency on the part of the majority. 28.

We have already noticed the fact in Chapter one that in 1802 Governor North declared that he would only receive petitions that were written in the English language. North's point of view needs explaining at this stage mainly because it was not that North wished to be dis-respectful towards the vernacular: he was concerned that English educated students would be financially rewarded in the sphere of employment. 29. We have also commented on the fact that English education in the island was given encouragement by the Report of the Colebrooke-Cameron Commission, which took the view that more English schools were needed so that more Ceylonese could qualify for employment in government service. To this extent one can understand the preference for an English education, and blame, therefore, for such a process must not be put entirely on the Christian Mission schools. Higher educational studies undertaken in the

West, the work of the Law Courts and the various Government Departments all used English for daily work. So did the busy world of trade, industry and commerce. "All these demanded men with a knowledge of English," wrote G.C.Mendis, "and the growing middle class pursued an English education to take advantage of these opportunities." 30.

After 1832 it was inevitable in the light of policy and popular fashion that English became increasingly the language of the government and administration of business. One result was that Sinhalese people, wishing to improve their prospects in life, paid "more attention to the study of English than to that of Sinhalese. The Sinhalese language henceforth made little progress and the Sangha became isolated from the active currents of life." 31. A pro-Buddhist publication of recent times made a bitter comment that English education and the Christian religion were essential for good posts under the government, and that material attractions produced a "hybrid class of half-educated, Europeanized Sinhalese." 32. One immediate result was the down-grading of Buddhism, the Sinhalese language and old customs all of which were generally classified as "contemptible residues of oriental barbarism." 32. Things English and Christian were now held in high esteem while it became "the custom for Buddhists to swear on the Bible." 32. Thus, State and Church very often combined to offer English to the colonial people as essential towards progress in employment. This trend resulted in an English education that reflected little of the life of Ceylon. In the Mission schools the children "learned English history, geography from text-books based on a British outlook, sang English songs and played English games. The Higher forms in the schools had to study the Western classics, Latin and Greek." 33.

In the Mission schools that were of the public-school standard pupils were admitted on a fee-paying basis. Education in such schools was totally Western-based with Classics, Christianity and Cricket forming an almost essential trio in the school time-table. Higher examinations were taken from British Universities such as London, Oxford and Cambridge. 34. A good example where this pattern in education was faithfully followed was St. Thomas' College, Mount Lavinia, Colombo, one of the leading Christian public schools in the land.

Pro-English and strongly Classical in tradition till the early 1940s, St. Thomas' College was built like the English public school. There were the upper and lower sections of the school, two playing fields for these two sections, chapel, science-laboratory, library, swimming pool, classrooms and boarding. Cricket, football, boxing and lawn tennis were popular games, and the scouts and cadets formed the two uniformed organisations. ^{35.} Two policy aspects caused resentment and ridicule among latter-day scholars when they were discouraged from speaking in the vernacular during school hours, and when Sinhalese was taught with the use of the English script.

English was the language of instruction and communication but Sinhalese and Tamil could be offered as subjects. Boys were encouraged to follow Latin and Greek classes and St. Thomas' College, together with other Christian public schools, produced the island's leading classical scholars. Sinhalese was taught but not given more than secondary value. Till the 1940s a most unique way was adopted of teaching Sinhalese whereby the English script was used to convey Sinhalese sounds. No knowledge of the Sinhalese alphabet and script was demanded. Thus, the Sinhalese word for Jackal (fox) was written as Nariya; boy as Kolla and girl as Kella. Nariya in real Sinhalese is නරියා, boy is කොල්ල and girl is කෙල්ල ^{36.} Such a language ^{policy}/deliberately neglected the vernacular and belittled Ceylonese culture as expressed in the classical literature of the people, and to this extent the policy of many Mission schools and colleges contributed to the denationalizing of the indigenous population. Non-Christians have complained that Christians appear to alienate themselves from their national culture and customs when they are converted, and one can appreciate the truth of such an argument against "the denationalization so general among native converts to Christianity, who abandon the manners and customs of their country, and are so estranged from their countrymen, forgetting that Christ was an Asiatic." ^{37.}

The Rev. W. A. Stone, who was Warden of St. Thomas' College at the start of this century, stood for the use of English because he was convinced of two vital factors. Firstly, village boys would not be able to compete with city boys for employment if they did not master their English, and secondly, English

was a powerful force that could unify the various races of Ceylon. So it was that Stone addressed the College Assembly during the first term of 1907, and made an order banning the Sinhalese language as a medium of conversation in the college. He made the village lads "learn English by compelling them to to speak it and hear it spoken. To get anywhere in life, they had to know English and know it well." 38a. English, in Stone's view, was a nation-building language in an island of divisive tendencies, and far from having a 'denationalizing' effect, could act helpfully in the shaping of modern Ceylon. There is no doubt that Stone was practical on this question as a missionary who accepted realities in the world of employment where an English education was essential, and the Ceylon of Stone's time, called by old Thomians the Stone Age, needed English as the common language, and for this reason alone, English had a certain unifying value. The emphasis on an English education took insufficient account of the cultural heritage of the Sinhalese people. G.C.Mendis made the following criticism and one that would find general acceptance.

"The result was that the Sinhalese, who went to the English schools adopted English ways of life without either assimilating them sufficiently or transforming the old ways of life and thought. They gradually lost sight of their cultural background while those who studied through the medium of Sinhalese absorbed little of the new ideas. Thus there was not sufficient blending of the old and the new. It might have been different had bilingualism been adopted and the two cultures been allowed to influence each other. Instead, this process drove a wedge into Sinhalese society and divided it into two sections." 38b.

The Missions and Evangelistic efforts through schools. James Chater wrote the following description with news of his school at Colombo. We gather that his plans for using the schools for purposes of converting the non-Christians were made easier by the willingness of parents, or were they unaware of the implications of conversion, or merely indifferent?

"Our school is going well," wrote Chater, "and it contains more than sixty boys. Last week two young Kandyans were committed to my charge to educate. I inquired of their father if he would wish them to be instructed in the Christian

religion. He said.... 'I have delivered them to you and you may sell them, or kill them, or do what you like with them.'" 39.

The same was true in the "school for the natives" where children of low-country nobles received their education, and parents gave up their children to be instructed in any way chosen by Chater. 39. In the village schools of the coastal regions, built by Ebenezer Daniel, Chater's successor, instruction in the Christian faith was thought to "afford those village children with protection against atheism and superstition." 40. In Daniel's case it looks as if parents and children had no choice but to accept Christianity. Wesleyan missionaries in 1827 felt that heathen parents were generally willing "to give up their children to receive Christian instruction," 41. and the twin objectives of the Missions were "the instruction and Christianization of the heathen." Schools were serving these objectives quite adequately at this time, 41. and it must be remembered that Christian schools "did not teach Buddhism or Hinduism. Buddhism was closely interwoven with the culture of the Sinhalese." 42.

The pattern was formulated in the earliest days of British rule when Governor North showed much interest in the work of education and the spreading of the Christian faith. North believed that Christian education and influence would result in the moral progress of the Ceylonese. 43. But, Governor Barnes did not wish the British Government to spend its energies on evangelistic work. On his orders, as already mentioned in a previous chapter, Christian catechists engaged in supervising religious education in schools lost their posts, and Wesleyan missionaries had their allowances for educational work taken away. 44. This clash between the colonial governor and the Christian missionaries was given clearest expression when Barnes gave evidence before the Colebrooke-Cameron Commission in 1830. Barnes felt that in Christian England it was natural to have schools and colleges run as Christian establishments but circumstances in non-Christian Ceylon were entirely different. "We have," said Barnes, "very absurdly carried out the same system into the schools here where the people are generally Buddhists or Hindoos, and one of the greatest defects of our school system, is in my opinion, that it has got too much into the hands of the clergy. It has been considered more as an instrument for the conversion

of the people to Christianity than of general improvement in Civilization." 44.
 Some of the questions asked by Colebrooke from the Archdeacon of Colombo on 11.9.1830 are worth reproducing. The answers were, not surprisingly, given in the affirmative.

Question No.11. - "Are children of all Religions admitted to the Schools, and is religious instruction given in the schools?" Answer - "Yes."

Question No.12. - "Are the children taught to read the Scriptures or any part of them?" Answer - "Yes."

Question No.13. - "Are the children taught to read the Scriptures; are any parts of them printed in the Cingalese or Tamil languages?" 45.
Answer - "Yes."

Barnes' views express forcefully the argument against church control of schools, and the conversion aims of the Christian Missions. However, the Royal Instructions issued to Horton on 30.4.1831 show a complete disregard of such views. Horton, who succeeded Barnes, received the following specific instructions from London, which proved that the Secretary of State for the Colonies was fully behind the Mission-policy, and that Barnes did not find sympathy for his views.

"It is our further Will and Pleasure," Horton was reminded, "that you recommend proper measures for erecting and maintaining schools in order to help the training up of youth to reading and to a necessary knowledge of the Principles of Religion." 44. By religion was meant the Christian religion, and as Gogerly commented "Schools and a preached Gospel must go together." 46.

Baptist policy.

The Grandpass School for boys appeared to be making steady progress, and many scholars were able to read the New Testament in Sinhalese. They could repeat the entire Catechism called 'Milk for Babes.' 47. Chater confidently stated that the children's parents did not lay down any restrictions regarding Christianity or the instruction given in Mission-schools. 48. In the Missionary Register of 1819 the Baptist policy regarding evangelism through schools was stated to be: "As a means of introducing the Gospel we have had our thoughts on schools for a long time." 49. By 1822 the Baptists had six

schools in Colombo and in the nearby districts. There were 216 pupils in these schools under Chater's immediate supervision and the pupils received regular instructions in the Scriptures. 50. In 1828 it was said that "less than half the total number of pupils in ten Boys' Schools, 170 out of 420, could read the New Testament in Sinhalese." 51. In 1834 the Baptists had thirteen schools attached to the Colombo station and these schools had a roll of 536 pupils all of whom were given religious instruction. It was officially stated that "in nearly all the schools preaching is maintained for those who can be induced to hear the word of God." 52.

Thus, Buddhist, Hindu and Moslem children who wanted a good education in secular subjects had to attend Christian schools which were run with the main purpose of converting non-Christians to Christianity. 53. and this use of schools for purposes of Christian evangelism grew over the years. By 1839 a year of good progress was reviewed by Daniel with the comment that 131 school children were baptized. 54. The following declaration of policy left no room for much doubt: "scripture truth is forced into the mind of the young, and we cannot and will not believe altogether for nought." 55. The chief features of the work of these Mission schools can be classified thus:-

1. Bible teaching was given pride of place.
2. Hymns and Catechisms were regularly used.
3. The main goal was "to bring the children, if possible, to a knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus, and this is not all in vain." 56.

In fact, many Baptist schools in Ceylon were sponsored by churches in England, especially through Sunday Schools. This meant that financial support was sent regularly to Baptist schools in Ceylon, and such tangible expressions of spiritual solidarity were made in the full knowledge that Christian religious truths were being imparted to scholars in Baptist educational institutions.

