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U N I V E R S I T Y O F S O U T H A M P T O N

CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN SRI LANKA DURING ITS
FIRST CENTURY AS A BRITISH COLONY, 1796-1901.

by

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B.Th.(Pune), M.A.(Hull)

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
FACULTY OF EDUCATIONAL STUDIES

1988

DEDICATED TO

THE RIGHT REVEREND DR. B. DEOGUPILLAI

Bishop of Jaffna

A wise and generous bishop who knew a very great deal about how people can suffer pain and also find healing from it - truly a great Christian.

P R E F A C E

The purpose of this preface is to thank those innumerable institutions and individuals who have furthered my studies in so many different ways. It is impossible to mention all by name, but I hope those not singled out here will recognize their contribution to what I have written and accept my gratitude for their help.

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U N I V E R S I T Y O F S O U T H A M P T O N

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF EDUCATIONAL STUDIES

EDUCATION

Doctor of Philosophy

CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN SRI LANKA DURING ITS
FIRST CENTURY AS A BRITISH COLONY, 1796-1901.

by Justin Bernard Gnanapragasam

The introduction of the Catholic faith and its growth during the Portuguese rule of the Island (1505-1658), the subsequent decline in Catholic life and its later remarkable recovery through the efforts of the Oratorian priests from Goa, India, during the Dutch rule (1658-1976), are highlighted to provide an introduction to the main study.

Early under British rule, various English speaking Christian missions were established on the Island, and the development of their educational activities was supported by the government. The Catholics were still organized insufficiently well to venture into the educational arena at that time due to a shortage of men with an adequate knowledge of English. In the second quarter of the century the Catholic Church on the Island was reorganized, and newly arrived missionaries inaugurated the provision of Catholic education for Catholic natives. The authorities recognized the Catholic educators, who were allowed to be represented on the Central School Commission.

Catholic opinion on educational matters was voiced, from 1850 onwards, by both Joseph Bravi and Christopher Bonjean. Bonjean held the reigns of Catholic opinion on educational matters as and when they arose. The evidence given by Catholics to the Morgan Committee of Inquiry clearly indicated the best directions for education in Sri Lanka to take if it were to benefit the people. Bonjean's long-standing demand for the denominational school system was at last recognized and put into effect. The introduction of grants-in-aid to schools raised the question of proselytizing, using the money provided from public funds. The revival of the indigenous religions challenged the dominance the Christian missions had previously held in the educational arena.

The study concludes with an evaluation of the Catholic Church's educational activities, the notion of Christianity as a European religion because of its links with colonial powers, and an inquiry into the rooting of the Catholic faith in the cultures of the people of Sri Lanka - a reflection on the socio-ecclesiological forces that influenced the activities of the missionaries of the period under study.

A B B R E V I A T I O N S

Acta	"Acta Sacrae Congregationis" of the Sacred Congregation for the Evangelisation of Peoples, Rome (SCPF).
AOMI	Archives of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, Rome.
A.R.	Administration Reports of various Departments, Ceylon.
B.T.S.	Buddhist Theosophical Society.
C.A.L.R.	Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register.
CO	Colonial Office documents, London.
C.S.C.R.	Central School Commission Report.
D.P.I.	Department of Public Instruction.
IOLR	India Office Library and Records, London.
LD	"Lettere e Decreti della Sacrae Congregazione" of the Sacred Congregation for the Evangelisation of Peoples, Rome (SCPF).
M.C.	The Morgan Committee of Inquiry.
M.R.	The Morgan Report.
NS	"Nouva Serie" (New Series) of SCIO of the Sacred Congregation for the Evangelisation of the Peoples, Rome (SCPF).
R.D.P.I.	Report of the Director of Public Instruction.
SCIO	"Scritture riferite nei Congressi, Indie Orientali" of the Sacred Congregation for the Evangelisation of the Peoples, Rome (SCPF).
SCPF	Archives of the Sacred Congregation for the Evangelisation of Peoples, Rome. (Propaganda Fide)
S.P.	Sessional Papers (Legislative Council), Ceylon.
WMMS	Archives of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, London.

L I S T O F C O N T E N T S

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INTRODUCTION

1. The purpose of this study.

The aim of this study is to bring out the process of the Roman Catholic Church's involvement in education and the significant contributions it made to the educational history of Sri Lanka (formerly Ceylon) during the first century of British rule of the Island from 1796-1901. In order to appraise the Catholic Church's educational activities in the nineteenth century, however, it is necessary to recall the period when the Catholic faith was first introduced into the country, and to trace its development up till the beginning of British rule. Hence the study begins with the arrival of the Portuguese in Sri Lanka in 1505. The Portuguese military paved the way for the introduction of Catholicism to Sri Lanka through the activities of the European missionaries who followed them. With the European missionaries came the beginning of Western education and the Island's introduction to Western culture. The present study will first inquire into the educational activities of the Catholic missionaries of the Portuguese period and the way they went about spreading the Catholic faith, backed by the support of the Portuguese authorities in Sri Lanka.

The period that followed, when the Dutch invaded and ruled Sri Lanka (1658-1796), witnessed the expulsion of Catholic missionaries from Sri Lanka and the introduction of the Dutch Reformed faith (Calvinism) into the country. A knowledge of the educational activities during the periods of Portuguese and Dutch rule in Sri Lanka helps one to understand the position of the Catholics and the history of their involvement in the educational history of the Island during the British rule. This study focuses upon the Catholic Church's efforts in educating the people of Sri Lanka and its involvements in educational policy making during the course of the nineteenth century. The main themes of this study will be: the slow recovery of Catholic life in the

early nineteenth century, the inability of the Catholic Church to cope with the demands for spiritual ministration and for sound education for Catholic children, the steady progress it made in the second half of the nineteenth century, its impact on the educational history of the Island, and the relationships that existed between the Catholic Church and the government of Sri Lanka during the whole period.

2. The need for the study.

The research studies, undertaken in the past, on the educational history of the Island during the British rule, have mostly focused their attention either on the educational activities of non-Catholic missionary organizations or on the developments that took place at other periods in the history of education in the country. Only in passing have they mentioned the educational efforts of the Catholic Church and they have not highlighted its contribution to the educational history of the Island. The sole exception is a limited thesis by Constantius Fernando, submitted in 1963, in which a description of the efforts of the Catholic Church for the provision of educational facilities for Catholic children is highlighted. In that work no further serious efforts were made to uncover evidence of the Catholic Church's educational activities in the nineteenth century from primary sources. Indeed, the relevant records and documents were not, or were very rarely made available to researchers at that time.

An important question that needs to be looked into, therefore, is the justice in the claim that the Catholic Church should be branded, along with other Christian missionary organizations working in Sri Lanka, as having used the educational funds made available in the country mainly for the work of proselytizing. This is an accusation that became very strong early in the twentieth century. Given the current availability of records and documents dealing with the life of

the Catholic Church in Sri Lanka, it is now possible to construct a more objective account of the Catholic Church's involvement in the educational history of Sri Lanka, and to show the extent to which the accusation that the Catholic Church used such funds for proselytizing, in so far as the official policy is concerned, is not substantiated, at least in so far as the nineteenth century is concerned.

3. Sources of Data.

The principal archives used for this research study are the documents and records in Rome of the Sacred Congregation for the Evangelisation of Peoples (SCPF) or Propaganda Fide, and of the archives of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, and of the London archives of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMMS) and the Colonial Office documents (CO) held in the Public Record Office, London.

The documents of the SCPF provide a history of Catholic mission life in Sri Lanka, the spread of Christianity and the activities of the Congregation (SCPF) responsible for the missionary activities of the Catholic Church since 1622. The minutes of the monthly meetings (Acta) of the SCPF give information regarding the activities and decisions of the SCPF, the documents discussed in the weekly meetings (SCIO) reflect the daily life of the missions and the letters and decrees (LD) identify the decisions taken by this Congregation.

The archives of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate (AOMI) provide valuable information regarding this Congregation's efforts to improve the quality of life of the Catholic community and to provide educational facilities for Catholic children. The letters and correspondence between the Oblates and the SCPF clearly indicate the efforts of both Congregations to bring about a definite improvement in Catholic life in Sri Lanka.

A particularly important source of information is to be found in the documents of the Colonial Office (CO), from which valuable information can be obtained regarding all the educational activities that took place in Sri Lanka during the nineteenth century, as seen from a governmental point of view.

Of all the multitude of documents held in the above archives, only those related to our particular interest, namely the Catholic Church's educational activities and of the relationships that existed between the Catholic Church and the government in Sri Lanka, have been selected for close study, so as to highlight the contribution of the Catholic Church to the educational history of the Island.

4. The method of study.

As mentioned above, a brief survey is given of the colonial educational developments that took place before the arrival of the British in Sri Lanka by way of an introduction to the principal study. This introductory material is based on secondary sources.

The study of educational developments and the Catholic Church's involvement during the nineteenth century is based solely on primary source original documents (with the exception of a very few citations made by other researchers from three documents which are available only in Colombo and Jaffna and hence inaccessible for the present study) and the method followed is one of careful presentation of evidence from the sources available and cross-checking information wherever possible. However, the sources that are dealt with in this study are all of the highest level, namely documents and reports written by either heads of religious organizations or officials of the government, and not of the popular level of remarks made by local commentators for or against the

Catholic Church. The reason for this is the total lack of detailed records of events in schools, other than mere records of attendance in them.

The involvement of non-Catholic missionary organizations (Protestant) during the entire period of this study, particularly the first half of the nineteenth century, is presented in some detail to indicate the problems of the Catholic Church in competing with them in the provision of a sound education to Catholic children. This was a factor that weighed heavily on the Catholics during the nineteenth century, as will become evident in the course of this study.

In summary, then, this study attempts to give a chronological record of the educational developments that took place in Sri Lanka, and to reveal, at the same time, the Catholic Church's struggles and achievements in the educational history of the Island. Having collected all of the information available from reliable sources, the writer has attempted to present the views of Catholic participants on the various educational issues that arose during the period under review as the history of education in Sri Lanka developed. In the final chapter of the dissertation, an attempt is made to reflect on the significant contributions made to the educational history of the country by the Catholic Church as a missionary organization, and also on the extent of the cultural rooting of the Catholic faith in the Island during the period under study.

CHAPTER I

THE EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES DURING THE PORTUGUESE RULE OF SRI LANKA, 1505-1658.

1. The arrival of the Portuguese and the introduction of Christianity into Sri Lanka.

It was by chance that the Portuguese first came upon Sri Lanka (their Ceilao) when Laurengo de Almeida's fleet pursuing Muslim trading ships in the Indian ocean was driven by a storm to the Southern coast of the Island in 1505.⁽¹⁾ They had heard of the natural endowments the country possessed and would have, in any case, soon explored it. It did not take long for Almeida and his men to perceive the trade potentialities of the country. To them, Sri Lanka was "a potential El Dorado".⁽²⁾ Ribeiro, one of the Portuguese who came to know the country very well, wrote thus:

Ceilao (Ceylon) is by her position the crown of the whole of India, and God would appear to have created her to be the Mistress of that great world, giving her a healthful and benign climate with the greatest treasures which He has distributed over the whole earth. ⁽³⁾

The treasure the Portuguese prized most was cinnamon for which there was a great demand in Europe. Sri Lanka's cinnamon was reputed to be, in the words of Queyroz, "in quality the very best in the known world".⁽⁴⁾ For him, Sri Lanka was "the best parcel of land which the Creator has placed in this world".⁽⁵⁾

Along with the exploitation of the material resources of the Island, the Kings of Portugal were also interested on "Christianizing" its inhabitants, as they as well as the Kings of Spain had been entrusted by the Popes with the task of spreading the Christian faith

in their colonies. John III of Portugal (1521-1557) wrote to his viceroy in India, Afonso de Noronha, thus:

As regards Ceylon in particular, try to retain the friendship of the natives, in order that the Faith may be spread, as well as on account of the cinnamon from which my custom-house receives great profits. (6)

Thus, it was a strange combination of the spiritual and the temporal, "Christianization" and commerce, souls and cinnamon, that attracted the attention and interest of the Portuguese in their dealings with Sri Lanka.

When the Portuguese landed in Sri Lanka, there were three separate kingdoms in the Island - the Kingdom of Kotte in the South Western part of the Island, - the Kingdom of Jaffna in the Northern part, and the Kingdom of Kandy.⁽⁷⁾ Up to the end of the fifteenth century, Sri Lanka had been culturally influenced by India because of the island's proximity to the mainland - a position very similar to that of England in relation to continental Europe. But with the arrival of the Portuguese in Sri Lanka, the inhabitants of the Island had their first culture contact with the West, for good or for ill.

Though the Portuguese were unsympathetic and unaccommodating to a culture that was dominated on the one hand by "pagan" religions - Buddhism and Hinduism - and on the other by the caste system with its baffling distinctions and strange observances,⁽⁸⁾ yet their most significant contribution to Sri Lanka had been, according to Ruberu, "the introduction of Christianity into the country".⁽⁹⁾ As regards the way they introduced Christianity into the country, the Portuguese did not seek, according to Boxer,

to impose Roman Catholic Christianity at the point of sword but they did seek to foster their religion through coercive and discriminatory legislations. (10)

The active propagation of Christianity in their overseas dominions became the settled policy of the kings of Portugal. In fact, the cause of Christianity gave Christian rulers the right to conquer and subdue non-Christian lands - subdue them not only for the propagation of Christianity but also for the purpose of commerce.⁽¹¹⁾ Thus the conquest, both temporal and spiritual, went hand in hand, as the very title of Fernao de Queyroz's history of the Portuguese in Sri Lanka indicates - Conquista Temporal e Spiritual de Ceilao.⁽¹²⁾ The kings recruited and despatched missionaries to their overseas territories providing them with funds and instructed colonial officials to give assistance to missionaries. This is reflected in the orders given by the viceroy of Goa to the Captain-General in Colombo "to see that the Fathers (the Jesuits) had whatever they wanted",⁽¹³⁾ to carry out their task. The missionaries for their part considered themselves servants of both God and King. Trindade sums up the position of the missionaries in the Portuguese colonial set-up thus, when speaking of his own brethren, the Franciscans:

During the conquest of this Orient the two powers, secular and ecclesiastical, were so closely united that rarely did one move without the other being involved, for the secular arm conquered only with that right which the preaching of the Gospel bestowed, and the preaching could only have effect when accompanied and favoured by those in arms. Thus the two powers always worked in unison and also helped each other in such a manner that when on the one hand kings favoured the ministers of the Divine Word, on the other hand the latter interested and exerted themselves in the affairs which pertain to the royal service. This can be seen in the Island of Ceylon, where we can truly say that the Friars Minor cared for the affairs of the King not with less concern than they did for the affairs pertaining to their profession, undergoing many labours and placing themselves in no less grievous dangers to serve the King than they did to serve God since they held that in this way too they were serving Him. ⁽¹⁴⁾

This alliance of the Cross and the Crown, of Pope and King, of religion and politics, of the spiritual and the temporal was in some respects certainly beneficial, but in other respects disastrously damaging to the cause of Christianity.

The Portuguese missionaries, with the support of the Government, were able to convert a substantial portion of the people to the Roman Catholic faith and, according to Horace Perera, "they were much more successful than the other Christian missionaries who came to the Island".⁽¹⁵⁾ The Portuguese authorities left education in the hands of the missionaries, giving them financial aid for their work. The main educational function undertaken by the missionaries was the teaching of Christianity.

2. The teaching of Christianity in the different Kingdoms.

Although the Portuguese authorities were officially committed to the propagation of the faith, the actual teaching of Christianity was carried out by the missionaries of the various Religious Order that were entrusted with the task of evangelization. The first to come to Sri Lanka were the Franciscans in 1543.⁽¹⁶⁾ They were alone in the field for nearly sixty years. Then came the Jesuits in 1602,⁽¹⁷⁾ and the Augustinians and Dominicans in 1606.

In Europe, these religious orders were engaged in the education of Christian pupils against a centuries-old Christian background. Not only were the pupils Christian by faith, but had a Christian ancestry of many generations, and were being brought up in the Christian atmosphere of their homes and of the society in which they lived which was culturally Christian through and through. Therefore, the task of the Christian educator in Europe was not to plant the Christian faith but to preserve it while imparting a secular education to the pupil.

Whereas in the East, the educational work the religious orders had to undertake was of a different type. They had to begin at the very beginning - the teaching of the basic truths of Christianity, before

anything else. With the increase of new Christians, there arose the need to give religious instructions to continue them in their faith. Thus, the chief activity of the missionaries of this period was the teaching of Christianity, to which the Portuguese government gave its full support. Secular education was pushed to a secondary place. The missionaries had to teach the faith first of all to the adults who were the new converts. And hence, adult religious education became the main task of the early missionaries.

a) In the Kingdom of Kotte.

The first Catholic priest to come to Sri Lanka with the Portuguese was the Franciscan, Friar Vicente, who was with the fleet of Lourenco de Almeida when it put into Colombo harbour in 1505; but he returned with the fleet.⁽¹⁸⁾ Thereafter, there had been a priest or two staying with the Portuguese to attend to their spiritual needs.⁽¹⁹⁾ Although there had been a few conversions to Christianity, at that time, among the local inhabitants,⁽²⁰⁾ no organized attempt seems to have been made as yet to spread the Christian faith.

When the Franciscans came to Sri Lanka in 1543 on the invitation of Bhuvanekabahu, the King of Kotte,⁽²¹⁾ they came with the expectation of being able to convert the King and his subjects to Christianity. However, they were greatly disappointed to find that the King, though very friendly to them and ready to provide generously for their material wants,⁽²²⁾ was neither prepared to become a Christian himself nor let his subjects be converted to Christianity. He was probably afraid that if he let them propagate Christianity, his rival, Mayadunne, would call him a traitor to the ancestral religion and incite the Buddhists against him who would then favour Mayadunne's aspirations to the throne of Kotte. The efforts of the Franciscans to convert the king by bringing pressure on him or resorting to various tactics failed to move him in his resolve to remain a Buddhist.

On Bhuvanekabahu's death, young Dharmapala was acclaimed King in 1551. He was inclined to become a Christian but put off baptism through fear of Mayadunne. In 1556, more than 70,000 of his subjects, the Carears of the fisher caste inhabiting the Western seaboard, (23) embraced Christianity en bloc along with their chief, "Patangati". (24) Various reasons have been suggested to explain their conversions, (25) but the most plausible seems to be that, according to Don Peter,

they were influenced by the example of the South Indian Paravas of the fisher caste like themselves, who had been converted by St. Francis Xavier, and with whom they were in constant communication. (26)

Encouraged by the conversion of so many of his subjects, Dharmapala himself became a Christian and was warmly congratulated by the King of Portugal. His conversion and zeal for Christianity cost him dearly, but he remained a faithful Christian all his life. He gave to the Franciscans the lands that had been given by him and previous rulers to the Buddhist temples so that, according to Trindade,

out of their revenues Colleges might be built for the native children, who might be maintained in the Colleges and taught the law of God, good customs, reading, writing, arithmetic, singing and Latin. (27)

This gesture of the King, though understandable, was impolitic in the extreme. The missionaries, regardless of the feelings of the Buddhists and in impatient haste to propagate Christianity, leveled to the ground the hallowed shrines of the traditional religions and built churches and schools in their place. The revenues of temple lands which had hitherto supported Buddhist monks and shrines were now devoted to Christian missionary work. All this naturally infuriated the Buddhists and they rose in rebellion. Mayadunne came forward as the champion of the traditional religion and the people rallied round him. He and his son Rajasimha launched massive attacks against Kotte, laid siege to it several times and almost succeeded in taking it. Finally the city being badly battered and the Portuguese unable to

withstand the attacks, Dharmapala was moved to Colombo with his court in 1565 and Kotte or Jayavardhanapura which rose to eminence in the reign of Parakramabahu VI of the previous century (1411-1466) crumbled into ruins.⁽²⁸⁾ Mayadunne became master of the greater part of the kingdom.⁽²⁹⁾

Dharmapala remained in Colombo, a King without a Kingdom, living on a pension given by Portugal and at the mercy of the Portuguese in Colombo by whom he was fleeced and humiliated and nearly poisoned by one of them who, it appears, had been bribed by Mayadunne to do this.⁽³⁰⁾

The Franciscans had many other difficulties to contend with. The numerous wars and revolts, the scandalous lives of the Portuguese, the cruelties inflicted by them on innocent natives, the wanton destruction and pillage of temples, the anti-Christian propaganda of those who identified Christianity with the foreigner they hated, the insincerity of some of the native converts, the encroachment of politics into the religious field - all these greatly hampered their work.

Despite these difficulties and obstacles, the Franciscans made considerable headway in the Kingdom of Kotte and by the end of the first quarter of the following century, they had as many as fifty-four churches, mainly on the South-Western seaboard of the Island. More Franciscans too had, in the meantime, come into the country. In 1595 there had been about thirty of them in the kingdom of Kotte,⁽³¹⁾ and by the end of 1628 each of the fifty-four churches had its resident pastor.⁽³²⁾ Thus the Franciscans seemed to have reached almost every part of the kingdom of Kotte, from the river Maha Oya down to Matara. Since 1602 the Jesuits too had joined the Franciscans and had taken charge of the country to the north of the river.

From the above accounts it can be safely said that Christian missionary activity, especially after the kingdom of Kotte came directly under Portuguese rule, was widespread throughout the kingdom, and the number of conversions, whether genuine or otherwise, was considerably large, particularly in the Western and South-Western coastal belt.

b) In the Kingdom of Jaffna.

It was in the name of Christianity that the Portuguese first attempted to reduce the kingdom to subjection to them. The King of Jaffna, Sankili (1519-1561), had massacred in 1544 some six to seven hundred of the inhabitants of Mannar who had become Christians, fearing that the conversion of his subjects to Christianity might eventually lead to Portuguese occupation of his kingdom.⁽³³⁾ When Francis Xavier heard of the massacre, he urged the governor of Portuguese India, Martin Afonso de Sousa, to despatch an expedition to Jaffna to punish the king so as to prevent further persecution of the Christians. But the expedition was undertaken only fifteen years later in 1560, by the viceroy Constantino de Braganza and it failed in the conquest of Jaffna but were able to capture the island of Mannar and fortified it to serve as a stepping stone to a future conquest of Jaffna.

About 30 years after Braganza's abortive attempt to conquer Jaffna, another expedition sent from Goa under the command of Andre Furtado de Mendonca overthrew the reigning king Puviraja Pandaram (1582-1591), summoned the chief men of Jaffna to a meeting,⁽³⁴⁾ and set on the throne a young prince, Hendaramana Sinha, providing him with a garrison of Portuguese troops and lascarins.⁽³⁵⁾ For nearly a quarter of a century of his rule as a vassal of Portugal (1591-1615) he permitted the missionaries to carry on their work, although sometimes he resented what they did.

The Franciscans were the first missionary labourers in the Kingdom of Jaffna. They erected a church in 1602, but some of the inhabitants who did not like to see a church of the Christians founded in their territory, whom they hated on account of past occurrences, "set fire to it".⁽³⁶⁾ The king, however, got the church rebuilt through fear of Portuguese reprisals.⁽³⁷⁾

When, however, Jaffna became a Portuguese possession in 1619,⁽³⁸⁾ missionary activity developed very rapidly. The governor himself (Philip de Oliveyra) took a personal interest in the work of the missionaries. More members of the Franciscan order arrived in Jaffna. The Jesuits came in 1622. By 1634, the Franciscans had 25 churches in the Jaffna peninsula and in the adjacent islands.⁽³⁹⁾

Although Jaffna was outside the territory allotted to the Jesuits, they too established their headquarters there and opened a college. In respect of the activities of the Jesuits, we have a more detailed information from a letter of 1623 which states that "the harvest reaped in this kingdom is very great".⁽⁴⁰⁾ By 1627 there were 11 residences in the territory assigned to the Jesuits and 10 new churches had been built.⁽⁴¹⁾ There were 14 Jesuits working at that time and the need for more was felt very badly.⁽⁴²⁾ The final statistics available, before the Dutch took over the Island, are contained in a letter of 1644 and according to it there were 12 residences.⁽⁴³⁾ The "Christianization" of the Kingdom of Jaffna, after it came under the Portuguese rule, was carried out so extensively that the missionaries were able to report that "almost the whole kingdom is Christian".⁽⁴⁴⁾

3. Schools as a medium for "Christianization".

Realizing that the future progress of Christianity in the country depended very much on the children - the future citizens - the

missionaries took special pains to train them as Christians. Unlike the adults, children were available for regular daily instruction over long periods. Thus, in the Portuguese period, education, even of children, became for the most part a religious education.

The religious orders that were active in Sri Lanka at that time were no strangers to educational work. In fact, they had in the past distinguished themselves in the field of learning and education and were prominent in Europe as educators. If, in Sri Lanka, the missionaries did not devote themselves to secular education as they were doing in Europe, it was certainly not because they did not appreciate the value and importance of such education, but because they had first of all to impart to the people what was, from their point of view, of prime importance, namely the knowledge of Christian faith and training in the practice of it. They had to build up a Christian society that should become everything else. Hence their preoccupation with the teaching of Christianity in its various aspects to both young and old. If schools were established, it was therefore essentially for the purpose of providing religious instruction and training, not only "to the gentiles who were brought up and taught there, but also to those already instructed and baptized and who were further being instructed in faith".⁽⁴⁵⁾ Thus, schools were looked upon and made use of as a medium for "Christianization".

It was, in fact, with this objective in mind that the convert king of Kotte, Dharmapala, donated to the Franciscans the lands of the Buddhist temples. Trindade tells us that Dharmapala, after having received baptism,

as a favour to Christianity and the orphans of his kingdom, that they might be baptized, educated and taught, by building schools for them and thus encourage the spread of Christianity, he gave all the lands belonging to the temples to be entirely utilized for the above mentioned schools and for the upkeep of the orphans. ⁽⁴⁶⁾

One can notice that it was the policy of the Portuguese authorities to take over the orphaned non-Christian children and bring them up as Christians, even when they had one parent or there were non-Christian relatives to look after them. As we have very little information in the documents of the period about the Portuguese school system, it is with the very fragmentary and incidental data available to us that an attempt is made here to construct a picture of the educational system of the Portuguese.

The information given by the Dutch Calvinist minister, Philip Baldaeus,⁽⁴⁷⁾ about schools in Jaffna is some use to us to gain an idea of the school system that existed under the Portuguese. He divides the Kingdom of Jaffna into seven regions, lists the churches of each, and gives the number of Christians attached to each church. He also speaks of the "school" of each church and tells us how many children were receiving instruction in each school.⁽⁴⁸⁾

What we have described above was the educational set-up in the Kingdom of Jaffna as Baldaeus had known it - the set-up immediately following the occupation of the Kingdom by the Dutch. It gives a picture of what the school system must have been under the Portuguese. Under the Portuguese nearly every church seems to have had its own pastor who resided there and personally supervised the religious instruction of the children.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Using the church building for the purpose of daily teaching of Christianity to the children was a common practice at that time and thus there were not many separate school buildings for this purpose.

a) The nature of elementary education.

With the information we have been able to gather, no doubt it is little, we have to ascertain the nature of the elementary education

provided during the Portuguese period. It is clear that there were two types of parish schools, one exclusively for the purpose of religious education and another for secular education.⁽⁵⁰⁾ All children old enough to learn Christian doctrine were required to attend the catechetical school whereas secular education was given only to a few. Once again, it was to Christianity that great attention was paid in the schools of secular education. The pupils of these schools were a selected few, who were given fuller knowledge of the Christian faith to enable them to be teachers of Christianity to their fellow-countrymen.

In what language was instruction given to these children? From Trindade, we know that in the teaching of religion in catechetical schools the medium of instruction was the mother tongue, namely Sinhala or Tamil. But some Portuguese too seems to have been used. This may have been in the case of prayers and hymns and perhaps doctrinal formulas which were learnt by the children in Portuguese as well.

In the schools of secular instruction too the language medium was, to all appearance, the mother tongue and the education given in these schools was a very elementary one. At Chankanai, they were "taught to form letters".⁽⁵¹⁾ In the island of Karaitivu, they attended "the school of reading and writing".⁽⁵²⁾ In the school at Kammala, the children were taught Tamil.⁽⁵³⁾ Thus it appears that what the children were taught in the parish schools was mainly reading and writing; and it was their mother tongue that they were taught to read and write. Portuguese may have been taught as a second language, at least to the older pupils. This is clear from the fact that by the end of the Portuguese period, at least a pidgin form of Portuguese was fairly widely spoken in the country.⁽⁵⁴⁾

b) The educational methods of the missionaries.

As regards the educational methods the missionaries employed in the two types of schools mentioned earlier, with the little information available to us, we can safely say that the missionaries relied heavily on the memory for instruction. This was partly due to the fact that books were not freely available and also to conform to a two-thousand-year old tradition of memorizing that the people were familiar with at that time. The Oriental tradition attached great importance to the use of memory in education. The voluminous works of Hindu and Buddhist literature, for example, were committed to memory and transmitted by memory for centuries. Books were composed in verse to facilitate memorizing. Even when writing was known, it was thought that to have knowledge stored up in one's memory was a highly desirable attainment.⁽⁵⁵⁾ It was the person who knew much from memory that was regarded as a learned man, one who had gained knowledge orally. A letter of 1629 regarding Jaffna reports thus:

The children are really admirable: they learn the catechism by heart and repeat it with rapidity. They have the rudiments of the faith at their finger ends. (56)

It was partly to help memorizing the Christian faith that the "question-and-answer" type of teaching known as the "Catechism" was born. It was a very effective form of teaching the Christian faith, especially to children. The answer to each question is concise, compressed and so worded as to make it easy for the pupil to commit it to memory. The question itself becomes a pedagogical device to help the learner; it serves as an introduction or a partial clue to the answer and is, thus, an aid to the memory. Thus Catechism was a method of teaching Christian doctrine introduced into Sri Lanka by the Portuguese missionaries.⁽⁵⁷⁾

Moreover, the missionaries made use of drama not for its value as an art form or for the purpose of providing entertainment, but for a didactic purpose, namely to teach Christianity to their colonial peoples. They organized and staged plays from time to time in their schools and in their parishes and the purpose was essentially educational. For them, drama was an effective aid in the religious education of both children and adults. Most of the people at that time were illiterate and visual representations, such as the drama, impressed them more than mere oral instruction. As expected, the missionaries took advantage of the people's interest in drama and made it a medium of instruction.

The Jesuits were, in fact, among the earliest educators to note the pedagogical value of drama. The records speak of dramatic performance by the Jesuits in 1602 - after only seven months of their arrival on the Island - to celebrate the opening of their chapel in Colombo.⁽⁵⁸⁾ In Jaffna too there were several performances at the dedication of the new church at Tellipallai, in 1633.⁽⁵⁹⁾ The theme of the performances was always a religious one - a representation of a New Testament story, a play on the life and death of St. John the Baptist, his preaching, his baptizing or on the lives of the Saints.

The missionaries of the Portuguese period introduced into Sri Lanka with the Christian faith the celebration of the festivals of Christmas (Nattal) and Easter (Pasku) with their customary festivities. The setting up of a crib in churches and homes was pictorial, generally three-dimensional, representation of the Nativity of Christ as recorded in the Gospels. This brought home to the children as well as to the adults, the scene at the manger-bed at Bethlehem more vividly than any sermon or scripture lesson. This sort of representation, first by means of figures, and later more realistically by persons, contributed to the evolution of mediaeval religious drama.

More than the birth of Christ, it was his passion, death and resurrection which became the most popular among the gospel themes that were dramatized. In Sri Lanka, we have, in addition to the stage drama, the popular form of folk drama known as the "Pasku" or Passion Play -the dramatization of the passion of Christ and especially his crucifixion, using a combination of images and live actors which certainly had its origins in the Portuguese period. The performance of the "Pasku" was not confined to a stage. The carrying of the cross to Calvary, for instance, was enacted in the open, amidst the crowd of spectators, and took the form of a procession in which the relevant images were carried, the chief one being that of Christ with the cross on the shoulder and surrounded by men acting the part of soldiers.

We see, therefore, that the missionaries made use of the drama for an educational purpose - for imparting religious instruction. This aspect of the dramatic performances of the Portuguese period is of great interest educationally in view of the fact that modern education attaches great importance to the educational values of drama.⁽⁶⁰⁾

Another form of instruction in which the dramatic aspect was very much pronounced was the "Dialogue Sermon" which was a discourse given jointly by two priests of the same faith, one asking questions and the other replying or discussing together before the congregation some point of Christian doctrine - a method of public instruction. This was a very effective way of arresting the attention and interest of the listeners, "a practice which is agreeable to the people as it is profitable for the knowledge of the faith".⁽⁶¹⁾

Moreover, the early converts to Christianity being mostly adults, the missionaries used the above methods of education, especially the drama and the "dialogue-Sermon", to educate the adults who could not be called in for regular religious instruction classes. As the teaching

of religion cannot be confined to the mere communication of knowledge, and as religion affected the personal, moral and spiritual life of the individual, it became necessary to provide the followers of Christianity with the means of practising their faith. For this, the missionaries went about erecting places of worship, appointing ministers of religion to conduct the services and teach and guide the followers, financing the support of personnel and other material things required for the exercise of the religion. All these, they felt, were part and parcel of the teaching of the faith, namely the teaching of the exercise of the faith.

For the purpose of giving the people a training in the exercise of their faith, and for their continuance in the exercise of it, the missionaries had to provide them not only with churches but also a host of other things such as ornaments, vestments, chalices and missals to be used in the church for religious services. These were brought from Goa or directly from Europe and introduced into the country for the first time. The cult of Christian images and their production too were introduced into Sri Lanka through these missionaries. Most churches had, besides the image of Christ, images of the Virgin Mary and of popular saints such as St. Joseph, St. Antony of Padua and St. Sebastian. What interests us here is the educational aspect of these images. These images were a form of visual instructional medium, particularly in the case of the illiterate at a time when books were hard to come by. No doubt that the images were more impressive and conveyed the message more powerfully to the people than the written word.

Furthermore, the presence of the pastor or parish priest residing at the main or central church close to the people helped in the giving of religious instruction to the people and to provide them with what was necessary for the performance of their religious duties. As a rule, each church had its own pastor residing at the church itself or

nearby.⁽⁶²⁾ This presence of the pastor close to the people made him a guide, teacher and friend to the people. As he was more educated than the people, the laity sought advice from him even on social, civil and secular matters. The pastor also served as an intermediary through whom the government could communicate with the people and at the same time through whom the people could express their wants to the government. Thus the pastor became the link between the people and the government and also the defender and protector of the people, especially against exploitation by the unscrupulous Portuguese officials.⁽⁶³⁾

C) The "Colleges" established by the missionaries.

By the term "College" is meant in the present day usage, an institution providing higher secondary or tertiary education. But in the documents of the Portuguese period we find the term "College" sometimes used synonymously with "school" and we know for sure there were no educational institutions providing even secondary education at that time. All we can say is that the term "College" had been used in the documents of the Portuguese period to denote a body of students, living together to be brought up as Christians.⁽⁶⁴⁾ According to the information we have and as stated by Don Peter, there were only four institutions in the country which had Latin studies, two run by the Franciscans and two by the Jesuits. Each order had one school in Colombo and one in Jaffna.⁽⁶⁵⁾

i) The Franciscan Colleges.

Although the two colleges of the Franciscans provided an education higher than that normally given in other schools, they were intended mainly to be nurseries preparing candidates for the priesthood and the religious life and therefore were for the most part residential

institutions. In fact, we are told by Trindade that "from these boys educated by the Friars, some became priests and others, who were the sons of the Portuguese parents, became Religious".(66)

According to information given by Trindade and Queyroz there were four main branches of study in these colleges, namely: 1) religious and moral education; 2) study of Portuguese language; 3) Latin; and 4) Music.(67) The study of Christianity and training in Christian life occupied a prominent place in these colleges. But there was no instruction in ecclesiastical sciences such as philosophy or theology.(68) What the student in these colleges were taught was to read and write Portuguese which was the medium of instruction in them. According to Don Peter, Portuguese

being not only the language of the ruling power and of administration but also the key to Western knowledge, it was, understandably, taught up to a much higher level in the colleges than in the other schools. (69)

Latin, partly because it was the language of the Church and partly because of the prominence it had assumed in colleges in Europe, had great attention paid and much time devoted to the study of it. Obviously, students destined for Holy Orders had therefore to learn the language well enough to proceed in that direction. Music too, mainly religious music, received much attention in these colleges because of its importance in Christian worship. The teaching in these colleges seems to have been done mostly by the Franciscans except when help was needed in subjects that they were not familiar with.

ii) The Jesuit Colleges.

The fact that the Jesuits regarded education as a specialty of the Society of Jesus, and prepared themselves for it by long and careful

training helped them to provide schools that gave instruction beyond the elementary level within a year of their arrival in Sri Lanka. Ten years later, with the introduction of Christian theology, the college of the Jesuits in Colombo became the first school of theology to be established in Sri Lanka that prepared candidates for the priesthood in the country itself.⁽⁷⁰⁾ According to Don Peter, the college of the Jesuits in Colombo

developed into a three-branched institution, consisting of a school of theological studies for ecclesiastical students, a Grammar school of Latin studies, and an elementary school. In the same institution therefore there was instruction at primary, secondary and tertiary levels. ⁽⁷¹⁾

In the elementary section, the teaching consisted mainly in the teaching of the pupils to read, to write and to sing.⁽⁷²⁾ Portuguese was the language they were taught to read and write. The Latin section of the school was meant for those who wished to proceed to take Holy Orders. The medium of instruction in the school of theology was, of course, Latin as was the practice in Europe at that time.