At the end of this chapter is an extract from the Annual Report of the Baptist Missionary Society for 1856 with many details of such sponsorship. 57. James Allen, a Baptist missionary in Ceylon, gave expression in 1861 to missionary motives when he implied that the alpha and omega of the school system, the very basis of its existence and the inspiration of those who ran the schools, was

derived from the goal that lay ahead, namely the conversion of the non-Christian. Allen reported that "the schools supported by the Mission suffice for learning to read the Bible, and to write a little, with a few other simple matters; beyond which they are not of much value as educational apparatus; but we do not profess to be educationalists." 58.

Between 1878-1886, Mrs.H.Piggott, the wife of the Baptist missionary at Ratnapura, built and established a Girls' School there. She later left Ratnapura for work in Colombo, but not before "several converts had been won, and several of the senior scholars had joined the Church." 59. We see in the Baptist aims and policies a fulfilment of the original aims of the Baptist Missionary Society, which can be summed-up in three ways:-

- a) "To diffuse the knowledge of the religion of Jesus Christ through the whole world beyond the British Isles....
- b) by the preaching of the Gospel, by translation and publication of the Holy Scriptures.....
- c) and the establishment of schools." 60.

The Wesleyan Methodist policy.

In Wesleyan Native Schools for girls the pupils were taught to read and write their own language and "commit to memory suitable prayers and portions of scripture." 61. Wesleyans had a good start under Governor Brownrigg who promised them aid "for establishing schools in the Island, and disseminating Religious and Moral Knowledge." 62. All their missionary endeavour was directed at conversions from Buddhism and Hinduism as expressed by Clough, one of the early Wesleyan missionaries....

"As our great object is to instruct the natives in the principles of Christianity, we endeavour to make all our pursuits subserve this desirable end." 63.

But, when schools were so used for purposes of conversion of children to Christianity, parents sometimes displayed their displeasure by withdrawing their children from schools. The Rev.P.Percival of the Wesleyan Mission admitted that parents sometimes displayed a strong reaction to the Christianizing attempts carried out in Mission schools. "Many schools lost most of the hopeful

scholars, in consequence of their being obliged to learn as a part of their regular task some of the elements of Christianity." 64. The Rev. B. Clough wrote to the Colebrooke-Cameron Commission that by educating the "rising generation in schools conducted on purely Christian principles," 65. the masses would receive enlightening. Through the Native Schools the Wesleyans instructed pupils "to understand their duty to God;" gave them assistance, "such spiritual aid" as was necessary to make them Christians, and generally helped in the expansion of the Christian Church. 66.

All Wesleyan-managed schools were "decidedly Christian both in name and character," the religious emphasis being marked in all the schools. 67. One rule followed by the Wesleyans in this policy was that "none but Christian masters" were appointed in their schools and that no person who was a "professed heathen man" could find employment in the Wesleyan Mission. 67. In 1845 the Wesleyans could say that they taught four school subjects, namely, "reading, writing, arithmetic and Christianity." 68. A few years later the situation was much the same and "instruction was so communicated that Christianity is made to appear the end for which all other mental processes are conducted." 69.

The Church Missionary Society policy.

One great difficulty that faced the C.M.S. in Ceylon was the lack of Christian teachers. Non-Christians were employed reluctantly, but provision was made for such teachers to meet the resident missionary weekly so that they could "give an account of their school, the Scriptures and receive such instruction from the missionary as was necessary." 70. The next precaution that was taken regarding non-Christian teachers involved them in the signing of a declaration which bound the teachers to refrain from practising or participating in 'heathen' rites. The text of the declaration was as follows:-

"I the undersigned hereby agree that this day forth as long as I am in the employment of the Church Mission I will neither wear ashes, go to heathen temples, nor do anything else that may tend to sanction or encourage heathenist practices. I acknowledge that there is no virtue in these things and to practise them is vain, and to encourage others to practise them is highly unbecoming and wicked. To this

declaration I hereby affix my hand this 15th day of February 1831." 71.

No clearer statement of the Christian basis of the schools can be found than this one from C.M.S. records. The Secretary of the missionary society writing to one of his pioneer workers in Ceylon in 1822, reminded him that Mission schools "were the principal, if not the only, means of converting heathens to Christianity." 72. Allied to the work of converting non-Christians through Mission-schools was another practice, new to Ceylon, begun by the C.M.S. Native children of 'heathen' parents were brought to the homes of Christian missionaries, and apart from receiving Christian education in schools, were also brought up in a Christian background in their adopted homes. Mission supporters in England made this adoption scheme possible by contributing for each child the sum of £5.0.0. per year for six years. Such supporters had the privilege of naming the children they supported. 72. It was held that by a "separation of children from the habits and practices of the idolatrous population," they could be brought up as good Christians. 73.

Anglican aims at converting non-Christians via the Mission schools were further clarified by the Secretary, C.M.S. London, in a letter written to one Mr.R.V.Smith, a member of the House of Commons, on 12.2.1841. "The Schools of the Church Missionary Society in Ceylon are based on instruction in the Christian Scriptures, and are conducted according to the principles of the Church of England." 74. The Rev.G.C.Trinnell writing to the Secretary of the C.M.S. in London in 1861 gave the following appraisal of the C.M.S. educational centres in Ceylon....."our schools are valuable to us....they are our village churches; it is in them we collect as often as we can, the parents and friends of the children and preach to them the Gospel of Peace." 75. That was a good description of the multi-purpose use of church schools where religious and educational activity merged into each other.

The American Mission policy.

The Assistant Secretary, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Mr.R.Anderson, addressed a letter to Bathurst, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and wrote at length "on the importance of extensive school establishments as one of the most effectual methods of propagating

Christianity." 76. Evarts, another American Mission official also wrote at length to Bathurst and recounted how the Mission began its earliest work in Colombo under Governor Brownrigg's generous patronage, but how later on the Mission concentrated its labours in the Tamil-speaking (and Hindu) north with Jaffna as its centre. Christianity must be introduced and accomplished gradually and the best method was by the "imparting of a Christian education to children in heathen countries." 76.

Four notable features of the American Mission Schools are worthy of mention at this stage. They complement the work of the British Missions in aim and method.

1. Children received instruction "in the truth of Christianity by means of suitable catechisms and compends of scripture."
2. The Bible was "daily read as a class book."
3. All teachers were summoned once a week in order that they can "report the state of their schools and be better instructed in what they teach, particularly, Christianity."
4. American Mission teachers were "required to attend church on the Sabbath with all their elder children." 77.

As early as in 1817 the American Mission had begun educational work among the girls of Jaffna, and by 1823 the Uduvil Girls' School was opened for boarders on a free basis. This was a financial relief for the poor who could now afford to get their girls educated. 78. At Uduvil Christianity was one of the school subjects as it was the avowed intention of the American Mission "to form Christian Households in the midst of the heathen." 79. This was another way of saying that the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world.

The State Re-action.

During the first fifty years or so of British rule in Ceylon Mission schools spread rapidly, but this was also a period when Buddhist opposition to missionary influence in schools was still weak and not harnessed. There were protests by Non-Christian parents every now and then with the days of planned and sustained protest still to come. Government policy in curtailing the teaching of Christianity came before organised Buddhist opposition to the

use of Mission schools for converting the pupils. For example, in 1843 and in 1861 government moves were made in this direction. In 1843 grants-in-aid were given to non-Governmental schools which fulfilled certain educational requirements and made provision for an English education for boys and girls. Apart from the emphasis of English, the Central Schools Commission grants were to be made on the following conditions:-

- a) Religious instruction must be given only during the first hour of the day.
- b) Religious instruction meant simple explanations of the Bible and leading aspects of Christianity.
- c) No scholar was to be excluded on grounds of denominational teaching.
- d) Parents and guardians could object and withdraw pupils from religious instruction.

The 1843 regulations did not go far enough to curb Christian teaching; they did not make it compulsory for parents' view to be ascertained and the actual restrictions on religious instruction were few. ^{80.} The result was that Mission schools increased in the 1840s, 1870s and 1880s. Their schools, which in 1870, numbered 229 with 8,201 pupils, rose in 1872 to 402 schools (including 64 Roman Catholic schools) with 25,443 pupils. ^{81.} However, allowing for such a growth on the basis of privilege and better administrative knowledge, the 1861 restrictions on religious education hit the Missions much harder than the 1843 rules. All schools that received State-aid faced restrictions, and attendance at religious instruction was now made optional. ^{82.} Parental objection was now to be considered before such instruction could be imparted, and needless to say, missionaries were not pleased with these regulations, seeing that from the start of British rule in Ceylon they had been free to instruct whom they wished in their schools and to any extent.

The Rev.C.C.McArthur of the C.M.S. in Ceylon refused to enforce the rules of the Schools Commission and faced the withdrawal of Government support for schools in his station in 1861. ^{83.} In a letter to the Rev.J.Knight, a fellow missionary, McArthur made some interesting comments. He did not question the Government's right to impose those conditions, but he doubted if as a

missionary working in a Christian school he could support "such an anti-Christian system." The new rules would react "prejudicially to the interests of Christianity." A second letter by McArthur on 4.4.1861 put his position clearly:

"my only reason in having any connexion with schools being to teach the Bible." 83.

By 1920 the educational policies of the Ceylon Government began to take an equal view, more than in times past, of religious denominations in education. The new policies were aimed at the takeover of all Vernacular schools where the majority of scholars were not of the same denomination as the school managers, and the provision of religious education in schools on the basis of each child's own religious persuasion. This policy meant that under State-control the Vernacular schools were no more going to be in the position whereby any one religion could use such schools to impart its own brand of indoctrination to scholars. The missionary societies would, under the 1920 policies, have to hand over 99 per cent of their Vernacular schools to the control of the State. 84.

In the Education Ordinance No.1 of 1920 three provisions stand out:

1. It set up separate education committees on an island-wide basis and recruited members from outside the circle of government officials.
2. In this way education was controlled not so much by local government as by the Department of Education.
3. It placed greater emphasis on language and religious denominations. 85.

The 1920 State policy concerning Vernacular schools was followed in 1939 by further limitations. This policy meant that Christian teaching could only be imparted to children of the Christian community, while children from other religions could attend Christian religious instruction only on the written consent of their parents. 86. Thus, Vernacular and non-Vernacular schools were affected.

The Rising Tide of Buddhist Opposition.

By 1862 there were signs that opposition was growing from Buddhists towards missionary policies in the Mission schools. In one of the Baptist schools at Maharagama scholars dropped from sixty to twenty three due to the

parents' opposition to Christianity, but the school authorities for their part were determined "not to omit its vital truths from the course of instruction." 87. Buddhists drew their main inspiration from The Buddhist Theosophical Society, (after 1880) to remain loyal to their faith and to oppose Christian instruction in schools. Faced with such increasing opposition there was a hardening of Christian policies, and religious instruction was seen as being the "most powerful and direct missionary agency that cannot fail to produce rich and blessed results." 88. When Olcott arrived in Ceylon on 15.5.1880 to lead the Buddhist cause it was the educational disability under which the Buddhists laboured that caused the initial confrontation. Soon the Buddhists began to assert their rights, schools and colleges were established, and this in turn hastened the revival of Sinhalese culture and customs. 89. It was the chief aim of the B.T.S. to open Buddhist schools and thereby to promote Buddhist education for the masses. This was the period that marked the birth of Buddhist Sunday Schools. By 1889, as can be seen in the figures given by the Director of Public Instruction in his Annual Report, schools were classified thus:-

Mission Schools.....	1,143	
Government Schools.....	489	
Buddhist Schools.....	120	
	<hr/>	
	1,752.	<u>90.</u>

It must be recorded that both "Buddhist and the Mission schools were recognised for the purpose of grant-aid." 90. Open and direct Buddhist opposition was getting organised by 1891 under European leadership, and in Kandy the attacks were directed at Christian week-day and Sunday schools. Anti-Christian literature was circulated in Buddhist newspapers, and public subscriptions were solicited on behalf of the Buddhist campaign. Before long rival schools built by Buddhists began to counter the Christian influence in education. In the village of Kalyaslola, near Kandy, a Buddhist school was built in the garden next to the Christian school run by the Baptists. 91. At Elwela in the Kandy district, a society was formed by 1900 for the advancement of Buddhism, and an attempt was made to intimidate teachers in Christian schools. 92.

In 1907 the B.T.S. had one hundred and seventy eight schools in Ceylon whilst the Buddhist Education Society, started in November 1913, made some headway but not enough to provide schools for all Buddhist children. The Rev. H. Highfield, well-known Methodist missionary and educationalist in Ceylon during the early part of this century, remarked that schools maintained by The Buddhist Theosophical Society were "really progressive and efficient." 93. The fact was that in Grant-aided type of schools there were in 1914 83,173 Buddhist pupils but only 28,245 of these were receiving education in Buddhist schools. The rest of the 54,928 pupils were being instructed in Christian schools, and 82,893 other Buddhist children were found in Government schools where religion was not taught. 93.

In spite of every effort to spread Buddhist education, one out of every three Buddhist children being educated in Ceylon in 1914 attended Christian schools. 93. But, schools run by Buddhists increased sufficiently in the present century to meet the educational needs of a large part of the Buddhist school-going population. The result was that there arose a "new generation of people educated in Buddhist schools with a greater knowledge of Buddhism and having more of an indigenous background than those educated in Christian schools." 94.

There were no signs that Buddhist opposition was just a flash in the pan. Rather, the contrary was true and three features stood out clearly. Firstly, the Buddhists were demanding the closing down of Mission schools; secondly, Buddhists were themselves opening their own denominational schools near already existing Mission schools, and thirdly, in 1904 the colonial educationalists had accepted that children should not be compelled to attend schools where their own religion was not taught to the adherents. 95. For the Christian educationalists there were increasing difficulties, and teachers in Mission schools were now seeking employment in Buddhist schools, thereby creating in the former schools a genuine teacher shortage. The Rev. S.F. Pearce, Baptist missionary and Sinhalese scholar, observed that "earnest Christian teachers are very difficult to obtain, with the result that the number of conversions in our day-schools is almost nil." 96. But, in spite of mounting opposition

there were some instances of goodwill on the part of the Buddhists.

The Rev. J. A. Ewing, a Baptist missionary in Ceylon, reported this welcome experience. "A new school has been commenced at Malandeniya in the Kurunegala District, where the Buddhist villagers provided us with a school building and furniture." 97.

As the British period progressed in Ceylon, certainly during its last fifty years, patronage of schools of Christian Missions gave way to State control, and the influence exerted by churches in education was vastly reduced. In the early days of British rule a Secretary of State for the Colonies, Viscount Castlereagh, is on record as having "enjoined upon the governor the necessity of devoting every energy to the promotion of education as essential to the extension, if not ultimately identified with, the existence of Christianity itself." 98. More than a century after Castlereagh missionary zeal in Ceylon continued to entertain hopes of evangelistic triumphs through schools. For example, the Rev. J. A. Ewing writing in 1912 as the Baptists celebrated the centenary of James Chater's arrival, still held fast to the old policy that "Missionary Schools afford a splendid auxiliary of evangelism." 99. In actual fact, this was not the case, and in terms of converts from Buddhism (and other religions), evangelistic work through schools was a long-term failure.

It was Emerson Tennent who wrote that Mission schools did not insist on a profession of Christianity as a prior condition for admission of scholars. This may well have been true but Tennent failed to mention that once admitted to Mission schools the scholars had to face compulsory Christian instruction for the rest of their school career. 100. And, Tennent described the situation in schools within the Cotta district of Colombo about the year 1828 where Non-Christian children were free to attend their own religious feasts and festivals; they were not forced to profess Christianity in order to enter village schools, and while they attended school they often absented themselves at "frequent ceremonies at the Buddhist temple and dewales." 100.

Two comments from 1946 and 1948 are worth noting now. At Kekirawa the Buddhists built their own school so close to the Baptist school that they nearly emptied the latter place. In the Ceylon State Council with its majority of

Buddhist members it was proposed that State-grants should only be given to schools in which thirty or more children are of the same faith as the management." 101. By 1948 it was clear that evangelism through schools faced a closed door in independent Ceylon. Thus wrote the Rev.H.J.Charter in 1948 to the B.M.S. in London....."it was made obligatory to obtain the written permission of all non- Christian parents to give Christian teaching to their children. This reduced our Scripture Class by 50 per cent. Now an attempt is being made to compel school-managers to call in non-Christian teachers for teaching religion to all children of non-Christian parents. This may result in the closing of many of our schools." 102. Did Charter in 1948 give expression to an inevitability that James Chater in 1823 anticipated? Let Chater's own words speak:- "In the village schools they are all Singhalese, and nearly all children of nominal Christians of the reformed religion. But, alas! though professedly of the reformed religion, I am afraid most of them are as much Boódhists as those around them, who never bore the Christian name." 103. They came, vast numbers of non-Christians, to the Mission schools in British times solely for education. Some were nominal Christians but many said in effect that what they needed was a good education and that the Missions could keep Christianity.

Place	Paid Teachers	Unpaid Teachers	Day	No. Atten- dance.	Sabbath	No. Atten- dance	How Supported.
			Schools		Schools		
<u>Colombo</u>							
<u>Pettah</u>							
Boarding School			1	25	1	66	Lewissham Road Sun. School.
Grand Pass	1		1	25	1	25	(In Ceylon. Park St. Sun. School. (and Mr. Harvey.
Katakooly	2		2	52	1	24	Keppel Street, Sun. School.
Mittotomulle	1		1	23	1	20	Society.
Wellumpitiya	1		1	35			"
Kolonawa	1		1	30			"
Thombowilla	1		1	19			"
Gonawelle	2		2	53	1	30	Counterslip School, Bristol.
Mahabina		1	1	17			Society.
Kottigahawattē	2		2	70	1	20	Melksham S.S. & Newtown.
Mulliriawa	1		1	28			Society.
Kalany		1	1	18			"
Ambetele	1		1	26			"
Bombiriya	1		1	20			"
Saidawatte	1		1	40			"
Kottaville		1	1	18			Soho Juvenile Association.
Weilgama	1		1	20	1	16	Cromer Street Sun. School.
Byamville	1	1	1	42	1	35	Society.
Dolupitiya	1		1	20			"
Todewagedara	1		1	21			"
Cosrupuya	1		1	18			"
Kaluwalgoda	1		1	18	1		Horsley St. S. School, Walworth.
Makawitte	1		1	20			Henrietta St. Sunday School.
Oolgulboda	1		1	22	1	10	Society.

CEYLON

AR/BMS/1856. page 60, BMS Library, London,
(See ref: 57 of this chapter).

continued.....

CEYLON

Place	Paid Teachers	Unpaid Teachers	No. Atten- dance.	No. Atten- dance.	How Supported.
Hoonopitiya		1	1	18	
Hendele		1	1	24	1
Marriagoda		1	1	25	14
Kandy	3		2	60	
Gabalaya (Mahagama)	1		1	30	
Udanuwera	1		1	28	
Mattelle	2		2	52	2
Kalalpitiya	1		1	7	40

Henrietta St. Sunday School.
Society.Local funds.
Lion St. S.School. Walworth.NOTE

A protest by Buddhist parents against the indoctrination of their two daughters in a C.M.S. school at Cotta, near Colombo:

"I regret very much to let you know that I have made out from the letters sent by the two girls, that you have infused into their childish brains the teachings of your religion, and have nearly succeeded in attempting to revert their minds to same. We sent the girls to your school in order to get them educated only. We never expected that our children would become Christians. I hereby give notice with thanks that I am going to withdraw the said two girls by the end of March."

Extract from Proceedings of the C.M.S. for the year 1912-1913,
page 173, London, 1913. C.M.S. Library, London.

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7. CO:No:54/179, Mackenzie to Russell, No.42, dated 11.3.1840.
8. Social Policy and Missionary Organisations in Ceylon, pages 147 and 151, Mackenzie to the Bishop of Madras, dated 2.3.1840.
9. Christianity in Ceylon, by E.Tennent, London, 1850, pages 294-295.
10. CMS CI/E 0113/98, page 46, James Selkirk to the Colebrooke Commission, dated 27.1.1830, CMS Archives, London.
11. Social Policy and Missionary Organisations in Ceylon, pages 147 and 151, Mackenzie to the Bishop of Madras, dated 2.3.1840.
12. Christianity in Ceylon, pages 294-295.
13. Fifty Years in Ceylon, by Thomas Skinner, London, 1891, page 281.
14. Wesleyan Manuscripts, Ceylon, II, 1846-1857, Gogerly, dated 11.7.1846, MMS Archives, London.
15. AR/WMS of 1847, page 27, MMS Library, London.
16. Ceylon Under The British, by G.C.Mendis, pages 161-162.
17. Schools For a New Nation, by Wallace R.Muelder, Colombo, 1962, pages 45-46.
18. Fraser of Trinity and Achimota, by W.E.F.Ward, Ghana, ¹⁹⁶⁵ /pages 48-49, and 71. Fraser faced a situation where "a thorough mastery of English was desired as the essential key to power."
19. The Ceylon Observer, dated 12.4.1931.
20. The Christian Religion in Ceylon : The Baptist Church. (Newspaper Article) ^{9.2.} 1923 & 12.2.1923, by the Rev.J.B.Radley. From The N'Eliya Documents. See also chapter 1 of this research reference 59 and chapter 8 reference 11.
21. Ceylon : A Handbook for the Resident and the Traveller, by J.C.Willis, Colombo, 1907, page 101.
22. CMS CI/E 81-104, page 74. Letter dated 12.12.1814 from the Bishop of London to the Rev.T.J.Twisleton in Ceylon. See also MISS/Her/BMS, April 1823, page 31, BMS Library, London.