In the field of education, it can be safely said that the Jesuits, as in the words of Don Peter, "were more successful than the other religious orders".⁽⁷³⁾ We have the proof for this from Philip Baldaeus, the Dutch Calvinist minister in Jaffna who said that the Jesuits were,

excelling in zeal and disposition and in their morals fitted to instruct the youth, as well as to attract the older ones and surpassing the Franciscans and others. I must confess that I approved all their maxims and followed their footsteps in my re-organisation of all the schools and churches of Mannar and Jafnapatam. ⁽⁷⁴⁾

Thus the Jesuits surpassed other orders in the field of education, and their college in Colombo with its three sections rose to be, in the

words to Father S. G. Perera, "the foremost educational institution of the Portuguese in Ceylon",⁽⁷⁵⁾ which provided access to Western learning and to benefits of Western methods of education. However, this institution came to an end with the capture of Colombo in 1656 and the consequent expelling of the Catholic missionaries from the country.

In conclusion we can say that the Catholic missionaries of the Portuguese period made use of various methods of instruction to educate the people of Sri Lanka. The system of education was predominantly a religious education, namely the teaching of Christianity to the young and old. Drama and the "Dialogue-Sermon" came in very useful to the missionaries in the teaching of Christianity to the people. The colleges of Colombo and Jaffna began to give a higher education and the Jesuit college in Colombo excelled them all in giving theological education as well. To all their educational activities, the missionaries had the active support of the government that gave them grants and endowments for the maintenance of schools and other establishments. Even in schools opened by the missionaries for secular education, great attention was paid to religious instruction and training. Moreover, this period marked the beginning of the introduction of Western education and culture into the country. The whole educational enterprise of the Portuguese in Sri Lanka could be summed up as one of "Christianization".

During the Portuguese rule of Sri Lanka the Catholic missionaries were given a free hand in the organizing of educational activities and for the teaching of the Catholic faith. There was always government backing for all their activities. But this privileged position changed dramatically when the Dutch took over Sri Lanka in 1658 and then expelled all the missionaries from the country. The educational activities of the Dutch during their rule of Sri Lanka, the school system they established in the country, the difficulties the Catholics

faced under this rule and, above all, the remarkable revival of the Catholic faith brought about through the efforts of the Goan Oratorian priests from India, will be our concern in the next chapter.

CHAPTER II

THE EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE DUTCH RULE OF SRI LANKA, 1658-1796.

1. The arrival of the Dutch in Sri Lanka and their "Christianization" work.

The first challenge to the Portuguese in the East was made by the Dutch whose Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (United East India Company) had started operating in these regions early in the Seventeenth century A.D.⁽¹⁾ It was affairs in Europe that brought the Dutch into the local scene, for with the decline of Portuguese-Spanish powers in Europe the Dutch lost no opportunity of attacking the Portuguese possessions in the East. The King of Kandy, Rajasinghe II (1635-1687) whose realms were being continually invaded by the Portuguese, invited the Dutch East India company to attack the Portuguese Forts from the sea while he threatened them by land. The Company fulfilled its part quite successfully and within twenty years had expelled the Portuguese completely from the Island by 1658.⁽²⁾ Thus, Sri Lanka became an important unit in the commercial empire of the Dutch East India Company.

Being directors of a trading company, their primary aim was profits, and to a certain extent they administered their eastern territories as any company would manage an estate. While their dominant motive was profits, there were also secondary aims such as the propagation of the Dutch Reformed Faith and the settlement of their people in their colonies. Meanwhile, they did not neglect the responsibilities they had to the people, which is evident in their provision of several welfare services such as hospitals, orphanages, asylums and schools.⁽³⁾

Moreover, a deep-seated fear of losing Sri Lanka again to the Portuguese prompted the Dutch to take strict measures against the Catholics in order to consolidate their position in the Island. They felt that any bid for power by the Portuguese would receive the wholehearted support of the established Catholic Church as well as of the clusters of Catholic communities that had sprung up in several parts of the Island. They were also aware of the fact that the King of Kandy, Rajasinghe II, had welcomed the Catholic refugees and had even allowed them to settle down in various parts of his kingdom.⁽⁴⁾ The Dutch, therefore, viewed the Catholic Church more as a political enemy than as a hostile religious rival and, for this reason, they pursued a rigorous campaign against the Catholics and sought, according to A. M. Philalethes, "to substitute the Reformed Faith for that of the Church of Rome",⁽⁵⁾ which had been introduced by their predecessors. Thus, there was interdenominational impact throughout the Dutch occupation of Sri Lanka, and education was employed as a means for such action. Schools were established for the purpose of converting the natives to Protestant Christianity. In this connection, the remarks made by a former Anglican Archdeacon of Sri Lanka in 1833, are worth noting.

The establishment of schools under the Dutch government was an entirely political and compulsory system supported with the view of destroying the influence of popery. The Dutch government employed only Protestants, banished the popish priests, and forced the children in the districts under their rule to attend the schools and be baptized as Protestants, or run the risk of losing their privileges and properties. ⁽⁶⁾

With this purpose in view, the Dutch government brought all schools and other educational establishments in the Island under the strict control of the government. In the words of Father Horace Perera, "the chief method of conversion" was the school, and "through these institutions, conversion was carried out on a large scale".⁽⁷⁾

a) The "Christianization" work of the Dutch.

Soon after the expulsion of the Portuguese, the Dutch were

greatly surprised at the extent of the Portuguese influence in Sri Lanka through the medium of the Catholic Church. The large number of Catholics with Portuguese names along the western sea-coast indicated to them the great success of the Portuguese efforts at conversion. Further in the North, in Mannar and Jaffna, this influence was found to be even greater. Owing to the missionary activity of Francis Xavier and his companions in these parts, entire communities had embraced Catholicism. The existence of several churches in the land, one for each village in some provinces, was a clear index to the great activity of the Catholic Church. Some of the churches were large beautiful structures and each church had a school attached to it where children were taught in the elements of faith. Thus the Dutch found that they were not replacing a decadent and inactive church as they had replaced a declining political power. On the contrary, they saw that the Catholic Church was a living entity and that it had penetrated the life of the community with great intensity in certain parts of the country.⁽⁸⁾

b) The Revd. Philip Baldaeus' work in the country.

The presence of such a large number of Catholics⁽⁹⁾ in the Island drew the serious attention of the Dutch authorities. They felt that these Catholics should be weaned away from their "misguided faith" to their (Dutch) "true Reformed religion". Consequently, they began very enthusiastically to plant their own brand of Christianity in the Island. In the performance of this task, the name of the Revd. Philip Baldaeus looms large. He was the pioneer of the movement to extirpate Catholicism and replace it with the Dutch Protestantism. He was sent to Jaffna where churches and schools were found in plenty. The most important problem that arose was: what methods were to be adopted in explaining matters of doctrine to the people who hardly understood the tenets of Christian religion as taught to them by the Catholic priests, not to mention their utter inability to distinguish the doctrinal differences between the two faiths? Baldaeus addressed himself to this

problem and emerged with a simple method of question and answer relating to the basic truths of the Christian religion. This was a method that had been successfully followed by the Catholic priests which could now, with suitable amendments, be used by the Dutch. He said:

I have willingly followed their (Catholic) footsteps in the reformation of all the churches and schools of Mannar and Jaffna, in so far as this was not in conflict with our religion but was in keeping with the nature of the country's customs. (10)

Furthermore, he emphasized that the best way to reach the people was through the medium of their own language and, thus, asserted that the Predikants⁽¹¹⁾ should learn the indigenous languages, either Tamil or Sinhalese. Wyndham describes Baldaeus' stand on the use of the vernacular in the following manner:

He took the line that it was more reasonable to ask one man to accommodate himself to many than to expect the many to adjust themselves to him. (12)

Baldaeus himself set the example by learning Tamil and before long he could preach to the people in their own language. He felt that the catechism should be in Tamil, and he prepared a version which was adopted by the General Assembly of the clergy in Colombo in 1659. Under his able supervision some elementary religious matters were also translated into Tamil and formed the first of such works in the Tamil language on the Protestant faith.⁽¹³⁾ It is worth noting that according to Wyndham, Baldaeus' good example of learning the local language,

was not followed by others, and, of the ninety-seven Dutch ministers in Ceylon between 1642 and 1725, only four could preach in Sinhalese and only four in Tamil. (14)

2. The educational system and methods adopted
by the Dutch in Sri Lanka.

It must be admitted, at the outset, that up till now very little enquiry has been made into the educational methods of the Dutch in Sri Lanka. Apart from the valuable contribution of the Revd. J. D. Palm, in the early years of the British administration,⁽¹⁵⁾ hardly any other literature has been published on this subject. The attempts made by the Dutch to establish a regular, highly organized system of education, strictly under the control of the government, have not received the attention that is their due. Our aim here is to discover how the Dutch faced the problem of educating their subjects, the system they adapted according to the social, cultural and economic conditions in the country, the difficulties they encountered and the extent to which they were successful.

The early settlements of the Dutch were scattered and their administration at the beginning was, more or less, of a military type. The maritime areas which they conquered from the Portuguese had no fixed boundaries and the extent of their territory, according to Wyndham, fluctuated "from time to time with the relative aggressiveness of the Kandyan Kings against whom they avoided embarking on military expeditions".⁽¹⁶⁾

Throughout the period of Dutch rule in Sri Lanka, the administration was in the hands of the Dutch East India Company. The Governor General in Batavia,⁽¹⁷⁾ was represented by a Dutch Governor in Colombo who had several Dutch officers under him to assist him in his work. For administrative purposes, the Dutch divided their territories into three Commandments,⁽¹⁸⁾ namely Colombo, Jaffanapatam and Galle. While the Colombo Commandment was directly under the control of the Governor, that of Jaffna and Galle were under separate commandeurs. Each commandment had autonomy of administration, with

independent councils presided over by the Resident Commandeur. The advantage of such an arrangement, according to Sir Charles Collins, was that it had the effect of retaining local customs and forms of administration to a considerable extent.⁽¹⁹⁾ It is worthwhile to note here that the Dutch, like the Portuguese, took steps to retain the "old system of government which had come from the Sinhalese times through the Portuguese".⁽²⁰⁾ The Commandeurs were Dutch⁽²¹⁾ but subordinate officers were appointed from the locality and they, according to Horace Perera, "had to be of the Dutch Reformed Faith".⁽²²⁾

a) The Parish-Schools.

The Dutch, soon after their occupation of the Island, lost no time in doing all they could to consolidate what they had gained. Knowing the influence of the Portuguese missionaries on the people, they spared no efforts to propagate the Reformed Faith. Subsequently, there arose the need to provide some kind of rudimentary instruction to enable the newly converted people of the country to read and write. What they needed was a system of mass education at low cost. For this purpose the Dutch government organized a system of Parish-Schools in their territories. In the words of Governor Maetsuycker,

We have established a certain number of schools in these districts with the object of propagating the Christian doctrine among the inhabitants, promoting God's glory and the salvation of the souls of the poorfolk... rooting out heathenism and checking the consuming canker of the Mohammedan heresy. ⁽²³⁾

Each district in the Dutch territory was divided into counties and the counties into parishes or villages. It is said that in each parish or village, a Protestant school was established⁽²⁴⁾ and according to Ruberu, "there was not a village or a hamlet within the dominions of the Company, without its school".⁽²⁵⁾ Thus, in the words of Ruberu, "for the first time in the history of Western education in the Island,

an organized system of schools came into existence under the Dutch".⁽²⁶⁾

The Parish-School was small in size and generally had two masters.⁽²⁷⁾ Of the two masters, the older of the two, was always the Headmaster of the school.⁽²⁸⁾ He was, as a rule, selected from among the chief native families of the village who could command the respect of the people and, at the same time, a member of the Reformed Church too. This policy of the Dutch, considering non-Christians being ineligible for office under government,⁽²⁹⁾ made schoolmasters mere nominal Christians. It was found that very often the schoolmasters attended the Buddhist temples together with their family to offer poojas.⁽³⁰⁾ It was mostly the prestige and the salary paid by the government which made the schoolmasters declare themselves to be the followers of the Reformed Church.

The number of assistant masters in a particular school varied and, in some schools, it was not uncommon to find as many as three assistant masters. It was the Company (VOC) that prescribed the conditions under which schools were allowed to be opened in villages. The qualifications required in the schoolmasters, their duties, the subjects of instruction, the school hours, etc., formed the subject of State Regulations.⁽³¹⁾

All the schools in the Island were in session throughout the year. There were no set terms or long vacations. The only holidays observed were Christmas Day, New Year's Day, Ascension Day, the anniversary of the capture of Colombo, and the days specially appointed for public rejoicing, prayer and thanksgiving. Every day of the week, except Sunday, was a school day. Wednesdays and Saturdays were half session days and the school hours were from 8 to 11 in the morning and from 2 to 5 in the afternoon.⁽³²⁾

The dress of the schoolmasters was of such a nature as to make the wearer as impressive as possible so that he could be able to command the respect of the people. According to the Revd. James Cordiner, the masters wore a sheet of printed cotton (sarong), with white vests, in place of the breeches of the Dutch, but their coats were of a grave colour in the Dutch and Portuguese style.⁽³³⁾ On special occasions the ordinary printed cotton sheet was replaced by a rich cloth, and the white vest was fastened with an amethyst or with gold buttons. On their heads they wore high tortoise-shell combs. All this was intended to add more dignity on the schoolmaster, because the efficient performance of his duties depended to a large extent upon the degree of respect and awe that he was able to command in his little kingdom - the parish.

The salaries of the masters employed in the Parish-Schools were not uniform. They varied from time to time and from school to school. The number of children on the roll and the efficiency of the master were taken into consideration in fixing the salary to be paid. The headmasters received, in addition to their salaries, certain fees for registration of marriages as the Parish Registrar.⁽³⁴⁾ Thus the lot of a headmaster in a Parish-School was better than that of his assistant who received smaller payment, and sometimes no payment at all. The latter's position was, moreover, insecure as he was liable to be retrenched without notice. Therefore, it was not surprising that most of the assistant teachers were inefficient.

b) The teaching in the vernacular.

The Dutch missionaries, being aware of the difficulties they had earlier on in learning Portuguese and Malay in the East Indies, favoured the Dutch language being made obligatory in schools. The advantages to be gained from the use of one language was, from their point of view, obvious. But the authorities in Batavia, who had

already expressed their disapproval of the introduction of Dutch as a medium of instruction in Formosa, were not likely to agree to it in Sri Lanka. Added to that, the Revd. Philip Baldaeus who was a strong advocate of the vernacular had already argued that it was more reasonable to ask one man to accommodate himself to the many than to expect the many to adjust themselves to him. But, finally, it became necessary for them (the Dutch) to allow teaching to be in the vernacular for the simple reason that there were only native schoolmasters and teachers available at that time.⁽³⁵⁾ It is to be noted that, as only a few of the Dutch clergy were able to use the native languages, the Dutch were unable to implement this policy of teaching in the vernacular to the extent that they had wished.⁽³⁶⁾

c) The curriculum and method of teaching.

According to Wyndham, the earliest Dutch education "was confined to teaching the first principles of religion, and to reading and writing".⁽³⁷⁾ In Sri Lanka, too, the curriculum of the Dutch Parish-Schools included reading, writing, the catechism and prayers of the Dutch Reformed faith, all imparted in the mother tongue of the children.

As for the method of teaching, the Revd. Philip Baldaeus advocated that the teaching should be quite simple - the naked truth of the gospel in as few points as possible. He favoured confining education to oral instruction, not burdening pupils with the complications of reading and writing at a very early stage.⁽³⁸⁾ In this he received the support of the Governor General of Batavia, Joan Maetsuycker who expressed the view that,

reading and writing are the things not absolutely necessary for the edification of these poor wretches as that they may be instructed in the fundamentals of religion which consist of a few points. ⁽³⁹⁾

Thus, the Catechism, as a method of instruction, played a prominent role in the Dutch Parish-Schools.

d) The levying of fines.

While the Portuguese had provided free education and saw to the maintenance of educational institutions by granting them the income from lands previously enjoyed by the Buddhist monasteries, the Dutch, by making attendance compulsory, hoped to ensure that children received Protestant instruction and also sought to augment a miserly grant of funds for the support of their schools by levying fines for non-attendance. According to the Revd. J. D. Palm, the fines were imposed,

in obedience to an express order issued by
Government and repeatedly enforced on all persons
neglecting to attend school on week days and divine
service on Sundays. (40)

It was a fine imposed indiscriminately on all parents, including Protestants, Catholics and non-Christians. The amount collected through fines was to be utilized by the schools for their maintenance and the payment of the salaries of the schoolmasters. These fines were almost the sole source of income in some schools and, before long, the abuse of the practice of levying fines gave rise to a great deal of criticism. As a result of this outcry, the fines were withdrawn for a short time, only to be re-introduced later on for want of financial support for the schools. In the words of the Revd. J. D. Palm, "in many districts, the enforcing of them (fines) was found the only expedient to secure attendance at school".(41)

e) The school buildings.

With regard to school buildings, the village school was generally the village church which was an old structure, simple in design and was

on uniform plan in all parts of the Island. They were rectangular buildings, with straw, cadjan or tiled roofs supported by pillars of wood or stone. In Jaffna, the palmyrah palm leaf was generally used for the roof, a practice in use in the villages to this day. With regard to furniture, the Revd. J. Cordiner states that it consisted of "stone benches built along the walls, and one chair and a desk, which the schoolmaster never uses and the visiting pastor seldom occupies".⁽⁴²⁾ Each school had a garden attached to it which, when it was carefully looked after, yielded very good fruit that served as refreshment for visiting clergymen on their visits.⁽⁴³⁾

f) The school headmaster - as the Thombo-Holder.

As mentioned above, the Dutch used the schools to eradicate the Roman Catholic faith and to plant their Reformed faith in the country. To make it easier, the headmaster of the Parish-School was also made the Thombo-Holder,⁽⁴⁴⁾ or the keeper of the parish records. In the words of E. W. Perera, the Thombo-Holder was "the most important village official in old Ceylon during the Dutch rule".⁽⁴⁵⁾ Besides teaching in the school and keeping the parish records, he registered births, baptisms and also solemnized marriages. He did notary work such as writing out and attesting deeds, contracts and other such documents.

The Thombo or parish register contained information about all the Christians in the parish. In it were to be found their names, the names of their children, their ages at baptism, their dates of birth, marriage and death, the dates of admission to school, the dates of leaving school and the date of departure from the village. Thus the parish records (Thombos) were a valuable source of information regarding the genealogies of ancient families. According to E. W. Perera, the registering of names in the Thombo was "looked upon as an enrollment in the Herald's Book"⁽⁴⁶⁾ and, thus, it was a great

disadvantage not to have one's name entered in the Thombo. It is not surprising then that the Thombo-Holder had a great respect in the village and no one dared to offend him. His very whims had to be respected for,

he could blight their future by reporting their real, or imaginary, recusancy to the authorities and have their names expunged from the Parish-Thombo Roll. (47)

Though the office of Thombo-Holder lingered on until British times, it seems that towards the end of the Dutch rule in Sri Lanka, there was a decline in the power he enjoyed over his parishioners.

g) The School-Board or the Scholarchal Commission.

A noteworthy feature of the Dutch educational system was the control the Dutch administrators had over all of their educational establishments. A central body called the "Scholarchal Commission" (Scholarchale Vergadering) or the School-Board was established in December 1663,⁽⁴⁸⁾ in order to have some kind of centralized control over all the schools that were under the superintendence of the government.⁽⁴⁹⁾ It was a provincial Board of Education and each Commandment had its own School-Board which was usually made up of a President, who was always the Dissava⁽⁵⁰⁾ of the province, and a few others chosen from the leading men, both civil and military. All the clergymen of the province were members of the Board and one of them always acted as the Secretary. All the members of the Board were nominated by the Governor.

The School-Board, besides supervising the schools and other educational institutions in the Commandment, also supervised things related to marriages, the maintenance of marriage registers, entertained complaints, settled marriage disputes and even granted

permission to blood-relatives to marry. The Scholarchal Commission was, in the words of the Revd. J. D. Palm,

a board which took cognizance of all matters referring to native marriages; and in short, the whole body of natives professing Christianity and living within the precincts of the schools, were under their supervision. They examined and appointed not only schoolmasters, but also the Thombo-Holders, had under their inspection the registries of native baptisms and marriages, heard complaints and settled disputes on matrimonial questions, and possessed a discretionary power to grant marriage licences in cases where consanguinity came into question. Their decisions were however in all points submitted to the Governor and the Political Council. Their jurisdiction did not extend beyond their own district. (51)

Whenever any disputable questions arose in the provincial School-Board, the Board in Colombo "was frequently referred to for advice". (52)

One of the principal functions of the School-Board was the annual inspection of the schools. Every year, the Board deputed two members from their own number, a clergyman and a layman (the Scholarch), to visit the schools, examine their records and to draw up an annual report, which was later on incorporated in the report of the Governor to "The Seventeen" in the Netherlands. The visits of these "inspectors" to schools were a regular feature during the Dutch administration of education in the country. (53)

Under the law of compulsory attendance, the children were not allowed to leave school until they had received a certificate to the effect that they were qualified to do so, from the "inspectors" who visited the school annually. This normally happened at the age of fifteen, when a certificate was given as "Largeerden". This meant "discharged" or "set at large". But they were required by law to attend school twice a week for two more years in order to get further religious instruction from the master. During this second period, which was a form of part-time schooling, the children were called "Nieuwe Largeerden", namely, "the newly discharged". To be completely

free of the obligation to attend school, they had to attend school for a further period of two years, though not regularly. During this period, they were called the "Oude Largeerden", that is, "the old discharged". (54)

It is interesting note that in the Dutch educational system, though compulsory schooling ended at the age of fifteen, there was a further period of four years of continued compulsory schooling. It was only after this that a child was formally allowed to stop schooling. Does this mean that the Dutch, in the seventeenth century, considered that education was incomplete unless there had been a period of compulsory part-time schooling after school-leaving age? It looks highly probable that the Dutch, through this system of part-time schooling (further education), were only attempting to keep their converts faithful, to foster the diffusion of instruction and to maintain loyalty in their subjects.

h) The work of the "Inspectors".

The "inspectors" who visited the schools, spent their morning in testing the children in reading, writing and in repeating the Catechism, the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and other prayers. Questions were also asked in order to test whether or not the children understood what they had committed to memory. The session concluded with religious instruction, exhortation and encouragement and in some cases with the distribution of prizes. (55) The next stage in the proceedings was the examination of the adults who had recently left school, and the parents who sought baptism for their children. It was also the time to test and declare those eligible to leave school, "the discharged".

The next business was the inspection of Church and school-books, lists and registers, the roll of fines, placards and other documents in charge of the master, in order to find out how they had been kept. When this was over, complaints, either from the masters or from pupils or from parents or native headman, were heard. Inefficient masters were dismissed, new applications were attended to and so forth.⁽⁵⁶⁾

In the afternoon session, Divine Service was held. After the reading of a few chapters from one of the gospels, the clergyman preached, either in the local language or got the help of interpreters to convey his message. He also administered baptisms and solemnized marriages.⁽⁵⁷⁾ When the "inspectors" had finished their work with one school station, they proceeded to the next school and thus continued their visitation until they had covered all the schools in the district. Finally, they submitted their reports to the School-Board in the Province. The School-Board in turn submitted its annual report to the Governor-in-Council accompanied with returns of the number of children in each school.⁽⁵⁸⁾

3. Schools in the Jaffna and Colombo Commandments.

The Commandment of Jaffna comprised 159 villages in four separated provinces (Valikamam, Vadammaradchi, Thenmaradchi, Pachchilaipalli), the seven inhabited islands, the borders of the Wanny, Mantota, the island of Mannar, Trincomalee and Batticoloa.⁽⁵⁹⁾ When the Dutch conquered Jaffna, they took over the twenty Roman Catholic Churches that were there. In August 1658, the Reformed religion was introduced by the Revd. Philip Baldaeus for the first time in the Tellipallai church in the Valikamam province.⁽⁶⁰⁾ It was mainly due to the early efforts of the Revd. Philip Baldaeus, that this province made the greatest strides in the matter of education and the propagation of the Reformed Faith. According to the Revd. J. D. Palm, the clergy visited the schools annually and found the work to be

satisfactory and the Tamils were reported as being "quick at learning".⁽⁶¹⁾ However, later reports in 1726 spoke of a decline in the state of these schools, which surprised the Colombo Consistory. But, owing to the quick action taken by the Colombo Consistory to employ efficient teachers, the schools were able to produce favourable reports in 1735, which stated that the children were improving, "especially in religious instructions, being able to repeat promptly in Tamil [sic] not only the ordinary prayers and three Catechisms, but also several chapters in Matthew's Gospel".⁽⁶²⁾ According to the Revd. J. D. Palm, there were 35,963 children in the schools of Jaffna in 1786,⁽⁶³⁾ but there is hardly any information available to us with regard to the number of children in each village school at that time.

a) The Jaffna Seminary.

In addition to the Parish-Schools, the Dutch educational system included a seminary in Colombo and Jaffna. The Seminary in Jaffna was established in 1690,⁽⁶⁴⁾ at Nallur with 24 students. Its aims were the training of Tamil youths to become ministers, catechists, clerks, interpreters and teachers. The staff consisted of Principal or Rector, who was always a Dutch clergyman, and two native assistants who taught in Tamil. The students were examined twice a year in the presence of the clergy and the Rector.⁽⁶⁵⁾ Though the early reports about the progress of this institution were satisfactory and promised well for the future, yet it did not last long as one might have expected. For a long time the Seminary was without a Rector, owing to the want of a suitable person to fill the post and, thus, a resident Dutch teacher was entrusted with its supervision. This not only lowered the discipline of the institution but also paved the way, according to Mottau, "for the students to remain heathen at heart".⁽⁶⁶⁾ When all efforts to improve and revive the Seminary failed, it was closed down in 1723 and the six students in it were transferred to the Colombo Seminary.

b) The Colombo Seminary.

The Colombo Seminary which was started six years after the establishment of the Jaffna Seminary, in 1696,⁽⁶⁷⁾ made steady progress as it was watched very closely by both the government and the clergy. It is recorded that a special committee was appointed by the Governor to investigate and report to him about the state of the Institution.⁽⁶⁸⁾ This clearly indicates that the Seminary was not under the School-Board. According to Wyndham, the Colombo Seminary developed very rapidly with the appointment of Dr. Synjeu as its Rector. Under the Rectorship of Dr. Synjeu, which he held for 21 years, the Seminary began "an active career development", and constituted an "interesting example of the eighteenth-century European education in a tropical dependency", and thus became a "leading educational institution in the country".⁽⁶⁹⁾

c) The Curriculum of the Seminary.

The curriculum of the Seminary was entirely Western in outlook, and the higher classes were conducted in the Dutch language. Therefore, in the lower sections of the Seminary, preliminary lessons were given in the Dutch grammar, composition and translation from the vernacular into Dutch. With the aim of giving a thorough knowledge of the Dutch language, a Dutch master was also appointed to the Seminary in 1729.⁽⁷⁰⁾ These clearly show the interest the Dutch had in the spread of their language and culture in Sri Lanka.

In addition to the learning of Dutch grammar at the lower sections of the Seminary, the students were also introduced to the study of Latin and Greek. Latin was the medium of instruction in the higher theological classes and when Governor Van Imhoff visited the Seminary in 1740, nothing pleased him more than "the perfect manner" in which

Latin and Greek were imparted to the younger pupils. Governor Van Imhoff in his Memoirs has stated thus:

It was astonishing to hear the little black fellows chatter in Latin and construe Greek when they hardly knew Dutch. (71)

While the Seminary was developing in this remarkable manner, the Dutch colonial administration was slowly deteriorating due to lack of locally trained office-holders, such as village headman. Thus, the importance of training natives to become office-holders became recognized and this was reflected in the reform of the Colombo Seminary which Governor Schreuder decreed on 30th December 1760. The following were some of the regulations:

1. Admission to the Seminary was restricted to the Sinhalese and Tamil youths. No children of European descent were to be admitted. (This rule was later on repealed and European children were admitted.) The native youths so admitted were trained to be priests, catechists, headmen and interpreters.
2. To appoint as native schoolmasters only those who had been qualified at the Seminary.
3. To give appointments under the government with fixed salaries to such persons who were qualified at the Seminary.
4. To educate at the expense of the government, 12 Sinhalese and 12 Tamil youths for a period of 10 years so as to give them employment in the Dutch East India Company's Service. (72)

With the organization of the Seminary, the curriculum was also amended so as to suit the needs of the native population better. The classical languages thus ceased to play the same important part and the training was given a more practical bias. Mention must be made here that students who showed promise were also sent to Leyden University in Holland. (73)

It was, indeed, the Colombo Seminary that received the constant and paternal care of the administration; the personal attention of the

Governor and the Council and thus, in the words of Wyndham, became "the leading educational institution in the country under the Dutch rule".⁽⁷⁴⁾

d) Other institutions.

Other than the Parish-Schools and the Seminary, the Dutch government opened a "Nederlandsche School" for the children of the Company's servants and burghers,⁽⁷⁵⁾ and established schools for orphan children. These charitable institutions, namely the "Weeskamer" or the Orphan-House and the "Armen Huis" or the Poor-House were maintained by the government, partly out of public funds and partly out of voluntary donations. Both of these institutions were controlled by the Diaconate of the Church and were under the management of a Regent, who was called the "Binnen Vader". The orphan children of both sexes were taught reading, writing and arithmetic, besides being given religious instruction. In addition boys were taught a trade and the girls were taught to sew and to knit until they reached the age of twenty. Then, the boys had to leave the institution and were provided with suitable employment. The girls who left either worked in the homes of the Dutch officials or married and became housewives.⁽⁷⁶⁾

4. Catholic missions under the Dutch Rule.

As for the Catholic missions, the Dutch conquest of Sri Lanka in 1658 meant the ruin of the achievements of a century and half of patient missionary labour. The Dutch began their rule by expelling from the Island both the Portuguese soldiers and the Catholic missionaries. Once the Catholics were left without priests and without any means of instruction, it was easy for the Dutch to take over their churches and the educational and charitable institutions. The Dutch adopted a hostile attitude towards the Catholics mainly for political

reasons, for they feared that Catholicism would serve as a bond of sympathy between the natives and the Portuguese. They, therefore, tried hard to induce the Catholics to give up their religion and to accept the form of Christianity which they had brought. Among the Dutch records in the Government Archives of Sri Lanka, as stated by Don Peter,⁽⁷⁷⁾ there are numerous proclamations (Plakkaats) issued against the Catholics. In 1658, they were forbidden under pain of death to harbour or conceal a Catholic priest.⁽⁷⁸⁾ Other proclamations prohibited under severe penalties the holding of private or public meetings,⁽⁷⁹⁾ the administration of baptisms,⁽⁸⁰⁾ the education of a Catholic for the ministry,⁽⁸¹⁾ the celebration of Mass,⁽⁸²⁾ the solemnization of marriage,⁽⁸³⁾ etc. Similar measures, though less stringent, were adopted to coerce Buddhists and Hindus to accept the Reformed religion.⁽⁸⁴⁾

a) The compulsion of Catholic children to attend Protestant schools.

All the Catholic children were compelled under severe penalties to attend the Protestant schools⁽⁸⁵⁾ and to listen to anti-Catholic instruction. Under the Portuguese, education had been on the voluntary principle. The state had little to do with it. But under the Dutch, education came to be state-controlled and the schools became the means of propagating their Reformed faith. While the Portuguese had planted schools only in Catholic villages, the Dutch established schools, not only in Catholic areas but even among the Hindus and Buddhists, in the hope of gathering more natives into their congregations. In this connection, the Revd. J. D. Palm states that

the plan usually followed for the formation of native churches was as follows: A school was first established in a village, which became the focus of the surrounding country. Here not only the children received instruction, but adults were made acquainted with the Christian religion, for whose benefit divine service was held on Sundays by the Schoolmaster. ⁽⁸⁶⁾

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the Catholics in the Island began to come out into the open in order to avow their faith and to resist tyranny. Two factors contributed to this change of attitude. The first was the friendlier attitude of the King of Kandy⁽⁸⁷⁾ towards the Portuguese descendents and the Catholics fleeing from persecution. More than seven hundred families sought and obtained asylum in his kingdom. The second was that, after a long lapse of 40 years, the Catholics had secured a priest, Father Joseph Vaz, Superior of the newly founded Congregation of the Oratory of Goa,⁽⁸⁸⁾ to minister to them.

b) The Father Joseph Vaz and his efforts to revive the Catholic faith.

In 1686, Father Joseph Vaz left Tuticorin (in South India) in the hope of arriving in Colombo, but providence took him to Jaffna where a priest was least expected by the Dutch and most needed by the Catholics. He came to the Island at a time when the Dutch persecution was at its highest and, according to Fr. S. G. Perera,

he visited, consoled and ministered to the Catholics of Jaffna in disguise; went boldly to Kandy, where in the teeth of opposition, he succeeded in winning the goodwill and admiration of the King. (89)

Thus he made Kandy the base for his missionary activities and from there he visited all the Dutch territories "undeterred by priest-hunts and brought peace and consolation of the Sacraments to the Catholics".⁽⁹⁰⁾ It should be borne in mind that, at the time Father Vaz arrived on the Island, the first generation of Catholics were dead and some of their children had been born and bred without ever seeing their religion practised. It was, as it were, Father Vaz's job "to raise up a new Church out of the ashes of the old".⁽⁹¹⁾

When he had established himself, Father Vaz wrote to his congregation in Goa asking for more helpers to continue the mission work in the country. His method of reviving the Catholic faith, taking into consideration the culture of the people, their customs and manners, was quite remarkable and his pioneering efforts to adapt the Gospels to Oriental peoples were eminently successful and won many to the Catholic faith. His charity and disinterested service to all, irrespective of creed, impressed itself "on the people who came to regard Catholic priests with utmost veneration". (92)

The interest shown by the Oratorian Fathers to the study of the languages of the people, namely Sinhala and Tamil, and their contribution to the development of a vernacular Catholic literature, was very remarkable. At a time when priests were few and books were unavailable, Father Vaz set aside one of his companions, Father Jacome Goncalvez, to learn the languages to perfection, giving him the time, opportunity and the means for it. The result of his foresight was incalculable. According to Father Perera,

Not only were the Catholics supplied with books for their instruction and edification in their own language, not only were they provided with a literature which made them hold up their heads with pride, but the writings of Father Goncalvez produced numberless conversions and gave the Catholic faith a reputation in the land. (93)

Furthermore, it is stated by Father Perera that the work of Father Goncalvez was eagerly read by those who otherwise would never have given a hearing to Christianity and conversions began to multiply among the ranks of the better classes of people, from noble families and most of all from the ranks of the schoolmasters who were employed by the Dutch to propagate the Reformed faith. (94)

Another significant thing in Father Vaz's missionary methods was the permission he gave for each caste to build a chapel for itself. It was built, looked after and maintained by that particular caste, but was open to all castes without exception. On the occasion of feasts and celebrations, the particular caste of the chapel had the precedence in its own chapel; but all other castes had to come there when the priest was present and take part in the service. According to Father S. G. Perera, there were no distinction within the chapel and,

by this simple method, Father Vaz left the people free to do as they liked in private and domestic affairs, but pleased all castes by putting them on the same level, and undermined caste feelings by removing the sting of caste. (95)

Moreover, the people were allowed to follow their ancestral customs provided they were "Christianized" by prayer, blessing, or the sprinkling of Holy Water. Father Concalvez even composed prayers for these occasions. Thus, the cultural feasts and ceremonies of the people, hitherto considered as heathenism, became "Christianized", and Catholicism began to be accommodative of native culture. As a result of these new measures taken by the Oratorian Fathers to steep the Catholic faith in the cultures of the people, in their languages, customs and ceremonies, the Catholic faith became, according to Father S. G. Perera, "a religion which the people of the country admired". (96) The missionary spirit that burned within the priests began to be shared by the people as well.

c) Catholics at the end of the Dutch Rule.

By the year 1758, the Catholics on the Island were gathering strength, the number of their priests had grown to seventeen and there were more baptisms and conversions even from among the ranks of the Dutch. (97) Disregard of the Plakkaats was growing and Catholic

solidarity was expressed in religious processions and in the refusal to repair the schools of the Reformed faith. It was the zeal of the Oratorian Fathers that was responsible for the decline of the Reformed Church, although the blame was put on the negligence of the Predikants. Governor Ian Schreuder gave very serious consideration in the Council to the reasons for the extraordinary growth of the Roman religion which, according to him,

has spread in such an amazing way that one hesitated to check it with serious means, fearing a revolt by the inhabitants and the garrison. (98)

The year 1778 saw the Catholics start a church-building campaign in the sea-coast towns of Colombo, Kalutara, Kalpitiya, Pesalai, Chilaw and Galle. Still more significant for Catholic education was the official permission given to the Catholics of Jaffna to open a school. (99) It was the beginning of the resumption of the Church's role in education, although any definite school system or Catholic school policy was still a long way off. It could be said that the Oratorians could do no more, than attend to the religious education of Catholics, as it was their primary intention to revive and strengthen a moribund faith. But they certainly educated many on the Island through their writings that have lived long after them and are appreciated even today.