23. The Christian Religion in Ceylon : The Baptist Church. (Newspaper Article) 9.2.1923 and 12.2.1923, by the Rev.J.B.Radley. From The N'Eliya Documents.
24. MISS/Her/BMS, March 1873, pages 147-148. See also AR/BMS, 1847, pages 25-27. "In the school at Matella, twenty boys and ten girls are taught English and Singhalese. In the other, at Ruanwella, four miles from Matella, about twenty boys are taught in their native tongue." BMS Library, London.
25. Ceylon, by S.A.Pakeman, London, 1964, page 66. See also page 102. (Re the Colebrooke-Cameron Report, pages 74-75.)
26. AR/BMS, 1922, page 34, BMS Library, London.
27. CO:No:54/238, No.73 of 12.8.1847, PRO., London.
28. Ceylon Under The British, by G.C.Mendis, page 162.
29. The Modern History of Ceylon, by E.F.C.Ludowyk, London, 1966, page 32. See Chapter 1 reference 41 of this Thesis.
30. Ceylon Under The British, page 163.
31. Ceylon Today and Yesterday, by G.C. Mendis, page 161.
32. The Revolt in The Temple, by D.C.Vijayavardhana, Colombo, 1953, page 116.
33. Ceylon, by S.A.Pakeman, page 66. See also page 102. (Commenting on The Colebrooke-Cameron Report, pages 74-75.)
34. Ceylon Under The British, pages 163-164. (Also 127-128).
35. St.Thomas' College, Mount Lavinia, Ceylon, was founded in 1851 by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The S.P.G. began its work in 1701 in England led by Dr.Thomas Bray and the Anglo-Catholics. See the Annual Charities Register, 1963, page 325.
36. Mr.C.H.Davidson, BA., (London) who later became Warden of the College, taught Modern Sinhalese at St.Thomas' during the 1940s.
37. Ceylon in 1903, by J.Ferguson, Colombo, 1903 (Section on Christian Missions in Ceylon (1892-1902)) page 83.
- 38a. The Ceylon Observer, Lake House Press, Colombo, dated 6.10.1966.
- 38b. Ceylon Today and Yesterday, by G.C.Mendis, page 196.
39. BMS Accounts, Volume 6, 1817, pages 284-285. Also page 225. Letters dated 14.1.1817, and 15.1.1816.
40. The Christian Religion in Ceylon : The Baptist Church. (Newspaper Article), 9.2.1923 and 12.2.1923 by the Rev.J.B.Radley. From The N'Eliya Documents.
41. The Third Report of the Colombo Auxiliary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, Colombo, 1827, found in CO:/No:416/6 C.13, of 29.10.1830, PRO., London.
42. Ceylon Under The British, page 165.
43. The Colebrooke-Cameron Papers, Volume 1. Edited by G.C.Mendis, page 28, of the Introduction.
44. The Colebrooke-Cameron Papers, Volume II, pages 31-32, also page 153, Barnes to Commissioners, dated 10.9.1830.
45. The Colebrooke-Cameron Papers, Volume II, pages 8-9-10.

46. Wesleyan Manuscripts, Ceylon 1, Gogerly, dated 16.9.1845, MMS Archives, London.
47. MISS/Her/BMS, No.10, October, 1819, page 81, BMS Library, London.
48. MISS/Her/BMS, July, 1823, page 130, BMS Library, London.
49. Missionary Register, 1819, page 9, BMS Library, London.
50. AR/BMS, June 20th, 1822, page 16, BMS Library, London.
51. AR/BMS, June 15th, 1828, page 17, BMS Library, London.
52. AR/BMS, June 19th, 1834, page 17, BMS Library, London.
53. The Christian Religion in Ceylon : The Baptist Church, (Newspaper Article), dated 9.2.1923 & 12.2.1923 the Rev.J.B.Radley. In the village schools it was recorded that many baptisms took place and the work became most promising. From The N'Eliya Documents.
54. AR/BMS, 1840, pages 22-23, BMS Library, London.
55. AR/BMS, 29.4.1852, page 28 by the Rev.J.Allen, BMS Library, London.
56. AR/BMS, 28.4.1853, page 25, BMS Library, London.
57. AR/BMS. 1856, page 60, BMS Library, London.
58. AR/BMS, 25.4.1861, page 59, BMS Library, London.
59. The Christian Religion in Ceylon : The Baptist Church. (Newspaper Article), 9.2.1923 and 12.2.1923, by the Rev.J.B.Radley. From The N'Eliya Documents.
60. Educational Policy and the Mission Schools : Case Studies from the British Empire. Edited by Brian Holmes, London, 1967, page 83.
61. The First Report of The General Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, 1818. page 7, MMS Archives, London.
62. CO:No:54/74, Brownrigg to Secretary of State, dated 4.8.1819, PRO., London.
63. CO:No:54/60, dated 25.1.1820, Clough to Erskine, PRO., London.
64. Percival to Secretary, MMS, London, dated 23.3.1828, MMS Archives, London.
Society
65. Wesleyan Methodist Missionary/Report, 1818, page 8, with the observations of the Rev.D.Gogerly dated 30.5.1830 in CO:No:416/6, Clough to Commissioners, 30.12.1830, PRO., London.
66. Account of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission Schools, Colombo Journal, 16.2.1832, page 82 by the Rev.D.Gogerly. (Royal Commonwealth Society Library, London).
67. CO:No:416/6, Clough to Colebrooke Commission, dated 30.12.1830. See also Jubilee Memorials of the Wesleyan Mission, Colombo, 1864, by R.Spence-Hardy, page 262, MMS Library, London.
68. Wesleyan Manuscripts, Ceylon 1, Gogerly, dated 16.9.1845. MMS Archives, London.
69. AR/North Ceylon Wesleyan Mission, 1849, page 14, MMS Library, London.
70. Letter of the Rev.J.Knight and the Rev.B.Ward to the Secretary, CMS London. dated 11.1.1820, CMS Archives, London.

71. Letter of the Rev.J.Knight to the Secretary, CMS, London, dated 18.4.1831, CMS Archives, London.
72. Letters from the Secretary, CMS London, to the Rev.S.Lambrick in Ceylon, dated 14.8.1822 and 18.4.1822, CMS Archives, London.
73. Proceedings of the CMS for Africa and the East, London, 1830, Volume 1, page 30, CMS Library, London. This is quoted from Education in Colonial Ceylon, by R.Ruberu, page 213.
74. CO:No:54/193, dated 12.2.1841, PRO., London.
75. Letter of the Rev.G.C.Trimnell to the Secretary, CMS, London, dated 15.8.1861. CMS Archives, London.
76. CO:No:54/196, Anderson to Bathurst received in London dated 4.7.1826. Also, Everts to Bathurst from Boston, U.S.A., dated 3.2.1826, PRO., London.
77. The Colombo Journal (Of The American Mission), 1833, page 82, dated 16.2.1833. See Education in Colonial Ceylon, by R.Ruberu, page 167.
78. Twentieth Century Impressions of Ceylon. Edited by Arnold Wright, London, 1907, page 281 on The American Mission.
79. The Colombo Journal, February 1833, page 83.
80. Educational Policy and The Mission Schools, pages 105-106. See also chapter 8 of this research reference 64.
81. Ceylon Under The British, pages 106-107.
82. CMS CI/E 094/50, page 39. The Rev.R.Paynter to Secretary of CMS, London, dated 8.4.1861. CMS Archives London.
83. CMS CI/E 0 86/1-142, page 34 onwards, McArthur to the Rev.J.Knight, dated 22.3.1861 and 4.4.1861. CMS Archives, London. See also chapter 7 of this research reference 87.
84. AR/BMS, 1920, page 25, BMS Library, London.
85. Schools For A New Nation, by Wallace R.Muelder, Colombo, 1962, page 42.
86. AR/BMS, 1940, page 24, BMS Library, London. See also chapter 8 of this research reference 86 for a short mention of Vernacular Schools and religious education.
87. AR/BMS, of 30.4.1862, page 51, BMS Library, London.
88. AR/BMS, of 26.4.1883, page 13, BMS Library, London.
89. The Revolt in The Temple, page 117. See also chapter 7 of this research references 11, 49-51 and chapter 8 reference 69.
90. Educational Policy and the Mission Schools, page 93.
91. AR/BMS, of 30.4.1891, page 44 - Report by the Rev.H.A.Lapham, BMS Kandy, Ceylon, BMS Library, London.
92. AR/BMS, of 26.4.1900, page 53, BMS Library, London.
93. The Foreign Fields of The Wesleyan Methodist Church, March 1914, pages 184-186, BMS Library, London.
94. Ceylon Today and Yesterday, by G.C.Mendis, page 164.

95. Ceylon Under The British, pages 162-165.
96. AR/BMS of 1911, page 40. See also pages 55-56, BMS Library, London.
97. AR/BMS of 1919, page 19, BMS Library, London.
98. Christianity in Ceylon, by E.Tennent, London, 1850, page 85.
99. Lanka : The Resplendent Isle, by J.A.Ewing, BMS., 1912, page 21.
BMS Library, London.
100. Christianity in Ceylon, page 317.
101. AR/BMS of 1946, page 26, BMS Library, London.
102. MISS/Her/BMS, 1948, Report by the Rev.H.J.Charter, April, 1948, page 50.
BMS Library, London.
103. MISS/Her/BMS, July 1823, page 130, BMS Library, London.

Chapter 10 - The Church in native dress : an unprivileged minority group in a largely Buddhist society.

During the British period the Christian Churches in Ceylon made considerable contributions to literature, both sacred and secular. It was under the patronage of Governor Robert Brownrigg that the Ceylon Auxiliary Bible Society was established in Colombo in 1812. 1. He said:- "I seconded it with so much warmth, that it was immediately established.....supported by a very general subscription. I have given it every support in my power, by personal attendance, never failing to preside at the Committee whatever might be my business engagements."2.

The work of spreading Christian literature went ahead steadily, and between 1818-1819 Harvard and Clough, the two pioneer Wesleyan Methodist missionaries, printed and published the Book of Public Worship for use in the Methodist churches. 3. Bible translations began as early as 1817 when Clough and two ex-bhikkhus worked hard to complete a version of the New Testament which had been begun by Mr. Tolfrey, a civil servant. By 1820 Newstead, another Wesleyan missionary, had translated the New Testament into Portuguese, "950 pages and every word written by himself." 4. It was in 1823 that Chater, the Baptist pioneer, "with Tolfrey's aid published the entire Bible in Sinhalese for the first time." 5. The Religious Tract Society began a Colombo Auxiliary in 1825 with Chater's tract directed "against the atheistic and idolatrous systems" of the Buddhists. It was entitled "A Dialogue Between a Buddhist and his Christian Friend." 5. Also, in 1825 the Jaffna Tract Society began work in the northern province while the central districts of Ceylon were served by the Baptist Mission Press at Kandy which commenced work in 1841.

The Anglicans were also busy in the same field and in 1832 the Rev. Samuel Lambrick of the Church Missionary Society wrote a highly controversial tract called "An Exposition of the Errors of Buddhism," a literary effort that aroused that aroused much opposition from Buddhists and won a wide reading public. 6. By 1835 Lambrick had succeeded in translating the whole Bible, yet another version, into Sinhalese. Together with this work Lambrick also produced a Sinhalese Grammar. 7. By 1892 there appeared in London a scholarly research

on Buddhism by the Rt.Rev.R.S.Copleston, Anglican Bishop of Colombo. His book, "Buddhism Primitive and Present in Magadha and Ceylon," remains a source-book written by a scholar of Pali, Sanskrit and Sinhalese. 8.

In the field of secular literature missionaries made great contributions from the start. Clough published an English-Sinhalese Dictionary which contained 628 pages and about 25,000 words. By 1830 he published a Sinhalese-English Dictionary which had 852 pages and about 40,000 words. He dedicated both works to the British colonial governor, Sir Edward Barnes. 9. From the Baptist Mission Press in Kandy was published in 1845 the Sinhalese Spelling Book (1st Part) and also from the same source was the Sinhalese, Tamil and English Vocabulary in the three languages. 10. Sinhalese Grammars seemed to be popular works with James Chater's work of 1815 leading the field in early British times. It was Emerson Tennent who praised Chater as "one of the first who made the attempt thus to systemise the study of Sinhalese," 11. and the work itself was described as "one of the best that had appeared." 11.

Among the missionaries and their local recruits, the Wesleyans did most pioneering in the field of literature and they seemed as competent in both the sacred and secular aspects of their work. For sheer output their record cannot easily be equalled. The following list gives some idea of their early achievements and the title itself is self-explanatory.

"List of Works published by Wesleyan Missionaries in the Native languages, or on subjects relating to the Island.

- W.M.Harvard - Narrative of the Establishment and Progress of the Mission to Ceylon and India, 1823.
 Narrative of the Conversion of a Buddhist Priest.
 Memoirs of Mrs.Harvard.
- B.Clough - A Dictionary, English and Sinhalese, 1821.
 A Pali Grammar and Vocabulary, 1824.
 A Dictionary, Sinhalese and English, 1830.
 The Ritual of the Buddhist Priesthood, translated from the Pali Kamawachan.
 Short Sermons for Schools (in Sinhalese).
 Family Prayers in Sinhalese.

J.Callaway

- Oriental Observations and Occasional Criticisms, 1823.
- Abridgement of Sutcliffe's Grammar.
- A Dictionary, Sinhalese and English.
- A Dictionary, English and Sinhalese.
- A Philological Miscellany.
- Yakun Natanawa : The Translation of a Sinhalese Poem descriptive of the Ceylon System of Demonology.
- Twelve Sermons in Portuguese, 1823.
- Janeway's Tokens for Children, in Sinhalese.
- A Sinhalese Word-Book.
- A Sinhalese Spelling-Book.
- Twelve Sermons, in Sinhalese, 1823.
- Clavis Biblica, in Sinhalese, 1825.
- A Vocabulary, in English, Portuguese and Sinhalese.

W.B.Fox

- Geography and the Solar System.
- A Short Catechism, in Portuguese.
- First lessens, in Portuguese.
- Portuguese Hymns.
- A Vocabulary, English, Portuguese and Sinhalese.

B.Newstead

- Milk for Babes, in Verse.
- A Hymn-Book, in Portuguese, 1851.
- The Sermon on the Mount, in Portuguese.
- The Worth and Excellency of the Scriptures, in Sinhalese.
- The Story of the Cross, in Sinhalese.
- The History of Daniel, in Sinhalese.

W.Bridgnell

- An English Grammar, in Sinhalese and English.
- A Dictionary, Sinhalese and English, 1847.

D.J.Gogerly

- The Evidences and Doctrines of the Christian Religion, in three parts: in English and Sinhalese.
- Essay on Buddhism in Ceylon, in the Appendix to Lee's Ribeyro.

Continuing:
D.J.Gogerly

- Papers in the Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society: on Buddhism, on the Brahma Jala; on the Singalo Wada; on Rattapala; on the Jatakas; on the Chariya Pilaka; and on the Laws of the Buddhist Priesthood.

Papers in the Friend; on the Pansiya-panas-Jataka-pota; on Transmigration; on Transmigration and Identity; on the Sacha Kiriya; on Pirit; on the Laws of the Priesthood; and on Damma Padan.

J.Nicholson

- A Dictionary : English and Sinhalese, 1864.

A Vocabulary : English and Sinhalese.

R.S.Hardy

- Eastern (Buddhist) Monachism, 1820.

Easy Reading, in Sinhalese, 1832.

The Friend : in 8 volumes, 1837-1845.

A Sinhalese Almanac, 1838 and 1839.

The Treasure of Ceylon, in Sinhalese, in 7 volumes, 1839-1846.

The British Government and the Idolatry of Ceylon, 1839.

An English Grammar, in Sinhalese and English, 1843.

A Word-Book, in three parts, in English and Sinhalese.

Elements of Knowledge, in Sinhalese.

The Mirror of the Scriptures, 1847.

A Manual of Buddhism, 1853.

The Sacred Books of the Buddhists compared with History and Modern Science, 1863 and Gotama Buddha in the Encyclopaedia Britannica.

David de Silva

- Papers in the Friend; On the Superstitions of the

Sinhalese; on Horn-Pulling; on Pirit; Atta; on Invocation by cutting limes; on Gammadu; on offerings to Kaluwedda;

on Sinhalese Ceremonies at the first milking of a Cow;

on offerings to the Demon Kunaru; on Gara Yakun; and on the Swapna Mala.

Continuing
David de Silva

- Sinhalese Arithmetic, 1851.
- Elements of General History; Modern, in Sinhalese, 1851.
- Elements of General History; Ancient, 1851.
- History of the British Empire, in Sinhalese, 1852.
- Watts Scripture History, in Sinhalese, 1853.
- Sinhalese Reading Book, 1858.

Tracts

B.Clough

- Reasons why I am not a Buddhist.
- The False Prophecy and the Truth of Jehovah.
- On the Existence of God.

A.Hume

- The Pilgrim's Progress.
- The Advantages of Drunkenness?

T.Kilner

- Dona Wilmina.

R.S.Hardy

- The History of Abraham.

J.Scott

- On Heaven.
- Paul at Athens.

P.Rodrigo

- The Touchstone.

David de Silva

- On Nirwana.
- On going to a Bana Maduwa.
- On Horn-Pulling.
- On Buddhist Festivals.
- A Dialogue on Buddhism.
- Is Buddha all-wise?
- Buddhism and the Earth.
- Buddhism and Eclipses.
- ~~Dialogue on Buddhism.~~
- On the Existence of God.
- On the Sabbath.
- On Happiness.
- On Sinhalese Theatricals.
- Man has an Immortal Soul." 12.

Not included in this detailed list are such works as:-

The Treasure of Ceylon in Sinhalese, published monthly, edited by J.Nicholson and David de Silva.

The Banner of Truth in Sinhalese, published monthly, edited by David de Silva.

The Wesleyan Intelligencer, published quarterly, edited by G.C.Gunawardana. 12.

For sheer output on a regular basis it is hard to beat Gogerly's achievements. Most of his major works were collected in 1908 by A.S.Bishop, a Methodist missionary, who published them under the title "Ceylon Buddhism" in two volumes. Bishop listed these works with the date of their first publication in various journals in the following order:-

Volume 1 - 1) An Introductory Sketch of Buddhism (1847).

2) An Outline of Buddhism (1861).

3) The Books of Discipline (1845).

4) The Laws of the Priesthood (1853-1859).

5) The Patimokkha (undated).

Volume 2 - 6) On Transmigration (1838).

7) Dhammapada (1840).

8) The Power of Truth (1839).

9) The Virtue of Almsgiving (1853).

10) Pirit (1830).

11) Brahmajala Sutta (1875).

12) The Discourse Respecting Ratthapala (1847).

13) Culla Kamma Vibhanga Sutta (1847).

14) Patta Kamman (1848-1849).

15) A Discourse to some inhabitants of Veranja (undated).

16) Maha Dhamma Samadana Sutta.

17) Sigalo Vada (1847).

18) Selections from the Jatakas (1847-1848).

19) Maha Satipatthanana (undated). 13.

From the start of British rule in Ceylon evidence such as gathered above would suggest that the various denominations were interested in Buddhism not merely from the point of view of proselytism, but also for the sake of scholarship and perhaps what today is termed the comparative study of religion. Apart from Buddhism, the Sinhalese language received many benefits by missionary linguists. Thus, Clough was a scripture translator, lexicographer and expert linguist whose literary works enriched the Sinhalese language. 14. Likewise has Spence Hardy many learned works to his credit, and Tennent mentioned that the Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Asiatic Society in 1848 published 467 titles given by Spence Hardy of "works in Pali, Sanskrit and Elu, collected by himself during his residence in Ceylon," 15. Tennent also recorded that "of the Pali books 26 are either grammars or treatises on grammar." 15. Together with Gogerly and Newstead these pioneer missionaries in Ceylon occupied the role which Carey and the early Baptists filled in Bengal in the 19th century. In Ceylon the missionaries were translators and scholars who prepared Sinhalese dictionaries, wrote treatises on Buddhism and translated the Scriptures thereby aiding and enriching the vernacular. 16.

Towards the end of the last century the rev. Charles Carter of the Baptist Missionary Society contributed what many acclaim as one of the great Christian contributions to Sinhalese literature. Carter came to Ceylon in 1853 and became an eminent Bible translator. He wrote Sinhalese and English Lesson Books as well as books on Sinhalese Grammar. Before he left Ceylon in 1891 Carter had published the most authoritative English-Sinhalese Dictionary of all time. In 1936 the Sri Chandrasekera Fund gave Rs: 2,000 towards the publishing costs of the 2nd Edition of Carter's Dictionary. 17. It remains to this day the final word among Sinhalese dictionaries. In the Preface to the 1st Edition Carter himself wrote in June 1889.

"Besides adding to his vocabulary and keeping abreast of the times by the perusal of current Sinhalese literature, the compiler has waded through a Sanskrit-English Dictionary, and carefully selected therefrom terms which he knew were required in Sinhalese, and most of which were already frequently used in the literature of the learned." 17a. Thus, Christian missionaries "contributed to

Ceylon's national culture and made us stand in their debt." 17b.

Daniel T. Niles, Theologian and world church leader, wrote in 1946 a presentation of Christianity to the Buddhists. It was a modern attempt to define in theological terms the basic concepts of Christianity and Buddhism, and was written with a sense of respect and friendship. In this latter aspect Niles differed much from the apologetic writings of the last century which displayed so much ignorance and bitterness. Niles made masterly use of Buddhist terminology in order to convey Christian teaching to the non-Christian reading public. 18.

"Let this, therefore, be our constant meditation, our Jnana;

1. that we are Anicca apart from God.
2. that we are Anatta apart from Him.
3. that it is His love which dissolves our Dukkha.
4. that it is His love which is our Sarana.
5. that without Him we can keep no Sila.
6. and that in the remembrance of His love is our true Samadhi."

It was a slow but nevertheless a steady process whereby Christianity in Ceylon learned to appear and to act as an Eastern religion. Since 1505 the Christian community in the island had been too closely linked with the spiritual and cultural patterns of Portugal, Holland and Britain. But, with the movement towards national self-rule under the British it was realised more and more that Christianity must take root among the people as a friend and no longer as a western imported stranger. Niles summed up this tendency quite adequately when he said that Christians hoped to see in Ceylon "an indigenous Church and an indigenous Christianity. The gospel is the seed which one plants in the different soils of different peoples, and the plant that grows up is Christianity : it bears marks both of the soil and of the seed." 19. The real challenge was that : "Ceylon must grow her own plant. The days when missionaries brought pot-plants to us are over." 19.

In church music a start had been made whereby hymns and lyrics could be sung to Sinhalese tunes with the help of Sinhalese instruments. The Rev. W. S. Senior, who worked in Ceylon between 1905-1928 with the Church Missionary Society, is best remembered as an outstanding educationalist and a classics scholar of no mean



HYMN FOR CEYLON

Jehovah, Thou hast promised
The isles shall wait for Thee ;
The joyous isles of ocean,
The Jewels of the sea ;
Lo ! we, this island's watchmen,
Would give and take no rest
(For thus hast Thou commanded)
Till our dear land be blessed.

Then bless her, mighty Father,
With blessings needed most,
In every verdant village,
By every palmy coast ;
On every soaring mountain,
O'er every spreading plain,
May all her sons and daughters
Thy righteousness attain.