5. The Dutch, their educational activities: An appraisal.

The educational organizations established by the Dutch in Sri Lanka, it can be safely concluded, had all the coherence of a predetermined plan which had to two aims: the proselytization of the indigenous populations and the consolidation of Dutch influence in the country. With this in view, they established a network of schools (Parish-Schools) covering all parts of their territory and endeavored

by their religious zeal and administrative policy to wean the natives from the influence of "the Popish clergy", which was a source of apprehension and danger to them. The composition of the School-Board, the Scholarchal Commission, which was the keystone of the whole edifice and the manner in which the entire educational organization was managed, clearly indicate that the Dutch system of education in Sri Lanka, according to Ruberu, "possessed all the qualities of any advanced educational system of today".(100)

The Seminary in Colombo (also in Jaffna for sometime) was yet another advance on the Portuguese system. The students here were introduced to the study of Latin, Greek and Hebrew. Latin was the medium of instruction in the higher theological classes. Besides the Seminary, the Dutch government also made provision for selected youths from the country to go abroad and to attend European Universities so as to pursue their education further.

However, the efforts of the Dutch produced only a nominal religion among their subjects and, they created a class of people who exploited the religion for the sake of material advancement. Their attempts to compel regular attendance at school proved abortive, despite the imposition of fines which often proved a source of annoyance to the people. Comparing the religious and educational policy of the Portuguese and the Dutch, Sir Emerson Tennent made the following observations:

I have discovered nothing in the proceedings of the Portuguese in Ceylon to justify the imputation of violence and constraint; but unfortunately as regards the Dutch Presbyterians, their own records are conclusive as to the severity of their measures and the ill success by which they were followed. The plakkaats and proclamations of the Government and their orders and regulations at one time for the coercion of the Buddhists, and at another for bribing them to conformity, are sufficient proofs of their system as regarded the heathens; and if any evidence were wanting as to their oppressive and compulsory policy towards the Roman Catholics and

their priesthood, it may be found in the legislative acts of the British Government, one of whose earliest measures was to repeal the penal laws enacted by the Dutch. (101)

The same writer, speaking of the position of the two Churches at the beginning of the British period, says:

It is a remarkable fact that notwithstanding the multitudinous baptisms, and the hundreds of thousands of Singhalese who were enrolled by then as converts, the religion and discipline of the Dutch Presbyterians is now almost extinct among the natives of Ceylon. Even in Jaffna, where the reception of these doctrines was all but unanimous by the Tamils, not a single congregation is now in existence of the many planted by Baldaeus, and intended by the labours of Valentyn and Schwartz; and in Colombo and throughout the maritime provinces there are not at this moment fifty native Singhalese, even among the aged and infirm, who still profess the form of religion so authoritatively established and so anxiously propounded by the Dutch. (102)

The Roman Catholic religion under the British administration, has maintained the same ascendancy, and exhibited the same energy, which it had previously manifested throughout the patronage of the Portuguese and the proscriptions of the Dutch; and at the present day, its members form by far the most numerous community of Christians in Ceylon. (103)

Though religion dominated education under both the Portuguese and the Dutch and schools were the media for the diffusion of the Christian religion and culture, the efforts of the Dutch, as pointed out by Tennent, ended in failure despite their well co-ordinated system of education. Being a commercial establishment, the activities of the Dutch East India Company were subordinated to its financial interests. They showed interest in organizing a system of mass education at low cost. This is evident in the letter Maetsuyker, the Governor General, wrote to the Revd. Philip Baldaeus in 1662:

Reading and writing are things not so absolutely necessary for the edification of these poor wretches, as teaching them the fundamentals of religion, which are contained in a few points; and to pretend to propagate Christianity by reading and writing would be both tedious and chargeable to the Netherlands East India Company. (104)

Moreover, the number of Dutch clergymen was deplorably small compared with the missionary personnel under the Portuguese. Baldaeus was, for example, the only missionary for nearly ten years in the whole of the Jaffna peninsula, Mannar, Wanni and the Islands where more than fifty Catholic missionaries had worked before.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ In fact, there were seldom more than a dozen clergymen in the whole country. The Dutch clergymen, according to Tennent,

failed to qualify themselves...by mastering in the first instance the vernacular tongues of the island; and the consistory in vain insisted on the inefficacy of instruction conveyed through the cold and unsatisfactory medium of interpreters. (106)

This practice was in stark contrast to the interest shown by the Jesuits of the Portuguese period and by the Oratorian Fathers of the Dutch period, in the study and use of the vernacular in their missionary and educational work.

As the Dutch clergyman usually lived in towns and visited the mission stations only once in six months, the religious and educational functions in the village were entrusted to a native schoolmaster who had the added responsibility of keeping records (Thombos) and whose commitment to the Reformed faith was very slim. As such, there was little contact between the Dutch clergyman and the natives of the rural areas. There was scarcely any cultural contact through the ministers of religions. The Portuguese missionaries, on the contrary, were in direct contact with their people as they lived in villages and they themselves conducted teaching in the churches and schools. Moreover, Catholicism with its striking and colourful ceremonies was more appealing to the people of Sri Lanka than the less colourful Dutch Church. Indeed, with respect to the dramatic element in its forms of worship, Catholicism resembled the native religions more closely than did the Reformed religion. These differences in educational attitude and methods must be held accountable for the difference in results obtained by missionary education under the Portuguese and the Dutch.

In conclusion we can say that the Catholics, after enjoying many privileges under the Portuguese, faced many hardships under the Dutch rule of Sri Lanka. Their faith was revived through the efforts of the Oratorian Fathers and, towards the end of the Dutch rule, the Catholics were freely practising their faith. Though they were allowed to open schools, yet they were still a long way off from organizing any definite system of education to their children. However, things changed after the British took over Sri Lanka in 1796. The Catholics were allowed to practice their religion but they had to face another problem, namely the arrival of different Christian Missions into the country with whom the Catholics had to compete in the educational field. The educational activities of these Christian missions, the support they received from the Governors of Sri Lanka and, amidst all these, the efforts of the Catholic Church to provide a good and sound education to Catholic children will be our concern in the coming chapters.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF THE GOVERNORS OF SRI LANKA

DURING THE FIRST THREE DECADES OF BRITISH RULE, 1796-1834.

Britain had some contacts with Sri Lanka during the period 1750-1781, through the use of Trincomalee as a port that offered protection for the British fleet from the monsoons. With the outbreak of war between Britain and Holland in 1781, Trincomalee was captured by the British in January 1782 mainly for the purpose of preventing its use as a base by the French for their projected invasion of British India.⁽¹⁾ However, its subsequent loss to the French, in August 1782, was a notable blow to British prestige.⁽²⁾

In 1795, consequent upon the occupation of Holland by the French revolutionary army, the Stadtholder of Holland took refuge in England where he was installed in Kew Palace. He was persuaded to sign a document requiring the Dutch governors and commanders in the colonies to entrust the possessions under their control to the British.⁽³⁾ This document (which came to be known as the Kew letter) was used by the British as authority to mount a comprehensive operation to gain control of Dutch possessions in Asia and at the Cape. The Dutch authorities in Sri Lanka put up a weak resistance which was swiftly put down,⁽⁴⁾ but it provided the British with an excuse for claiming territory by conquest. With the fall of Colombo on the 15th of February 1796, the maritime provinces of Sri Lanka fell into the hands of the British.⁽⁵⁾ The administration of the Island was handed over to the Madras Government of the British East India Company.⁽⁶⁾ Accordingly, the territories were made a dependency of the Madras Presidency and the administration of the Governor in Council at Madras commenced on the 16th of February of the same year.⁽⁷⁾

1. The Madras Administration.

The system and method of governing pursued by the Madras Administration had the most delirious effect on educational activities in the recently acquired Dutch territories. The Commander-in-Chief, under the Madras Administration, was the military governor who had discretionary authority on military as well as on civil matters. The civil government in the Island was carried on by members of the Madras civil service whose duties were administrative, financial and judicial, the most important being the collection of the revenue. The changes in the administration and the misconduct of the officers,⁽⁸⁾ caused anxiety and unrest among the people, and the introduction of a tax on coconut trees,⁽⁹⁾ brought about a rebellion by the people. According to Governor North, the causative factor for the rebellion was the oppression to which the people were subjected by the new rulers and he described the oppression as "violent in its operations and much... repugnant to the feelings of the people".⁽¹⁰⁾

The chief concern of the Madras rulers being to consolidate the political power and economic position of the Company, the Dutch educational system which was well established in the Island was allowed to fall into disuse by the military governors. This had been well expressed in the writings of the Revd. James Cordiner⁽¹¹⁾ who investigated the position of these schools in 1803 and reported that,

for nearly three years after they were taken possession of, the religious establishments of the natives occupied no part of attention of the new government. The European clergymen became prisoners of war. The Catechist and Schoolmasters no longer received their salaries. The duties of public worship and the education of the youth, began either to be feebly discharged or entirely neglected, and memorials presented by the inhabitants on these subjects were considered by a military commander either as objects in which he had no concern, or matters which had not power to redress. ⁽¹²⁾

The responsible officers of the Company being all businessmen whose interest were commerce and money, it is not surprising that they cared little for the promotion of the education of the people. Their indifferent attitude towards education was really an expression of the British East India Company at that time. Even in India, this Company did not take any steps to promote the education of Indians until the Company became a political power. It was only after the Charter Act of 1813, that the Company accepted responsibility for the education of the Indians.⁽¹³⁾

The unsatisfactory state of administration in the Settlements and the outbreak of the above mentioned rebellion in the years 1797-1798 brought about a change of administration in 1798 from that of the Madras Government to one of "Dual-Control" between the Company and the Imperial Government. This "Dual-Control" commenced with the appointment of the Honourable Frederick North,⁽¹⁴⁾ as Governor in October 1798. However, this system of "Dual-Control" of the Maritime Provinces was only of a short duration because it could not bring about the desired political stability. Accordingly on 1 January 1802, "Dual-Control" ended and the Maritime Provinces became a Crown Colony,⁽¹⁵⁾ and the administration came under the immediate control of the Colonial Office in London.

2. Governor North's educational activities.

The new Governor, the Honourable Frederick North, took a personal interest in the promotion of Christianity and education in Sri Lanka. Thus, the short period of his administration (1798-1805) initiated a revival of schools and the beginning of several new educational developments. On his arrival in October 1798, Governor North discovered how neglected the Dutch Educational system in the territories had been. Only a few schoolmasters had continued work in

spite of their not having been paid by the government. The schools, in general, were in a very poor state and, in some cases, the masters could not continue their work even if they desired to do so, chiefly because the school buildings had either fallen down or were on the verge of collapse. However, North was impressed by the Dutch system of education that had existed in the country and had this comment to make:

If the plans introduced by the Dutch were quietly and steadily pursued, there was good reason to believe that the whole Cingalese (Sinhalese) nation might in time be converted. (16)

In a series of Despatches that Governor North sent to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, he made clear to them the general conditions prevalent in the country at that time. He pointed out that "Christianity is the religion of much larger half" of the population and that "the majority profess it according to Helvetic Confession, the other according to the Church of Rome", and that he had no confidence at all,

that the common people of these two communions are well instructed in the tenets of Christianity. The small number of their pastors, the distance of their abodes, the poverty, ignorance and degradation of the people, gives me too much reason to fear that in general they differ little from their heathen neighbours. (17)

The attachment of some of the principal officers of government to their "pagan priesthood" shook him profoundly, and he confessed to a well-founded suspicion that they entertained "a strong superstitious reverence for the pagan rites and doctrines of the Buddhists", and that those who were further removed from the seat of government

consult without reserve and with the greatest confidence the priests of Buddhoo in all afflictions either body or mind, both as conjurors and physicians. (18)

A few months later, North drew the attention of the Court of Directors to the necessity "of preventing the relapse of the people into paganism which had made a dreadful progress in the East and North of the Island".⁽¹⁹⁾ He put forward several proposals to counter the backsliding from Christianity that was taking place. In his opinion, the proposals he put forward were "the sole means of recovering to Christianity the power it had in this Colony",⁽²⁰⁾ and he was convinced that only Christianity could effect the fundamental changes in the character of the inhabitants that he regarded as necessary. Suffice to say that North was anxious to promote a Western education in a Christian environment and the major obstacle towards this was the non-availability of English clergymen in the Island. Therefore, by releasing the Dutch clergymen who had been imprisoned by the Madras Administration, he was able to get the help of about ten of them. And yet, the fact that the Dutch clergy refused to pray for His Majesty, the King of Great Britain, disqualified them from receiving any authoritative position in the government.⁽²¹⁾ It was only after the arrival of the Revd. James Cordiner and the missionaries of the London Missionary Society in 1805, that North was able to overcome the difficulties and work on a planned scheme of educational reconstruction in the Settlements.⁽²²⁾

a) The Revd. James Cordiner as Principal of Schools.

The Parish-Schools in the Island began to be reorganized soon after the arrival of the Revd. James Cordiner. In addition to his duties as Chaplain to the garrison at Colombo, he was made the "Superintendent of all the schools and Examiner of the candidates for the Office of Schoolmasters".⁽²³⁾ He was always referred to as "Principal of Schools" and he worked in this capacity throughout his stay in the country. The appointment of Cordiner as the Principal of Schools, therefore, initiated the State School System in the country.

The first action of Cordiner to bring the Parish-Schools on to a better footing was to request the governor to pay the salaries of the schoolmasters. He pointed out that schoolmasters should be able to maintain themselves independently of the marriage fees⁽²⁴⁾ and recommended that "eight Rix-Dollars should be paid to each school"⁽²⁵⁾ as salaries. This request was granted by the Governor. By making the expenses of Parish-Schools a charge on public funds, Governor North created a precedent for extending government grants to schools. Though the grant given was a small amount, the system of paying grants to schools started with it.⁽²⁶⁾

The next step Cordiner took in the direction of rehabilitating the Parish-Schools was the appointment of preachers and catechists to supervise the working of the schools. His plan was to appoint one preacher to each of the principal towns.⁽²⁷⁾ In addition to holding divine service every Sunday in one of the churches in his area, the preacher had also to examine the conduct and efficiency of the catechists and schoolmasters. A report had to be submitted to the Principal of Schools on the progress of work done in the schools he examined.⁽²⁸⁾

The curriculum of the Parish-Schools included Reading, Writing, Arithmetic and Catechism - all of which were taught in the mother tongue of the pupils. The object of reviving these Parish-Schools was to promote the growth of religious knowledge, and subsequently religious instruction was given a prominent place in the curriculum.⁽²⁹⁾ These were purely vernacular schools that helped the spread of vernacular education among the rural people and usually girls' attendance was in smaller numbers than that of the boys.⁽³⁰⁾

One important feature in which these Parish-Schools differed from those of the Dutch was the absence of compulsory attendance.⁽³¹⁾

As there was no law compelling children to attend school, poor attendance was a characteristic feature. To overcome this, the governor issued proclamations in the Government Gazette ordering,

all Protestant parents to send their children to the established schools, and the several Mudaliars and other Headmen are required to see this order carried into effect. (32)

North, by confining compulsion to Protestant parents, was observing the principle of non-interference with the practice of their respective religions by the non-Protestant sectors of the population. At the same time, he was indirectly accepting two realities, namely that the re-established Parish-Schools were for the promotion of religion and education as portrayed by Protestantism, and that the education of non-Protestants was not a concern of the government. Considering the situation at that time of history, this attitude of North is an understandable one.

b) The Superior School System.

The revival of the Parish-Schools was only a part of the educational reforms envisaged by North. While the Parish-Schools were to give an elementary education in the vernacular to a bulk of the population, North recognized the importance of making provision for English education among the better off in the country. For this purpose, he embarked on the building up of a Superior School System, recommending to the British Government the feasibility of giving scholarships for a selected few to go to England and receive University education. He explained it thus:

Besides these schools (i.e. the Parish-Schools), which are merely intended for the inhabitants of the village, it is my wish to establish some few others (i.e. schools), of a superior nature, for the education of the children of Burghers, and of those natives whose families are eligible to the office of Modeliar and to other Dignities and charges given by government to native servants. (33)

The Superior Schools were of two kinds. There was the Academy or Seminary in Colombo that gave the highest available education in the country at that time. The other category of Superior Schools included the Preparatory Schools that performed a dual function of giving superior instruction as well as preparing candidates for the Academy. Children in the Preparatory Schools who showed extraordinary application and abilities in their work were to be admitted to the Academy and educated at the expense of the government. (34)

The Academy or the Seminary, in its organization, was really an incorporation of three separate schools described as the Sinhala school, Tamil school and European school. Even though these three schools were housed in the same building, they worked independently of each other. In addition to preparing youths for public service, the Academy also prepared the students to be sent to England for University education. On their return to the Island, they were to supply the needs of the Church as well as fill posts in government. By such means, North planned to place in the country respectable individuals,

attached to their country by birth and relations, and to England by their education, being in a situation in which they will be respected and without envy, and enjoying influence without danger, as it must be personal, they would, I should hope, become the most effectual preservers of contentment, tranquility and morality amongst their countrymen and a means of connection between them and us, which no other system of Government could offer. (35)

Furthermore, the Academy, according to North, was to be a free boarding school where children were to be lodged, fed, educated and even clothed at the expense of the Government. (36) But owing to the heavy expenses the government had to incur, fee-paying scholars were also admitted later. (37) The Government began to reap the benefits of the Institution much sooner than expected when two of the oldest students were selected to Government Service in March 1802, as Interpreters to the provincial courts in Colombo.

Under North's educational reforms, the Orphan-House of the Dutch also received attention.⁽³⁸⁾ These were to be preserved and revived for the benefit of

the children of the lower class of Burghers of both sexes, and for foundlings...half-caste children born to native women by European fathers. ⁽³⁹⁾

Such children were to be brought up in these Institutions at government expense and given a vocational education so as to enable them to earn a living. It is evident that these Orphan-Houses were founded in the principal towns such as Colombo, Galle, Trincomalee and Jaffna.

Another significant educational reform by North included the establishment of Muslim schools. North considered the improvement of education of Muslims as a service of great value. This is clear in his remarks:

The gross ignorance of the professors of this religion in matters of their own law...(is) a source of constant tumult and dispute among them. ⁽⁴⁰⁾

By improving the educational facilities for the Muslims, North hoped to ameliorate such conditions. There is, however, no evidence in records to show that this proposal was ever carried out for quite some years.⁽⁴¹⁾

c) North's tolerant attitude towards Catholics.

Although the actual situation of the Roman Catholics in the Island did not change very much as compared with what it had been during the last years of the Dutch rule where they were practically tolerated, it was evident from the very beginning that the religious policy of the British would be very moderate and mild in character. This is quite

clear in the instruction that Governor North received from the East India Company when he was asked to take charge of the Island. He was told that no arrangements with regard to religious matters be made but such as may give full satisfaction to the inhabitants. He was asked to,

permit liberty of conscience and free exercise of religious worship to all persons who inhabit and frequent the settlement, provided they be contented with a quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the same.(42)

Soon after the arrival of Governor North in the country, Father Nicholas Rodrigo, the priest-in-charge of the missions of Trincomalee and Batticaloa, wrote to him complaining of undue interference in religious affairs by Mr. Garrow, the assistant collector at Batticaloa.(43) North seriously examined the complaint of Father Rodrigo and wrote to Mr. Garrow's immediate superior, Robert Andrews stationed in Trincomalee, telling him that it was his particular wish that every person vested with authority under him should enforce among the people a due respect for their ecclesiastical superior and that nothing could give him a greater displeasure than to hear of any act of immorality being encouraged and countenanced by any one in the Government Service.(44)

Furthermore, when a group of five Oratorian Fathers sent a memorial(45) to Governor North requesting not only a theoretical concession in religious matters, but also a lightening of the taxes the British had asked them to continue to pay for marriages and burials as contribution to the "diaconie", (46) and greater freedom in fulfilling the formalities of registration, the reply North gave clearly showed his understanding and veneration for those,

whose profession it is to preach the Word and explain the faith of Our Lord Jesus Christ, whatever peculiarities of doctrine may be distinguished. (47)

Such words of tolerance were unheard of during the Dutch rule.

In the first report Governor North sent to the Board of Directors in London, he gave a very good account of the situation of the Catholics in the country at that time. In his opinion, the Catholics were the neglected part of the Christians. The taxes levied on their marriages and burials, he said, amounted nearly to a prohibition and, therefore, he had eliminated the discrimination by granting them licence to marry and bury upon payment of usual fees to the "diaconie". Only the richer had to pay more. At the same time, directives had been given to send a regular account, four times a year, of all baptisms, marriages and burials. (48)

This tolerant attitude of North towards Roman Catholics was frowned upon by the Dutch Reformed Church Assembly and it complained, in 1801, that the ministers of other religions were too easily allowed to go and see their sick in the hospitals. But North answered them saying that Christian charity obliged him to admit all ministers, more so in time of sickness and misfortune. However, he advised the Church Assembly to be watchful to prevent the seduction of any part of its flock by another religion. He said that it would only be at the demand of a patient that any such priest would be allowed to enter the hospital. (49)

The proclamation issued by Governor North (dated 23 September 1799), while giving greater religious freedom to Catholics, allowed them to establish schools as well. The proclamation read as follows:

...we do hereby command that no person shall be allowed to keep a school in any of the said settlements of the Island of Ceylon without our Licence first had and obtained, in granting which we shall pay the most particular attention to the morals, and proper qualification of the persons applying for the same. (50)

According to Jayasuriya, the above clause seems to have made it possible, in course of time, "for the Roman Catholics, out of all non-

Protestant religious groups, to open schools".⁽⁵¹⁾ The Buddhists, Hindus and Muslims had their schools in their temple, Kovil or Mosque premises and there is no evidence that these religious groups established any schools outside the premises of places of worship. According to Jayasuriya, the above clause permitted Catholics to start schools and by the end of 1801, "several schools for the children of the Roman Catholics had been started", and that "the status they enjoyed was that of private schools".⁽⁵²⁾ Evidence for this is found in the letter Governor North wrote to the Board of Directors where he reported the permission he had given to the Roman Catholics to establish schools.⁽⁵³⁾

Even though the above references indicate that the Roman Catholics did start schools, we are unable to say anything definite about the exact nature of these schools, the number of pupils and of the curriculum, as we have no documents to give us a clear account of them. Certainly, the religious tolerance exhibited by Governor North did allow Catholics to breathe the air of freedom. Yet they were helpless at this early stage to organize themselves in order to give a satisfactory education to their children, mainly due to lack of priests with a knowledge of English, as will become evident in the next chapter. In spite of these drawbacks, North, in his letter to Earl Camden, reported that the Catholics "are happier than they used to be under the Dutch and that they are better educated now in their faith".⁽⁵⁴⁾

In concluding Governor North's educational reforms in the country, it can be said that there was no great originality about his proposals for the revival of education. According to Jayasuriya,

a network of inferior schools in villages, a couple of select schools in Colombo to turn out native functionaries to serve the needs of the Church and the State from the perspective of British colonial rule, opportunities to study in the metropolitan

country for a few so that they could assimilate the quintessence of culture in it and return to their homeland exemplifying the ideal of the native who had absorbed the culture and learning of the colonial ruler - these were all elements of an old pattern to which Ceylon had not been unexposed during the periods of foreign rule, first by the Portuguese and then by the Dutch. (55)

From the point of view of Roman Catholics, this was the beginning of a new type of freedom, though a limited one, to engage in their religious activities and enter, once more, the field of educating the people of Sri Lanka.

As to the educational framework at that time, the government, by making a payment to each school, by undertaking the appointment of teachers, by making arrangements for the supervision of the schools, and by meeting the cost of repairs of school buildings, took over almost full responsibility for the Parish-Schools. This was quite unlike anything that prevailed in contemporary England or India. Neither did it mean that the public provision of education had been accepted as an ideal to be pursued. It was more of a pragmatic response to a local situation, two of its characteristics being the residual effects of the educational activities of the Dutch and the need to promote the growth of a contented population with a sense of loyalty and fidelity to the British.

d) British Government's disapproval of educational reforms.

The rapid rise in the cost of education, because of the reforms undertaken by North, did not receive the approval it needed from the Home Government. The Secretary of State considered the expenditure to be excessive and advised the Governor to cut down the expenses from £5000. to £1500. (56) Though North realized that such a reduction of the educational expenditure would curtail the progress he had already

achieved, it was not within his powers to ignore the instructions of His Majesty's Government and therefore he began to economize on education by closing down some of the educational establishments and by reducing the staff of the others. The Academy was made smaller and was ultimately removed to new premises which did not involve any house rent. The salary paid to the teachers of Parish-Schools had to be withdrawn and they ceased to be maintained by public funds any more. However, they did not become extinct because the allowance the schoolmasters received from the notarial work enabled them to continue the schools, though on a humbler scale.

Both North and Cordiner felt deeply over this destruction of the school system that they had so laboured to build in the colony. They were anxious to leave the country, not with the intention of forgetting about the educational needs of the country, but with the determination to agitate in England and to convince the Home Government about its responsibility to promote education. The Revd. James Cordiner left in March 1804, after the arrival of the Revd. Thomas James Twisleton.⁽⁵⁷⁾ North, however, had to continue in spite of disappointments, until the arrival of his successor, Major General Sir Thomas Maitland,⁽⁵⁸⁾ in July 1805. Though these gentlemen's (North and Cordiner) stay in the Island had been a short one, yet it was a period of revival of educational systems and their labours did pave the way for educational progress in the country for the next thirty years.

2. Maitland's stringent economic measures on education.

In the chequered history of education in the country, the following seven years which constituted the period of administration of Sir Thomas Maitland saw very little progress in education. This was solely a consequence of the economic measures enforced on educational

expenditure by the Home Government referred to above.⁽⁵⁹⁾ When Maitland arrived in Sri Lanka in 1805, he was confronted with the problem of making ends meet. According to him, the treasury was empty and bills had to be drawn from England to meet the expenses. There was, in addition, wastage in every area of government activity. Decline in trade, neglect of agriculture, all demanded priority in the restoration of the economy. The state of affairs in the country, when Maitland began his administration, is best reported by Dixon thus:

Maitland had to make the best of the situation by the exercise of the strictest economy and supervision of expenditure so rigorous that his health ultimately failed him in his task: it was impossible to increase taxation; it was equally impossible to reduce the great burden of the military establishment, which accounted for more than half the expenditure. It was impossible to reduce the civil service without incurring the risk of mal-administration. (60)

Thus, faced with the greatest problems of balancing the budget, Maitland, with the encouragement from the Home Government, started taking measures to improve the economy of the country by restoring agriculture, specially to the cultivation of rice, so as "to make the Island afford a sufficiency for its consumption".⁽⁶¹⁾ In spite of these efforts, there remained the impossibility of producing the desired object of raising the economy to a state of self sufficiency. This situation had its damaging effects on the progress of education in the country.

Maitland, an administrator by temperament, introduced several administrative changes for which he is still remembered.⁽⁶²⁾ Although the administration in the country improved, the state of education continued to be neglected. There was no increase in the number of either schools or schoolmasters. The schools that were closed on the orders of the Home Government continued to be closed. The Academy in Colombo also faced the same calamity. It was reduced to a

comparatively small school under the name "United School", maintained at the very low cost of about 275 Rix-Dollars a year.⁽⁶³⁾ Thus, during the years that followed the retirement of North and Cordiner, educational progress in the Island was negligible. Maitland himself admitted it in the statement he made to the Home Government where he stated that "the Religion of the Island and the facility of education in all of its points exactly where it did when I arrived".⁽⁶⁴⁾

a) Maitland's attitude towards Catholics.

Maitland's approach to religious matters had been of a different type. As one of his biographers puts it, he

probably saw little that marked any one religion as superior to the others. The principles of right conduct, which alone attracted him instead of forms of religion, were common to all faiths. ⁽⁶⁵⁾

He disliked thrusting his faith on other people and displayed a sympathetic and understanding attitude towards Buddhism and Hinduism and met the criticism of his countrymen for this attitude by saying:

If showing proper respect for their feelings when I visit their temples is to be a pagan, I am one. ⁽⁶⁶⁾

There is little doubt that Maitland's broad approach to religious matters would have benefited the Catholics in the country. On the 27th of May 1806, a regulation abolishing the disabilities suffered by the Roman Catholics was passed by the Governor in Council entitled, "Regulation Abolishing Roman Catholic Disabilities" and it read thus:

It being His Majesty's most gracious intention that all persons who inhabit the British Settlements on this Island, shall be permitted liberty of conscience and the free exercise of religious worship, provided they can be contented with a quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the same, without giving offence to the Government; and it appearing that the Roman Catholics,

who are a numerous and peaceable body of His Majesty's subjects...

The Governor in Council enacts as follows:

First: The Roman Catholics shall be allowed the unmolested profession and exercise of their religion in every part of the British settlements in the Island of Ceylon

Second: They shall be admitted to all civil privileges and capacities

Third: All marriages between Roman Catholics which have taken place within the said settlements since the 26th of August 1795, according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church, shall be deemed valid in law, although the forms appointed by the late Dutch Government have not been observed.

Fourth: This regulation shall take effect on the 4th day of June next, that being His Majesty's birthday.

Fifth: Every part of any law, proclamation, or order, which contradicts this regulation, is hereby repealed. (67)

With the help of this Regulation, the Catholics in Sri Lanka, compared to the Catholics in England where they were still submitted to many restrictions, (68) were placed in a privileged position. Maitland's attitude was not wholly inspired by generosity. He had sufficient political realism to see that it was important to win the favour of a group of inhabitants he estimated to number around 85,000, who had continued to prosper and increase in spite of the unjustifiable restrictions laid on them earlier. The Governor himself was glad that he could combine his opinions on religious freedom with political interests of His Majesty's government. (69)

The Catholics were certainly pleased about this Regulation and sent a memorandum which expressed their satisfaction thus:

We, the Roman Catholics of this Island, ...request that your Excellency transmit this humble tribute of our thanksgiving to the Throne. We shall teach our children how to cherish and honour the greatest and best of Kings. (70)

Maitland too was pleased about the new Regulation passed in Council and felt that the Roman Catholics, by the removal of their disqualifications, "instead of being hostile", have now become "the strongest supporters of the government". (71)

A comment by the Revd. Claudius Buchanan (72) on the removal of disabilities suffered by the Roman Catholics is worth noting here.

...the English Government justly preferring the Romish superstition to the worship of the idol Boodha, thinks right to countenance the Catholic religion in Ceylon. (73)

Buchanan was not slow in perceiving that the Roman Catholic Church was well on the way to gaining a march over the Protestant churches; and in course of time, as Jayasuriya puts it,

events made it clear that the magnanimity of the British towards Roman Catholics resulted in the achievement of a position of dominance by the Roman Catholics with the Protestant denominations trailing far behind. (74)

b) The criticisms in England of education in Sri Lanka.

This being the state of affairs in the country, representations were made to the Secretary of State in England by Governor North and the Revd. J. Cordiner about the adverse effects of the withdrawal of the salaries of teachers that had led to the decline of education in Sri Lanka. The Secretary of State wrote to Maitland:

It is stated by Mr. North that the restriction of allowances for the support of the public schools seems to have been carried too far. (75)

The same "is confirmed" continued the Secretary of State,

by the reports of Mr. Cordiner who was at the time Head of this establishment there, and has lately returned. (76)

The most successful criticism came from the Revd. Claudius Buchanan who gave publicity in England about the deplorable state of Christianity and education in the colony.

It will be scarcely believed in England that there are here Protestant Churches under the King's Government which are without ministers... only Protestant preacher in the town of Jaffna is Christian David, a Tamil Catechist. The whole district is now in the hands of the Romish priests from the college of Goa who perceiving the indifference of the English nation to their own religion have assumed quiet and undisputed possession of the land... There are but two English clergymen in the whole island... the religion of Christ has never been so disgraced in any age of the Church, as it has been lately by our official neglect of the Protestant Church in Ceylon. (77)

Buchanan was joined by William Wilberforce, a leading light of the Evangelical movement, who made representation to the Secretary of State accusing Maitland's government of "encouraging paganism". He was able to enlist the support of the Secretary of State to question Maitland regarding the measures he had undertaken to suppress the salaries of the schoolmasters, and even "encouraging the natives actually converted, to relapse to paganism". (78)

When one recalls the circumstances that led to the suspension of schoolmasters and the withdrawal of salaries, Maitland's retaliation to such criticisms saying that it was not his business to interfere with an arrangement that had been made under a positive order, long before he assumed the Government, (79) seems quite understandable. In fact, the salaries were withdrawn not by Maitland but by his predecessor North, and that too was in compliance with the orders from the Home

Government. The fact that the Secretary of State did not have time to refer to the earlier correspondences before writing to Maitland indicates, to a certain extent, the urgency the Secretary of State felt about remedying the situation. In spite of this misunderstanding, Maitland took the criticisms rather seriously as is evident in his reply to the Secretary of State.

Since I received your Lordship's orders, it has naturally occupied considerable share of my attention, and... I may venture to promise that in the course of ensuing two months all the schools in the Island will be in a full state of activity. (80)

Thus the scheme of reform submitted to the Home Government by Maitland included, among others, the repair and maintenance of school buildings, payment of salaries to schoolmasters, the training of them and improving the quality of teaching in schools. The Home Government readily approved this scheme in the following manner:

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. (81)

Subsequently, Maitland was able to introduce some reforms into the school system. He restored the payment of salaries to schoolmasters. The Academy was placed on a better footing by raising the salaries of teachers. A system of scholarships was also initiated by sending "native youths" to England for further education. Thus, it was the agitation in England over the neglect of education in the colony that brought about these desired results. For reasons of ill health, Maitland could not stay any longer to see the results of his endeavours and had to retire prematurely in July 1811. (82)

4. Promotion of Christianity and education under Governor Brownrigg.

Sir Robert Brownrigg⁽⁸³⁾ took over the Government on the 10th of March 1812 and his administration lasted till 1820. Owing to the perfection of the administration in the country by Maitland, Brownrigg had only a few administrative changes to make. Thus, he could pay more attention to the spread of Christianity and the promotion of education - two activities in which he was always interested. He summed up his views neatly when, on the eve of his departure from Sri Lanka eight years later, he wrote to the Wesleyan Methodist missionaries thus:

From the first moment of my entering upon the government of this island, I considered the religious improvement of the people to be paramount importance... I felt the full obligation of propagating, for its own sake, the Divine truth of that religion which has been throughout life, the source of my consolation and hope. (84)

Several factors were responsible for the achievements of Brownrigg. First of all, he received every encouragement from the Secretary of State expressing His Majesty's Government's willingness to promote religion and education in the colony.⁽⁸⁵⁾ Moreover, the evangelical revival in England at that time⁽⁸⁶⁾ and the origin of several movements for the "spread of Christianity and education in non-Christian lands",⁽⁸⁷⁾ influenced him to a considerable extent. The arrival of different missionary societies helped him to carry out his plans for educational reform. The first non-Roman missionaries to come to Sri Lanka were the London Missionary Society. They arrived in Sri Lanka on the 4th of February 1805 with four missionaries. Sadly enough, it was also the first to abandon its missionary activities in the Island.⁽⁸⁸⁾

The Baptist mission⁽⁸⁹⁾ began work in Sri Lanka in 1812 when James Chater and his wife, Ann, arrived. Governor Brownrigg allowed Chater to reside in Colombo and establish his central mission there and it has been the headquarters of the mission ever since. Chater soon learnt the languages of the people and began to speak and even preach in Sinhala, thus extending his influence on the spread of Christianity in the country. It is recorded that the early missionaries of the Baptist mission could preach in four languages including Portuguese and Dutch.⁽⁹⁰⁾

The Wesleyan Methodists (WMMS) who were "sent from England in order to convert the natives from Heathenism",⁽⁹¹⁾ arrived in Sri Lanka on 29th January 1814, two years after the Baptists had established their mission.⁽⁹²⁾ The Wesleyans received the same encouragement and support from the government and immediately started their activities both in the North and South of the country. This division was based on the languages spoken in these two areas, Tamil and Sinhala respectively. It should be noted that the Wesleyans, right from the start, recognized the advantages of using native languages in their work and thus the mission remains active in the country even now. For the Wesleyans, the chief prospects of success of the mission in the Island rested in the "formation of schools and their vigorous support".⁽⁹³⁾ The following extracts from original documents of the Wesleyan Mission in Sri Lanka make this position of theirs very clear. In 1820, two missionaries wrote:

Our great object is to instruct the natives in the principles of Christianity, we endeavour to make all our pursuits subserve this desirable end... We are sensible that this change can only be accomplished ...by the regular diffusion of instruction among them. This persuasion led us sometime back to resolve upon the establishment of Christian schools...and while we endeavour to make the rising generation acquainted with the first rudiments of learning, we try at the same time to accompany these instructions with such others of a religious kind, as we are convinced, will answer the design of our mission... . We have so far succeeded in these attempts, as to have established

in different parts of the Island about 72 schools...
From this system of schools, conducted on such plans,
the most moderate calculations will be in favour of their
proving greatly beneficial. (94)

The Wesleyans' achievements are recorded in the Report of
the Mission for 1827 where the missionaries, being very pleased with
their work, reported to their friends in London saying that,

at no period in the history of the country was so
extensive a system of schools in a more active
and energetic states of operation than are the
Wesleyan schools. (95)

The printing press established in Colombo in 1814 by the Wesleyans
to publish ecclesiastical tracts, scriptures and translations of the
Bible was commended by Brownrigg in the following manner:

The great influence of the press is exercised with
more or less effect over every civilized country
in Europe; but here where it was so much wanted,
it was utterly unknown. It was rare that any
publications ever appeared in a language
intelligible to the people, except a Regulation of
Government. The children had nothing to learn,
their parents had nothing to read. But the Wesleyan
missionaries have established a press from which
there is a continual issue of elementary works of
devotion, morality and science, that the native
population is at length gradually admitted to a
participation in the richness of European
knowledge. (96)

There is no doubt that the attitude of the government at that time
had much to do with the early success of the Wesleyan mission.
Governor Brownrigg's enthusiasm for and support of the Christian cause
made the country attractive and profitable. His sympathy for these
missions was evident from his own observation that

it has been a matter of peculiar satisfaction to
me that I have seen under my government Wesleyans,

Presbyterians and Baptists, working with the regular clergy of the Church of England. (97)

The American missionaries sent out to the East by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (mainly Congregational) with its headquarters in Boston, Massachusetts, arrived in Colombo on 22 March 1816. (98) After a temporary stay in Colombo, the American Mission, "with the approbation of the Governor, entered upon permanent residence in the district of Jaffna". (99) The missionaries first established themselves in two "stations", in the parishes of Tellipallai and Batticota (later Vaddukodai) (100) and then the number increased to four in 1820 by the addition of Odooville and Pandateruppu. (101)

Like the missionaries of the other denominations, the Americans too decided on the establishment of elementary schools as one of their main concerns. Nearly two years after their arrival in Jaffna district, they had twelve vernacular schools with 470 pupils. (102) Despite all hardships which the American Mission faced from time to time, they succeeded in building a commendable school system in the Jaffna district. The following remarks of the Colebrooke Commission testifies to the extent to which the Commission was satisfied with the educational activities of the American Mission:

As the northern districts of the Island are chiefly indebted to these missionaries for the progress of education, the benefits of which are already experienced, it is but just to recommend that they should receive all the encouragement from the Government to which their exertions, and exemplary conduct have entitled them. (103)

The Church Missionary Society (CMS) (104) right from its inception had considered the possibility of establishing a mission in Sri Lanka, but the difficulties of recruiting suitable men caused considerable

delay.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ The first party of four missionaries who arrived in Sri Lanka in 1818 were well received by Governor Brownrigg and were given every assistance for their missionary work. The mission first started Sinhalese, Tamil and English schools in its four stations in Sri Lanka, namely Baddegama, Calpenty (Kalpitiya), Nellore and Cotta (Kotte).⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ The emphasis, in the early years, was on education in the indigenous languages. But due to the general sets of reasons which prompted the Government and other Christian bodies to concentrate on English, chief among them being English gradually becoming the language of administration in the country, education in English was seriously undertaken by the Mission. Certainly, the general aim of the mission of propagating Christianity which was evident in the management of Secondary Schools gradually projected itself further into Institutions of Higher learning later on. So much so, teaching English and propagating Christianity, as in the words of Chandrasegaram, "became the basic policies of higher education of the Mission (CMS) in Ceylon".⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

The Church Missionary Society was joined in 1840 by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG).⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ The missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) also associated themselves with this work. The SPG was not able to continue its work indefinitely since its services were needed in other parts of the Empire. In 1829, it withdrew its grants from Sri Lanka,⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ but left as a memorial to its work the St. Thomas College, Mount Lavinia, the foremost Christian institution in the country.

a) Home Government's policies and the Governors.