Give peace within her borders,
'Twixt man and man goodwill,
The love all unsuspecting,
The love that works no ill ;
In loyal, lowly service
Let each from other learn,
The guardian and the guarded,
Till Christ Himself return.

To Him our land shall listen,
To Him our land shall kneel,
All rule be on His shoulder,
All wrong beneath His heel ;
O consummation glorious
Which now by faith we sing !
Come, cast we up the highway
That brings us back the King.

reputation. Yet, Senior endeared himself to many Ceylonese by composing the poems entitled "The Call of Lanka" which expressed his great love of Ceylon in prose and verse.^{20.} Most Christians have adopted Senior's "Hymn For Ceylon" as the Christian national hymn with its tune taken from the Buddhist sacred song in praise of Anuradhapura, the city of the famous Bo-Tree. Adaptation of the tune was undertaken by the Sinhalese Christian and oriental musician, Devar Suriya Sena. ^{20.}

For nearly 450 years western forms of music were predominant in Ceylon for worship in urban as well as in rural areas, and many Sinhalese and Tamil Christians preferred to attend English services in British times when hymns and psalms were sung to organ and piano music. Devar Suriya Sena saw something degrading to the native genius when English tunes were transferred to native hymns and psalms describing this as a "mutilation both of the oriental language and the European melody." ^{21.} When Ceylonese Christians cut themselves off from their own culture and imitated a foreign art, music and literature, they laid themselves open to the charge that their Christianity had been a denationalising religion. Christian churches in Sinhalese speaking areas slowly began to adopt and modify harvesting melodies, vannamas (short song recitals by groups), and ode songs thereby building up a true lyrical tradition. The Psalms were set to the tunes of Sinhalese Kavis (lyric poems set to a sort of plain-song metre), giyas (songs with a more flexible metre than Kavis), and gathas (verses of invocation usually chanted). In 1932 an event took place that identified the Christian community of the influential Anglican denomination with Sinhalese tradition when The Holy Communion Service was entirely re-cast into a Sinhalese setting.

The man responsible for this liturgical revolution was Devar Suriya Sena. The Prayer Book Service to Sinhalese music was inspired by traditional village melodies, and was so arranged that it was first sung by a choir of girls to the accompaniment of a tambura. Village Christians were greatly appreciative, and "one old villager said that his breast burned when he heard it. Others came to hear it. They called it the Baddegama Setting." ^{22.} Sinhalese words, Sinhalese music, Sinhalese instruments and traditional Sinhalese responses made this particular breakthrough a great Christian identification with native culture, and attracted such comments from Buddhists as - "they have taken our music." Suriya Sena asks:

"What new songs have Sinhalese Christians sung to the Lord? Which of their own instruments have they played to sing praises unto Him? Have they praised Him with the Nalawa (a bamboo or wooden whistle), rabana (tom-tom) and talampota? Bhajans and Theverams of Hindu origin, have been adopted for Christian worship in India: drums are not scorned by African converts." 21.

The singing of Jayamangula Gathas 23. at Christian weddings and the offering of rice and milk to the bridal couple, symbols of happiness, prosperity and fertility, are customs that appealed first to rural Christians in later British days. More native customs await greater acceptance by the churches, and among those that gained favour, gradually, were the following:- A Sinhalese custom prevails where rice or paddy is thrown on a mat or cloth on which the bride and bridegroom stand for the wedding ceremony. In some instances rice is offered to the bridal couple. The western use of paper confetti as a substitute for the rice made the symbolism empty of all meaning. The wedding ring is another symbol which in Christian usage replaced a meaningful Buddhist (and Hindu) custom whereby the bride and groom were united in marriage by the symbolic thread being tied to the finger of both husband and wife. J.Vijayatunga, the Sinhalese novelist, wrote thus:- "the bride and bridegroom stand side by side with their thumbs tied together while a patriarchal and bearded relative pours water over their joined hands and speaks a benediction over them." 24.

At the Union Church in Nuwara Eliya, Ceylon, since the 1930s the Holy Communion Services were marked by the offering of flowers after the offering of money. Flowers used were jasmine and 'temple-flowers' (frangapanni) which Buddhists and Hindus use at their temples and shrines as symbolic of the transitory nature of human life. 25. The use of the banana tree to decorate churches in Ceylon is also significant since on glad occasions both Buddhists and Hindus use the complete banana tree with leaves and fruit intact to decorate the entrance to house, temple or shrine. On sad occasions the banana tree is still used but with leaves and fruit cut off. Christians at the end of the British period joined increasingly the Buddhists and Hindus in their symbolic use of the banana tree for weddings, funerals and other special occasions. 26.

Worship and general patterns of church life began to take a more 'eastern'

appearance than in the past. Martin Wickramasinghe, Sinhalese novelist and play writer, has shown how South Indian customs have been taken over and made suitable for Buddhist usage. 27. On festive occasions churches in Ceylon began to abandon electric illuminations in favour of the traditional oil lamps and paper lanterns, an imitation of Buddhist practice but made 'Christian' by the display of the cross on the lanterns and by the use of cross-shaped oil-lamps. Vesak lanterns are used especially to celebrate Vesak Festival by the Buddhists and oil-lamps are used by Buddhists and Hindus at home and temple, especially to mark the New Year and Deepavali, Festival of Light. Another point of identification is in matters of clerical dress. In former times coat, trousers, clerical collar, shirt and shoes formed the clergy/ministers' wear, and in many cases an academic gown and hood were also worn. Now the white cotton cassock has become widely used and resembles the loose-fitting robe that is more familiar to Eastern people, and those who wear such clothes do not usually wear shoes. There is an interesting observation that Ceylonese have made as regards the Christian ministry: Roman Catholic and Anglican clerics are addressed as "Hamuduruwo" or 'Swami' which means 'priest', while the Free Church ministers who wear western clothes are called 'Mahatmayas' or 'Durais' which means 'gentlemen!'

Christian churches have been built in Ceylon by three successive western-inspired communities and patterns of western architecture were followed quite naturally, but these created in the long-run a divorce between churches and other buildings of 'native' style belonging to non-Christians. But, during the latter stages of British rule this defect was made good. The Chapel of Trinity College, Kandy, is based on Kandyan Sinhalese architecture while paintings inside the Chapel were painted by an old student of Trinity College. These paintings depicted Gospel scenes with Christ and the disciples in eastern dress. It was towards the end of 1918 that plans were made for building the college chapel, and the Vice-Principal, the Rev.L.J.Gastor, inspired the design of the building "in the tradition of Ceylonese Buddhist architecture, with colonnades of carved pillars." 28a. The staff of Trinity College "set their heart upon re-vivifying, re-interpreting, and adapting, for purpose of Christian worship, their own great Sinhalese tradition." 28 At the Training Colony, Peradeniya, the Chapel is another example of a Christian

place of worship that was built in the style of a Buddhist temple. The Anglican Church at the CMS Mission station, Baddegama, and St. Luke's Church, Borella, are two more examples of such buildings dating from the later British period. "These churches are the first-fruits of the new attitude of cognizance of the national culture." 28b. Such words sum-up the growing identification of the Ceylonese Church with its native background.

The twenty years or so prior to 1948 can be called the 'transition period' when there was a growing tendency to encourage indigenous patterns of worship within the Christian churches. Ceylonese dress, the national languages (Sinhalese and Tamil), art, music and architecture of the traditional type came into prominence. As Sinhalese culture had such close connections with Buddhism it became the business of the churches to see how much of this culture could be baptized into Christian usage and how much should be rejected. In the past western inspired Christianity in Ceylon had felt that the use of English and the acceptance of Christianity via the west would lead to the spiritual and moral improvement of the people, and the churches had shown little interest in the religions or in the cultures of the island. In fact, there was a certain looking down on this non-Christian aspect of national life, a false sense of separation between holy and unholy. Bishop Stephen Neill, commenting on a similar situation elsewhere quoted a missionary as saying.... "if the African Christian takes to dancing the Mass, the sober soul of western man is likely to be deeply shocked. But it is better to be shocked than to be asleep." 29.

The verdict given by the Rev. J.P.S.R. Gibson, a former Principal of the United Training Colony, Peradeniya, is worth recording as the considered judgement of a much esteemed missionary in Ceylon....

"We have explained God and spoken of Him in English ways; we have arranged for His worship along lines that satisfy our spiritual aspirations, and we have built houses for His worship that are according to our architecture, and at least in years gone by converts were encouraged to be as English as possible in dress, language and customs." 30. Can such a policy have arisen out of a sense of cultural superiority or racial pride? We may find some clue as we examine a recommendation of the Conference on Missions held at Liverpool in 1860. One

hundred and twenty six delegates were present but only one of them was a Christian from the younger churches of the overseas mission-fields. He came from India and was called Behari Lal Singh of Calcutta. Among many recommendations that were accepted at this conference the following throws light on the western bias found in mission-fields. It was decided that the European missionary must remain as "instructor" and not merely as "pastor" in the mission churches. The reason for the subtle distinction was then outlined clearly in these words. "The higher Christian civilization from which he has come; his position as a messenger of foreign Churches, as a man of superior social rank, and as one of a dominant race, render him unfit to be merely their pastor." 31.

A great India Christian, Principal Rudra of St. Stephen's College, Delhi, maintained that "an Indian nation needs an Indian Church." 32. This became a deeply felt Ceylonese need as well in the 1930s and 1940s because for too long the typical Ceylonese Christian had imitated the European, used English names, worn English clothes and adopted English religious customs. For too many years had the Ceylonese Church acted as "a camp follower rather than a pioneer....ever ready to acquiesce in the status quo in respect of both Government and Mission administration. The hardest charge the Christian had to face was that of denationalization." 32.

The days of top-hat and tail-coat Christianity were fast coming to an end, and the national mood and policy prior to 1948 were clearly against an alien-minded religious community. It was felt by the churches that the bondage to historical circumstances should no longer imprison them as in times past. There is no doubt that the westernisation of the Ceylonese churches was inevitable but it was not going to remain a permanent process, and Ceylon would have felt the impact of westernisation even without the Christian religion. "It was the price that the people of the country had to pay as Ceylon gradually transformed from a medieval to a modern country while under foreign and western rulers." 33a. Far-sighted Christians like the Rev. B. Etherington of the Baptist Mission said that missionaries must become allied to native life if they hope to become effective in their work. "If a missionary is to become an evangelist to the natives, and not a worker in English among Europeanised English-speaking natives and Burghers, he must after

perhaps a very brief month's stay in Colombo to shake down (if this is a necessary delay to make arrangements) be put in the country." 33b.

In defence of the early missionaries it must be said that they transplanted the church and proclaimed the Gospel in the ways familiar to themselves as westerners. They had "no touchstone of experience by which to establish a criterion," 34. as commented by Canon J. Mcleod Campbell, a former principal of Trinity College, Kandy. If Christianity in Ceylon was a plant that grew from seed introduced by the West, the closing years of British rule saw the emergence of Ceylonese churches and Christian communities in native bloom. D.T. Niles spoke of one danger, however, "We must see that the plant which we grow does not bear more marks of the soil than of the seed." 35. Self-identification and absorption are two clearly different things, and Martin Wickramasinghe commented that "Christianity should have been Ceylonized first instead of Westernizing the Ceylonese and then converting them to Christianity, as has been done." 36. As western colonial rule came to an end Christians in Ceylon began to take an interest in such national festivals as the Sinhalese New Year, the playing of national games, the wearing of national clothes which were claimed as much the birthright of Christian Sinhalese as of the Buddhist. This tendency was in marked contrast to the aloofness practised by Christians in the previous colonial times.