The success of the different missions varied considerably since it depended on factors such as the resources at their disposal, the

availability and enthusiasm of personnel, the attitude of the people and above all the relationship they enjoyed with the Government. Governmental policy found expression at two levels. While the Home Government pursued the same policy towards missionaries in all the colonies which remained effective throughout the period of British rule, domestic politics certainly changed their emphasis, particularly as far as education was concerned. The nineteenth century denominational battle for control of schools in England had repercussions in the colonies too. The governor in a colony was in a position to influence the application of general policy to a considerable extent. Sometimes a governor applied colonial policy very strictly, at other times much less attention was paid to it. Although one does not see an open conflict over this in Sri Lanka, yet subtle difference of opinions did surface at times. It is very appropriate, then, that we discuss the attitude of the governors in Sri Lanka towards the missionaries during the period when they were attempting to establish themselves in the country.

The Government's laissez-faire attitude left education in the hands of voluntary agencies, chiefly the churches.⁽¹¹⁰⁾ Consequently, the missions were left with the task of providing education for the people. From the start of the British rule in Sri Lanka, the policy of the Home Government was to promote the interests of the Established Church. This was attempted by restricting the activities of non-English missions and by promoting the welfare of English Missions. There is evidence of restrictions against foreign missions in the declarations of the Secretary of State. The American Mission was the only foreign mission in Sri Lanka at that time, and that it was allowed to enter the Island as a result of Brownrigg's personal wish seems evident from the comments made somewhat later by the Secretary of State in a letter he wrote to Governor Barnes:

...had the question indeed been now to be decided, whether an establishment of foreign missionaries should be formed in the Island, I should have had

no difficulty in withholding my consent.
But... permission to these gentlemen to reside had
originally been given without the previous
sanction of His Majesty's Government. (111)

The Home Government's motive for this seems to have been largely political, for it feared that foreign missions would "foster political objects" as is evident in the remarks the Secretary of State made in his letter to Brownrigg in 1816:

As it is most desirable not to admit the subjects of a foreign state to situations in the British Colonies, in which they must necessarily acquire considerable authority and influence over the inhabitants... Lord Bathurst does not consider it either necessary or expedient to encourage or admit missionaries proceeding from foreign states. (112)

After four years, restrictions were placed on the admission of additional American mission personnel when the Secretary of State wrote to Governor Barnes thus:

There are, however, such serious objections to the unlimited admission of foreign missionaries to a residence in the British possessions, and it is difficult to make an exception in favour of any particular nation. (113)

These comments certainly reflect the general policy towards foreign missions at that time. Are we to conclude then that Brownrigg did violate this general policy when he allowed the American missionaries to settle down in Sri Lanka? There is no documentary evidence to show that Brownrigg had done so. Certainly, his enthusiasm for missionary activity made it impossible for him to distinguish between the different missionary societies. At the same time, prior to his allowing them to enter Sri Lanka, the Home Government had given no indication to Brownrigg about the treatment of foreign missions. The policy was stated only after the American Mission's dispute surfaced during Governor Barnes' period. The opposition of Barnes to the

American Mission is seen in the comments he made in his letter to the Secretary of State:

I cannot contemplate the necessity of having recourse to a foreign nation for the instruction or conversion of our Indian subjects... nor do I think it expedient or prudent to allow subjects of a foreign state to gain that influence over the minds of natives. (114)

The case of the American Mission illustrates how governors differed in their interpretation and implementation of Home Government's policies. The individual opinions and enthusiasms of governors counted for a great deal when policy was not clearly enunciated. The privileges the American Mission enjoyed under Brownrigg can be attributed to his personal character, while the strict application by Barnes of government policies throws light on his own attitudes and policies. From the above, it can be safely concluded that though the laissez-faire attitude of the government towards education helped all the missions, only English missionaries were acceptable to the government and of these, those of the Established Church were preferred.

Another important factor that helped Governor Brownrigg to organize education on an Island-wide basis was the annexation of the Kandyan territory to the British Crown in 1815.⁽¹¹⁵⁾ Noting the decline in the King's popularity among his people and assessing the support of the Kandyan chieftains carefully, Brownrigg, after making many elaborate preparations, embarked on the invasion of Kandy in 1815. No fighting of any note took place and the Kandyan Kingdom was ceded to the British on 2 March 1815 by its leaders with the signing of a Convention to which Governor Brownrigg and a number of Kandyan chieftains subscribed their signatures.⁽¹¹⁶⁾ However, disappointment with the British rule soon led to a "rebellion" in the Kandyan areas in 1817-1818 and caused some anxiety to the British, but their superior

military power finally put it down.⁽¹¹⁷⁾ After the quelling of the "rebellion" of 1818 and the consolidating of British power in the new territory, there was an opportunity for Brownrigg to work on his policy of spreading Christianity and education in these provinces, to see "the blessings of Christianity diffused among the lately acquired subjects".⁽¹¹⁸⁾

b) The Archdeaconry of Colombo in 1818.

Another significant development under the initiative of Brownrigg was the establishment of the Archdeaconry of Colombo in 1818,⁽¹¹⁹⁾ when for the first time in the Island's history, the Church of England was organized at an official level. The Archdeacon so appointed became the Superintendent of government schools in the country because of the privileged position this Church enjoyed under the British. The Revd. Thomas James Twisleton was appointed the first Archdeacon in Sri Lanka and he enjoyed the same authority and privileges as the Archdeacons of Madras and Bombay. Under the Archdeacon, there was a Senior Chaplain who stayed in Colombo and four colonial chaplains stationed at Galle, Trincomalee, Jaffna and Kandy. It was actually the Senior Chaplain who acted as Principal of Schools until 1831 when it was transferred to the Archdeacon under the title "Principal of Schools and the King's Visitor".⁽¹²⁰⁾

With the delegation of authority over the schools to the Archdeacon, the Church of England took the place and responsibility of a government department of education. This anomalous position where a particular church organization enjoyed the benefits and privileges of the State, created a position of distrust and jealousy on the part of others who worked for the spread of education in the Island. According to Jayasuriya, there was "missionary rivalry" not only between one missionary society and another but "also those between missionary

societies and the Roman Catholic presence in Ceylon", and it was only after 1840 that matters became worse.⁽¹²¹⁾ The repercussions of this "missionary rivalry" were clearly seen when the School Commission took charge of the administration of education in the country, as will become evident in the next chapter.

Due to the encouragement Governor Brownrigg gave to the different Mission Societies, there arose in the country several missionary schools. He treated them all alike with no special favour to any particular sect. Moreover, he encouraged the growth of private enterprise in education by allowing private English schools to be established by individuals who were ready to provide instruction in English in return for the payment of fees by the pupils.⁽¹²²⁾

Governor Brownrigg is also credited with having introduced into the Parish-Schools, as well as into the Academy, the so-called monitorial system of using students in the higher classes to instruct the students in the lower classes. This system that had its origins in the traditional indigenous schools in India and Sri Lanka was introduced by Andrew Bell into non-traditional schools in Madras, and thereafter put into practice in England.⁽¹²³⁾

From the above account of the activities of Brownrigg we can safely say that there was considerable educational activity during his period as governor of Sri Lanka. Several new educational developments became evident and of all these, according to Ruberu "the establishment of the Missionary School system was the most outstanding", for in the course of years it expanded to occupy a formidable position in the State School System.⁽¹²⁴⁾

5. Educational activities during Governor
Edward Barnes' period.

After the departure of Brownrigg on 1 February 1820, the administration of the colony fell on Major General Sir Edward Barnes.⁽¹²⁵⁾ He was very much a pragmatist who, in the word of Jayasuriya, "looked at the cost and benefits in the context of this world rather than the next".⁽¹²⁶⁾ In contrast to his predecessor, Barnes did not see the need for, nor did he consider himself as justified in encouraging the assistance of foreign missionaries to promote Christianity or education in the colony. Soon after his arrival he made his position clear when he disagreed with the principle of teaching children the leading tenets of Christianity.⁽¹²⁷⁾ This is evident in the answer Barnes gave to the Commission of Inquiry, ten years later.

In England, the population is Christian and therefore it is natural that all schools and colleges should be Christian establishments, but we have, I think very absurdly, carried the same system into the schools here where the people are generally Buddhists or Hindoos, and the greatest defect of our schools system is, in my opinion, that it has got too much in 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. People will have different opinions on this subject and I dare say that there are many who think that the former will naturally of itself work the latter, I am of different opinion, and am convinced that the latter is the surest and safest and firmest foundation whereon to build the former, and that when the light of reason (has) shone forth on the minds of the people, the brightness of Christianity will be glaringly apparent.⁽¹²⁸⁾

Barnes, not being convinced about the usefulness of conversion, felt that the government Parish-School system was loaded with vast expense and thus started imposing rigorous cuts in expenditure on Education.⁽¹²⁹⁾ According to Barnes, the schoolmasters were neglectful of their duties, and he accused them of assembling their scholars only when they were expecting "a visit from some superior officer of

government".(130) The government had in its employ several catechists whose main duty was to conduct Church Services and supervise the work of schoolmasters. Barnes felt that these catechists did not have the competence to conduct Church Services and, as for the supervision of schools by them, he thought that they would not be needed if the selection of schoolmasters were done properly. Thus the category of catechists was dropped from government service. Instead, the Collectors of districts (except Colombo) were made responsible to governments for the efficiency and good conduct of schoolmasters. Later on, this arrangement of supervision was found to be inadequate in the Southern Province, including Galle, and the supervision was entrusted to a missionary of the Church Mission.(131)

Most of the Parish-Schools had a staff of two schoolmasters. In 1824, Barnes abolished the post of second schoolmaster with the promise of using the savings to set up a teacher training school. He wrote to the Commission of Inquiry that the method he would adopt for such a plan,

would be to draw pupils from the provinces to be educated in Colombo with a view to their becoming teachers on their return to their own districts, when qualified to instruct others. But to render such a system efficient, the numbers must be considerable, and they must be maintained whilst absent from their homes. (132)

But, for all purposes, this plan of Barnes never materialized during his term of office. As a result, the number of schools were reduced to 77 in 1825 from 109 in 1824, even though some of them were revived later on.(133)

a) The activities of the Catholics during this period.

The number of Catholics, according to the Government Gazette, was about 83,000 in 1809.⁽¹³⁴⁾ But a report on the situation in Sri Lanka sent to Rome in 1834, mentions 66,830 Catholics for 1809 and 83,595 for 1827,⁽¹³⁵⁾ while the official statistics made on the instruction of the Vicar General speaks of seventy five to eighty thousand Catholics for 1829.⁽¹³⁶⁾ What all these sources, even though they do not tally, are agreed upon is that the number of Catholics had continued to increase throughout the nineteenth century. There were 323 churches and chapels ⁽¹³⁷⁾ to be looked after but the number of priests remained very small. There were only 16 missionaries available and all of them were Oratorians from Goa.⁽¹³⁸⁾

The Oratorian Fathers had to cope with an immense task of looking after their flock which was around 80,000 at that time. Thus, overburdened with their work, they did relatively little to erect schools. With regard to any English school being established at this time, the Catholic historian, the Revd. Boudens says that,

it is difficult to give a complete survey of their work since the mission reports, which were such a valuable source for the history of the Catholic Church under the Dutch, have not been found for the British Period. We do, however, have the reports of the meetings they held every year in St. Lucia's, attended by those who could easily reach Colombo. From the report of their meeting on 21st August 1823, we can perhaps conclude that there must have been a Catholic English School in Negombo, since a certain sum was foreseen as a salary for the schoolmaster, but apart from that reference, no mention is made of any English Schools whatsoever. ⁽¹³⁹⁾

However, vernacular schools were found in every village and most of them were single-teacher institutions taught exclusively by men. Evidence for this is found in the report of Padre Sebastiao Pereira to

the Commission of Inquiry:

The Christians for the most part in their villages have a school for the instruction of their children which is supported by the fathers of the children who according to their wealth give every month one or two fanams to their Masters for each child. In such schools, they learn to read and write their own language and Christian prayers. But sometimes such schools, in many places, are not permanent, the cause of which is very often the poor situation of the fathers who not being able to pay the Masters, take off the children from school. (140)

Thus, it is clear that the greatest obstacle to educational progress at that time was the poverty of the people and the helplessness of the missionaries who did not hesitate to ask for assistance to secure a printing press as a gift "from His Britannic Majesty" for the diffusion of much needed literature "for the instruction of the people". (141)

Furthermore, the missionaries too had lost their original zeal owing to lack of interest shown by their ecclesiastical authorities. Canonically, the Catholic community in Sri Lanka depended on the Bishop of Cochin who had to administer in the name of the Archbishop of Goa. However, no bishop had ever visited the Island between 1802 and 1834. (142) In addition to defending their faith as the true one against all opposition from the newly arrived missionary societies, let alone the confusion and discouragement this arrival of the different Missions had created in the minds of the ordinary Catholics, the Oratorian Fathers faced the greatest difficulty of providing an English education to their people. Their inability to provide an English education came to be one of the major reproaches of a part of the Catholic community against them in later decades, and the ground of the argument for demanding European missionaries. In fact, only in the second half of the nineteenth century was the Catholic Church able to make a serious effort to provide English schools and compete with the Protestant educational institutions, as will be seen later on in this

research study.

With regard to attendance at vernacular schools run by the Catholic missionaries, it is believed that only one third of the Catholic children attended them.⁽¹⁴³⁾ As the compulsion to attend school (that existed in the Dutch period) had disappeared and as there were no free schools for popular education in the vernacular, it is but natural that less children attended the schools. Education became a luxury to be enjoyed and paid for by the few who could support a master for a few years.

All was not well even in the life of the Catholics in the practice of their faith. Often they were accused as "not well-instructed" in their faith by other Protestant missionaries. In a letter of Mr. Fox wrote to the Methodist headquarters in London, he said that,

the great majority of the Catholics in this country know nothing but how to cross themselves and repeat Pater Noster and Ave Maria. (144)

The Revd. Joseph Roberts felt that the most abandoned of the population in the Island were the Roman Catholics. He felt that, because the Catholics were visited by their priests only once a year, they had fallen into a life of "religious practices" instead of a life of faith.⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ Though there might be a measure of exaggeration in such a view, it can hardly be denied that in many cases a thorough religious instruction was lacking. The obvious reason being the lack of sufficient number of priests and the vastness of the area that they had to cover in their ministration to the people. This coupled with lack of interest shown by the ecclesiastical superiors in Cochin led to this sad state of affairs within the Catholic fold at the end of the first three decades of British rule.

b) The pattern of education in 1830.

Before we discuss the recommendations of the Colebrooke Commission that inquired into the state of affairs in the country, it is best that we first look at the pattern of education in the country at the time of the arrival of the Commission. Educational developments since the arrival of the British in 1796 had led to the formation of three school systems in the country. They were the Government School System, the Missionary School system dominated by the Protestant missions and the Private School System consisting of schools maintained purely by private individuals on a commercial basis.

i) The Government School System had come into being due to the efforts of North as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century, when for the first time he attempted to establish schools financed by the government. Although they experienced a set back immediately after the departure of North and Cordiner, later on they were revived chiefly due to the change of policy of the Home Government on education, as discussed earlier. The Parish-Schools, the Academy and the Orphanages, all maintained by the government entered into the composition of the Government School System.

With the establishment of the Archdeaconry in 1818, the management and supervision of these schools fell under the Archdeacon who, for all purposes, became the Director of Education in the colony. According to the statistics submitted by the Archdeacon in Colombo to the Colebrooke Commission, there were 97 Parish-Schools under the management of the government. They were found exclusively in the coastal areas which came under the British rule long before the annexation of the Kandyan territories that had no Parish-Schools at all. (146)

ii) The schools organized and maintained by the Christian missionary societies in Sri Lanka constituted a separate system which,

under the administration of Brownrigg, expanded by leaps and bounds throughout the country. They constituted a wide variety of schools described under different names and giving different kinds of education. Vernacular Schools, Native Schools, English Schools, Central Schools, Charity Schools, Boarding Schools as well as Colleges and Seminaries, collectively formed the Missionary School System. While the administration of these schools was entirely in the hands of the missions, they always received government support and benefactions regularly. (147)

iii) The Private School System came into existence to supply the increasing demand for English education in the country. With the government administration expanding, more and more opportunities for employment in government service became available. The only qualification was a knowledge of English, and it was to educate future government employees that these private schools came into existence. According to the figures submitted to the Colebrooke Commission, it is evident that the private schools were quite widely distributed in the country. The total number of schools on record was 640, a number much larger than all government and missionary schools put together. Of these schools, 618 were for boys; 12 exclusively for girls and 10 co-educational. The total student population had been recorded as 8,424 for the year 1830. (148)

The Private Schools were modest establishments with very small numbers of students attending them. Yet, they were liked by many because of the English instruction given in them. It was really this demand for an English education that promoted the growth of the Private Schools movement. (149) Though the attitude of the government towards Private Schools was a favourable one, yet this never became a declared policy of the government.

The Roman Catholic Schools, though found in small numbers, were also in the category of Private Schools, since they charged fees.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ The masters of these schools did not receive a fixed salary but the students made a small payment. The distribution of these schools can be shown thus, as outlined by Ruberu.⁽¹⁵¹⁾

TABLE 3:1

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS, AS AT
THE TIME OF THE ARRIVAL OF THE COLEBROOKE COMMISSION.

District	Number of schools	Number of children	Medium of Instruction
Colombo	11	260 boys	9 Sinhala 2 Tamil
Kalutara	10	233 boys	9 Sinhala 1 Tamil
Negombo	11	320 boys	5 Sinhala 6 Tamil
Jaffna	23	424 boys	all Tamil
Kalpitiya	5	64 boys	all Tamil
Mannar	3	57 boys	all Tamil

With such background knowledge of the educational pattern in the country, it is possible now to investigate the educational reforms advocated by the Colebrooke Commission of Inquiry.

6. The Colebrooke Commission of Inquiry
and its recommendations.

In 1822, Robert Wilmot,⁽¹⁵²⁾ the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, proposed in the British Parliament that a Commission of Inquiry should be appointed to report on three British Colonies, namely the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius and Ceylon (Sri Lanka). He admitted that such a commission might be less necessary in the Island of Sri Lanka.⁽¹⁵³⁾ But Sri Lanka did present the Colonial Office with many problems, chief among them was the recurrent deficits in the finances, and the British Government had no hesitation in extending the Commission's Inquiry into to Sri Lanka as well.

The Commission of Inquiry was led by Lieutenant Colonel William Macbean George Colebrooke who had some experience of Indian and Colonial affairs, assisted by Charles Hay Cameron, a Scottish lawyer, who was detailed to report on the judicial establishments and procedure.⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ Colebrooke reached Sri Lanka in 1829 and Cameron followed in 1830. The report they submitted consisted of three parts. The first report, which was submitted on 24th December 1831, included all the reforms of the general administration of the colony. The second report, submitted on 31st July 1832, included reforms concerning the revenue of the Island whereas the third report, submitted on the same date, included the legal reforms.⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ The proposals concerning education in the country were included in the first report (General Administration).

Colebrooke made a preliminary study of the problems from documents and reports available in England and then travelled widely in the Island and made exhaustive enquiries, partly through questionnaires and partly through interviews. He also had, at his disposal, the various petitions that were submitted to him. Thus, he seems to have had

access to extensive material for his report. Although he reported in detail on almost every aspect of the Island's administration and economy, he completely ignored the instruction with regard to religion and religious institutions and his observations on education were, according to Lakshman Perera, "scrappy, haphazard, inaccurate and incomplete", and appeared "to be a hastily written addendum at the very end of his report on administration".(156)

Apparently, religion and education were not the main concern of the Commission as there were more pressing administrative and financial problems that awaited solution. The urgent need to recommend economies and retrenchment and to explore ways and means of increasing revenue were, no doubt, uppermost in the minds of the commissioners. Though there is nothing in the report commending the task of conversion and the spread of Christianity, yet he did commend the educational work of the missionaries. The motive behind this was, obviously, to make use of the missionaries to provide education without much cost to the government.

Colebrooke was quick to perceive that, from the point of view of the administration and the finances of the country, the large number of British nationals in the civil service drawing high salaries was a main cause of the high expenditure of the civil establishment. Therefore, he recommended that certain ranks of the civil service be thrown open to local persons. The financial advantage was obvious and lay in the fact that the salary payable to a local recruit was only a fraction of what was payable to a person recruited from England. Cameron too saw the economic and political advantages in relation to the judiciary and felt that appointing a suitable native as a judge would save four-fifths of the salary of an English judge.(157)

These very pragmatic considerations led the Commission to recommend that the public service "be freely open to all classes of persons according to their qualifications". Thus, it was necessary to make provision for the means of education to the natives whereby "they may, in time, qualify themselves for holding some of the highest appointments". (158) In other words, education was to be the mechanism for the creation of a local elite which would, according to Jayasuriya,

firstly enable the business of government to be carried out at a lower cost than would have been possible with a civil service manned exclusively by recruits from England, secondly be bound by feelings of loyalty and gratitude to the British for the favour and recognition bestowed upon them, and thirdly, bring about a low erosion of the power and influence of groups that had hereditarily enjoyed them. (159)

Colebrooke was impressed by the proficiency of several of the young men who had been educated in the seminaries and other missionary schools in the country, and thought that they testified to "the superior advantages to be derived from local instruction, the expenses of which are inconsiderable". (160) Thus, he recommended establishing a College in Colombo and went as far as to suggest a site for the purpose. (161) In using the term "College", Colebrooke had in mind an institution similar to a University, for it was to serve the needs of those who were up to this time sent abroad. This College was not to replace the Colombo Seminary or Academy which was nothing more than a secondary school run by the government. (162) Though Colebrooke advocated economies in so many spheres, he recommended the establishment of this College with the hope that it would be, in the long run, a saving to the government. In 1836, the Colombo Academy was founded and it incorporated some of the features Colebrooke had planned for his "College". (163) The kind of institution Colebrooke envisaged and hoped for really materialized only in 1921 with the establishment of the University College in Colombo.

For Colebrooke, schools in order to justify their existence had to fit into his scheme of recruitment to the public service. In his opinion, the Parish-Schools were "extremely defective and inefficient". The schoolmasters were "often extremely unfit for their situations" and the supervision exercised over the schools was "insufficient to secure the attendance either of the masters or of the scholars". (164)

i) In order to reform these Government School System, Colebrooke recommended that they be placed,

under the immediate direction of a commission, composed of the Archdeacon and clergy of the Island, the agents of government in the districts and some of the principal civil and judicial functionaries at the seat of government. (165)

It was hoped that the above proposal for a commission (which was reminiscent of the Dutch Scholarchal Commission) would remove the government schools from the exclusive control of the clergy and associate public servants, both in Colombo and in the provinces in the task of management and supervision of schools. This was the first time that the government came directly into the field of education and this has continued unbroken till today, where there is almost complete control of education. (166) The School Commission was appointed in 1834 on the lines suggested by Colebrooke. (167)

ii) Another proposal made by Colebrooke was that,

the schoolmasters should be appointed on the recommendation of the Commission, and should, in all instances, be required to possess a competent knowledge of English to enable them to give instruction in that language. (168)

There were, at that time, very few who could qualify as teachers on this basis. Colebrooke hoped that such teachers could be recruited from among the clerks who would be retrenched from government service

according to his proposals, and "from other descendents of Europeans".(169) The effect of this proposal, though it meant for the time being a reduction in the number of government schools, was that English was made the medium of instruction in schools. The requirement of English for public service, another of Colebrooke's proposal, gradually compelled the mission schools to fall in line with the policy of the government in this matter. Though, today, such a measure would be condemned from the point of view of education, it should be remembered that Colebrooke thought of the school system primarily as a channel for recruitment for the public service.

iii) A third proposal which affected the government School System was that,

as the English missionary societies have formed extensive establishments in various parts of Ceylon, it would be unnecessary to retain the government schools in situations where English instructions may already be afforded. (170)

The government of the day drew the logical conclusion from these three proposals and closed down almost all the government schools.(171)

iv) Colebrooke commended the American Mission in Jaffna, for having appreciated "the importance of rendering the English language the general medium of Instruction".(172) They were able to establish themselves and carry on their work solely due to the generosity of Brownrigg. Colebrooke visited their establishments and was very favourably impressed with their work, particularly with regard to the education imparted in the Seminary at Vaddukoddai. He made special mention of this mission in his report and recommended that they be given all encouragement from the government for their "exertions and exemplary conduct".(173) From then on, the American Mission was accepted and no distinction was made between them and the English missionaries.

v) It is surprising that Colebrooke made no mention, in his report, about the Private Schools of which there were well over 600. They were fee-levying and provided instruction in English. The size of each school was, however, small and they fitted well into Colebrooke's scheme of education,⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ and this was, perhaps, why he thought it was not necessary to make any comment about them.

vi) The observations of Colebrooke on the Buddhist schools in the country disheartened their supporters. It would have been much better had he omitted any reference to them than report that "the education afforded by the native priesthood in their temples and colleges scarcely merit any notice".⁽¹⁷⁵⁾ By giving the impression that what was left of a traditional indigenous school system was not worthy of attention from the public or government, the Colebrooke Commission, as Ruberu puts it, "gave a death blow to the indigenous system".⁽¹⁷⁶⁾

With the implementation of the several reforms suggested by the Colebrooke Commission, a new era in the country's history of education opened. Looking at the numerous educational developments traced in the above pages, it can be safely said that this period of 38 years from 1796-1834 was a chequered period in the history of education in Sri Lanka. A number of events of this period decided the country's future educational pattern, and formed a landmark in the history of education in the country.⁽¹⁷⁷⁾ As regards Catholics, they were still a long way off from launching into any educational activities, as there were only a few priests available for mission work. It was just a question of reviving the faith of the Catholics that had weakened during the Dutch rule of the country. Yet, the Catholics were beginning to feel the need for an English education that would secure them government jobs. The cry for it began to be more intensive in the next decades, as will be seen in the next chapter. The implementation of Colebrooke Commission's recommendations, the difficulties these created, the administrative

changes that took place within the Catholic Church in Sri Lanka and its attempts to provide a Catholic education to its children will be the main focus in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SCHOOL COMMISSIONS AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS, 1834-1850.

1. The implementation of the Colebrooke Commission's recommendations and the difficulties it created.

Although the educational reforms recommended by the Colebrooke Commission were accepted by the Secretary of State and the Governor of Sri Lanka was instructed "to put into force the suggestions of the Commissioners at the earliest opportunity",⁽¹⁾ for nearly two years, no changes were made to the system of government schools in the Island. It was only after the arrival of Sir Robert Wilmot Horton⁽²⁾ as governor of Sri Lanka, that the implementation of the recommendations of the Colebrooke Commission on educational reforms began to take shape. Horton took immediate action to close down the existing vernacular schools and discontinue the teachers who did not know their English.⁽³⁾ Regarding the setting up of the School Commission, he consulted the Archdeacon who vehemently opposed the scheme. The Archdeacon, who was at that time the Principal of Schools and King's Visitor, declared his unwillingness to serve on a commission that would "only lead to disagreement, confusion and mismanagement".⁽⁴⁾ Though Horton was in agreement with the Archdeacon, responding to pressure from the Home Government, he set up the School Commission on 19th May 1834.⁽⁵⁾ Later in the year, he informed the Secretary of State that "it was untimely for him to express an opinion whether the new arrangements would lead to beneficial results".⁽⁶⁾

With regard to the establishment of a College, another recommendation of the Colebrooke Commission, the Secretary of State

took more time to consider the matter and thus Horton was not required to take any immediate action. But, in spite of the Archdeacon's adverse advice and the half-heartedness of the British Government, the actual foundation for the College was laid by the Revd. Joseph Marsh, who had come to the Island originally as the Classical and Mathematical Tutor to the Christian Institute at Kotte,⁽⁷⁾ under Christian Missionary Society. The private school opened by Marsh in 1835, for the benefit of the Burgher children in Colombo, took on the new name Colombo Academy in January 1836.⁽⁸⁾

a) The Archdeacon as the Head of the School Commission.

The new School Commission had the Archdeacon as its head, together with the clergy, the Government Agents and some of the principal civil and judicial functionaries.⁽⁹⁾ The recommendation of the Colebrooke Commission thus institutionalized the principle of Christian governance of education by vesting the supervision of all education in general, and of government schools in particular, in a School Commission in which pride of place was given to the Anglican hierarchy, while the interests of the secular purposes of the government were safeguarded by the inclusion of a number of government officials. The Church of England was well represented on it and had the management of the entire government schools in the country. The Catholics, even though they were the largest body of Christians in the Island, were not represented in this Commission. The Buddhists, the Hindus and the Muslims too were found in a similar position.

It was very unfortunate for the cause of education in the country that the Archdeacon, who never had the success of the School Commission at heart, was expected to run a department against his own will. For the first three years, the School Commission did no more than establish a few schools and did not address itself to the task of submitting to

the government the measures to adopt for the establishment of efficient schools and for the extension of education in other parts of the country. Moreover, according to Mendis,

the quarrels and jealousies of the Christian sects, the Anglicans and the 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 the other Christian denominations. (10)

As prophesied by the Archdeacon, there was, thus, within the Commission, disagreement, confusion and mismanagement. (11) Governor Horton, prior to his resignation, had this to say in his Despatch to the Secretary of State:

... the Commission is not found to work well-probably it is too numerous or there may be some want of proper arrangement. I am not, however, prepared to submit any proposal for an amendment - which I shall leave for the consideration of my successor. (12)

Governor J.A. Stewart Mackenzie, (13) who had succeeded Horton in November 1837, was asked to report whether the government schools could be increased in number and made more efficient and, if that were not practicable, to consider whether a special grant should be made to the Christian missionary societies annually to enable them to extend their schools. (14) Mackenzie, to his astonishment, discovered that the members of the School Commission had not been working in harmony to discuss matters pertaining to education, and there had been "bitter squabbings" among the clerical members which had prevented the business of the Commission. (15) Regular meetings had not been held for want of a quorum and thus the Commission had become virtually dormant and, as demonstrated by Godage in his thesis, the education of the country suffered enormously as the Commission neglected its duty. (16) These circumstances confirmed Mackenzie's view that it was unfortunate in the interest both of Religion and of Education that the Archdeacon had been placed at the head of the Commission. (17)

Mackenzie, even though he felt that the Archdeacon presented an obstacle to the good working of a government scheme for education and so desired the removal of the Archdeacon from the Commission, could not effect the change. This was because the Archdeacon and the clergy had been specially nominated by no less a person than the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Furthermore, the Archdeacon, as head of the Ecclesiastical organisation, was considered, at that time, responsible for the education of the Island, more specially, the religious education of the people. (18)

b) The "bitter squabbings" among the Clergy.

It is to be noted here that, at that time, the Anglican clergy did not acquit themselves creditably in matters pertaining education. In the words of Jayasuriya, there was always friction,

between the Archdeacon (and his clerical son) on the one hand and the Governor (and the government officials in the Commission) on the other hand, over the appointment of a head to the Colombo Academy, over the accounting of the money allocated for education, over the proposal to restrict the recruitment of teachers to a particular religious group, and over the dismissal of students from the Chaplain's school in Colombo. (19)

Moreover, the Anglican clergy were not in complete harmony among themselves as evidenced by the enmity between the Archdeacon and the Revd. J. Marsh. (20) Petty quarrels and conflicts between the Anglican clergy who ran the schools and those of other denominations rendered the Commission a battle field. A contemporary newspaper, in fact, had this biting comment to make:

With the clergy as usual it's war to the knife,
A general diffusion of malice and strife. (21)

The Glenies, on their part, did their best to discredit Mackenzie whom they regarded as an enemy of the Anglican establishment. It was alleged, for example, that he was intending to nominate non-Anglicans to scholarships at Bishop's College, Calcutta.⁽²²⁾ Mackenzie's friendship with the Wesleyans, especially with the Revd. D. J. Gogerly, and the Baptists was given the most sinister interpretation, and the Revd. Owen Glenie did not hesitate to refer to Mrs. Mackenzie's "constant attendance at the Anabaptistical Chapel in Pettah",⁽²³⁾ as conduct "remote from that of a gentleman [sic]".⁽²⁴⁾ It was probably the unfair attack by the Glenies, some of them in Owen Glenie's paper "The Ceylon Herald", that provoked Mackenzie to report the Archdeacon to his Superior, the Bishop of Madras, for devoting too much of his time to his coffee estate at Pussellawa and also for leaving Colombo without obtaining permission from the governor.⁽²⁵⁾ Greatly angered by this act of Mackenzie, the two Glenies set on foot a skilful campaign of personal vilification and sustained opposition to the policies of Mackenzie. The Glenies, being Tories themselves and having influence in England through the Bishop of London, cleverly outmanoeuvred several of Mackenzie's plans, especially his recommendations on Church reform.

c) Mackenzie and Vernacular Education.

Undeterred by disappointments in achieving some of his plans, Mackenzie began to concentrate on the reform of the existing School Commission with which he was most dissatisfied. In his address to the Legislative Council on the 15th of December 1839, Mackenzie pointed out that the School Commission was inadequate for the promotion of education and that he could not,

without the sanction of Her Majesty's Government,
 recommend the abolition of the present School
 Commission, without being prepared to offer
 a substitute or an auxiliary... . (26)

Having received instructions from the Secretary of State (as mentioned in Governor's speech on 15 December 1839) to communicate with the Bishop of Madras generally upon the question of Church Establishments and Education, Governor Mackenzie identified the following points to the Bishop as being important for the reorganisation of education in the country.