In Portuguese and Dutch times Christians were only a minority group and such status did not change under the British. During all three colonial regimes this Christian minority enjoyed a position of immense privilege seeing that all three western colonial powers were Christian. One reference at this stage to Christian privilege and State patronage will help to focus the subject. Governor Horton (1831-1837) received 'Royal Instructions' from London which read.... "You shall be careful that all orthodox Churches already built may be well and orderly kept, and that in all cases where others shall be built besides a competent Maintenance to the Minister a convenient House and a sufficient portion of land for a Glebe be allotted to him." 37. This was patronage on the part of the British colonial power, and it was the acceptance of such privilege that isolated the Christian community. For a large part of the British period such a position existed, to the disgust of the Buddhists to say nothing of the Hindus and Moslems. But, in 1948

the British handed over all political power to a freely elected Ceylonese Government. This first post-colonial government was led by the late D.S.Senanayake who became Prime Minister on 4th February, 1948, thereby ending 443 years of western rule. Here ended any form of State support for Christianity, and here began the emergence of a revived Buddhism as the religion of the majority. 38.

Various population statistics could prove that Christians never occupied anything but a minor place in the island. Three sets of figures, the third being post-colonial, indicate the numerical minuteness of Christians in a non-Christian population.

<u>1921 Census</u>	-	Number of Christians - 443,000 - 9.9 per cent of the population.
<u>1946 Census</u>	-	Number of Christians - 603,235 - 9.1 per cent of population.
<u>1953 Census</u>	-	Number of Christians - 714,874 - 8.8 per cent of population. <u>39.</u>

Nur Yalman gave the following population and religious statistics for 1953.

<u>Buddhists</u>	-	5,317,000	64 per cent.
<u>Hindus</u>	-	1,614,000	20 " "
<u>Christians</u>	-	715,000	9 " "
<u>Muslims</u>	-	542,000	7 " "
<u>Others</u>	-	11,000	0.1 " "
			<u>40.</u>
			<u>100</u>

These figures show how small in numbers the Christians have generally been when compared with the rest of the population. Three census figures from the last century also confirm the position of the Christian movement during the last twenty years of that decade. 41.

<u>Total No. of Christians</u>	<u>1881</u>	<u>1891</u>	<u>1901</u>
	267,977	302,127	349,239
<u>Percentage of total population</u>	9.71	10.04	9.80
<u>Roman Catholics</u>	208,000	246,214	287,419
<u>Other Christians</u>	60,000	55,913	61,820

If 1505 marks the beginning of Christianity in Ceylon as the religion of the westerner, then, 1948 indicated the end of that type of "alien" religion in an eastern land. But, before 1948 the churches had displayed some evidence of having taken root in native soil, and Christians were becoming increasingly aware of the disadvantages of being linked with the colonial powers. In pre-independent Ceylon various Christian missions were free and favoured in their work. Favourable opportunities existed for Christian preachers, and the churches enjoyed patronage and protection. Such a situation came to an end in 1948: the churches were now another minority group in a non-Christian society. 42.

The emergence of the Buddhists as the privileged majority group in Ceylon can only be understood against the background of colonial history. If the Portuguese period can be called a time of active anti-Buddhist activity in Ceylon, then, the Dutch period was marked with the offers of worldly inducements to converts from Buddhism. Under the British the Christians enjoyed privilege, and yet, under the non-persecuting British colonial authorities Buddhism experienced its revival in the latter part of the 19th century thereby being in a position to reassert itself by 1948. "The decline of Buddhism," wrote G.C.Mendis, "actually began long before the coming of the Westerners. The palmy days of Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa came to an end with the break-up of the Polonnaruwa Kingdom." 43. After this time the land was broken-up into smaller kingdoms with internal strife and foreign invasions from South India weakening the political stability of each Kingdom. For the Buddhists this spelt disaster as they lost the patronage they once enjoyed in more stable and secure times. In British times there was the strong reaction within Buddhism against caste divisions in the ranks of the Sangha, 44. further underlining the weak state of Buddhism in general. Also, in early British times with State patronage Christian Missions made progress while Buddhism occupied a background place. Thus, in matters of education and employment Christians formed a favoured elite with English and not Sinhalese, as the language of the schools and the departments of government.

However, it must be recorded that the British colonial authorities had during the latter part of the 19th century severed State links with the churches in Ceylon (Anglican and Presbyterian) with the Disestablishment Act of 1881.

State support for Christian Mission schools began to undergo reversal tendencies, while at the same time non-Christian schools received secular aid with increasing emphasis on the Conscience Clause that limited religious instruction. ^{45.} In the latter part of the British period there arose movements towards Buddhist revival and renaissance of the Sinhalese language and literature. In the years building-up to national independence Buddhism became recognised as the national religion, and the more Buddhism came to the forefront as the religion of the majority, the more one notices the increasing influence of the temples and the bhikkhus. This is a major factor in the understanding of events just prior to and just after 1948. The clock was turned in favour of Buddhism which now came to occupy the privileged status Christianity had enjoyed in Ceylon from the start of British rule. Many members of the Ceylon Parliament in the post-1948 era were Buddhists who were anxious to see the self-assertion of their religion after nearly four and a half centuries of neglect and persecution.

Many Buddhists were longing to see Buddhism enthroned as the State religion, its pro-colonial position, but a State established and aided Buddhism is not favoured by all leading Buddhists, especially scholars like Rahula whose comments on the subject are:- "The idea of the 'establishment' of Buddhism in a given geographical unit with its implications is quite foreign to the teaching of the Buddha.....nowhere had he given injunctions or instructions regarding a ritual or a particular method of 'establishing' the Sasana in a country. Buddhism is purely a personal religion. The notion of establishing the sasana or Buddhism as an institution in a particular country or place was perhaps conceived by Asoka himself. He was the first King to adopt Buddhism as a State religion." ^{46a.} The Buddhists generally thought, and not without evidence from past history, that Christianity and Colonialism in Ceylon were two sides of the same coin. If religion and politics mixed so easily for the Christians the Buddhists felt that a similar alliance could work for the welfare of Buddhism once the colonial days were past.

But, the Constitution of Ceylon made it clear that there would be no religious discrimination in independent Ceylon. Section 29 (2) provides that no law enacted by the Ceylon Parliament shall -

- "a) prohibit or restrict the free exercise of any religion; or
- b) make persons of any community or religion liable to disabilities or restrictions to which persons of other communities or religions are not made liable: or
- c) confer on persons of any community or religion any privileges or advantages which are not conferred on persons of other communities or religion: or
- d) alter the constitution of any religious body except with the consent of the governing authority of that body;

provided that, in any case where a religious body is incorporated by law, no such alteration shall be made except at the request of the governing authority of that body. Laws which infringe Section 29 (2) of the Constitution are declared by Section 29 (3) to be void and may, therefore, be declared void by any Court in the Island." 46b.

The Christian community gradually became the one inter-racial body in the island, the only effective unifying force in a land of many divisive elements. Buddhists who were the majority group could expect support from the State for their religion, but Buddhism could not become a true national religion so long as it was Sinhalese-led and Sinhalese-inspired. Thus, 1948 marks the start of massive claims made for Buddhist supremacy and three comments about the link between nationalism and religion are now made. Firstly, the Buddhist revival of the last century gathered final momentum when it produced a Sinhalese-Buddhist national spirit among the masses. 47. Secondly, the idea spread that "full loyalty to Ceylon" could only be possible "with the profession of Buddhism." 48. Thirdly, it was mainly the Sinhalese Buddhists who led the campaign for national freedom. 49. Whilst English was pushed into the forefront since Colebrooke's recommendations of 1832 it could not permanently weaken ancient links between Buddhism and the Sinhalese language. 50. In these circumstances the Christian community in Ceylon at national independence faced a strong Buddhist challenge.

Debates and disputes of the 19th century between Christians and Buddhists gave way in the present century to a desire to understand, to appreciate and to study each other's teaching. Tolerance and research slowly replaced ignorant and intolerant views of early colonial times. Bishop Heber's missionary hymn,

"From Greenland's Icy Mountains," did at first contain a reference to Ceylon as "where the heathen in his blindness bows down to wood and stone." 51. One infers that Heber had Hinduism in mind when he wrote those words, but later editions of the hymn refers not to Ceylon but to Java, a correction made by the author himself. 52. Heber would have contributed greatly towards a fuller understanding of Buddhism if he adopted St. Paul's line of thought when he came across non-Christian objects of worship in Athens. 53. But, Heber was unable, as were many western missionaries of his time, to see other religions in an understanding manner. Emerson Tennent in 1850 commented on the gap between Buddhism and Christianity but said nothing of any common ground at all. "Conceive the difference of meaning," wrote Tennent, "which will attach to the words of the English Liturgy, 'we have done those things which we ought not to have done,' and for which the only equivalent in Sinhalese is the atheistical confession of Buddhism, 'To us all sin happens.'" 54. This type of criticism shows some grasp of Buddhism but offers no points of contact with Christianity. In 1895 a Baptist commentator wrote on Buddhism in Ceylon. "It has no God, no personal Creator, no personal Providence of a Heavenly Father, no image of 'God in Man,' no due sense of sin, no living Saviour, no Divine sympathy, no hope of release from pain, sorrow, and the evils of existence, except through an all but endless succession of births, during which all degrees of suffering are possible, and the end thereof, if ever it be reached, Nirvana." 55.

As the era of western colonialism in Ceylon ended research and scholarship were demanded from Christians in an effort to understand the difference between the Buddhist way and the Christian Gospel. The churches demand from their members purity, truth, temperance, honesty and charity, but it was found that those demands are also made in Buddhist teaching. Christians are forbidden to commit murder but in Buddhism the prohibition to kill embraces all life. Jesus summed-up the Law as involving a total love for God and unselfish love of fellow man. Buddhism would go all the way with the command to love all things even though God's love finds no place in its teaching. Yet, Buddhism insists that charity is the basis of all religious life, and teaches Buddhists to appease anger by gentleness and to overcome evil by good. 56.

Whilst Christian missionary activity in Ceylon during British rule has

received critical attention in this research, it must be said that the Christian contributions have been unduly under-valued by some observers in Ceylon. Too often have Ceylonese pre-occupied themselves with fighting on behalf of the Sinhalese language, or with endeavours towards the restoration of Buddhism to its prime place in national life. But, it would be wrong to judge the churches solely in these limited terms, and the changes caused in Ceylon through the churches were more radical than those that occurred in Portuguese or Dutch times. 57.