1. Schools receiving financial aid from the government to be under the superintendence of a School Commission consisting of clergymen belonging to various Christian denominations and laymen;
2. Schools receiving financial aid from the government to be open to children of all denominations;
3. With a view to promoting education in general and religious education in particular, the system of instruction to be based on the Holy Scriptures using the extracts put out by the British and Foreign Bible Society; no catechisms or books of peculiar religious tenets to be used in schools; children to be encouraged to attend regularly the places of worship belonging to their religious denominations;
4. A number of Normal-Schools to be established for training teachers;
5. A common examination to be held for selection to Bishop's College, Calcutta and to the Normal-Schools to be established;
6. Children to be taught in their native language before instruction is given in English;
7. The establishment of a Translation Committee to translate books in English into native languages;
8. Inspectors of Schools to be appointed for supervising the work of teachers in Sinhalese and Tamil areas;
9. No teachers to be appointed without satisfactory recommendation as to their character, religion and competence. (27)

From the above recommendations of Mackenzie, one could observe the desire he had to introduce vernacular education that would reach a larger number of pupils and, in turn, would increase the demand for

English education,⁽²⁸⁾ and a non-sectarian religious education that challenged the privileged position of the Anglican establishment in Sri Lanka. He had matured this conception out of his long acquaintance with educational practice in the British Isles, particularly in Scotland, Wales and Ireland and from his brief experience in Sri Lanka, that an exclusive reliance on the English language was an impediment to progress in education.⁽²⁹⁾ In support of this, the Wesleyan missionary the Revd. D. J. Gogerly, in his memorandum to the Governor, clearly set forth the arguments favouring vernacular elementary education. He first pointed out that the Sinhalese were at much greater disadvantage as regards education than the Tamils who "have not only respectable native literature, but in addition to books translated for their use in Ceylon, a number of valuable publications have issued from the Press of the Madras Presidency".⁽³⁰⁾ On the question of English language, he expressed his views very clearly thus:

It has been held that the Sinhalese should be taught through English. If that can be done, the evil of having no books would disappear. But for many years to come, the ignorance of English will be the rule and the knowledge of it the exception, for the means of learning that language are not within their reach, and of the few who do learn a little, the knowledge acquired is not such as will enable them to read English books with pleasure. ⁽³¹⁾

Had this anxious wish of both Mackenzie and Gogerly been allowed to have its way, education in Sri Lanka might have spared some of the intractable problems that beset the country later on, even to this day.

The proposal of Mackenzie for a non-sectarian religious education⁽³²⁾ undoubtedly challenged the privileged position of the Anglican Church in Sri Lanka, who, in spite of their many shortcomings, were determined to keep Mackenzie's policies away from robbing their monopoly of the School Commission. While they accepted his emphasis on the religious nature of education, his insistence of a non-sectarian education was^a total anathema to them.

d) The establishment of the Central School Commission.

Lack of true leadership, the inability and indifference of the Archdeacon, the inability of the members to work in harmony, the lack of proper understanding of educational matters and the intolerant spirit of the clergymen were some of the defects the British Government saw in the School Commission, and it hoped to remedy these defects by suggesting the appointment of a new Commission.⁽³³⁾ There is no doubt that the Secretary of State was greatly influenced by what happened at Home with regard to the administration of education. The distribution of Government Grant for Education in England had been left in the hands of the religious societies till the year 1839, but a change was effected that year and the distribution of Government Grant for Education was handed to a Committee of the Privy Council.⁽³⁴⁾

Accordingly, Governor Mackenzie, at the very close of his government, published a Minute dated 27 March 1841 ⁽³⁵⁾ dissolving the old School Commission constituted by the Minute of 19 May 1834 and setting up a new commission to be called the Central School Commission:

The new Commission shall be denominated- The Central School Commission for the instruction of the population of Ceylon-and shall consist of not exceeding nine members, three of whom when practicable shall be clergyman of the Church of England, a Presbyterian minister and a Roman Catholic priest or layman. To this Commission will be attached a paid officer who shall act as Secretary to the Commission and Inspector of Schools under their orders. ⁽³⁶⁾

Mackenzie was pleased to place the school establishment in the hands of such a Commission and was quite confident that the recommended nominations would create a greatly improved body to carry out the great work of education in the country.⁽³⁷⁾ Commenting on this remodeling of the School Commission, Sumathipala says that by having representatives

of all Christian denominations it had hoped to become "Central", and

the "heathens" who were now in a majority in the country, they had no place in this exclusive Christian club. They could seek entry to government schools but must be prepared to get "civilised" in the process. So any "heathen" who dared to get an English education ended necessarily as an "enlightened" Christian as well. (38)

Mackenzie could not finish the task of nominating all the members for this Commission before he resigned office and left Sri Lanka. That important task was given to Sir Collin Campbell⁽³⁹⁾ who succeeded him as governor of Sri Lanka in 1841. The new governor published a Minute dated 26 May 1841 ⁽⁴⁰⁾ redefining the broad aims of the education policy of the government. Campbell informed the Commission that it was their duty,

by every means in their power, to promote the education in the English language of their subjects, of all religious opinions, in the Colony. They will therefore be particularly careful to introduce into their schools no books or system of instruction which might have the effect of excluding scholars of any religious belief whatever. (41)

Furthermore, the Commission was informed that,

though the general education of the whole population is the duty of the Commission, it will also be a most important part of their duty to promote the religious education of such of the community as may belong to the Christian faith, and the funds under their management will therefore be equally applicable to this purpose. (42)

The administration of the funds voted by the Legislative Council for the purpose of education was one of the very important duties of the new Commission. It was also vested with the power to appoint teachers, fix their salaries, purchase school books and other equipments but was not authorized to erect new school buildings or

repair the existing ones without the usual sanction of the Government.⁽⁴³⁾ Apart from the establishment of government schools, the Commission was at liberty to grant money in aid of private schools which they considered to be worthy of encouragement, but always on condition that they retained the full right of inspection and examination, without interference in anyway in the management.⁽⁴⁴⁾

Although the composition of the Central School Commission and the powers vested in it differed considerably from the earlier School Commission, the administration of schools by the new Commission proceeded in the same manner for nearly two years. The new Commission was compelled to devote all its attention merely to keep the system of education going because of the negligence of the previous Commission. The Anglican preponderance on the School Commission was now gone and a lay person as Head of the new Commission kept sectarian jealousies under control, at least, for a while.

With the retirement of Philip Anstruther from his post of Colonial Secretary (the head of the civil service) and President of the Central School Commission, the Anglican Bishop of Colombo,⁽⁴⁵⁾ Dr. James Chapman, succeeded as President of the Commission.⁽⁴⁶⁾ This appointment marked the end of the comparative peace in that body. Anstruther had kept sectarian jealousies in check and thus the Commission was able to work smoothly. The dominance of the Revd. D. J. Gogerly in the Commission had given the Wesleyans a great deal of influence and prominence, a situation which the Anglicans resented very much. And hence, a ruthless campaign against the Wesleyans was waged by the Anglicans under the able leadership of their new Bishop and President of the Central School Commission.⁽⁴⁷⁾

The first conflict with the Wesleyans came over the appointment of the Revd. Andrew Kessen, a Wesleyan Missionary, to the Colombo Academy

by Governor Torrington.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Legally such appointment had to be made by the Commission itself. The dispute over this made the Governor declare by the Minute dated 14 August 1847, that the Commission's appointment of Masters, the administration of funds and all its proceedings which involved the expenditure of money were subjects which needed his approval and all appointments carrying a salary of over £100. per annum were to be made, in the first case, by him.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Such interference and restrictions by government caused Bishop Chapman to resign. The resignation of the Bishop together with the other member of the Church of England merely pointed to the fact that they were not willing to work in conjunction with other denominational bodies to promote the cause of public education in the country, although it was not openly expressed. It would not be wrong to say that the Bishop joined the Commission to gain ascendancy over the other denominational bodies and to promote the interests of his Church. The "Colombo Observer" was quick to remark that "his object from the first was mainly to convert the Commission into a mere engine of the Episcopalian Church".⁽⁵⁰⁾

Governor Torrington, indeed, saw the "compensatory advantage" in having the Colonial Secretary, once more, in the chair of the Commission.⁽⁵¹⁾ Thus, Sir James Emerson Tennent,⁽⁵²⁾ the Colonial Secretary, took his place as President of the Commission. The Bishop's resignation created new problems such as the non-co-operation of some of the clergy on the Board. More than that, petty sectarian jealousies emerged once again and disrupted the proceeding of the School Commission.

Although the accepted medium of instruction in government schools after 1832 was English, the Central School Commission was of the opinion that Governor Mackenzie was right in proposing the re-introduction of the vernacular medium in schools as a preliminary to English education. They decided, accordingly, to supply every elementary school with teachers capable of giving instructions in the

native languages and, with this end in view, established a Native Normal Institution in June 1845 to train teachers.⁽⁵³⁾ As the Commission did not possess any vernacular Schools of its own, the Governor wanted the newly trained teachers to go into schools already established by the clergy and missionaries. This arrangement, nevertheless, was so unsatisfactory that the Commission was compelled in 1847 to establish a first set of their own Vernacular Schools, after they had been abolished on the recommendations of the Colebrooke Commission in 1832. There was, however, no uniformity regarding the teaching of the vernaculars in these institutions. While in some schools instruction in the mother tongue was confined to the lower classes, in others, it was extended to the third and fourth years of schooling.

2. The reorganization of the administration of the Catholic Church in Sri Lanka.

Along with the progress of reforms in the educational field went the reorganization of the administration of the Catholic Church in the Island. Even though the British policy of religious tolerance had produced a climate beneficial to the Catholics in the country, yet there were no significant developments in the ecclesiastical life during the first three decades of the British rule. The persecution that the faithful underwent during the Dutch rule had been, in a way, a stimulus for keeping up their life of faith alive. But now, after the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, they were free to come into the country's mainstream of life and contribute their share in the development of the country. They were, as it were, freed from their political wilderness, of limited social and educational opportunities. But the Catholic community did not rise to the occasion and give the lead in improving the conditions in the country, particularly in the educational field. There were several reasons for this stagnation of ecclesiastical life. As mentioned earlier⁽⁵⁴⁾ the shortage of priests



to minister to the ever-increasing number of Catholics, coupled with the lack of interests shown by the ecclesiastical superiors in Cochin paved the way for this sad state of affairs within the Catholic community.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Furthermore, the arrival of Protestant missionaries and their educational activities backed by government support seemed to have infused a sense of despondency and insufficiency both among the clergy and the faithful.⁽⁵⁶⁾

Far above all those reasons was the inability of the Oratorian Fathers, as will be explained later on, to meet the demand of the day - an English education to their faithful. It was the most urgent need of the time because an English education would give them the means to get to influential positions in society. As time went on, the Catholics began to realize more and more of the danger of lagging behind other communities in education and thus miss the opportunity of improving their status both socially and economically. It was this fear that made them send petitions to Rome asking for European missionaries.⁽⁵⁷⁾

a) The erection of the Apostolic Vicariate of Sri Lanka.

As for the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in Rome, known as the Propaganda, it was fully aware of the pitiable situation of the Sri Lankan Catholic community and was earnestly seeking means of remedying the situation. However, as Sri Lanka juridicially fell under the Portuguese Patronage,⁽⁵⁸⁾ Propaganda could do very little on its own. The Pope at that time, Gregory XVI (1831-1846) who before his elevation to the supreme Pontificate had served the Propaganda as its Prefect, knew very well of the state of affairs in the East. He was convinced of the need to remedy the lamentable situation of the Church in these parts of India and Sri Lanka and pursued a course of action to suppress the Patronage rights granted to Portugal at the time of

Conquista, and erect Apostolic Vicariates that would depend directly on Rome. Accordingly, the Apostolic Vicariate of Sri Lanka was erected in 1834 by the brief - Ex Munere Pastoralis.⁽⁵⁹⁾

This erection of Apostolic Vicariates must be seen in the wider context of the relationship between the Holy See and the King of Portugal. The Archbishop of Goa himself had written to Rome in 1830, complaining about the incapability of the King of Portugal to help revive the religious life of the Christian communities and had requested help from Rome.⁽⁶⁰⁾ Accordingly, in July 1831, Propaganda instructed the Papal Nuncio in Lisbon, Cardinal Giustiniani, to alert the Portuguese government of the pitiable situation of the Catholics in India and obtain permission for missionaries from other European countries to enter India.⁽⁶¹⁾ But nothing came out of these efforts. In the meantime, the political situation in Portugal was evolving quite unfavourably for the Church and in 1832 the anti-Catholic Liberal Party came to power and promulgated a series of anticlerical laws. The Liberal Party suppressed the Religious Orders and forced the Papal Nuncio in Lisbon to leave, thereby severing all Diplomatic relationship with the Holy See. All these explain well the action of the Pope to erect several Apostolic Vicariates in South India, dependent directly on Propaganda.

The Superior of the Oratorians in Sri Lanka, Father Francis Xavier, was appointed the first Vicar Apostolic.⁽⁶²⁾ But long before the nomination letter reached Sri Lanka, Francis Xavier had died.⁽⁶³⁾ The new Superior of the Oratorians, Vicente do Rosayro, sent back the nomination letter, expressing his strong disapproval of the erection of Sri Lanka into an Apostolic Vicariate. His objections⁽⁶⁴⁾ were taken up at the general meeting of the Propaganda on 22 November 1836 and were found to be baseless. Propaganda could not see any real objections for the presence of a Bishop in the Island. Therefore, in 1836, the brief - Ex Munere Pastoralis was reenacted and Rosayro, the

Superior of the Oratorians, was named Vicar Apostolic of Sri Lanka.⁽⁶⁵⁾ He was solemnly installed in St. Lucia's Church, Colombo, on 14 June 1838, where the nomination letter was read publicly.⁽⁶⁶⁾ Rome, though not happy with Rosayro's pessimistic views, thought it best to appoint him with the hope that he would be able to get round his companions, the Oratorians in the Island. Vicente do Rosayro led the Church in Sri Lanka until his death (29 April 1842) but he had to face much opposition during this period, both from the people and his fellow companions in the mission field.

The erection of the Vicariates, dependent directly on Rome, did create some unpleasant scenes in the wider horizon of the Indian Missions. Indeed, it gave rise to a party whose aim it was to defend the rights of the Crown of Portugal. The leader of this movement was the Vicar Capitular of Goa, Antonio Carvalho, who had allies in all the old dioceses. This party was known as Padroadists⁽⁶⁷⁾ while the European missionaries led by the new Vicar Apostolic who defended the rights of the Holy See were called Propagandists.⁽⁶⁸⁾ There was support for the Padroadists in Sri Lanka too. Some Burghers and Oratorians led by Gaetano Antonio supported this party. These people wrote to the Vicar Capitular of Goa to do all in his power to prevent Sri Lanka being separated from Cochin. The Vicar Capitular readily supported this opposition group and nominated Gaetano Antonio as his Vicar General and Superior of the Missions in Sri Lanka.⁽⁶⁹⁾

b) The cry from the Catholics for an "English Education".

In the meantime, some Catholics of Colombo, especially the Burghers who favoured the wholesale adoption of the English language and customs, presented a memorandum in August 1837 to the Oratorian Council, gathered for the annual Synod after the feast of the Assumption. The memorialists called for a better religious education

of youth, for the appointment of a priest who would be able to preach and teach in English, for better assistance to the sick, for the administration of the Sacraments and the pastoral care of the British soldiers in English. They also demanded that sermons during the celebration of the Eucharist be delivered in Portuguese, English and other vernaculars as well.⁽⁷⁰⁾ They even suggested that six lay persons be chosen and be included in the meetings of the Fathers to help them manage the administration of finance more efficiently.

Although the memorialists received a negative answer to the last point, their submission of the Memorandum itself pointed to the fact that they were not satisfied with the services provided by the Oratorian Fathers at that time, especially in the field of English education. The Catholics felt that after almost half a century of British rule, the English language had begun to take hold of the people and that their priests were unable to preach or teach in that language. This feeling was strong among the Burghers and the cry for English education became even louder when, with the administrative changes introduced into the country, the public offices were thrown open to the natives who knew English sufficiently. There is no doubt that the "Catholics felt themselves left far behind the adherents of the new Protestant religion in the race for the loaves and fishes of public office and influence".⁽⁷¹⁾ The Burghers being dissatisfied with the inability of the Oratorians to fulfil their desire, petitioned in 1838 to the Prelate of Cochin to intervene in Sri Lanka.⁽⁷²⁾

Meanwhile, Rome tried to stamp out all opposition arising from the Padroadists by issuing a papal brief, Multa Praeclare (24 April 1838) which suspended Portuguese jurisdiction in the diocese of Cochin on which Sri Lanka depended. The civil authorities in Portugal and Goa felt that the rights of the Padroado had been one-sidedly cancelled. But Rome justified its position by pointing to the fact that Portugal had neglected its commitments.⁽⁷³⁾ The Portuguese government, refusing

to accept Rome's decision, sent instructions to Goa to have the Padroado's rights defended. Thus, the ecclesiastical authorities in Goa were unwilling to accept the authority of this papal brief. It must be remembered here that it was only after the papal brief - Multa Praeclare that Gaetano Antonio humbly submitted to the Vicar Apostolic, Vicente do Rosayro. For them to have adhered to Rome, in spite of serious threats,⁽⁷⁴⁾ was indeed a heroic act of loyalty and obedience to the Church of Rome, which should never be forgotten when judging the activities of the Oratorian Fathers in the Island. Even with the acceptance of the brief by Gaetano Antonio, for which he was never forgiven by his opponents like the surgeon (later the Consul General) Dr. Misso,⁽⁷⁵⁾ a leader among the Catholics of Colombo, there was still some opposition but it was nothing compared to the tension that existed between the Padroadists and the Propagandists in India at that time.

In Sri Lanka, the so-called schism of Goa originated partly because of some malcontent people who took Gaetano Antonio's obedience to Rome as a pretext to separate themselves from him, whereas the real reason was their discontent with the Oratorians for not providing their urgent needs like English education. This antipathy towards Oratorians grew into sympathy for the Padroadists, even though they knew that nothing much could be expected in the domain of English education from the side of the Padroadists either. Although the schism of Goa remained rather limited in the Island, its adherents were extremely hard to deal with.⁽⁷⁶⁾

c) Propaganda's concern for the Catholics of Sri Lanka.

In the meantime, Propaganda began to give serious thought to the spiritual state of Catholicism in Sri Lanka. There were the Goan priests who were not good enough in their performance of their spiritual duties, while at the same time there were demands from the

Catholics in the Island for reforms and changes to suit their needs. The Catholics petitioned Rome pointing out the deep distress of the Church and the urgent need of priests, particularly priests who would be able to provide education in English.⁽⁷⁷⁾ The petitioners pointed out that for a population of 125,824 Roman Catholics in the Island, there were only 18 priests to minister to their spiritual needs. While they admitted the labours of the Goan Fathers "in bringing many natives, whether Tamul or Cingalese [sic] from the darkness of heathenism to the light of the Gospel truth", they could not conceal

the lamentable fact that the degree of spiritual benefit which they derive from the pious efforts of these priests is truly immaterial. ⁽⁷⁸⁾

The need to have priests with knowledge of English was the main thrust of that petition and was very forcibly put thus:

In Ceylon, the [sic] English is the language which without exception, is at present used by Europeans and their descendants (as well as the majority of the natives) in performing Governmental duties or transacting affairs of commerce, in holding intercourse with each other on the most ordinary occasions, or in offering their devotions to the only true God. These priests are totally ignorant of this language which should form the medium of imparting religious instructions to so numerous a body. It is true that the Revd. Caejtan Anthonio [sic] possesses a knowledge of the English language; but that knowledge, we deeply regret to say, is so much below the standard of mediocrity, that it would be vain in the Europeans and their descendants to expect from it a derivation of spiritual good. ⁽⁷⁹⁾

Furthermore, the Roman Catholic military men stationed on the Island, the petitioners pointed out, were deprived of all religious instruction and had to make their confession through an Interpreter, because of lack of English knowledge among the clergy in the Island.⁽⁸⁰⁾ With regard to the school the Roman Catholics had established, the petitioners mentioned that English language was taught to the Roman Catholic children as well as to the children of

other sects, and the advantages that flowed from this institution was appreciated by all irrespective of colour or caste. But they lamented the fact that

this Institution, as fertile as it is in such benefits is, as a matter of course, inadapted to the spiritual wants of Europeans and their descendants - the control and superintendence that our priests exercise over this school are by no means productive of that result which we reassurably expect - the laxity of that superintendence and the inefficacy of that control added to the deficiency of Instruction and the total absence of catechising constitute too strong an inducement for our children, brought up in the Roman Catholic faith, to sever from it and to seek more enlarged, more extensive knowledge from schools established, and from books circulated by Protestant missionaries. (81)

d) Orazio Bettacchini's efforts to revive Catholic activities.

Propaganda, being convinced of the need to have some European priests in Sri Lanka, began to look for missionaries. Knowing very well that the Goan priests would certainly resent the advent of European priests, Propaganda began to look for someone who would placate the Goan priests and be capable of integrating the European element into the indigenous clergy. It was at this time, Orazio Bettacchini,⁽⁸²⁾ an Italian Oratorian offered himself to Propaganda to serve in a foreign mission. This was indeed providential to Propaganda as Orazio Bettacchini, being an Oratorian, stood the best chance of reconciling the Goan Oratorians with the European missionaries on the Island.

Bettacchini, on arrival in the country, was sent to Kandy. He was the first European missionary in the Kandyan districts in British times. He was deeply grieved to find that the Catholic children, for want of a school, were compelled to attend the government school. After getting the approval from the Vicar Apostolic in 1844, he opened

a school in the mission house itself, in a room adjoining his own. Bettacchini's greatest difficulty was to find a teacher. Paules Stephen Poorey, one who was in government service at that time, gave up his job to become a servant of the mission as a teacher of Bettacchini's school, the precursor of St. Anthony's College of our day. All the languages locally in use - Sinhala, Tamil and English were taught in that school.⁽⁸³⁾ A few months later, at the request of the Catholics of Colombo Parish, Bettacchini was transferred to Colombo and on 11 February 1846, he was consecrated bishop in St. Lucia's Church, Kotahena.⁽⁸⁴⁾

By this time, it had become clear to Propaganda that the number of European missionaries had to be increased to handle more earnestly the apostolate in the country. With this in mind, Rome decided to proceed to the division of the Apostolic Vicariate of Sri Lanka into two parts and, for the sake of peace, prepared to give a Coadjutor to the South taken from among the Goan Oratorians.⁽⁸⁵⁾ But Bettacchini opposed this very strongly saying that the Goans were not capable of erecting English schools that were urgently needed in the South.⁽⁸⁶⁾ Bettacchini travelled to Europe in 1847 in order to seek new missionaries and to discuss personally with Rome the delicate ecclesiastical matters related to Sri Lanka.⁽⁸⁷⁾

Greatly encouraged by the assurances given by Propaganda, Bettacchini set about the task of recruiting missionaries for Sri Lanka. As he was not successful in recruiting missionaries in Italy, he turned to Bishop de Mazenod of Marseilles, the founder of Congregation of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate.⁽⁸⁸⁾ Bettacchini met Bishop de Mazenod on 25 July 1847 to request for missionaries from his Congregation. In spite of many calls for Oblates from various quarters, Bishop de Mazenod could not resist the appeal from Bishop Bettacchini who told him of the spiritual situation of the Catholics in Sri Lanka. Thus, being convinced of the need to send missionaries to

Sri Lanka, Bishop de Mazenod wrote to Cardinal Fransoni, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide, stating the reasons for it and the conditions for that decision.

I am convinced that help must be sent to these people who are ready to receive the light of truth, but who, alas, have been neglected by these Goans, real destroyers of souls. It is all the more important that upright priests who are true men of God be sent there because, apart from the schism which can be disregarded, heresy wishes to make that land a centre of error, and an Anglican bishop has already been established there. (89)

He expressed his desire to renew his earlier offer of missionaries to Sri Lanka, under one condition that,

these worthy missionaries not be subject to the caprices of the Goans, but work directly under the Coadjutor, Bishop Bettacchini, who thoroughly impressed me during the two days he spent with me in Marseilles. (90)

The financial arrangements having been discussed by Bettacchini with Propaganda, the first Oblates given for the mission in Sri Lanka were, Fathers John Stephen Semeria, an Italian, Louis Mary Keating, an Irishman, Joseph Alexander Ciamin, a Frenchman and the Italian lay-brother Gaspard de Stephanis. (91) It is worth noting here that the reason why Bishop de Mazenod chose Father Keating, an Irishman, as stated in his letter to the Cardinal, was that English language was so important in the country. (92) These Oblates were joined by a Silvestrine monk, Fr. Emiliano Miliani and Erminio Guidi, an Oratorian like Bishop Bettacchini himself. After a hazardous journey of 35 days, they reached Galle on 28 November 1847. (93) Needless to say that the Catholics of Colombo, who had earlier petitioned Rome asking for European priests, were overjoyed to welcome this band of missionaries. (94)

e) The erection of two Vicariates in Sri Lanka.

In the meantime, the decree erecting two Vicariates in Sri Lanka, the Vicariate of Colombo, the Vicariate of Jaffna, dated 14 September 1847,⁽⁹⁵⁾ was received and the two prelates, Gaetano Antonio of Colombo and Orazio Bettacchini of Jaffna, having agreed to the division of the Catholic Vicariate of Sri Lanka, the decree was promulgated. However, it should be remembered here that Bettacchini continued to be considered as the pro-Vicar of Gaetano Antonio, which, according to Gnana Prakasar, did not give him a "free hand in the administration of so vast a mission as the Northern Vicariate then was".⁽⁹⁶⁾ As the Oblates were placed directly under Bishop Bettacchini by their Founder, Bishop de Mazenod,⁽⁹⁷⁾ they had to follow Bettacchini to the North. The arrival of the Oblates signalled to the Goan Oratorians who were against Bettacchini to leave the North and join the Southern Vicariate. Bettacchini, finding himself with a group of inexperienced missionaries, sought the help of some Jesuits in Madurai, South India, who knew Tamil Language very well. The Oblates who had hoped to take charge of the whole Island disliked the idea of having to collaborate with the Jesuits. Thus, friction arose between both religious bodies and by September 1852, all the Jesuits were ordered to leave Sri Lanka.⁽⁹⁸⁾

Now, with the erection of two Vicariates and the Goan Oratorians in the South, Rome felt it right to give a Coadjutor to Gaetano Antonio and make the division of Sri Lanka into two completely independent Vicariates.⁽⁹⁹⁾ By the Apostolic brief of 13 August 1849,⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ Bettacchini was promoted Vicar Apostolic of Jaffna with full powers and, at the same time, Guiseppe Bravi⁽¹⁰¹⁾ was nominated Coadjutor in Colombo.

Thus, before the middle of the Nineteenth Century, Sri Lanka had two completely independent Vicariates: Colombo with Gaetano Antonio,

the Goan Oratorians and the three Silvestrines; Jaffna with Bettacchini and the Oblates. Mission work began to receive new impetus in these two Vicariates. It is in this wider context of changes that took place within the Catholic Church in Sri Lanka should be seen the educational activities of the Catholic Church in the second half of the nineteenth century, as will be seen in the course of this study.

3. The "lean years" in educational progress in the country.

The Central School Commission, after its seven years of considerable achievement (1841-1847), now entered into the next eight years of frustration and disappointment. The economic depression of 1847-1848, which marked the end of the "coffee boom",⁽¹⁰²⁾ compelled the Government to reduce its expenditure on various Departments including the Central School Commission.⁽¹⁰³⁾ In consequence of this, the Government vote on education was reduced drastically from £11,145. in 1847 to a mere £6,000. in 1848, and the Commission was requested to institute "a searching inquiry into the state of schools with a view to retrenchment".⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ It was the Governor's opinion that "English education has now been extended as far as there is a legitimate demand for it", allowing the government free to "direct its efforts towards the extension of Education in the Vernacular language of the natives".⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ The Governor was of the opinion that the results of the educational establishments were not proportionate to their heavy expenses, and that the benefits of instruction imparted almost free to the peoples led to,

a serious evil, as tending to foster a careless and dependent spirit, and prevent that self-reliant, that appreciation of knowledge as a thing to be sought and prized and paid for, without which it was not likely, that any thorough reform in this branch could be effected. ⁽¹⁰⁶⁾

Torrington's argument that people would appreciate the value of education only when they paid for it, was clearly orchestrated for the purpose of reducing government expenditure on education. Events later proved this, when there was a steep drop in attendance at schools soon after the new system of "self-support" was introduced and the parents were asked to pay the school fees.

a) The policy of "self-support" and its repercussions.

The Central School Commission appointed a Committee to inquire into the state of the schools with a view to retrenchment. The members of the Committee reported that there was unanimous support among them to the principle of self-support and accepted that parents should share the burden of educating their children.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ But the significance of this report lay in the fact that, in trying to justify self-support, for the first time, an effort was made to define the scope and purpose of education, without any reference to religious conversion. It was in the interest of the State, the Committee stated, "whatever its duty, to educate those whom it governs".⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ This was, indeed, a radical view at a time when this was not common even in England.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ Furthermore, the Committee said that this was urgent in the East, where,

a knowledge of the rights as well as of the duties of humanity is so deficient and so vague [among the people], and over whom, consequently, the machinery of government must be so much more minute and complex than in countries where half the work of administration is done by the people themselves. ⁽¹¹⁰⁾

The purpose of education as conceived in the Report of the Committee was, indeed, not an education designed to train people for ultimate political freedom, but more of an immediate practicable goal of training them to take over some of the tasks of the administration and thereby reduce spending. Thus, education was geared to the preparation of something like a local self-government. To have thought of education outside the terms of conversion to Christianity, was

itself a great achievement at that time and one cannot but think that these ideas were the personal views of C. J. MacCarthy,⁽¹¹¹⁾ who presided over this Committee.

The Committee also decided to revise the existing system of school fees by converting them into a fixed payment in proportion to the kind of instruction the pupils were given. The Committee also graded the schools afresh into five categories:

1. The Colombo Academy - The Committee felt that there was no need to continue this school at public expense and that the fees levied there must cover the costs of running the school. The monthly fees were raised from 6s. to one pound.
2. The Central Schools - It was felt that there should be one in each provincial capital and a fee of 3s. 6d. a month to be levied.
2. English Elementary Schools - The schools, forming by far the majority of the Government Schools, were to be charged a fee of 1s. 6d. a month.
4. The Mixed English and Vernacular Schools - These schools to be charged a fee of 6d. a month.
5. Vernacular Schools - These too, to be charged a fee of 3d. a month.

However, the Normal Institution did not fall into any of this category but was left to the Government to decide the fate of that Institution. The Committee emphatically stated that, in future, no schools were to be established unless buildings and furniture were provided by the people of the locality. Obviously, the guiding factor in the gradation of the schools as well as other recommendations was the economy of the country at that time. The Central School Commission adopted the recommendations of the Committee on 10 January 1849, and the scheme came into effect in March the same year.⁽¹¹²⁾ It must be mentioned here that this gradation of schools did not affect the Jaffna peninsula where, since 1843, the government had left the three

Missions - the Church Missionary Society, the Wesleyans and the American Mission - in charge of education and merely provided them with an annual grant of money. As this system proved so successful, there was no need for Government Schools.

This policy of "self-support" had disastrous consequences. With the raising of fees in the schools, there was an immediate fall in attendance leading to the close of some of them.⁽¹¹³⁾ Thus the fatal economic depression, together with the famous "rebellion of 1848"⁽¹¹⁴⁾ dictated a policy of strict economy that led to a fall in attendance and thus a decline in the educational progress that had been achieved over the years, through a slow and painful process.

b) Catholic schools and the Central School Commission.

Soon after the establishment of the Central School Commission in 1841 on which the Catholics had a representative, the Catholics children began to attend government schools without any religious scruples. The Governor, in establishing this new School Commission, had stated that it was the duty of the Commission,

by every means in their power, to promote the education in the English language, of their fellow subjects of all religious opinions in the Colony. They will, therefore, be particularly careful to introduce into their schools no books or system of instruction which might have the effect of excluding scholars of any religious belief whatever. ⁽¹¹⁵⁾

This declaration of neutrality to Christian sectarianism on the part of the government encouraged the Catholics to quell all qualms of conscience about sending their children to the government schools, where under the first School Commission (1834-1840) they had been apprehensive of proselytism. At a later date Bishop Bravi of Colombo

Vicariate and a member of the Central School Commission, in the Memorandum he submitted to the School Commission, declared that,

there never came, to my knowledge, any reasonable conscientious objection to sending children to Government Schools, which I, for my part, have always recommended and encouraged. (116)

According to the statistics of 1842, twenty-eight per cent of the total number of pupils attending Government Schools were Roman Catholics. (117) The Catholic children attended the Anglican Chaplain's schools as well. The more ambitious ones were glad to avail themselves of the chances of studying English in these schools with the hope of gaining social mobility and economic advantage from the British rulers.

The distribution of the Catholic children at that time, in different schools in the country, could be had from the Reports of the Central School Commission. In 1842, thirty-three per cent of the children attending the twenty State schools in the Western Province, including the Colombo Academy, were Roman Catholics. It is well taking note that in some schools, for instance, in St. Thomas Boys' and Girls' school in Colombo, the Catholic children were in the majority. This school was supervised by the Anglican Colonial Chaplain, the Revd. J. J. Ondaatje. There were 68 Catholic boys and 45 Catholic girls among a total of 133 boys and 61 girls.

In Negombo Boys' school, 67 of the 91 pupils were Catholics. Similarly in Chilaw, 9 out of the 14 attending school were Catholic students. More than half the students in the Government School at Kurunegala were of the Roman Catholic denomination. (118)

In the Northern Province, predominantly a Hindu area, there were twenty per cent Catholics among the school children attending 4 of the

5 Government Schools that were under the sub-committee of education in the Province. In the Chundicully school that had 54 pupils, there were 33 Catholic pupils.(119)

In the Central and Southern Provinces, as these areas were largely non-Christian, there were a few Catholic pupils in the Government Schools. In the Eastern Province, namely in the Government Schools of Batticaloa and Trincomalee, there were 35 Catholics and 34 Protestants among the 135 pupils attending the 4 schools supervised by the sub-committee of education in the Eastern Province. Meanwhile, in the two Anglican Chaplain's Schools, aided by the government, there were 21 Catholics among the 60 scholars on the list.(120)

This being the case, did the Catholics have any schools of their own? In 1845, the Catholics had 4 English schools in the Island. First and foremost, there was in Wolfendhal Street, Colombo, a superior English school called the Roman Catholic Seminary with 152 pupils.(121) The only information available on this school is to be found in the Blue Books of the Ceylon Government. From these, it would appear that it was a "private school" supported by voluntary contributions and mission funds. The school had been started with the aid of a small grant of £50. given by the Government.(122) But no government supervision of the school was made at that time.

The second school, as recorded in the Blue Books of the Ceylon Government, was that of Mrs. Thomasz who kept a girls' English school in Colombo attended by 24 pupils. The third English school was at Batticaloa for the Tamils. It was under I. V. Seyp, teacher, with 20 students. The fourth was in the Central Province at Kandy, with Don Andries as teacher with 23 pupils.(123) The other schools, 48 in all,(124) were vernacular schools, in different parts of the country.

TABLE 4:1

THE DISTRIBUTION OF CATHOLIC CHILDREN IN SCHOOLS.

	No. of Schools	No. of Pupils
Western Province	25	1015
North Western Province (Chilaw 15/ Kurunegala 18)	2	33
Southern Province	1	18
Eastern Province (besides the English School)	2	98
Northern Province	14 (3 in Jaffna)	376
Mannar	3	80
Central Province (besides the Kandy English School)	1	40

In all, the Catholic Church had 52 schools under its aegis attended by 1949 pupils.⁽¹²⁵⁾ It should be remembered that most of these were small vernacular schools that were mainly used for the teaching of religion. The inability of the Goan Fathers to provide English education, and the several petitions the Catholics sent to Rome regarding the dire need for priests with knowledge of English, should be kept in mind to understand the plight of the Catholics in the educational field, in the early forties of the nineteenth century.

c) Bettacchini and Catholic education in Jaffna.

In 1846, four months after Bettacchini had been appointed to Jaffna, the Catholic notables of the place sent a memorandum to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda Fide, to tell him of the difficulties the Catholics in Jaffna faced, especially in the field of education. In Jaffna, the American Mission and the Wesleyan Mission had already established their own network of schools and were progressing steadily. The Catholics felt that they were helpless with regard to giving their children an English education. Therefore, they lamented the fact that their children could obtain education, "nowhere at present but in schools under the Protestant Missionaries".⁽¹²⁶⁾

They also stated that the Catholics have been taxed to their utmost by being compelled to build their own churches and support their Pastors and that,

establishing schools in any way efficient to compete with those which are already established by the Protestants without the assistance of the Mission is entirely beyond their power [Catholics], for without the cooperation of the Mission Society, the Catholics are unable to undertake it and ensure a continuance. (127)

Furthermore, they traced the evils that the Catholic Church faced at that time to the fact that, due to want of English schools with efficient teachers, a large number of youths had been admitted in the Protestant schools where,

they imbibe the heretical principles of their teachers and all of them become Protestants theoretically, if not practically. (128)

Another much-felt need of the Catholics, as stated by the memorialists, was the lack of religious books printed in English and owing to the scarcity of them, they were forced to read Protestant books, "with which the place now abounds, owing to the liberal distribution of them by the Protestant Missionaries". (129)

Bettacchini soon realized that the Catholics were becoming aware of the danger of their lagging behind other communities in education and thus failing to take up influential positions in society. At the same time, he was aware that the Goan clergy in Sri Lanka were incapable of entering competitively into the field of education to gain a stronghold for Catholics. Knowing very well that things would deteriorate if drastic and timely steps were not taken immediately, Bettacchini began to make moves and, in the first place, he established the Jaffna Catholic School Society in 1846, for the purpose of furthering education in the North of the country. (130)

To Propaganda, as well as to Bettacchini, it became more and more evident that the number of European missionaries, especially with knowledge of English, had to be increased to handle more earnestly the needs of the Catholics, not just in the North but in the whole of Sri Lanka. With this in mind, Bettacchini travelled to Rome in the spring of 1847 and came back with a group of Oblates who accompanied him to the North when Jaffna was made an independent Vicariate.

According to Father Gnana Prakasar, the "first attempt" to impart English education "through a school was made only under Bishop Bettacchini",⁽¹³¹⁾ through the Jaffna Catholic School Society that he had established in 1846. The Bishop's zeal and the co-operation of the Catholics of Jaffna soon paved the way to the founding of two English schools, namely, the Jaffna Boys' Seminary⁽¹³²⁾ and the Jaffna Girls' Seminary. The male English School with 50 boys in attendance was placed under the care of Mr. Patrick Foy, while the female English School with 28 girls in attendance was under Mrs. M. A. Flanagan. In the First Report of the Vicariate Apostolic of Jaffna for the year 1850, it is stated by V. Cassinelli, its author, that

the pupils of both sexes are very well attended,
and instructed in every branch of learning deemed
necessary or useful for them. ⁽¹³³⁾

It must be noted here that the Jaffna Catholic English School (later St. Patrick's College), came into being twenty seven years after the Batticotta Seminary, now known as the Jaffna College, was started by the American Mission in 1823; sixteen years after the Jaffna Central School, now the Central College, was started by the Revd. Peter Percival of the Wesleyan Mission in 1834, and nine years after the Chundikully Seminary, now St. John's College, was started by the Revd. Talbot Johnstone of the Church Missionary Society in 1841.⁽¹³⁴⁾ This indicates that, even though the Catholics were greater in number among the Christians in the North at that time, it was only as late as 1850

were they able to have their own English Schools.

The Catholics of Jaffna, realizing that they had to act fast to catch up with other denominations that were in the educational arena, forwarded a petition in March 1850 through the Government Agent in Jaffna to the Governor requesting financial assistance for their newly established English Schools.⁽¹³⁵⁾ In it they stated that their Bishop had "established three schools in Jaffna for the education of Catholic children" and that the Bishop did not have sufficient funds to meet the entire expenses.⁽¹³⁶⁾ Furthermore, they stated that the Catholics in the North outnumbered by far their Protestant brethren, who, however, were enjoying a privileged position. It was their contention that money spent on Protestant schools could easily be "equitably" distributed between Protestants and Catholics.⁽¹³⁷⁾

The reason why they suggested an "equitable" distribution of funds was that they believed that after the establishment of their own schools a large number of children who might have been in Protestant schools would now seek education in the Catholics schools they have established. Moreover, it was the duty of the Central School Commission to promote religious education on a non-sectarian basis "of such of the community as belonged to the Christian faith", and the "funds under its management could be equally applicable for that purpose".⁽¹³⁸⁾ The Catholics, by requesting an "equitable" distribution of funds, were only reminding the School Commission of its duty to distribute funds at their disposal and thereby, hoped to get some help to run their schools.

They had also requested that a Catholic priest of their Vicariate be appointed a member of the School Commission.⁽¹³⁹⁾ Bettacchini too made representation to the Governor when he visited Jaffna. In consequence of these representations and petitions, a three member

committee (all Protestants) of the Central School Commission visited the Jaffna Boys' School and the Girls' School and gave a favourable report to qualify for a grant of £150. per annum. The report stated thus:

It having been represented to the Government that although the various Protestant Missions in the Northern Province received aid from the Board in support of English Schools, the Roman Catholic Mission was left to its own resources, in consequence of which its educational operations were much circumscribed, in June a grant of £150. per annum was made to the body for the support of the schools in Jaffna. (140)

The Jaffna National Education Society, believing that the Government would support Hindu schools, as the Roman Catholics were assisted, applied for support. The Central School Commission refused assistance on the ground that,

the system of education proposed to be given by that body was of a character not consistent with the objects of their institutions. (141)

Although the Minute of 26 May 1841 specifying the duties of the Commission stated that "the general education of the whole population" was the duty of the Commission, the Commission had made it a requirement in its rules for grants-in-aid that the first hour of the day should be devoted to reading of the Bible.⁽¹⁴²⁾ It is in this context that the education in a Hindu school was not consistent with the objectives of the Commission. Thus, the Government, according to Jayasuriya,

made it clear that it would assist only Christian, including Roman Catholic education and not Buddhist, Hindu or Muslim education. (143)

According to him, while the bitter controversy over grants-in-aid was going on among the Anglicans, the Wesleyans and the Roman Catholics during the decade beginning 1857, these non-Christian religious groups

"watched the fray from the sidelines, not daring to hope that even a crumb would fall their way". (144)

Bettacchini who had always shown interest in the education of Catholic children, right from the beginning of his ministry in the country, (145) wanted the school in Jaffna to be of high standard. It was a question of competing with the Protestants who had established themselves very well in the field of education in the North. For this, he had no alternative but to seek the help of Jesuits in Southern India who were, no doubt, the experts in the arena of education. (146) He also sent his secretary, Father Semeria, to Nagapatnam and Pondichery (South India) to study the conditions of the Jesuit English College at Nagapatnam and the Ecclesiastical Seminary at Pondichery. (147) Four Jesuit priests were given (in May 1849) to Bettacchini to help him for period which ended in 1852. (148) With the hope of bringing some nuns from Europe to run the Girls' School efficiently, and also to increase the personnel, Bettacchini travelled to Europe in 1854. (149) But sadly for him, due to shortage of funds, he had to abandon that plan, only to be accomplished later on by his successor Bishop Semeria.

It could justly be said that Bettacchini was the pioneer of English Schools for the Catholics in the North. He might not have executed all his plans in the field of education due to lack of personnel and funds, but he certainly, in the words of Saverimuttu,

paved the way for his successors to establish the presence of the Church in this important arena which became the spring board of Catholic revival in the following decades. (150)

The efforts of Bettacchini to establish a Catholic printing press and a Catholic journal, chiefly to fight "attacks against the Church in journals such as the "Morning Star" (151) and the "Ceylon Observer", should not be forgotten here. The Jaffna Catholics in their petition

to Rome⁽¹⁵²⁾ had already mentioned of the scarcity of religious books. Bettacchini felt that it was time to start a Catholic periodical in which extracts from Catholic publications, correspondences on topics of Catholic interest, summary of events religious and political should be published for the information and education of the Catholics and general public. He wrote to Bishop Bravi, Vicar Apostolic of the South, that it was time,

that measures be taken for the defense of Religion to make the Protestants come down a peg or two from the role they had adopted of riding the high horse. (153)

Convinced of the need to have a printing press of their own to educate the Catholics in their faith, the two prelates approached the "Ceylon Times" to negotiate for the publication of a Catholic periodical.⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ As the sum quoted for each issue was beyond their means, they tried other alternatives such as buying up half the shares in the "Ceylon Times", and that too never materialized. Finally, it had to be abandoned and it was Bishop Bonjean who succeeded in installing a Catholic printing press in Jaffna at a later date.

Bettacchini as the first Vicar Apostolic of Jaffna, had to face enormous problems to achieve, at least, some of his plans. To begin with, he had the opposition from the Goan Oratorian Fathers and then the spread of the Goan "schism" in some parts of Jaffna. Added to that was the outbreak of Cholera in the North that struck the entire population and did not spare even the ranks of the missionaries. Small-pox too appeared for five years, and in the words of Father Semeria,

work was disorganized, schools deserted... and very few families escaped the dread malady, many were either entirely or at least, partially destroyed. Several times, we had to bury at the same time, husband and wife, father and son, brother and sisters. (155)

It was through such difficulties that Bettacchini had to steer to achieve some of his plans, especially to lay the foundation for a good education of the Catholic children in his Vicariate. He did this, no doubt, to the best of his ability as is evident in the increase of elementary schools from 10 in 1847 to 40 in 1860.⁽¹⁵⁶⁾

Thus, by the end of 1850, Propaganda, in responding to repeated appeals from the Catholics of Sri Lanka, had taken some measures to improve the situation of the Catholics with the help of missionaries obtained from religious Congregations in Europe. With the arrival of European missionaries in Sri Lanka, educational activities too began to receive attention as is evident from the activities of Bettacchini and others. The scene was now set for Catholic involvement in the educational history of the country. The developments that took place after the arrival of these European missionaries, the significant contributions they made to the educational policy making of the country during the second half of the nineteenth century will be our concern in the coming chapters.

CHAPTER V

CATHOLIC OPINION ON EDUCATION AND THE ACTIVITIES OF THE TWO VICARIATES TO IMPROVE THE EDUCATION OF CATHOLIC CHILDREN, 1850 - 1865.

1. The Central School Commission and the question of Religious Instruction.

On the death of Bishop Gaetano Antonio (1857), Bishop Bravi became the Vicar Apostolic of the Southern Vicariate. Bravi was already a member of the Central School Commission⁽¹⁾ and the education problems of his Vicariate and of the whole country were familiar to him when he took his seat on the School Commission where, with the Revd. D. J. Gogerly and the Revd. J. D. Palm - the other clerical members with long experience and astute defenders of their respective sectarian principles, he held his position for over ten years till his death in August 1860. Being the only Catholic member on the Commission, he became the official voice of the Catholic Church and the watch-dog of its interest in education. How conscientiously he fulfilled his role as a member of the Commission may be gauged by the tribute paid to him in the columns of the "Bombay Catholic Examiner" of 16 October 1851.

The state of religion in this Island is indeed very satisfactory ... thanks to the exertions of Dr. Bravi, the Coadjutor Bishop, who has secured the Catholics a very independent position, arising principally from the loyalty exhibited by them during the Rebellion (1848). Government education is conducted on very tolerant principles. Dr. Bravi is one of the members of the School Commission, and he has succeeded in securing for the use of Catholic children in the Government Schools only such books as he approves of. (2)

This last sentence referred to a dispute that arose between Bravi and the members of a committee appointed to choose books for the schools. It was brought to the notice of the Central School Commission that

there was irregularity in many schools with regard to the use of books in classes. The Commission, in its report, stated that

not only were different classes of books used in different schools, but the same books were not always used by boys in the same school and the same class. (3)

a) Bravi's objection to certain books.

The Commission, being aware of the absolute necessity to have control over the books used by teachers in order to direct education in the schools, resolved in June 1850 that

no books previously approved by the Commission shall in future be introduced into the schools in their establishment. (4)

A committee consisting of the Revd. Dr. Bravi, the Revd. Mr. Gordon and the Revd. Mr. Palm was appointed to revise the list of books then in use in the Government Schools and to present a report. (5)

It should be noted here that religion was the basis of all instructions in the schools, at that time, with the possible exception of arithmetic. In the reading lesson the text read was the Bible, in the writing lesson the material written to dictation was either Biblical or Scriptural and the history lesson was mostly a question of learning Scriptural history. Thus, even after the principle was accepted that religious instruction in Government Schools had to be confined to the non-sectarian Christianity, the bias in the text books used for some subjects were so patently Protestant and anti-Catholic that the Roman Catholics protested against the use of certain books.

When the "Book Committee" drew up its Report, Bishop Bravi objected to some of the books on the grounds that they did not give an impartial view of the Roman Catholic Church. He objected to the use of

Tytler's "General History" edited by the Revd. B. Turner, Watts' "Scripture History" and "The Seventh Volume of the Instructor" (Modern History) as not being in accordance with the Governor's Minute of 1841 which laid down that "no books or system of instruction which might have the effect of excluding scholars of any religious belief whatever"⁽⁶⁾ should be introduced. Furthermore, he pointed out that the very existence of these books on the list violated the resolution adopted by the Central School Commission for, when the School Commission appointed the "Book Committee", it had requested them to revise the list of books,

with a view to the exclusion of all works containing matter or doctrines hostile to the tenets of any of the pupils attendant at such schools. ⁽⁷⁾

Supported by the above authorities, Bishop Bravi proceeded to show the unsuitability of the works in question, for the purpose recommended by the "Book Committee". He objected to the use of Tytler's "Elements of General History", on account of "its very unjust tone against Catholics; its misrepresentations when treating of them and their religion."⁽⁸⁾ To the accusation that the Catholics of the 8th Century were "rank idolators", as found in Tytler's book, Bravi pointed out that the Catholics of every age,

have always firmly believed in, and observed the First Commandment; and that one of the first and most important principles of our faith, from its very establishment, is emphatically expressed in our Ritual for the Baptism of Adults, in these words:

Horresce idola; respue simulacra; cole Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, et Jesum Christum, Filium ejus unicum, Dominum Nostrum. ⁽⁹⁾

Finally, he summed up his dissent by remarking that,

throughout the entire work, I find my Religion systematically defamed: the loyalty of its members impeached; the most sordid and wicked intentions wrongfully attributed to them; and their actions

and belief held up as worthy of abhorrence of all good men. (10)

It was his contention that a work of this nature should be withdrawn from the pupils with whose religious tenets the Commission had pledged not to interfere. Therefore, he appealed to the Commission to remove immediately those books whose evil effects affected not only Catholics but also those of other persuasions,

different from that of the Catholics, for it inculcates as facts, matters essentially untrue; and creates and fosters a spirit of intolerance and bigotry which, I humbly conceive, the guardians of youth should seek to eradicate rather than implant. (11)

With regard to Watts' "Scripture History", Bishop Bravi objected to the further use of this book in the schools "on account of its studiously sectarian construction". He pointed out that in Chapter 6 of the above book it was stated that only "two Sacraments" were instituted by Christ whereas if the work had maintained the existence of seven sacraments, he was certain that the book would not have been retained on the list of School Books. The question and answers contained in it, according to Bravi, "were framed upon a system of belief totally at variance with that of Catholics". Thus, he regarded the work "as other than a Catechism, Historical, as the author professes it to be; but equally so, of a Religious and sectarian character", and hence perfectly unsuited for the purpose recommended by the Committee. (12)

On 4 September 1850, the Central School Commission considered the Report of the "Book Committee" together with Bravi's strong objections and decided that the above books would "remain in use under Dr. Bravi's protest... until books less open to objections urged by him, can be met with". (13) This stand of Bishop Bravi in the "Book Committee" had been described by Gratiaen, in his account of the School Commission, as

"notable as the first occasion when the voice of the Roman Catholic Church was raised on a matter of Island education". (14)

b) Bonjean's opinion on School Books.

In spite of the above mentioned objections from Bishop Bravi, neither the character of the Government Schools nor the books changed. Some eleven years later, Father Christopher Bonjean⁽¹⁵⁾ remarked that the books of the Commission

seemed to inculcate Protestant views, or to misrepresent Catholic doctrines, or even to induce disbelief in the truths of Christianity at large. (16)

According to him, books of this nature were not likely to help in the training of a child "to habits of veracity and sincerity". On the contrary, they would, if anything, "thwart than assist the growth of these virtues" not to mention that they would "spoil the child's taste, and damage his style". He explained it thus:

No instruction communicated to children can be useful unless it be clear, perspicuous and positive. The extreme loose, unmeaning, and rather vacillating manner of expression adopted in the series under examination; the obscurity and want of precision which pervades the whole; the perpetual oscillation between two dreaded extremes, neither of which is frankly adopted or rejected, which characterizes those publications, make them open to another objection of inconsiderable weight. Is it not true that the chief object for which we educate our children at all, is to make them honest and useful members of Society? Is it not true that of all the qualities which fit a man for an honorable discharge of social duties, straight forwardness and love of truth, are those most prized, and justly so? But is not also true, that those virtues, indispensable as they are to social security, are plants, the growth of which in the soul of the young, requires a most careful nurture? Is it not likewise true, that... impressions received in youth, are the most lasting? that there is something in children of an aping disposition, and that imitation seems to be their nature? The persons with whom the child associates, the books he reads, will leave on him an indelible stamp, and give to his mind the turn it will ever persevere in after life. (17)

According to Bonjean, the books that were in use in the schools, at that time, were unfit to be in the hands of children and the "unsteadiness of the views expressed in them", would only lead the children "to confusion, hesitation and doubt". He even went to the extent of suggesting to the Commission to remove books that contained "nothing positively injurious to the Catholic Faith" on the sole ground that "they contained nothing of what a Catholic child should know of his faith, of his religion, and of the part played by his Church in the history of the world".⁽¹⁸⁾ Realizing that the task of producing a complete educational series to satisfy the uncompromising Catholic as well as the staunch Protestant would be beyond the means of the government, Bonjean suggested that every Denomination be allowed "to print their School Series".⁽¹⁹⁾

As for Watts' "Scripture History", Bonjean regretted very much that it should have been introduced into schools at all, for it was "a work thoroughly Protestant", where,

the Sacraments or ordinances are said to be only two in number. Catholics are called Papists. Although the work professes to be a history of the Scripture ... it quite fails to give an accurate idea of Christianity. ⁽²⁰⁾

Therefore, Bonjean declared the above works as unfit for use "not merely say in a Catholic school, but simply in a Christian School".⁽²¹⁾

As regards Tytler's "Elements of History", Bonjean felt that it was "a pity that bigotry should have so utterly spoiled a work in other respects commendable".⁽²²⁾ He felt that the author had allowed his sectarian prejudices get the better of him; to bias his judgement and make him "stake his credit as an historian, on statements the most untrue and perfectly ridiculous, whenever the Catholic religion was in question".⁽²³⁾ It was but natural that Bonjean raised this question:

What becomes of the boasted pledge of non-interference with the religion of Catholic pupils, when Books such as the above, can be, and are taught in Government and Grant Schools? (24)

By pointing out the unsuitability of these books, Bonjean made it clear that the caution embodied in the Minute of May 1841 that the Commission should be particularly careful not to introduce into their schools books "which might have the effect of excluding scholars of any religious belief whatever", (25) was actually a dead letter before the ink could dry on the paper on which it was written.

It is evident, then, that nearly all instruction in Government and Protestant Missionary Schools was of a religious character, namely that of Protestantism. At the same time specific arrangements were made for a special period in the time table for religious instruction in these schools. The nature and type of this religious instruction needs to be examined here.

c) Religious Instruction in Schools.

According to the Royal Instructions of 30 April 1831 to Governor Horton, a knowledge of reading and a knowledge of Protestant Christianity were the two outcomes expected from schooling. Horton was instructed to

recommend proper measures for erecting and maintaining schools in order to the training of youth to reading and to a necessary knowledge of the Principles of Religion. And we do hereby direct that no Person shall be allowed to keep a School in Our said Island without your Licence first had and obtained in granting which you are to pay the most particular attention to the morals and qualifications of the persons applying for the same. (26)

And the Principles of Religion in this context were no more than the principles of Protestant Christianity as shown by Bishop Bravi and

Bonjean in their references to the school books. Furthermore, the above mentioned Instructions to Horton directed that no person be allowed to keep a school without a licence, in granting which "the most particular attention" was to be made "to the morals and qualifications of the persons applying for the same".⁽²⁷⁾ Thus, the non-Christians were prevented from establishing schools, for the morals of such persons, in the eyes of Christians, could not be but defective. The above Instructions gave official sanction for the teaching of Protestant Christianity to all children attending Government Schools at that time.⁽²⁸⁾

The Instructions issued to Governor Mackenzie on 2 October 1837 showed even more of the religious motive behind educating the people of Sri Lanka.⁽²⁹⁾ A reason for that might have been the fact that the Colonial Office was dominated at that time by two ardent evangelicals in the Secretary of State, Glenelg and the Under-Secretary, Stephen. While dissatisfaction was expressed in the Instruction, over a "mere general diffusion of Christianity" during the period of British rule in Sri Lanka, the Secretary of State affirmed his readiness to sanction any expenditure incurred with a reasonable prospect of diffusing Christianity throughout Sri Lanka.⁽³⁰⁾ With regard to education, the Governor was asked to report whether the government schools could be increased in number, improved in efficiency and operated with economy. As an alternative, he was asked to consider whether a special grant should be given annually to Christian Societies to expand their ecclesiastical endeavors.⁽³¹⁾

Mackenzie took more than two years to study the state of education in the country and communicated to the Bishop of Madras, in his letter of 2 March 1840, his views on the reorganization of education with a view to "promoting education in general and religious instruction in particular".⁽³²⁾ To do this, he recommended that the system of instruction be based on the Holy Scriptures using the extracts put out

by the British and Foreign Bible Society.⁽³³⁾ No Catechisms or books of particular religious sects were to be used in schools. Furthermore, he recommended that no teachers were to be appointed without satisfactory recommendations as to their character, religion and competence.⁽³⁴⁾ These two recommendations, while strengthening the state support that had already been given to Protestantism, excluded non-Christians from being appointed as teachers.

The Bishop of Madras, while agreeing to Mackenzie's proposals, urged that theoretical Christianity should be compulsorily taught even to non-Christians. It was expressed thus:

In speaking of education, I wish to be distinctly understood as speaking of it in strict and indissoluble connection with at least such an acquaintance with theoretical Christianity that the youth of the Island may be trained up in a knowledge of the Revelation. (35)

However, Mackenzie was opposed to the idea of making it compulsory for non-Christians to study "theoretical Christianity". He stood for the exclusion of non-Christian pupil in government schools from Christian religious instruction, if their parents requested it. He felt that other religious groups, most of all the Muslim population, would be dissuaded from sending children to school if they were compelled to study "theoretical Christianity".⁽³⁶⁾

Although the general education of the whole population was the duty of the new Central School Commission, as stated by the Minute of 26 May 1841, it was also "a most important portion of their duty to promote religious education of such of the community as belong to the Christian faith", and the funds under the management of the Commission were to be "equally applicable to this purpose".⁽³⁷⁾ The Minute also added that it was highly desirable, "perhaps,...an hour daily", in government

schools, "be set apart for religious instruction", not making it obligatory for students who urged conscientious objections to attend the religious instruction. It had also stated that this religious instruction "be arranged so as not to interfere with Secular education". (38)

This somewhat wavering instruction, "perhaps...an hour" be set apart for religious instruction (Minute of 26 May 1841), was changed to a definite order by the Central School Commission in a decision made on 6 July 1841. Even the precise manner in which "conscientious objections" could be brought forth from the students was indicated by the Commission thus:

That the first hour daily in every government school be devoted to religious instruction and that the master be particularly informed not to require the attendance of those boys whose parents object to their attendance during that hour. The parents of such boys are required, either personally or in writing, to inform the teachers of their objections. (39)

All in all, there was clear advocacy of Christian religious instruction in the Minute, subject to the provision that those who brought forth "conscientious objections" could desist from attendance.

With regard to the form in which the religious instruction was to be conveyed, the Commission, at a much later date as 4 September 1850, recommended that,

a portion of the Bible be read daily and explained by simple questions naturally arising out of the passages; and that a text of scripture, to be given out the previous day, be committed to memory and repeated by the whole school. (40)

It was the hope of the Commission that, less opportunity being afforded for dwelling upon denominational distinctions, there would be less objections from among parents to send their children to school during

the hour of religious instruction. (41)

d) The controversy over Grants-in-aid.

At the request of the Governor, the President and members of the Legislative Council decided on 24 November 1858 that "Grants-in-aid of Education should be given to schools whether connected with Missionary bodies or not; but subject to the Departmental Minute of 6 July 1841". (42) Once this motion was communicated to the School Commission, they made a set of Supplementary Rules for Grants-in-aid at their special meeting on 26 November 1858. (43)

The third clause of this Supplementary Rules stated that religious instruction,

be confined to the truths received by Christians of every denomination and shall comprise the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Apostles' Creed, together with the daily reading of the Bible. (44)

When the Revd. L. M. Keating, the Catholic Missionary at Trincomalee, applied for a grant to a school at that station under his superintendence, he was informed by the Commission that they would consider any application only if it was in conformity with the new Supplementary Rules of 26 November 1858. (45) By a letter dated 30 March 1859, Father Keating inquired from the Commission as to which Bible was to be read daily in the school "as a condition sine qua non for Grants-in-aid to be made?" (46) Father Keating also pointed out that the immediate effects of Rules four and five, made after the Catholics of Trincomalee and Batticaloa had forwarded their memorials to the Government for grants to their schools, would certainly prevent the Catholics from receiving further grants from the Government. Under such circumstances, the Catholics would have no choice but to send

their children to Protestant Mission Schools. Furthermore, he pointed out that,

there are at present four Protestant Schools at Trincomalie supported entirely by government aid; and not one Catholic school receives a shilling from Government. (47)

By a letter dated 16 May 1859, Father Keating was informed by Brooke Bailey, the Secretary of the School Commission, that the schools in Trincomalee were Government Schools and not Protestant schools and that the Military Chaplain, the Revd. Mr. Glenie was merely,

the Agent of the Commission and the superintendent of their schools which are in every respect conducted on the same principles as all other Government Schools. (48)

With regard to the Bible to be read in the schools receiving grants, the Commission stated that "the English Authorized Version of the Scriptures and the ordinary division of the Ten Commandments are to be used".(49)

Neither the Catholic party nor the Governor was satisfied with the Commission's reply. The Governor, commenting on the new Supplementary Rules (26 November 1858), stated that a condition had been introduced into the new Rules which "deprived the Catholic population of the Island from benefitting by them" and that the Catholics "cannot be expected to adopt a Bible which they cannot use, and a Version of the Commandments repudiated by their Church".(50) In response to the Governor's request that the rules regarding Grants-in-aid be re-cast "so as to admit the Catholics to their full share in the benefits intended to be conferred upon all Christian Sects", (51) the School Commission held a meeting on 2 July 1859. At this meeting, C. A. Lorenz, a member of the Legislative Council as well of the School

Commission, urged the Commission to,

revert to the wording of the old Rule of 1841, which had been in force for 18 years and had been fully tested and found to be perfectly satisfactory, - the great feature of that Rule being, that perfect neutrality was secured in respect of religious instruction, without giving rise to any of those complications which must result from the peculiar views which particular teachers might have on particular questions, and to which the introduction of the Ten Commandments and the Apostles' Creed could not but give ample scope. (52)

In other words, what Lorenz suggested was that religious instruction should be confined to the reading "of a portion of the Bible and to explanations thereof by simple questions arising out of the passage". (53) On a vote taken on this suggestion of Lorenz, there was a tie and the Commission then decided by a majority of votes that the third Rule (54) should be abrogated "so that we have now no Rule whatever restricting religious instruction". (55) Lorenz expressed deep concern about this removal of religious instruction which would only, "perpetuate discord and dissension amongst all classes of the community". Thus, according to Lorenz, the members of the School Commission had allowed themselves to be constituted as "a Society for the advancement of all sorts of Missions, and all sorts of Religion", whereas the principle should have been to give aid "with a view to secular education, apart from denominational and doctrinal differences". The Government, Lorenz felt, may give aid to Missionary undertakings but it should always be "with a view to prevent Government funds beings diverted to purposes of proselytism". He expressed the desire that Government should insist "on one simple condition as to religious instruction". (56)

The Colonial Secretary sent Lorenz's letter of 4 July 1859 to the Commission, with a covering letter stating that,

it is impossible to lay down more clearly or convincingly, the principles upon which it is desirable that the Legislature and the School

Commission should act in dealing with this delicate question. (57)

The Commission, in response to the Colonial Secretary's letter, took the decision to "revert to the original Minute of May 1841" and to restrict grants-in-aid to private schools only. This was communicated to the Colonial Secretary by a letter dated 3 October 1859. (58)

However, this Resolution of the Commission was deeply resented by the Protestant Missionaries (59) and they addressed a petition to the Legislative Council, on 7 December 1859. In it, they commended for the consideration of the government the grants-in-aid system that was in operation in India, (60) and requested the introduction of a scheme of grants-in-aid that would leave the Missionary Societies,

unfettered as to their religious teaching but reserving to the Government the rights of inspection and of fixing the standard of secular instruction required in different classes whether English or vernacular. (61)

Thus, the ding-dong battle that went on between the School Commission and the Legislative Council in no way helped the Commission to retrieve its rapidly diminishing prestige as a useful central body for the administration and direction of education in the Island. It had also shown how willing the Legislative Council was, at times, to intervene directly in educational matters.

e) Bonjean on Catholic Education.

It was at this stage Christopher Bonjean entered the scene with the publication of a pamphlet - "A few words on Catholic Education in Ceylon". In it, he laid down the principles that should guide Catholic education. It was indeed a call to Sri Lanka's Catholics of the day to rise to the need of providing their children with education

which they then sorely lacked. This pamphlet has been described as the "Educational Charter of the Catholics of Sri Lanka".⁽⁶²⁾ He pointed out the real strength of Protestantism as found in the educational system in the country. The Catholic children, according to him, were receiving "a decidedly Protestant education" and that,

they are made to commit to memory the several Protestant Catechisms of the different sects; they daily read an adulterated version of the Bible, and have all manner of Sectarian explanations of the same forced upon their not yet formed judgement; they have put into their hands books of reading-lessons, in which everything which a Catholic holds most sacred, the Blessed Eucharist, the Holy Mother of God, the Saints and their invocation, the Church..., are held up to sacrilegious contempt and ridicule....

But, how can those party coloured statements fail deeply to impress the child who has not, and cannot have, the means of discovering the falsehoods so artfully mixed up with his intellectual food, inclined as he must besides be, to place an implicit reliance in the superiority of his master's judgement. ⁽⁶³⁾

Furthermore, he stated that the Catholic children in Mission Schools were forced "to join in Protestant Worship" and they were "kept away from the services of their own Church on days of obligation".⁽⁶⁴⁾ Therefore, he started demanding for a Catholic education for the Catholic children through a series of letters that appeared in The "Examiner", C. A. Lorenz's powerful and influential paper. These letters were later published together in a book of 185 pages under the title, "Denominational versus Common Mixed Schools".⁽⁶⁵⁾ It was in these letters that Bonjean opened up the whole question of Grants-in-aid, with great skill. What Bonjean urged through this booklet could be summed up thus:

- a) A religious education was necessary for the child;
- b) the Government should concern itself only with the secular aspect of education and Religious Instruction should be left to denominational bodies;
- c) a proper religious education can only be given in the religious atmosphere of a school of the denomination and;

- d) the Government should assist all denominations to open and maintain schools.

According to K. M. de Silva, Bonjean conducted a purposeful campaign from 1860 onwards,

for a denominational system of education with the provision of a conscience-clause safeguarding the religious scruples of those who did not belong to the denomination which ran the school; for a grants-in-aid system; and for the neutrality of the state in matters of religion. (66)

For it was Bonjean's belief that the neutrality of the State would ensure a large measure of equality not only for the several Christian Missions engaged in educational activities, but for the Buddhists and Hindus as well, "whose cause he chose to champion". (67) Thus, Bonjean earned the name, "Father of the Denominational School System in Sri Lanka". (68)

The Sub-Committee of the Legislative Council on the Supply Bill of 1861, in its report, stated that the rule relating to religious instruction,

be retained with this modification - that on such days as the Visitor (Missionary or otherwise) attends to examine the School, the religious instruction should be restricted to the first hour of examination; and that any boy shall be at liberty to stand out during such examinations. (69)

Bonjean, however, felt that the above resolution of the Committee was not a "modification" but rather "a thorough alteration". (70) According to him, the rule had been entirely

remodeled; the letter of it is still allowed to stand; but the spirit is gone. The water-gate has been lifted, through which proselytism may henceforth, flow without hindrance, and without it being even possible to stem its over flooding course. (71)

Bonjean felt that this "modification" had removed the objection entertained up to then by some Protestant Missionary Societies against the restrictions on religious instruction.⁽⁷²⁾ But now, he pointed out that the restriction "holds good only on such days as the Visitor attends". Furthermore, the Missionaries themselves had expressed their purpose in coming to the Island as one of "Christianising the people" and had requested the Government to help them in their work, or at least,

place no hindrance in our way. Whilst we keep up a secular education sufficient to meet your requirements, you must leave the entire religious instruction of the pupils, the choice of books, and of Masters and Mistresses in our hands. (73)

In other words, all that the missionaries want, Bonjean pointed out, is "to Christianize (i.e. to Protestantize) the people", and for this, "they ask Government to help them in that work of proselytism". And why should Government, he asked,

give money at all to those who protest they cannot in conscience make any other use of it, but THAT, the most abhorrent to your honourable feelings? (74)

Giving money for such purposes, Bonjean remarked, would be most inconsistent with the liberal views and pledges of the Government.

Again and again, Bonjean, in his writings, reiterated the fact that the Catholics, forming such a significant minority of the total population of the Island⁽⁷⁵⁾ and being by far the largest majority of the Christian population,

have a right that their just claims should not be set aside or overlooked by Government in the settlement of any question affecting the public weal of the Colony. (76)

The Catholics were entitled to "a fair share, as their numbers and the amount of the taxes paid by them", in any portion of public funds the

Government may allocate for educational purposes. Over and above that,

distributive justice seems to require, that if it gives education to some of them, under peculiarly favourable conditions, it should extend the same boon, and give corresponding advantages to all others. (77)

Thus, he carried on with great self-confidence a campaign for the expansion of the Catholic school system and "reforms in the educational system". (78) In consequence of these various demands and queries regarding the grants-in-aid, the Commission adopted on 12 February 1861 a new set of Rules in which all distinction between Private and Missionary Schools was made away with. The new Rules were:

1. That only the first hour of tuition on each day shall be devoted to the Religious Instruction.
2. That the 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 scholars, on grounds of denominational teaching.
3. That no books other than those approved by the Commission shall be used in the school.
4. That any child, whose parent or guardian 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 visits it shall being understood, howsoever, that such examination be confined to the first hour of the visit, and shall be conducted subject to the above restrictions.
6. That a copy in English, Sinhalese and Tamil of the foregoing conditions shall be hung up in some conspicuous part of the school room. (79)

Bonjean, on reception of the above new Rules, commented on them as to how far they did or did not remove "the grievances of which the Catholics so justly complained under the operation of the old

Rules".⁽⁸⁰⁾ He made certain comparisons between the Rules adopted on 24 November 1858 and on 12 February 1861. According to the first rule of November 1858, it was obligatory that the first hour of each day should be devoted to Religious Instruction; rule one of February 1861 did not make Religious Instruction obligatory. Rule 2 of 1861, according to Bonjean, limited to a great extent any occasion for the teacher to dwell upon Denominational differences and he welcomed it. He also recorded that in response to a query by him, the Commission had explained that either the Douay Version of the Bible or the Protestant Authorized Version of the Bible could be used.⁽⁸¹⁾ All in all, Bonjean was happy that some progress had been made in the right direction but, at the same time, he was more anxious in pursuing his dream of Catholic Schools for the children of the Catholics.

e) The consequences of the New Rules for Grants-in-aid.

The Commission made it clear that its Rules of February 1861 relating to Religious Instruction "have been extended to all schools receiving Grants-in-aid", including those that have been conducted "on behalf of the Commission by the Mission bodies of Jaffna".⁽⁸²⁾ The Wesleyans and the Roman Catholics in Jaffna agreed to conform to the new Rules, but the Church Mission protested against extending the new Rules to their schools. They stated, in a letter sent to the Commission, that they as Christian Missionaries could never identify themselves "with a system of education from which Christian instruction may be altogether excluded".⁽⁸³⁾ The Commission, however, refused to relax its rules and informed them that the grants would have to be withdrawn unless the rules were "fully and unreservedly accepted".⁽⁸⁴⁾ But the Church Mission declined to abide by the rules and the grants to eleven of their schools were withdrawn. The Commission, in order to avoid any misconception with regard to the character of the two schools of the Roman Catholics and the five schools of the Wesleyan Missions that were conducted in Jaffna on behalf of the Commission, stated

clearly that,

they shall be known as Government Grant Schools,
and they shall be distinguished by local or other
names not of a denominational character. (85)

Thus, the names of the two schools of the Roman Catholics were changed into "Jaffna Boys' Seminary" and "Jaffna Female Seminary". (86)

2. Bishop Semeria and schools in the Northern Vicariate of Jaffna.

While the battle over Religious Instruction in schools and Grants-in-aid was going on, the Catholic Church in Sri Lanka had not sat back and waited. Knowing well that not much had been done in the past for Catholic education, (87) Bishop Semeria (88) began to address himself to the most urgent need of the Vicariate, namely, the education of the youth. In his Pastoral Letter to the Clergy and Faithful of his Vicariate, he clearly stated that amongst the many important questions that engaged his attention at that time,

none certainly has been on my part the object of
deeper consideration than the question of education
of our Catholic Youth. (89)

Even though there might be many practical difficulties in achieving this goal of giving sound education to the Catholic youth, Semeria declared education as "the greatest desideratum of our times, and the most urgent necessity of our position". (90)

Furthermore, he stated that Catholic education in his Vicariate was "in a state of the very reverse of encouraging", and the instructions which the schools supplied were found to cause greatest

alarm and anxiety,

both in the inefficiency of the generality of Catholic schools, and in the temptations which the numerous Protestant Missionary Schools in Ceylon hold out. (91)

In his Pastoral Letter, Semeria pointed out to the faithful of the dangers in sending their children to Protestant Schools, and had this to say about those schools:

The spider's web is not more artfully arranged to entrap its victim than are the snares of the Protestant School to rob a Catholic child of his faith: every chance of escape is cut off: every part of the teaching is so disposed, as to leave on the mind none but anti-Catholic impressions. Geography, History, Common Reading all become engines of proselytism: Protestantism pervades the whole teaching: and to make bad worse, the Catholic pupil is singled out as the butt of every attack, and his faith and religion made a subject of ridicule. (92)

As a way of remedying those threatening evils, Semeria wanted to establish good Catholic schools in his Vicariate and for this, he requested the support of his faithful. It was also his plan to introduce vernacular education so as to give the benefit of education to the many who lived in remote villages.