Various Christian denominations were instrumental in opening schools, colleges and libraries. Missionaries from western lands often pioneered many aspects of social-service work with the old and the young. In some cases work done in pre-western times was carried out on a limited basis: this lack was made good when the missionaries undertook social service on a national scale. Christian care paved the way for rehabilitation work amongst the morally fallen, the drunkards and various types of law-breakers. In this work the Roman Catholic church and the Salvation Army can take much of the credit, but praise must also be given to other Christian denominations for pioneer efforts in social service. The Maggona Reformatory run by the Roman Catholics is a pioneer corrective centre for delinquent boys, and the Welikade Press and Loom run by the Salvation Army is a successful attempt at providing industrial training for the poorer classes of society. 58. At the Wellawatte Industrial Home and School for Boys, Colombo, service is rendered to boys from the poorer classes amongst the city-dwellers. "Sinhalese and Tamil boys, Buddhists and Hindus found a home" at this industrial centre, and in the words of a Methodist missionary they also received "an education and training that would provide them with abilities to earn their living and become useful and responsible citizens." 59.

Through Christian schools girls were offered opportunities for modern education and employment. In the midst of a predominantly non-Christian society the Christian Church in Ceylon has felt the need for having contact with the Universal Church, but at the same time the Church must be rooted in Ceylonese traditions, expressing the Gospel in indigenous forms and adopting for purposes of worship institutions, literature, architecture and music; items of common Ceylonese inheritance. A Chinese author, Han Suyin, who took a critical attitude towards missionaries and missions in China, described in the following words

her impressions as she watched missionaries at the Guest-House, Hong Kong, after they were expelled from China by the post-war Communist rulers. Even though no such expulsion of Christian missionaries took place in Ceylon one can fairly substitute the word 'Ceylon' for China.

"In this room," wrote Han Suyin, "were the remains of a hundred years of missionary work in China. A hundred years of devotion, sacrifice and good works. For the glory of their God, in unselfish zeal; men and women had gone to baptize the heathen, teach their variety of the Only Truth, heal the sick, feed the hungry, fulfil themselves and the will of their God.

In this room were the people who had worn down our traditions, broken our selfishness, awakened our social-conscience, armed us with ideals, dragged our scholars from their poetic torpor and our peasants' superfluous babies from the cesspits, built our universities, our hospitals and our puritanism. They also had made New China." 60.

Buddhism will remain the religion of the majority of the Sinhalese people, and Christianity will continue a minority religion during the foreseeable future. But, hopes of evangelistic triumph continue to be entertained in both camps. The Anglican Archdeacon of Colombo in 1945 made Christian aims and ambitions clear by saying that the work of the churches is incomplete till non-Christians are brought within the fold of the Christian community. Especially in early British days such aims were frequently expressed by the Christian Missions, and The Buddhist Commission of Enquiry commented thus:- "There are in Ceylon religions which still proclaim that their work is not over until the whole of Ceylon has been brought under their sway, and that with Buddhism and Hinduism there can be no compromise." 61. On both sides it was felt that a multi-religious society was a fact of the history of Ceylon, but problems arose as always over the question of evangelism. In 1945 just as the British period was coming to an end the first Ceylonese to be consecrated a bishop in the Anglican Church in Ceylon, the Rt. Rev. Lakdasa de Mel, mentioned that the "task of the Church of Ceylon will not be finished till the remaining ninety per cent of the population, who are not Christians, are converted." 62. In a strongly worded reply to Bishop de Mel the Buddhist voice was heard when G.F. Malaladekera protested....."Conversion, we would remind the

Rev. de Mel, is an ugly word. To us in this country it has all the undesirable associations of force, bribery and corruption, of de-nationalisation, of the exploitation of poverty and ignorance and greed, of disease and helplessness. Attempts at conversion breed strife and ill-will; the days when Buddhists and Hindus tolerated proselytisation are gone. They will meet the challenge to their faiths with vigour and determination. They will no longer accept the claims of any religion to be the sole path of righteousness or happiness." 62.

Right through from Portuguese times Christians in Ceylon have been a small part of the population. Their numbers decreased in British times when religious toleration led many nominal Christians away from the churches. 63. Humility of spirit is demanded from such a minority as it seeks to co-exist with Buddhism, and almost all the lessons of colonial history in the island would teach the Church to be sure of the basic things, of the foundations, and of the structures that emerge in the passage of time. T.S.Eliot, the Christian poet, said:-

"I say unto you : make perfect your will,
 I say : take no thought of the harvest.
 But only of proper sowing." 64.

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continuing

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1834	1863	1912	1954
1839	1864	1913	1955
1840	1866	1919	1957
1841	1870	1920	1958
1846-7	1872	1922	1962
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	May 1891	Feb. 1895	May 1898	Sept. 1898
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GLOSSARY.

- ANATTA = No separate soul or ego.
- ANICCA = Transitory.
- ARATCHY = Local headman of the village.
- BANA MADUWAS = Preaching halls.
- BASNAIKE NILAMES = Controllers of finance for Devales in Kandy.
- BERAVAS = Caste who did the tom-tom beating.
- BHIKKHU = Wandering beggar - monk.
- BHIKKHUNI = Female counterpart of bhikkhu.
- BRAHMINS = Hindu priests.
- BURGHERS = Descendants of the Dutch.
- CAPUWAS = Priests to the heathen gods.
- CHANDOOS = Toddy tappers.
- DALADA MALIGAVA = Temple of the Tooth (Kandy).
- DEVALES = Hindu shrines.
- DHARMA = Buddhist Doctrine/Teaching.
- DISSAVAS = Governors of Provinces in the Kandyan territories.
- DIYAVADANA NILEMES = Controllers of Finance of the Temple of the Tooth.
- DUKKA = Sorrow.
- DURAVAS = Lime burners (caste).
- GAHALAYAS = Kandyan Low-caste.
- GOIYGAMA = Cultivator - caste.
- KARAKA SABHAS = Management Committees.
- KARANDUWA = Casket.
- KARAWA = Fisher-caste.
- KINNARAYAS = Mat weavers.
- KORALES = Administrators of sub-districts.
- KSHATRIYA = Warrior caste of Hindu society.
- MAHA NAYAKA THERO = Chief Bhikkhu.
- MAHAYANA = Northern Buddhism (Tibet etc.).
- MANGALAYA = Festival.
- MUDALIYARS = Second rank in a three tier Sinhalese honours system of the low country. (Maha Mudaliyar, Mudaliyar, Mohandiram).

NIKAYA = Sect.

NILAMES = Lay-officials of Temples.

NINDAGAM = Royal villages granted to individuals, lords or chiefs, on consideration of performing for the king some service.

NIRVANA = State of bliss at the end of the Karmic Cycle.

PADOOVAS = Low-caste in the Sinhalese system.

PANSALAS = Houses of bhikkhus.

PAN - SIL = Five precepts of Buddhism

PARIAR = Lowest of castes: virtually untouchable.

PARUMAKAS = Land owners.

PERAHERA = Buddhist Procession.

PIRIVENAS = Centres of higher education run by bhikkhus.

POYA = Phases of the moon

RADDAWAS = Washermen.

RAJAKARIYA = Service rendered to landlord or king in return for land.

RATEMAHATAYAS = Administrators of five Kandyan Provinces.

RODIYAS = Degraded Sinhalese caste. (gipsies).

SALAGAMA = Cinnamon peeler caste

SAMADHI = Concentration.

SANGHA = Brotherhood of Bhikkhus.

SARANA = Refuge.

SILA = Morality.

SUDRAS = Labourer caste in Hindu society.

TALAMPOTA = Cymbals

TAMIL = South Indian by race.

THERAVADA = Southern Buddhism (Ceylon etc.).

THOMBO-HOLDERS = Keepers of Registers.

UPASAMPADA = Act of Ordination of Bhikkhus.

VEDDAS = Primitive race of people found in Ceylon.

VESAK = Birthday of Buddha.

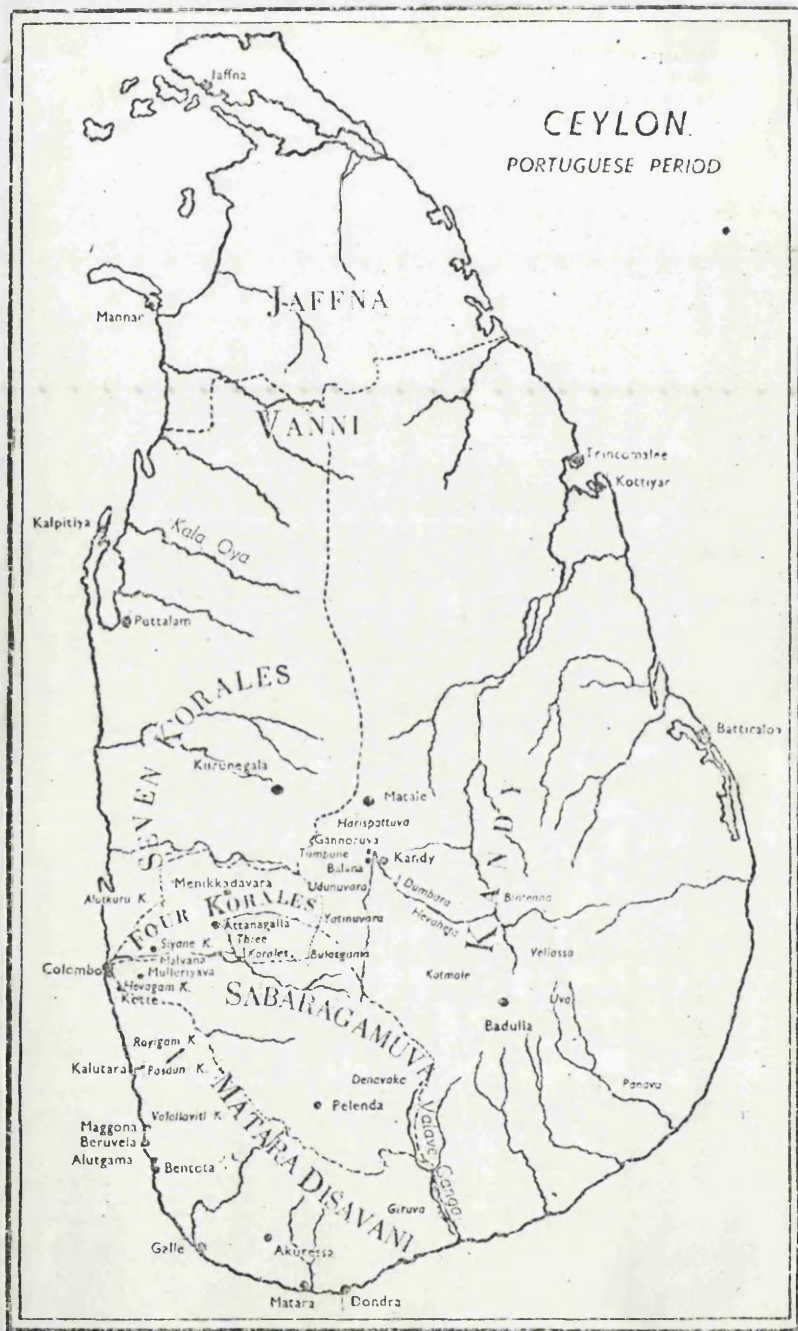
VIHARAGAM (and Devalagam) = "These were to the viharas and devales respectively what Nindagam were to its lord, i.e. the tenants owed various services and dues to the viharas and devales to which these villages appertained."
(Colvin R. de Silva.)

VIHARAS = Buddhist temples.

WALLIYAKOON = Devil dancing.

YAKADURAS = Devil priests.





Map of Portuguese Ceylon

taken from

History of Ceylon 1,

by S.G. Perera, Colombo, 1955, page 71.

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