Meanwhile, Bonjean, through his pamphlet, "A Few Words on Catholic Education"⁽⁹³⁾ invited the Catholics of the day to take up the challenge of providing a sound Catholic education to their children. Already the question had been asked by some Catholics whether it was really a feasible and practicable proposition for the Catholic Church to aim at establishing a series of denominational schools for the education of Catholics at levels comparable to, if not better than, those in the best of Protestant and Government Schools then existed in the Island.⁽⁹⁴⁾ It was, indeed, quite obvious that neither the Vicariate of Jaffna nor that of Colombo had the necessary

funds to embark on such an ambitious undertaking. Even if funds were found and the necessary buildings were erected, where would they find qualified teachers equal to those found in Protestant Schools?

Bonjean, of course, was aware of this challenge and had this to say:

There are silly people who come forward and say:
Are you mad to think you will ever be able to
contend with those academical institutions, second
only to European Universities, which are maintained
at such an enormous outlay, and which enjoy the
benefit of highly qualified and talented teachers?.(95)

And Bonjean's answer was:

Why not? If you give me time? There is nothing
that hard labour, patience and time will not
achieve - Labor improbus omnia vincit. (96)

Furthermore, Bonjean did not wish to see the Catholics of Sri Lanka place themselves in a state of intellectual and social inferiority to other classes of their fellow countrymen. Nor would he consent to allow Catholic children to slip into ignorance and thus expose themselves to the danger of losing their faith in Protestant Schools.(97) Therefore, he exhorted the Catholics to bestir themselves and make a mighty combined effort "to spread everywhere a good sound Catholic education". Thus "a pull, a strong pull, a long pull together", he said, would enable them to realize the dream of having good schools for their children.(98)

Bonjean felt that it was a shame for the Catholics to recoil through fear of either labour or the expense, for, according to him, "the latter shall be refunded with a good rate of interest", and the former "most amply rewarded in the influence and advantages of the social positions" which it would secure for the Catholics at large.(99) Therefore, he urged the Catholics to give their fullest co-operation to

the clergy who needed their support to carry out this great task of providing Catholic education to their children.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ He cited the example of St. Augustine,

who used to excite himself to a courageous struggle with the world and to heroic deeds of penance and self-sacrifice by the thought of what had been done before by so many Saints, and he used to ask himself the question: Quod isti et iste, cur non ego? What others, men and women, have done, why may not I? ⁽¹⁰¹⁾

Encouraged by St. Augustine's model, Bonjean challenged the people thus:

What Ireland, France, Calcutta, Madras, Pondicherry have done, why should we not do in Ceylon, too? ⁽¹⁰²⁾

In order to achieve this effort of providing good schools for the Catholic children, Bonjean wanted the Catholics to contribute to the best of their abilities. Certainly, his appeal did not fall on deaf ears. The Catholics rallied round Bishop Semeria and gave generously to raise funds for Catholic education. By July 1861, the amount collected came to £300. Though this amount looked small in comparison with the amount needed to carry out the planned improvements, it was, indeed, a big contribution from the people, considering their standard of living and their earning capacity at that time.

a) The search for qualified missionaries.

While Bonjean was enlisting the support of the Catholics for his educational plans, Bishop Semeria devoted every effort to the difficult task of finding qualified teachers for his schools in Jaffna. At that time, he had only 21 priests at his disposal, a number hardly enough to carry out the pastoral ministry in his Vicariate where there were 258 churches and chapels.⁽¹⁰³⁾ Moreover, Semeria wanted well qualified men to man the educational establishments and that too, to the level of

competing with other Protestant Schools. This was, indeed, a difficult task but Semeria was never tired of requesting for such help from the Founder of his Congregation, Bishop de Mazenod.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾

Bishop Semeria, from the time he took charge of the Vicariate (1857) had been writing to various places in Europe and Asia seeking information about some religious congregation that would supply him with a sufficient number of good and qualified teachers. His searching eyes fell on the Congregation of the Brothers of the Christian Schools⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ of the Venerable De La Salle and on the Irish Christian Brothers of Edmond Ignatius Rice.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ These two Congregations were devoted to the Christian education of youth, especially the poor, and both had their congregations in India at that time.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ However, the Brothers were not able to help Bishop Semeria, as they did not have enough men to release from their own institutions. As such, Semeria turned to the Founder, Bishop de Mazenod to find him suitable men from the English Province of the Oblates. With the greatest difficulty, Bishop de Mazenod arranged for a priest and two Brothers to be sent to Jaffna.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ With the arrival of English speaking Oblates, Semeria thought that he would be able to carry on his educational plans with the firm hope of getting the required men from the English Province of the Oblates.

The two Irish Brothers, Brown and Byrne, who had arrived in Sri Lanka towards the end of 1859, were solemnly installed in the Jaffna Boys' Seminary (January 1860), in the presence of their Lordships, Bonnard and Semeria.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ The Brothers reorganized the curriculum of the higher classes introducing Latin and higher Tamil. Brother Brown started a pious association, the Confraternity of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, to cater to the spiritual needs of the students.⁽¹¹⁰⁾

However, Brother Byrne, after working very hard for a short time in Jaffna, succumbed to illness and died on 21 May 1860. Semeria,

shocked at the sudden death of Brother Byrne, appealed again to the Founder, Bishop de Mazenod, for more helpers to carry out his plans smoothly. It was not at all an easy task for Bishop de Mazenod to find suitable men and he expressed this difficulty in the letter he wrote to Semeria.

I have often found myself unable to supply them as you would wish. This is because you often ask for things which it is impossible to find for you. Where did you want me to find missionaries of the calibre you desire? ... Nevertheless, I have today written to the Father Provincial and Fr. Boisrame, the Novice Master. I think I have written on your own account in order to make the point more strongly. I never cease thinking of the needs of your mission, but you will have to work on the principle that we have not got the material to comply entirely with your wishes. (111)

Bishop de Mazenod in his letter to Father Boisrame, the Novice Master at Sicklinghall, wrote of the death of Brother Byrne and his invaluable service to the school the Oblate Fathers had opened in Jaffna. But Byrne's death had left, Bishop de Mazenod remarked,

a very regrettable void in the school and they are requesting the Province of England to fill it as soon as possible, for were it to last too long, the enterprise would be severely compromised. (112)

Hence, he asked the Novice Master to look amongst the Brothers men capable of studying to become teachers, and have them sent "without delay to the Brothers⁽¹¹³⁾ or elsewhere to study what is indispensable" to make them useful in a school.⁽¹¹⁴⁾

Great interest was shown by Bishop de Mazenod in the development of schools in Jaffna by his Oblates and, had death not intervened, he would have cleared away all difficulties and put the educational institutions in Jaffna on a firm footing, providing them with qualified teachers from his own Congregation.

In an effort to recruit more missionary teachers and to make arrangements with Father Cooke of the English Province "to secure a consistent supply of well qualified teachers for the Colony",⁽¹¹⁵⁾ Semeria undertook a journey to Europe. After a stay of eight months, he was fortunate to be able to return in November 1862 with six Sisters of the Holy Family from Bordeaux⁽¹¹⁶⁾ and three members of his own Congregation. The arrival of the Sisters of the Holy Family marked the beginning of Convent school education in Sri Lanka. The Jaffna Female Seminary, at that time, was under the care of Mrs. Mary Anne O'Flanagan,⁽¹¹⁷⁾ who had dedicated herself to the education of girls and for some thirteen years had been teaching in that school. After the Sisters took charge of the Jaffna Female Seminary, Mrs. O'Flanagan went to Trincomalee where she established another English School for girls in that district.⁽¹¹⁸⁾

Bishop Semeria, having secured enough European Staff for the two English Schools in Jaffna, made public his plan for the Boarding School, through an advertisement in the "Ceylon Examiner" of 10 January 1863. It was about a St. Mary's Boarding School, directed by the Brothers of the Oblate Congregation, under the patronage of the Rt. Revd. Dr. Stephen Semeria.⁽¹¹⁹⁾ The system of education followed at this Institution, "combined moral and religious training with the intellectual" so as to fit the young "for the faithful and honourable discharge of all their domestic and social duties.

Furthermore, it was proposed that the Institution would give all classes of people the opportunity to provide their children with a sound English education so as to enable them to take up work in offices or go on to College studies.⁽¹²⁰⁾ This advertisement concluded in an optimistic note thus:

Should sufficient encouragement be offered it is intended after the lapse of six years to complete the educational system by opening a Collegiate

Institution for the study of the Classics, Logic, Philosophy, etc. etc.. (121)

Needless to say that once Catholics were allowed freedom to administer their schools, appoint teachers and select textbooks, with the exception that the schools be allowed to be inspected by a Government Official, (122) their schools made steady progress and the reports they received from the School Inspectors were certainly, in the late sixties, complementary and encouraging.

b) Reports of Sendall on Catholic schools in Jaffna.

Walter J. Sendall, (123) the Inspector of Schools, in his report for 1864 on the Aided Catholic Schools in Jaffna, observed that both schools (124) were designed to give an education on the same class as the other superior schools. The Boys' School, he felt, had "much improved since last year". As it had the advantage of having European teachers, there was, in the words of Sendall, "every prospect of its continuing to improve". (125) As regard the Female Seminary, Sendall felt that it had "now become a considerable and important institution", and was in a highly satisfactory state. Attached to this Female Seminary and conducted by the same agency was a Boarding School for Orphan(native) girls; it contained 50 boarders who at the time of the inspection acquitted themselves "intelligently and well". (126)

The next year too Sendall's inspection of the Jaffna Boys' Seminary gave another encouraging report. But it was in 1866 that he paid the school the highest tribute when he wrote:

I can speak very favourably of the Jaffna Boys' Seminary... In reading it ranks first among Boys' Schools of this class; and the copy-writing throughout the School is carefully and successfully attended to. Some excellent map-drawing was produced from the 2nd and 3rd classes. A minute examination in writing and viva voce, in every branch of

instruction, afforded ample evidence that the teachers and managers of this School are not a whit behind their contemporaries in steady, unremitting endeavours to establish a sounder and more thorough system of education, than has hitherto prevailed in the District. (127)

It is worth noting here the comments Sendall made of the Batticotta Private High School in the same district:

The Euclid professed by the first and second classes was a mere farce; nor can I look with any favour upon the labour expended upon the English recitations in which the loudest screamer gains most applause. (128)

And in commenting on the Government Girls' School in Jaffna, Sendall said that,

the superior attractions of the Roman Catholic Female Seminary continue to keep this school (the Government Girls' School) backward both in the number and intelligence of the pupils, nearly all the most promising children in the place being sent to the former establishment. (129)

This clearly indicated the steady progress the Catholic English Schools were making at that time, in contrast to the state they were when Brooke Bailey visited them in 1857. (130)

Meanwhile, the only institution for the training of girls in the Eastern Province, the Roman Catholic Girls' school under the supervision of Father Keating, was also making some progress. In the opinion of G. S. Steward, the Acting Inspector of Schools in 1867, this institution was catering for pupils who "belonged to the higher classes of society" and were of an age "of leaving school and entering the world". (131) The Inspector found the reading throughout the school to be good; the girls in the highest classes recited pieces of poetry "with considerable degree of spirit and expression". The instruction in this school was not confined "to the common branches" of education, but was extended to "the accomplishments of music and singing and the

various kinds of useful and ornamental needlework". On the whole, Steward reported that the general condition of the school to be "most satisfactory". (132)

Mention must be made of the establishment of St. Joseph's House in Colombogam, a suburb of Jaffna, in 1861. This was an Orphanage for boys, with an Industrial School attached. Once again, Bonjean was the architect of this plan and when he wrote to the "Bombay Catholic Examiner" in 1863, he stated that,

the Protestants are enraged at it; our steady progress is too much for them to look on quietly, especially as their own influence decreases in proportion to the growth of ours. We intend to have an industrial school, an agricultural colony, and a seminary for Catechists and teachers. (133)

Thus, the intention of this institution was not merely to instruct them in "gardening, mason's work, blacksmith's work, carpentry and weaving", (134) but also as Catechists and teachers for the vernacular schools. Father Bonjean was in charge of the Institution and the instructors were the Brothers of St. Joseph, (135) a congregation established on 17 April 1864. When Sendall visited this institution in 1865, he found there were 120 inmates who were "lodged, boarded, clothed and instructed in English as well as in the various trades". He was so pleased with the operation of this institution, he commended their work and said that the promoters of,

this most useful and unpretending institution deserve the thanks and support of every well-wisher to the progress of civilization amongst the native Tamils. (136)

Thus, by the end of 1865, the Vicariate of Jaffna had made steady progress in providing educational facilities to the Catholic children. With the arrival of European Missionaries, particularly the Sisters of the Holy Family of Bordeaux, the stage was set for steady improvement in the education of Catholic children in the Vicariate.

3. Education in the Southern Vicariate of Colombo.

While Bishop Bettacchini and the missionaries in Jaffna were battling with the Government for Grants-in-aid to their schools, Bishop Bravi of the Colombo Vicariate thought of co-operating with the English Government on the Island with the hope that this attitude would ultimately benefit Catholic interests. While the missionaries in Jaffna were trying to construct a network of Catholic schools in order to be able to compete with the Protestant Schools and to ward off the non-Catholic influence, Bishop Bravi allowed Catholic children in his Vicariate to study at government institutions⁽¹³⁷⁾ and thus he was accused of pursuing his own school policy.⁽¹³⁸⁾ In 1857, when Semeria succeeded Bishop Bettacchini, the Oblates saw in the divergent religious policies of the two Vicariates a reason to ask for a return to one single Vicariate under the leadership of Semeria.⁽¹³⁹⁾ This idea was, of course, resented very much by Bravi and the other Sylvestrines working with him.

a) Bishop Bravi's search for European missionaries.

Bravi's greatest problem, at that time, was the shortage of priests. There were only 18 missionaries, of whom 3 were Europeans and the rest were all Goan Oratorians. As no further supply of priests could be obtained from his own Congregation,⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ Bravi turned to Propaganda Fide for help and he asked the services of four Oblates, preferably Italians, who would be able to establish friendly contacts with the Italian Sylvestrines already in Sri Lanka.⁽¹⁴¹⁾

Bishop de Mazenod, Founder and Superior General of the Oblates, who was anxious that his Congregation should one day evangelize the entire Island,⁽¹⁴²⁾ was only too happy to send Oblates but he could not promise that all of them would be Italians.⁽¹⁴³⁾ Bravi wanted the

newly arrived Oblates to have their own regulations and did not like them to receive directions from Jaffna.⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ Bravi found it difficult to hide his antipathy to the Oblates. Yet he could not do without them either. He wrote to Rome, in 1854, complaining that the Oblates in his Vicariate had formed themselves into a third party, and that they had no literacy or religious education.⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ He appealed to Propaganda for new missionaries whom, he wished, "need not be intelligent but be of good will and for the time being, Italians".⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ While Bishop de Mazenod continued to offer more Oblates for Colombo, Bishop Bravi was, of course, more determined to keep them away.⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ Thus, the opinion expressed by Father Mola in his letter to Bishop de Mazenod that Bravi was acting under a fear that the Oblates were trying to push the Sylvestrines aside did, indeed, have some truth.⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ Whatever it was, knowing the interest Bishop de Mazenod showed in getting the whole Island for the Oblates and the several letters he wrote to Propaganda each time he sent Oblates to Sri Lanka,⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ one could say that the fear of Bravi was understandable.

Meanwhile, Bravi had to organize the apostolate in his Vicariate with the few priests he had at his disposal. He could not fully depend on the Goans because of the sympathy some of them showed for the schism of Goa.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ Thus, the mission work as well as the question of establishing schools of good quality were neglected and it was left to his successor to give new lease of life into the Colombo Vicariate. Bravi endeavoured to the last to acquire missionaries to his Vicariate to improve the pastoral ministry but was not always successful as he had wished. As a leader figure, Bravi, in the words of Boudens, "was not strong enough to unify the diverse groups of missionaries who were working" in his Vicariate and

was afraid of serious confrontation and tried to bypass [sic] difficulties rather than resolve them. At the end of his life, he gave the impression of being a disillusioned man. ⁽¹⁵¹⁾

However, it must be borne in mind that at a crucial period in the history of the Catholic Church in Sri Lanka, Bravi as Vicar Apostolic of Colombo had to administer the Vicariate with few priests most of whom were Goans with little or no knowledge of English. The demand of the Catholics for an English education for their children so as to enable them to take up influential positions in society could not be met adequately at that time. When Bravi died (15 Aug. 1860) the question of the future of the Southern Vicariate became a delicate problem to Propaganda. Bishop de Mazenod reminded Propaganda constantly of the assurance it had given him of entrusting the Southern Vicariate to the Oblates one day.⁽¹⁵²⁾

Propaganda, wishing to avoid any imprudent or hasty conclusion, decided to wait for the report of a visitation which Bishop Bonnand, Vicar Apostolic of Pondicherry, had been asked to make in the whole of India. When Bishop Bonnand died suddenly (21 March 1861) the part dealing with Sri Lanka had not been drafted, and hence, Propaganda entrusted this task to Bishop Charbonneaux, Vicar Apostolic of Mysore. He went through the notes of Bonnand, added some personal observations and concluded that the missionaries in the Southern Vicariate were not united and that a Congregation capable of providing a sufficient number of missionaries be given the Southern Vicariate. As Oblates had proved to be good missionaries in Jaffna, he recommended them as suitable for the Southern Vicariate.⁽¹⁵³⁾

The Sylvestrines in Colombo were most displeased with the reports of both Bonnand and Charbonneaux. Father Sillani,⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ who had been in Sri Lanka for some years, struck a different note in a report he sent to Propaganda in the beginning of 1861, where he pointed out that the Visitation had not been done in an objective manner.⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ Thus, Propaganda was presented with a difficult and delicate problem of whom to appoint as successor to Bishop Bravi. It decided to postpone the nomination of a Vicar Apostolic and decided to appoint Bishop Valerga,

Vicar Apostolic of Quilon, as Apostolic Administrator, until more objective information of the situation in Sri Lanka could be obtained.⁽¹⁵⁶⁾

The report Bishop Valerga sent to Rome on 18 May 1863 stated that the Sylvestrines were quite capable and zealous missionaries and that there was no need to transfer the Apostolic Vicariate to the Oblates. He proposed that a man like Father Sillani would certainly be able to shoulder the responsibility of the Vicariate.⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ Thus, on 31 August 1863, Propaganda decided that Sillani would be the new Vicar Apostolic of Colombo and clearly instructed Sillani to confer with Bishop Semeria and come to the same position on the question of schools for the Catholic children in the Island.⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ Sillani, through his educational activities, as will be seen later, became the most dynamic of the Sylvestrine bishops of the 19th Century in Sri Lanka.

b) Bishop Sillani and the erection of schools in Colombo.

Before Bravi's death (1860) a prominent Sri Lankan Catholic, Don D. Wijelisinghe⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ wrote a detailed letter of complaint about the state of Catholicism in the Southern Vicariate of Sri Lanka to the Prefect of Propaganda Fide.⁽¹⁶⁰⁾ In it, he regretted very much the fact that the clergy in the Southern Vicariate did not know the language of the natives (Sinhala), and requested that priests with a knowledge of English be sent to the country. Or else, the French or the Italian missionary would have to learn two languages (English and Sinhala) instead of one (Sinhala) to be of service to the people. Furthermore, he pointed out that the main cities of Sri Lanka were full of schools erected by the Government and by Protestant missionaries wherein "profane education" was imparted and that nothing had been done yet by the Catholic Church in this field of education. He stated the plight of the Catholics thus:

The Catholics in the remote areas of the city don't get any education. The older people and the fathers

of families are completely ignorant of religion. They go to church when they see them open, and kneel during Mass; but the majority of them don't know what Mass is, nor do they even know who is more powerful, our divine Lord or St. Antony. Their whole religion consists in external worship and in repeating so many Ave Marias. They know nothing of the spirit of the Religion. ... The Goan priests, since they themselves had little education, did not care to instruct the others; and the same state of things continue under the direction of the Italians... The only English School we have in Colombo, where there is a teacher who is not practising, is very badly supervised. The Italian missionaries who are in Colombo now, are not well trained in English to supervise an English School. We have no school for girls, so much so that the Catholics are obliged, against their will, to send their children to Government or Protestant Schools, with danger to their faith. (161)

Furthermore, he expressed the opinion that every mission could maintain easily at least two schools, one for boys and another for girls, if there were clergy suitable and interested in teaching them. But he was certain that this could not be realised "with the clergy we find now in the Island". (162) He also pointed out that the Catholics lacked religious books in Sinhala to read and widen their knowledge of their religion.

Bishop Sillani, of course, was aware of the general dissatisfaction that existed among the Catholics at that time, and soon after his appointment as Vicar Apostolic of Colombo (1863), he set about the task of improving the situation, with great zeal. Propaganda had already drawn his attention to a couple of things that merited priority, the most important being the establishment of schools for the Catholic children. (163) Even before he was nominated, Sillani had laid the foundation for a school and had communicated about it to Propaganda in the letter he wrote in November 1862. (164) He began to develop that into a big school with the hope that it would also serve as a minor seminary to form young prospective Sylvestrines. (165) The reporter of the "Colombo Examiner" commenting on the beginning of this institution, remarked that,

this event opens a new era in the history of the Roman Catholic Church in this Province and the

thanks of the Catholic community are due to those good men who originated this noble scheme and who are striving to their utmost to carry it out as expeditiously and as successfully as possible. (166)

The name given to this institution was "St. Benedict's College", named after St. Benedict, the Founder of the Sylvestrine Congregation. (167)

c) Christian Brothers in Colombo.

By the time the building works of the new school were completed (1866), Sillani, as it had been expected by the Catholics of Colombo, wished it to be manned by teachers from Europe. With the hope of getting the assistance of the Christian Brothers, he wrote on 10 September 1866 to the Superior General of the Christian Brothers in Paris, inviting Brothers to take charge of St. Benedict's College, Colombo. (168) But the Superior of the Christian Brothers could not promise help to Sillani as they themselves were short of personnel. Yet, Sillani was lucky to have got the services of three Brothers of that Congregation who were passing through Colombo, on their homeward journey to France from Mangalore, India. Sillani coaxed them to stay and enter into an agreement with him to take charge of the College. (169) Under the direction of these Brothers, the College made steady progress but as some of these Brothers "spoke English with a strong French accent", (170) soon there was dissatisfaction among a group of parents. During the months of May and June several letters appeared in the newspapers criticizing Bishop Sillani for not making a proper selection of European priests and Brothers. A writer in the local newspaper, while thanking the Bishop for inaugurating a "new Catholic school at Cottanchina, Colombo", also known as St. Benedict's Institute, regretted very much that,

three of the four Brothers whom his Lordship had ordered out are Frenchmen whose pronunciation of the English Language is, as a matter of course, very defective so that the boys who attend their school find it very difficult to understand them. The Bishop

herein has made a great mistake which his Lordship would do well to take into consideration and remedy. (171)

It was, once again, the same old problem of having missionaries capable of imparting English education, as the one that troubled the Oratorian Bishop Gaetano Antonio some years ago, and which had brought about a schism as well.⁽¹⁷²⁾ It was a time when the Catholics wanted good English education in order to compete with others in the share of political, economic and judicial life of the country.⁽¹⁷³⁾ Therefore, they felt that the Bishop must, without loss of time, "order out a few English or Irish priests".⁽¹⁷⁴⁾

Meanwhile, the Christian Brothers were called back to Europe in August, as suddenly and unexpectedly as they had arrived eight months earlier.⁽¹⁷⁵⁾ However, the hopes and anxieties of the Catholic parents were soon realized when a fresh group of Brothers headed by Brother Pastoris, the Provincial for the Far East and pro-tem Director took charge of St. Benedict's on 1 May 1868. The College had, at that time, 204 pupils distributed over 6 classes.⁽¹⁷⁶⁾ This institution progressed rapidly under the new set of Brothers and won the "admiration and applause" of the public.⁽¹⁷⁷⁾ With regard to girls' education, Sillani planned to bring the Sisters of the Good Shepherd from Europe and for this, he laid the foundation for the Good Shepherd Convent in Kotahena, Colombo, in 1867. The Sisters arrived in 1869 and that same year opened the first Convent school of Colombo Vicariate. At the time of Sillani's death (1879) the Colombo Vicariate had 123 schools most of them owing their existence to him.⁽¹⁷⁸⁾ The mere establishment of schools was not the only contribution Sillani made in the field of education. More than that, in consultation with his colleague Bishop Semeria of Jaffna, later with Bishop Bonjean, he conducted a series of negotiations with the Government to achieve a resolution of the school problem acceptable to the Catholics and this will be discussed later on.

4. The last days of the Central School Commission.

Except for some progress achieved in the brief period from 1841-1847, the Central School Commission did not win the prestige and confidence of the public. After 1850, lethargy overtook the entire administration and by 1865 complete dissatisfaction with the School Commission had come to the surface.⁽¹⁷⁹⁾ The School Commission that had been established in 1834 to regulate education in the country had, at first, consisted of Anglican clergymen. When this School Commission was recasted into the Central School Commission to include non-conformist and Roman Catholic clergymen with the hope of bringing greater progress in the field of education, it did not bring the desired results anticipated by its creators. Rather, it manifested bitter sectarian differences and questions of policy were settled not according to principle but according to the views of this or that faction that was able to dominate the proceedings of the Commission.⁽¹⁸⁰⁾ It was also argued that the Commission consisted of those members "having different interests" who did not agree on important issues with the result that the action of the Commission varied "according to the temporary predominance of individual opinion".⁽¹⁸¹⁾ The presence of non-clergymen in the Commission was also objected to on the grounds that unlike clergymen, they had no idea of what education was about.⁽¹⁸²⁾ The Colonial Chaplain, the Revd. S. O. Glenie remarked that,

from the experience of upwards of 20 years I look upon the School Commission as worse than useless; as real obstruction to the spread of education in Ceylon. ⁽¹⁸³⁾

He even condemned the policy of entrusting the administration of education to a voluntary organization such as the Central School Commission,⁽¹⁸⁴⁾ by pointing out the "absurdity of expecting harmonious enlightened action from a forced union of members of jarring sects". What he believed as a first step towards any improvement in the progress of education in the country was not a modification of the

Central School Commission but its complete abolition. (185)

Moreover, some of the methods employed by the Central School Commission for administering the schools too came under heavy criticism from the public. For example, the inspection of schools was criticized as being,

of a most superficial character consisting mainly of a hasty glance into the interior of a few schools in the Central and Western Provinces, a glance only cast on them once a year. (186)

The Colonial Secretary was the President of the Commission, (187) and it was possible that a decision the Commission reached by a majority vote could be unacceptable to the Government and thus could embarrass the Colonial Secretary who was a member of the Executive Council. (188) Often the vacancies that occurred in the School Commission were not filled. For example, after the death of Bishop Bravi (1860), the Catholic member of the Commission, there is no record of a Roman Catholic representative on the Commission. (189)

After a while, the Colonial Secretary wielded an unusual degree of influence and the missionaries on their part responded feebly. It was the Inspector of Schools, W. J. Sendall's reports, year after year, that created an enormous public opinion about the inability of the School Commission to run the schools satisfactorily. (190)

a) The appointment of a Sub-Committee to inquire into education.

This dissatisfaction among the people and the public opinion created about the School Commission was too much for the Government to ignore, and Sir Hercules Robinson, (191) the then Governor, in one of

his Despatches to the Colonial Office stated thus:

I regret to add that a very general impression appears to prevail here amongst thoughtful persons that the efforts of the Government in this direction are in a great measure misdirected, and that the Colony does not derive as much benefit as it might be from the large sums of public money which is annually expended for educational purposes. (192)

It was Sir Muthu Coomaraswamy, (193) a key figure of this period who represented the Tamils in the Legislative Council, who gave positive expression to these misgivings when on 14 October 1865 he moved a resolution in the Legislative Council,

that a Committee be appointed to inquire into and report upon the state and prospects of Education in the Island, the amount of success which has attended the working of the present system of Education and any improvements that may be advisable to take thereon. (194)

Under the chairmanship of Richard Morgan, the Queen's Advocate, a sub-committee was appointed to conduct this inquiry and present a report. (195) This was the first time an official inquiry into the educational system of Sri Lanka was launched and the light this inquiry shed on the role of education in colonial policy will be our inquiry in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI

THE MORGAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY AND ITS RECOMMENDATIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL REFORMS IN SRI LANKA, 1865-1869.

1. Factors leading up to the Inquiry.

The Morgan Committee recommendations on education have been referred to as a landmark in the educational history of Sri Lanka. Its importance lay in the fact that this was the first high-level and comprehensive official inquiry into the educational system of Sri Lanka under the British administration. Therefore any study of the report of the Morgan Committee necessarily involves a study of the context in which this report was brought forth, the evidence that was given to this Committee, the educational developments that preceded this inquiry and indeed, the educational trends in England and in India that influenced the Committee's recommendations.

The need for an official inquiry into the state of education, as we have seen earlier,⁽¹⁾ stemmed from the growing dissatisfaction among the public and within the School Commission as well. Other than the encouragement given to English education by the Colebrooke Commission recommendations,⁽²⁾ no effort had been made to form a coherent official policy on education from the beginning of the British rule in the Island. It was left to the wishes of the Governors to develop an education system in the early decades of the nineteenth century.⁽³⁾ With the establishment of the School Commission, it was hoped that some definite plan and improvement would take place in education. But as we have seen⁽⁴⁾ except for a brief period (1841-1847) when useful educational developments took place, the Commission's life had been mostly lethargic and "very little had been done towards providing for the real education of the people".⁽⁵⁾

In view of the fact that Missions played a more significant role than the Government in the provision of educational opportunities to a larger portion of the population, it became necessary for the Government to have Missions represented on the School Commission. The inclusion of missionaries in the School Commission and the subsequent rivalries and petty quarrels among them crippled to a great extent the progress of education over the years.⁽⁶⁾ This is illustrated in the evidence Mr. J. F. Dickson, Acting Colonial Secretary, gave to the Morgan Committee :

I am of opinion [sic] that a Board in which missionary element has great weight is unsuitable for the direction of education at the public expense in a country where the mass of the population is non-Christian. (7)

Nothing would be more convincing than the views of the missionaries themselves to substantiate the claim that the failure of the School Commission was largely due to disunity and jealousies arising from religious disputes. The evidence given to the Morgan Committee by some missionaries showed not only the dissatisfaction that existed among the different missions themselves but also the widespread support at that time for a central body to direct education under a secular authority. The Bishop of Colombo, in his evidence to the Morgan Committee, expressed his desire for such a Central Board thus:

I am myself of opinion [sic] that one Director would best carry out the education of Ceylon. But I am not at all prepared to say that this could not be done by a Board. The modification I should recommend would be to strike out the religious element not from the instruction given but from the composition of the Board. (8)

It was Bonjean of the Roman Catholic Church, in his evidence to the Morgan Committee, who stressed firmly the inappropriateness of religious ministers on the Board of education. According to him, the School Commission had reached "the last stage of consumption and is not

likely to recover", and it was

radically vicious; that it must have clogged its working, and impeded all beneficial action on its part; that, powerless for good, it was not unavailable for mischief; and that, that body having come at last to its natural end, it is not at all advisable to attempt to revive it. Something new and better must be devised. (9)

Another factor that influenced the recommendations of the Morgan Committee was the events that were taking place in England and in neighbouring India. In England, the tempo of change was quickening and much was happening that was to have great significance for education in Sri Lanka. Attempts to secure State intervention were baulked for many years in England by religious antagonism and it was only in 1833, the year following the First Reform Act, that State made its first gesture towards education when an annual grant of £20,000. was given for school buildings, to the two voluntary societies, the National Society and the British & Foreign Schools Society.⁽¹⁰⁾ In 1839, an Education Committee of the Privy Council was set up to consider "all matters affecting the education of the people", to administer the funds voted by Parliament for this purpose, to provide School Inspectors and to the foundation of non-sectarian State Normal School for the training of teachers.⁽¹¹⁾ It was this Committee of the Privy Council that, later on in 1856, became the Department of Education in England.⁽¹²⁾ To investigate the complicated problems of national education and to suggest ways and means of providing a "sound and cheap Elementary Instruction to all Classes of People", a Royal Commission was appointed in 1858 under the chairmanship of the Duke of Newcastle.⁽¹³⁾ This Commission recommended measures to extend "sound and cheap" elementary instruction to all classes of people and also introduced a system of "payment by results".⁽¹⁴⁾ A modification of this "payment by results" was introduced in Robert Lowe's Revised Code of 1862.⁽¹⁵⁾

With the passing of the Reform Bill in 1867, the working classes in the towns received the franchise and thus there was an upsurge of interest in social justice and the realization that something had to be done for the provision of educational facilities for the working classes.⁽¹⁶⁾ For the first time was heard the cry from Mr. Robert Lowe, who did not approve the Reform Bill of 1867, an often quoted epigram : "We must educate our Masters".⁽¹⁷⁾

These developments in the metropolitan country were not without their effect on events in Sri Lanka. But it was the changes introduced in India, where the education situation bore striking similarity to that in Sri Lanka, that influenced the views of those who gave evidence to the Morgan Committee. The renewal of the Charter of the East India Company in 1853 had been the occasion for a thorough enquiry into educational developments in India. On the basis of this inquiry, the Court of Directors sent down their greatest Educational Despatch on 19 July 1854, popularly referred to as Wood's Despatch because it was written at a time when Charles Wood was the President of the Board of Control.⁽¹⁸⁾

This Wood's Despatch greatly influenced educational thinking in Sri Lanka, including the Morgan Committee's recommendations and the subsequent policy of the British government in Sri Lanka. In India, the Despatch brought about many reforms. It created Departments and Directors of Public Instruction in the Provinces. It emphasized that education was the responsibility of the government. With regard to the language of instruction, it stated that the vernacular languages must be used as the medium "to teach the far larger classes who are ignorant of, or imperfectly acquainted with English" while English be "taught where there is a demand for it".⁽¹⁹⁾ In order to enlist the services of voluntary organizations for the provision of education, the Despatch recommended a system of grants-in-aid as was available in England at that time. Furthermore, the Despatch recommended the establishment of

three universities and this recommendation was immediately implemented in India. Whereas in Sri Lanka, in the words of Jayasuriya,

the British authorities refused to make similar provision for higher education, and it was not until 1942 that the University of Ceylon saw the light of day, even though a half way measure was taken in 1921 when a university College which prepared students for degrees of the University of London was established. (20)

The Despatch must have provided the inspiration for the Morgan Committee and the Committee prepared a questionnaire consisting of eighteen questions⁽²¹⁾ that covered all the principal phases of the subject and circulated it among gentlemen,⁽²²⁾ who were "either personally concerned in the cause of education in the Island or in some degree interested in it".⁽²³⁾

The scope of the inquiry extended to practically every aspect of the education system and the eighteen questions sent out to different gentlemen covered topics such as the School Commission, the quality of education, the content of education, vernacular education, female education, the Industrial School, adequacy of school provision, teacher training and the grants-in-aid system.⁽²⁴⁾

The Morgan Committee, focussing their attention on the working of the School Commission, solicited information on three main points. First of all, the Committee wanted to know whether the School Commission worked well under the existing conditions and if it did not, whether the School Commission could be modified or a suitable substitute could be suggested if it did not admit of any improvement or modification.

A fraction of the replies to this question about the School Commission strongly expressed the idea of continuing further the School

Commission in a modified form. But many expressed the view that it needed a complete overhaul or its abolition. The Revd. S. O. Glenie, the Colonial Chaplain of Trincomalee, in his replies to the Morgan Committee expressed the view that the School Commission was,

worse than useless... a real obstruction to the spread of education in Ceylon... the want of education which everyone can see in some members, the absurdity of expecting harmonious enlightened action from a forced union of members of jarring sects, its slowness of action, its red-tapism . (25)

Mr. J. F. Dickson, a past Secretary of the School Commission, said in his evidence that,

a Board in which the Missionary element has great weight is unsuited for the direction of education at the public expense in a country where the mass of the population is non-Christian. (26)

C. A. Lorenz, a member of the Legislative Council, expressed the view that the School Commission,

brought together the most heterogeneous elements, consisting of Episcopalian, Roman Catholic, Protestant and Wesleyan Ministers - men who, as it were, agreed to differ. (27)

As for the views of the Catholics, missionaries of both Vicariates received the questionnaire and wrote their replies both individually and collectively. (28) As was to be expected, Bonjean produced a thesis on the subject of the questionnaire, his evidence running into eighteen pages in small print, the lengthiest of the answers submitted to the Morgan Committee. (29)

2. "Education" or "Instruction": a query by Bonjean.

Bonjean began his reply to the questionnaire by pointing out that in the questionnaire the two terms, "Education" and "Instruction" have

been used as convertible, when, in fact, they referred to quite distinct ideas. In order to present his view in a plain and consistent form, Bonjean explained the precise meaning of these two words: "Education" and "Instruction". He preferred to take these two words "in the sense which common consent and general use have attached to them" and according to that, he explained that

"instruction" comprises merely that part of the training, which, being theoretical, addresses itself to the intellect; whilst "education" consists in the actual developing of the body, the intellect, and the heart, and indeed of the whole man. (30)

Applying this meaning to the teaching of religion in schools, Bonjean said that "religious instruction" would mean the mere reading of the Bible-history and the acknowledgment of the truth of the doctrines taught by any section of the Christian Church and that no amount of doctrine,

ever so pure and holy and divine, will make man good, if it be received merely as matter worth knowing, and not as a rule to be acted upon. (31)

Religious education, however, if it is to have any influence on man's real life, must not enter his intellect only but

it must sink into his very heart, and become in him a loved principle of life and action, the regulating power of all his thoughts, words and deeds - a power, the supremacy of which the heart readily acknowledges, and to the sway of which it cheerfully submits. (32)

Whatever religious teaching, dogmatic, historical or moral that is given in the schools, Bonjean declared, should be

supplemented by the practical inculcation of religious duties; enforced by a mild religious discipline and supported by the examples of masters, themselves unaffectedly pious, the real object of imparting a religious education will be found to be fully attained; that is, a new,

sanctifying, and ennobling element is introduced in the pupil's character; knowledge is imparted, sentiments developed, habits formed, which will enable him to withstand successfully the temptations, and to bear manfully the trials of after-life. (33)

This, he called true "religious education" and "not that unintelligent, unmeaning, aimless, irreverent, soulless Bible-reading" as practised in Sri Lanka at that time, which he preferred to be called "religious instruction". Thus, Bonjean at the outset of his reply to the questionnaire clearly stated the Catholic view of education or rather laid down what the Catholics consider "education" ought to be in Catholic schools. (34) Furthermore, religious education to be of any practical value, Bonjean pointed out, must not be restricted to any particular time, or to any special branch of education but that

as the soul pervades and vivifies the whole body, so, religion must permeate the whole system of education and make its life-giving influence be felt in all its several departments. (35)

As religion has numerous contacts with metaphysics, literature, history and philosophy, these subjects must be taught by a religious teacher and that "to sever religious from secular education, cannot be otherwise than injurious, and must be ruinous". (36)

Passing on to the application of the above principles, Bonjean clearly explained that "no religious education worth the name can be imparted in any, except in Denominational Schools". (37) The task of determining the nature, extent, or manner of the "religious teaching to be imparted in Public Schools", he said, was a duty which the Government was not qualified to discharge, but "which more properly devolves on the parents and the pastors of the pupils". (38) Moreover, in a country enjoying no religious unity, but where all religions are tolerated, he said, that

the only course consistent with reason, equity and sound policy, would seem to be for Government to

leave that important question, and all such as depend upon it, entirely to the decision of each religious denomination. (39)

Therefore he suggested that Government, without itself becoming a teacher, could effectively promote education by means of grants-in-aid, Academical Degrees, Scholarships, etc. The funds yearly voted for educational purposes, he requested, be given "irrespectively of religious considerations and on some principle of equality... but, to no condition as to the religious teaching".⁽⁴⁰⁾ With regard to funds voted for educational purposes being used for proselytizing work, Bonjean very clearly stated that,

no portion of such funds ought to be, whether directly or indirectly, allowed to be diverted into proselytising channels, the tax-payers having an evident right that their own money shall not be employed in bribing their children out of their faith... and the grievance resulting from such a course, would become perfectly intolerable, if the religious body to which the tax-payers belonged, were left unprovided for, and had to fall back on their own resources for the creation and support of their own schools; for in that case, they would have to pay both for their own and for rival institutions. (41)

These were some of the ideas Bonjean shared at the beginning of his response to the questionnaire of the Morgan Committee. He, as the main spokesman of the Catholic community, clearly voiced the Catholic views on what education should be and of the need to educate children properly in their own religious belief. This, he said, could not be done except in Denominational Schools and the best the Government could do would be to provide funds for this and assist in every possible way.

3. Main issues of the Inquiry.

a) The future of the School Commission.

In the replies Bonjean gave to the different questions about the School Commission, he categorically stated that it had reached "the

last stage of consumption" and that it was "not likely to recover".⁽⁴²⁾ With regard to religious instruction going on in schools under the School Commission, Bonjean regretted the fact that they were "openly sectarian and almost thoroughly infidel", and that the Commission had adopted a system of education contrary to the Minute of 26 May 1841,⁽⁴³⁾ the practical effect of which was to exclude from Government Schools all scholars of Catholic faith, except under the unacceptable condition of submitting to a teaching which his Church disapproved. It had persistently kept upon its lists and used in the schools, books that were extremely offensive to Catholics, even after having been told of it so often.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Furthermore, the School Commission had promoted, in the words of Bonjean,

neither a Christian education of Protestant nor the Catholic education of Catholic children but have rather set their faces altogether against it. ⁽⁴⁵⁾

And hence, with regrets, he concluded that the School Commission had not accomplished the objects for which it was established.

With regard to the second question that asked for ways and means by which the School Commission might be modified or improved, Bonjean had this comment to make:

A body composed of the representatives as such, of antagonistic creeds, cannot certainly combine for a common object in a concern, every point of which touches upon the religious question as closely and as inevitably as does education; and it is passing comprehension, how any joint harmonious, and beneficial action could have been expected of members, whose every step must have brought them at loggerheads with one another. ⁽⁴⁶⁾

It was Bonjean's desire that something new and better be devised to carry out the education of the children in Sri Lanka. Therefore, he proposed (in reply to questions 3 & 4 of the questionnaire) that "a Council of Education under a President" be established and the

members appointed to it be "professional men, having had experience in education".(47) This, he felt, would be a great improvement upon the then existing system in which none but Ministers of religion or Government officers were selected without any reference to their qualifications to perform their duty. He also wished that these men be paid for their services by way of salary, promotion and pension. Above all, Bonjean wanted the exclusion of Ministers of religion from this Council of Education that he proposed, so as to enable the smooth working of the Council. He expressed it in such words:

As the competence of the Council of Education would no longer extend to any question touching upon religion, there would exist no longer any pretext for the presence on the Board of Ministers of Religion: and whereas, their presence has been shewn to be not only not desirable, but positively hurtful, a rule should be made to exclude them. (48)

At the same time, in view of the material interests on which the Council would be called upon to adjudicate and also to give the public a pledge of their impartiality, Bonjean suggested that, "the three large classes of non-Christians, Protestants and Catholics" be given adequate representation in the Council. He also expressed the desire that the Council be comprised of the locals, the Tamils and Sinhalese. (49)

Bonjean, through the recommendations he made for a Council of Education with professionally qualified men together with the representatives of non-Christian religions and above all with the exclusion of Ministers of Religion in it, hoped that the educational developments in Sri Lanka would be set in the right direction for future growth.

The responses received from others too indicated that they were very much in favour of appointing a Director of Public Instruction.

It was their feeling that from a single head with power and undivided responsibility there would be prompt and decisive action. While at the same time, some expressed the desire that checks, such as an Advisory Council, would be necessary to guard against the danger of too much power being vested in a single person.

Thus, the case for the continuation of the School Commission proved more and more unconvincing in the face of widespread public dissatisfaction which had been gathering momentum over the years. Discontent over the existing system of education had been brewing not only among the general public but also within the School Commission as well. How irresponsible and uncommitted the School Commission had been in the execution of its duties is clearly revealed in the evidence submitted to the Morgan Committee by its past Secretary, J. F. Dickson.

In my opinion the Board known as the Central School Commission does not answer the purpose for which it was established, namely for the beneficial expenditure of the funds voted for the instruction of the population of Ceylon. It may be accepted that an unpaid and irresponsible Board never works well. (50)

Thus, the general dissatisfaction with the School Commission, as in the words of Swarna Jayaweera, "led to the demand for a secular bureaucracy in charge of education"⁽⁵¹⁾ and many responses to the questionnaire recommended very strongly the model of the Department of Public Instruction that had been functioning in India since 1856, as suitable for Sri Lanka as well.

b) Vernacular Education.

An appreciable amount of evidence placed before the Morgan Committee reflected a marked public view as to the unsuitability of

Government's educational policy which laid too much emphasis on the promotion of English education⁽⁵²⁾ to the obvious disadvantage of the unprivileged classes in the country. The social consequences of this policy of English education of the Government was highlighted in a local newspaper thus:

But in the remote interior, all inhabitants - men and women, boys and girls - were quite backward, without civilization or literacy... ignorant of letters, of their rights, of the humanizing arts with no thoughts of social advancement and utter strangers to their responsibility as reasonable creatures with hardly any schools in the populous and important villages to educate them. (53)

Even though the official policy of the Government had been to discourage vernacular education,⁽⁵⁴⁾ vernacular schools had been almost surreptitiously established by the School Commission in 1847 in spite of the fact that the Commission's support of these schools had not been consistent all the time.⁽⁵⁵⁾ The Wood's Despatch in neighbouring India had, however, highlighted the need for vernacular mass education.

The replies the Morgan Committee received to the questions on vernacular education (questions 9 & 10) revealed considerable differences of opinion. The opponents of vernacular education, a small fraction of the invitees, believed that neither the Sinhala nor the Tamil language was of much practical value for imparting knowledge about Western Civilization. At best, the local languages, they advocated, could be used only as a supportive device to facilitate English education. The opponents of vernacular education included some very influential people like W. J. Sendall, Inspector of Schools, G. S. Steward of the Staff of the Colombo Academy, who expressed their views that the local languages of Sri Lanka would soon cease to exist and hence need not be encouraged. Sendall wrote thus:

Without pretending to speak positively upon a question so obscure I am of opinion that the

vernacular Sinhalese is a language on the wane gradually decaying and destined to die out...If it be a decaying dialect, any attempt to revive it will only impart to it the vitality of a galvanized people. (56)

Even C. A. Lorenz, a Sri Lankan, disclaimed much familiarity with vernacular education and wrote:

It would, I think, be just as easy and much more desirable to educate children in English, in order to enable them to read English authors than to produce good translations of them into Sinhala. (57)

The opponents of vernacular education further argued that since the study of Sinhala and Tamil had hardly any vocational value, encouragement in that direction would result only in the waste of public money. This claim appeared more convincing in view of the fact that a knowledge of English had been the only qualification needed at that time to enter Government service. (58)

However, a great deal of the evidence supported the fact that the local languages were the only possible means of bringing education within the reach of the vast majority of unprivileged classes who were left uncared for by the Colebrooke educational policy. The Christian missions, with their long experience in their religious activities in the remote areas, supported the spread of vernacular education for the good of the masses. Some of the views were as follows:

A strong advocate. Our villages should be filled with vernacular schools for boys and girls. There should be twice or three times as many. (59)

I am an advocate of purely vernacular education, because I believe it to be the only means by which the mass of people could be educated. (60)

It is not in my opinion possible that the bulk of the people be educated except in the vernacular schools. Vernacular education to be of any use,

must aim at conveying European ideas through the medium of native languages. (61)

The Headmaster of the Central School in Galle, Mr. J. E. Anthonisz, in his evidence to the Morgan Committee, spelt out the need for vernacular education very clearly thus:

If the aim of the government... be the education of the population of this Island, vernacular education must necessarily form a part of their programme. There is no other language in which the masses of the people could be instructed; and to instruct them, and raise them in their scale of civilization, is clearly both the duty and interest of their ruler to do. (62)

The Revd. J. B. H. Bailey, Secretary of the Central School Commission, in his evidence to the Morgan Committee, wrote emphatically in support of vernacular education.

The great defect in the system of education in this country, from the very beginning, has been the neglect of the languages of the country, and the attempt to impart instruction chiefly, if not entirely, in English. The consequence is that instead of having in every village an intelligent class of men who while continuing to follow the occupations of their forefathers might be expected to avail themselves of the improved methods of carrying out those occupations, with which a practical education might have made them acquainted, we have scores not to say hundreds of young men with a smattering of English, applying for almost every appointment that becomes vacant.

I think it contrary to all experience to expect that English will ever be the common language of the mass of the people, and unjust, therefore to deprive them of all education until that idea is realized. (63)

As regards Catholics' view on this subject of vernacular education, it was Bonjean, with his long acquaintance with the local language (Tamil) both in India and in the Northern Vicariate of Jaffna, who gave a coherent set of reasons why the government should concentrate on educating the mass of the people in their own language. In his replies to the Morgan Committee, he stated that "no man ever

doubted the propriety of teaching a child his mother-tongue" and that he was "an advocate of purely vernacular education". He wished that,

all the people of a country should, as far as possible, be furnished with an opportunity of acquiring such Elementary instruction in their own language as will enable them to conduct their affairs with intelligence and success, and will put within their reach such means of limited intellectual enjoyment, and of moral and religious improvement, as their native literature can provide, and the necessities of a life of toil will allow. (64)

He regretted the fact that due "to the injudicious direction given to Public Education" and to the wild hopes of better living an English education had encouraged among the people, a displacement had taken place on a large scale of individuals belonging to labouring classes forsaking their "humble profitable avocations" and flocking into "those places of education where a smattering of English could be obtained for little or nothing". All this, he said, was to seek a government employment. The poor people have been known, he said, to offer their starved, naked children to managers of schools, in order to have them, in their words: "well educated in English". Moreover, he pointed out that,

the study of English has become a fashion, a rage rather... Not any thirst for knowledge; not any value set upon education as such; not any hope, as a rule, of being able to turn that knowledge to any practical use in any independent position -No; but ambition, spurred by the merest vision of a Government situation with a salary, however paltry, is the source from which all this ill-directed, unhealthy eagerness springs. A salary -that's the ultima Thule of those people's ambition, their garden of Hesperides, the golden apple they exclusively covet. (65)

Even if they get an English education, Bonjean asked, could they be counted as really educated men? In Sri Lanka, he remarked, lads with a knowledge of English were in plenty as blackberries in England and like coconuts in Sri Lanka. But a truly educated man, in the words of Bonjean,

is a rarity, a phenomenon, which even with his

lantern, Diogenes would have had some difficulty to discover. (66)

He placed the blame entirely on the insufficiency of the system of education in the country which he felt constituted "a social evil and perhaps a political danger" as well. Its chief cause seemed to have been "the exaggerated importance accorded to English, and exclusion given to Vernacular education". (67)

Bonjean advocated two categories of Vernacular Education, Elementary and Superior. In the Elementary Vernacular Schools, he wished that Reading, Hand-writing, easy Composition, Grammar, Arithmetic, Sacred History, Geography of Sri Lanka and India and some general notions on other parts of the world including some information on the Planetary system be taught to the children. Whereas in the Superior Vernacular Schools, he wanted subjects like higher Grammar (Pope's 3rd Grammar, Nannule, and Tonnul) Poetry (Pope's Anthology, a carefully made selection from Thiruvalluvar's Kurals and Beschys Tambavany) be taught with the help of text books he suggested. But he raised objections to other classical works being used in the vernacular schools "on account of their abominable immorality", their pantheistic teaching and "their mythical absurdities". (68)

All in all, Bonjean was keen that vernacular education, and that too of a superior kind, be introduced in the country in order to educate the many who lived far from towns and in remote villages. In concluding his comments on vernacular education Bonjean deplored the fact that,

the study of the Native Literature should be so far discouraged, and that knowledge should be recognized by Government, only when it wears an English garb. (69)

Although the Morgan Committee was not in full favour of the views expressed in the replies to the questionnaire favouring a purely vernacular educational scheme, however, it seems to have, at least departed from the discredited Colebrooke educational policy when it recommended a system of extensive elementary education in vernacular languages. (70)

c) Female Education.

The Morgan Committee questionnaire also brought to light another area that was mostly neglected during the period of the School Commission and a vital social need in Sri Lanka, namely, female education. (questions 7 & 8). Because there had been much objection to female education in Sri Lanka, as there was in India, (71) it is worthwhile that we first examine the causes that were responsible for preventing girls from benefiting from intellectual pursuits. A strong belief in caste as a determinant of the social standing of individuals, both among the Buddhists and Hindus, appeared to have been a powerful deterrent to the spread of education in Sri Lanka. (72)

The evil consequences of the deep-rooted caste consciousness in Sri Lanka was felt more strongly in the field of education than in most other public concerns. Progress in education was curtailed to a large extent, both in India and Sri Lanka, due to the evil effects of discrimination in terms of caste, (73) and it is in the field of education that its influence seemed to have reached greater proportions, as seen in the reports of the Governor:

It seems to me that Government cannot do much directly to help forward an extended a scheme of female education especially at its inception. In the first place, there are the feelings of caste and class to overcome which naturally operate more strongly when girls are concerned

than when boys alone are in question. I have ascertained also that parents, especially in remote and outlying districts, have a rooted aversion to send their girls to schools, through an exaggerated fear that the acquisition of arts of reading and writing would lead to clandestine correspondence with undesirable suitors. (74)

It was also a common belief that an investment in female education was futile and unproductive as there accrued no immediate material benefit in return. (75) The reason for this had been nothing but the common attitude of contemporary society towards women in general. It has been the practice, even in Western society, to look upon women as inferior to men, particularly in the sphere of intellectual pursuits. It is not surprising then that in Sri Lanka too, the education of women was not thought of as important as that of boys, as seen in the statement of Mr. J. W. W. Birch, Assistant Government Agent of Hambantota, in his evidence to the Morgan Committee:

Too much importance cannot be attached to female education. (76)

The bulk of evidence submitted to the Morgan Committee reflected the increased desire of the public for a definite policy for female education in the country. The role of female education as the basis of social progress was indicated in almost all the responses received by the Morgan Committee and some of them were as follows:

Female education would ultimately lead to better family life. Hence it is an indispensable aspect of education. (77)

I attach the greatest importance to female education. For the natives in general, female education is almost neglected. (78)

Pursue female education by all means. (79)

Once again, the Catholic views on female education was clearly stated by Bonjean with a long explanation of the need to educate women in Sri Lanka, as they are "the first teacher of the young family", and that,

no community can prosper, no country can advance, where woman is sunk in helpless ignorance; where she is kept in abject subjection, and is consequently doomed to the moral debasement which ignorance, and want of self-respect are sure to beget. (80)

Moreover, anyone who has at heart the real good of the country, Bonjean declared, must desire to restore woman to her proper position in the family and in society at large, "as a sister, as a wife, and as a mother". It would be fatal "to deprive woman of the privileges which are hers by birth-right", and then to attempt to push society forward on the road of civilization would be like cutting off "a man's right hand and bid him work". According to Bonjean, every woman must,

act as the mainspring of every onward progress, mortal and religious, social and domestic; or she becomes the dead weight round the neck of the body social, which must only accelerate its downward progress to the abyss of utter ruin; either she must be the benignant being which will diffuse light and infuse life and happiness all around, or the endemic poison which will taint the very sources of life, a standing cause of deterioration and wretchedness. (81)

Bonjean proposed a practical view of female education namely the teaching skills that would help the woman to fulfil her duties of a wife and a mother. (82) He also pointed out the dangers of allowing the passions innate in the female heart -"fondness of dress and love of pleasure" -going unchecked without a proper moral training. Thus, he wished that great importance be given to religious education in the education of girls. "Education without religion" Bonjean said, "is in the case of all, a great bane; in woman, it were a monstrous evil". (83)

The Catholic Church has always recognized the need for this, he said, and had already started schools in Jaffna for the education of girls. These efforts, he pointed out, had proved to be successful and had won the recommendations of the Inspector of Schools.⁽⁸⁴⁾

It was Bishop Semeria who spoke of the efforts of his Vicariate (Jaffna) to educate girls and the difficulties he underwent to get the assistance of European Sisters.⁽⁸⁵⁾ He even mentioned the fact that "the task of training Native Female Teachers" had already been initiated by the Revd. Sisters in his Vicariate.⁽⁸⁶⁾ Thus, the Catholic views on female education stressed the great importance of it and urged that the teachers of girls should be thoroughly trained to do this delicate job of planting moral values in the hearts of the would-be-mothers.

The policy of the School Commission, as far as female education was concerned, was not so much to play an active role, as it did in the case of boys' education, as to provide the necessary legal basis and financial provisions to enterprising missions. Indeed, it was the missionary organisations than the School Commission that had been successful in the attempts at spreading education among girls.⁽⁸⁷⁾ This apparent passive role in female education by the School Commission had been due to want of public desire for educating girls and the difficulty of obtaining qualified female teachers.

d) Grants-in-aid.

With regard to the vexed problem of grants-in-aid,⁽⁸⁸⁾ for missionary and other private schools, the majority of those who replied were of the view that the main conditions of eligibility for grants were so alien to the ways of thinking of the missionaries that they

were reluctant to seek grants.⁽⁸⁹⁾ Thus, the missionaries, for a long time, had been agitating for a revision of these rules which would allow grants for secular instruction irrespective of religious teaching and they now urged their views in their replies to the Morgan Committee.

From the Catholic side, Bishop Semeria expressed that the existing rules for grants-in-aid were "highly objectionable" and urged that

a better and fairer rule would be to make the Grant to Denominations, strictly in proportion to the importance, the wants, and the claims of each, and to leave religious education in all aided schools, entirely free. ⁽⁹⁰⁾

Furthermore, he urged that the amount of grants-in-aid, instead of being left to depend upon the will of one or two persons in the Commission, be regulated by well determined rules and depend entirely on fulfillment "of certain distinct conditions regarding the school buildings, the standard of education, etc. etc." ⁽⁹¹⁾

4. The recommendations of the Morgan Committee.

The Morgan Committee, having collected the views on education from several personalities to whom the questionnaire was sent out, "devoted much time and attention to the subject" and prepared "an able and comprehensive Report".⁽⁹²⁾ The main recommendation of the Morgan Committee were as follows:

1. The Centralization of educational administration under a Director of Public Instruction. ⁽⁹³⁾
2. The extension of Vernacular Schools in every village throughout the Island for imparting Primary Education in the Sinhala and Tamil languages. ⁽⁹⁴⁾

3. The revival of Industrial Education on practical basis.
4. The retention of Mixed Schools. (95)
5. The retention of the Central Schools with a modification of the curriculum.
6. The reorganization of the Colombo Academy on Western ideals of education. For this purpose the c Committee recommended the discontinuance of the connection between Queen's College and the Calcutta University and the substitution of English Scholarships of the annual value of £180.00 each tenable for three years.
7. The establishment of a Normal School to train the English and the Vernacular teachers.
8. The extension of Female Education throughout the Island, by the establishment of Vernacular Girls' Schools corresponding to the Boys' Mixed Schools and Central Schools.
9. The improvement of the position of both male and female teachers by a revised classification of salaries.
10. The provision of Grants-in-aid to all Private Schools which impart a secular education for a given number of hours each day, irrespective of religious instruction given at other times. (96)

These recommendations were placed by the Governor before the School Commission for its views. A sub-committee of the School Commission was asked to prepare a statement on the recommendations of the Morgan Committee. This sub-committee, as was to be expected, defended the School Commission against the criticism of its record and strongly upheld the view that a Director of Public Instruction be appointed and that a Board or Council be associated with him,

as it was not desirable that the entire direction of education of the people should be left in the hands of one man, unchecked save by the extreme course of an appeal to government. (97)

Moreover, it suggested that the Board be comprised of members of the Church of England, Presbyterian, Wesleyan, Roman Catholic, three

members representing the Burghers, the Sinhalese and the Tamils, an official member and the chairman.⁽⁹⁸⁾ Suffice to say that this sub-committee of the School Commission failed, even at this late hour, to think of including the members of the indigenous religions -the Buddhists, the Hindus and the Muslims.

The sub-committee of the School Commission was divided on the proposal for the dissociation of the Colombo Academy from Calcutta University. The rest of the proposals were, by and large, agreed and the statement of this sub-committee was considered at a meeting of the School Commission. With some modifications, the statement of the sub-committee was adopted.

The Governor, although he had his own views on some of the recommendations of this Morgan Committee, wished in a statesmanlike manner to act according to the wish of the Legislative Council, and not to take a decision by himself.⁽⁹⁹⁾ The Legislative Council, after a vigorous debate, accepted the recommendations of the Morgan Committee (Morgan Report).⁽¹⁰⁰⁾

The Secretary of State who studied the Morgan Report supported it wholeheartedly and it is worth noting here the observations he made:

This important question of Education has clearly been considered with an anxious desire to devise a good working scheme with a due regard to the feelings of all concerned and the papers before me show that the question was examined thoroughly in all its bearings.

I do not propose to advert to any matters of detail, but I may observe that I concur in the abandonment of the system of teaching in English, and in the encouragement which it is proposed to give to the denominational system. ⁽¹⁰¹⁾

Here we see that the Secretary of State was pleased to see the abandonment of the system of teaching in English and the introduction of the denominational system of schools. He was so pleased that he gave his authority to increase the educational vote to £20,027. to work out the new Scheme. (102)

5. The establishment of the Department of Public Instruction.

Although there were three local applicants for the post of Director of Public Instruction, (103) the decision was made to recruit the Director in England. Accordingly, Mr. James Steuart Laurie, who had served for ten years as Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools in England and who was at the time employed under the Royal Commission of Primary Education in Ireland, was selected by the Secretary of State for appointment as Director of Public Instruction, with effect from January 1869. (104)

With the arrival of J. S. Laurie in Sri Lanka on 23 February 1969, (105) the discredited School Commission was dissolved (106) and in its place education was centralized in a Department called "The Department of Public Instruction", headed by the Director who was directly responsible to the Governor. (107) Thus, the educational machinery in Sri Lanka was freed from the direct control of the representatives of denominational bodies and was placed, in the words of G. C. Mendis, "under the direct control of the Government". (108)

The Morgan Report, as a whole, had taken decisions on policies that had been, over thirty years, the subject of controversy and indecision. It had reversed at least two major Colebrooke policies when it replaced the School Commission with a Director and

administrative department, and when it accepted the need to promote vernacular education. The religious question was also settled in favour of the missionaries though not, in the words of K. M. de Silva,

the one Bonjean regarded as the most crucial - a conscience clause - because Protestant pressure on this was too strong to resist. (109)

The withdrawal of the "conscience clause", at the insistence of the missionaries, according to Swarna Jayaweera, was "an index to the unbound faith placed in the latter as reliable agents of colonial policy". (110)

All in all, the Morgan Report was a document that came to grips with the central issues of its day and proposed solutions of a very pragmatic type. Perhaps the feature of the Morgan Report that gave Bonjean the greatest satisfaction was, according to K. M. de Silva, the recommendations that,

grants should not be given to aided schools for religious instruction given in them, thus endorsing the principle that state support should not be given to proselytism in schools, a principle which was further emphasised in the recommendations of a purely "secular" education in state schools. (111)

In the three decades that followed the establishment of the Department of Public Instruction in 1869, there were noteworthy trends in the provision of educational facilities in Sri Lanka. (112) It will be our concern in the next chapter to see how the recommendations of the Morgan Committee were implemented, the amount of success that attended them, and how various changes had to be effected during the next three decades in the evolution of the educational system of Sri Lanka and, above all, the role that the Catholic Church played in the development of the educational system.

CHAPTER VII

THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION AND EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS, 1869-1901.

As a result of the recommendations of the Morgan Committee, certain major changes in education began to take place in Sri Lanka in 1869. It was recognized that any extensive diffusion of education would have to be through the vernacular languages, and that it was only a small number who would need to be educated in the English medium to come into government service. In view of the policy of the government to give grants for secular subjects and leave the schools uncontrolled with regard to religious instruction, it was expected that there would be a great expansion of the grants-in-aid scheme. Through the grants-in-aid scheme an active partnership between the government and the missionary organizations was envisaged. An important administrative change introduced in 1869 was the abolition of the Central School Commission and the establishment of the Department of Public Instruction. The educational developments that took place under this Department of Public Instruction, the difficulties the indigenous religions had in participating in the grants-in-aid scheme and the improvements the Catholic Church made in the provision of better educational facilities to Catholic children will be our major concern in this chapter.

1. The early stages of the Department of Public Instruction under J. S. Laurie.

The new Director of the Department of Public Instruction, Mr. J. S. Laurie, with great zeal, set about his task of establishing the Department of Public Instruction. Soon after his arrival, Laurie found himself most dissatisfied with the extent of his authority and with the

facilities made available to him by way of office accommodation.⁽¹⁾ He complained to the Government that the scope and limits of the function of his Department had not been clearly defined nor the nature of his powers, the amount of control he had over the funds placed at his disposal too had not been set out for his guidance.⁽²⁾

Under such circumstances, he felt as if he had to work in the dark and acquire a knowledge of his duties "by haphazard, or by the decisions in detail" of the Governor's Chief Executive Officer, namely the Colonial Secretary.⁽³⁾ Therefore he complained that under

the present anomalous requirement of having to refer minute and petty, as well as large and important points for superior sanction, my responsibility becomes a mere abstraction, and my office a misnomer and a farce. ⁽⁴⁾

Laurie, after touring the Island with a view to gaining first hand knowledge of how the schools were managed, submitted to the Governor a "Special Report on the State of Public Instruction in Ceylon".⁽⁵⁾ This Report and the recommendations he made for the improvements of the schools in the Island led to conflicts with the colonial administration in the country. The recommendations that Laurie made in his Report were similar to the Morgan Report and covered a wide area in the educational issues of the day. It contained the clarification of administrative details, the proposals for a developmental plan of educational expansion that would lead to the increase of regular number of schools each year, the suggestion for a special educational tax and several other suggestions for improving the quality of teachers. The remarks he made on the teachers of the day throws some light on how the schools were then managed. The teacher, Laurie stated,

closes the school when generally out of sorts or desirous of a holiday; he closes the school in anticipation of a vacation; he closes the school when it rains in the morning; he takes the liberty of extending a fortnight's leave to a month; and when on account of insufficient attendance the

school fees do not reach the minimum amount on which his monthly salary is conditionally paid he makes good the paltry deficiency and thereby falsifies the register. (6)

Furthermore, he pointed out that of the 214 government teachers only 23 were adequately qualified while 52 more had at least the benefit of long experience. The remaining 139 had no professional qualifications whatever for teaching posts except that, in his opinion, "they happened to be the only accessible or available persons" (7) prepared to accept the job. In order to improve the quality of the teachers, Laurie suggested that teachers serving in schools be examined and graded. With the approval of the Colonial Secretary, he sent out a circular dated 12 March 1869 announcing that an examination would be held in November for the teachers serving in schools. (8)

The payment of grants-in-aid to schools, it was stated, would be on condition that their teachers pass this examination. There was strong opposition to this proposal both from the colonial government and the missions. The Catholic Bishops of Sri Lanka, Bishop Sillani of Colombo and Bishop Bonjean of Jaffna (9) presented a joint memorandum to the Governor expressing their strong objection to the proposed examination of teachers.

Holding as we do, the best obtainable test of the qualifications of a master, is that supplied by the examination of the pupils under his tuition, we venture to suggest that the examination of teachers proposed ... is unnecessary: and we beg to state that its being made the rule, would act in a way injurious to us, in as much as our most valuable masters belong to teaching bodies, not likely to consent to subject their members to examination. (10)

Governor Sir Hercules Robinson (11) asked the Colonial Secretary to write on his behalf to the Department of Public Instruction that the Governor would abide by the recommendations of the Morgan Committee and

that the compulsory examination of teachers, as proposed by Laurie,

appears to be unnecessary, as the Government Inspection of the school will sufficiently protect the public from paying for valueless results; and it is objectionable, as being likely to provoke irritation on the part of the Managers of the Mission Schools. (12)

Laurie accused the authorities in Sri Lanka of obstructing the proposed examination, of compelling him "to support with public money teachers who cannot read, write, cypher or give a lesson" and of undermining his authority after he had so energetically set about his duties. (13)

Another factor to which Laurie drew the attention of everyone was the disproportionate extent to which money was offered by the government to the higher class of schools. He presented a table showing "the peculiar feature of class-partiality" and the extent to which aid was offered by the government "towards the expenses of the classes, who might reasonably be expected to defray their own expenses. (14)

TABLE 7:1

DISPROPORTIONATE EXPENDITURE ON THE HIGHER CLASSES OF SCHOOLS

Kind of School	Average Attendance	Cost to Govt. per pupil		
		₹	Sh.	d.
Colombo Academy (Upper School)	49	25	5	3
Superior Boys' Schools	455	3	17	0
Superior Girls' Schools	265	7	13	4
English Boys' Schools	589	2	12	7
Mixed Boys' Schools (including Galle Lower School)	1,222	2	2	3
Mixed Girls' Schools	163	3	2	0
Vernacular Boys' Schools	2,040	0	18	2
Vernacular Girls' Schools	217	1	1	3

Furthermore he pointed out that

the present mode of distributing the public money is

altogether in favour of the well-to-do ... charity, and especially public charity, should be extended to the poor in preference to the well-to-do. Applying this maxim to the above table, a complete inversion of the specified amounts would naturally take place. (15)

Laurie, while desiring to implement the grants-in-aid scheme as proposed in the Morgan Report, wanted the inclusion of a conscience clause that

secures to parents, who may have conscientious scruples to the religious, or rather doctrinal teachings, the right of claiming for their children secular instruction pure and simple. (16)

He said that even though it was not the practice in Madras, "whether or not this is a desirable precedent worthy of imitation by Ceylon, it remains for Your Excellency to decide".⁽¹⁷⁾ He stood for conferring the advantage of grants to private or native schools "appertaining to any form of belief whatever".⁽¹⁸⁾ However, Laurie was told by the Colonial Secretary that the principles of grants to schools had been laid down by the Morgan Report and that what was required of him "is a code of plain Rules to regulate the details of the System".⁽¹⁹⁾

By this time, the Governor had come to the conclusion that the retention of Mr. Laurie's services would be "fatal to the cause of Education in Ceylon", and suspended him from office in October 1869 pending a decision by the Secretary of State.⁽²⁰⁾ Laurie, finding himself blocked on all sides from carrying out the reforms he had outlined, tendered his resignation in February 1870 and returned to England. The initial steps he took to reform the educational set up in the country revealed his sincerity of purpose and determination to work for the improvement of education in the country. His attempts to hustle the authorities into action did not make him popular with them. In his memorandum to the Colonial Office he said that the Department of Public Instruction was purely "ornamental" and a mere rubber stamp of the Central Government.⁽²¹⁾

However, to fill the vacancy created by Laurie's resignation a man was readily available in the person of Mr. Walter J. Sendall (22) who was soon made the Acting Director of the Department of Public Instruction. He was, of course, familiar with the situation in the country and rarely opposed the local authorities. With his previous experience as Inspector of Schools and having worked with the Colonial Government, the denominational bodies and the Department of Public Instruction, he raised no inconvenient questions and therefore carried on his work in harmony.

2. Grants-in-aid scheme and issues connected with it.

In 1870, many changes in education began to take place when the new grants-in-aid scheme recommended by the Morgan Committee was implemented. (23) The Governor, announcing the inauguration of the new grants-in-aid system in 1870, stated that for the distribution of this sum, a system of payment by results had been adopted which,

while interfering as little as possible with the management of aided schools, will insure a definite amount of sound elementary instruction in return for every penny of the public revenue appropriated in this manner. (24)

He also announced the policy of the Government to reduce, in future, the number of English Schools in the town "where an effective system of grants-in-aid will enable the Government to employ its funds to much greater advantage than in maintaining schools of its own". (25) The reason for this may have been to expand vernacular education in areas where the missionary organizations were not present. In consequence, schools began to spring up in backward districts which had been neglected during the time of the School Commission. (26)

The grants-in-aid scheme was welcomed by missionary organizations and soon they began to extend their educational activities. In consequence, the number of schools that entered the grants-in-aid scheme increased rapidly. In 1869, the year before the new scheme was introduced, only 21 schools received grants. Whereas in 1870 the number of schools receiving grants jumped to 229 and from then on it went on increasing steadily to reach 654 by the year 1875.⁽²⁷⁾ The distribution of schools, however, was uneven as the efforts of the missionaries were concentrated in populous areas and as a result the interior regions of the country were left without schools altogether. The reason for this is not hard to find. The prestige of a mission depended more on the confidence its few English schools could create than on what happened in its many vernacular schools. Therefore the missions vied with one another in opening schools in towns and suburbs in a spirit of competition with other missions. Each mission considered it important for its success that its English schools should in no way be inferior to the English schools established by its rivals. The way in which a Wesleyan missionary appealed to his headquarters in London indicates the above attitude of a mission.

The Papists are busy at work with 5 or 6 Europeans.
The Americans are raising in America for Ceylon
£10,000 to open their Batticotta school under the
title of College! Will you desert your men? ⁽²⁸⁾

a) Grants-in-aid and the distance rule.

By 1872, there was such a rush of application from missionary organizations for grants to new schools that the sum voted was not sufficient to meet all the applications for grants.⁽²⁹⁾ At the same time, the Director had to decide on a suitable policy to check the multiplication of schools in areas where there were sufficient numbers already. In order to regulate this increase of small schools, the Director issued a rule by circular dated 30 November 1874, specifying

that,

no grant will be made to any school establishment after the date of this circular, within a distance of three miles from an existing Government or Aided School of the same class, save in exceptional circumstances. (30)

There is little doubt that this rule was heavily in favour of those Protestant organizations that had already established schools in most of the towns assisted by government patronage. The Buddhists, Hindus and Muslims who enjoyed no state patronage and could not have thought of receiving any assistance from the government till about 1869⁽³¹⁾ were not sufficiently organized to raise their voice of protest against this three-mile rule. It was Bishop Bonjean who, in his letter to the Colonial Secretary, pointed out the disadvantages that this rule imposed on the Catholics.

If this Regulation is allowed to stand, and if difference of religion is not to be held to constitute an exceptional circumstance, entitling Catholic schools put up for Catholic pupils, to receive Grants, we must give up the hope of obtaining Government assistance for many of our schools. It was my fond hope to establish a school in every Catholic village or Congregation, and that, for the benefit of our Catholic Children only. (32)

Moreover, Bonjean pointed out that as the new regulations would deprive him of the means to provide the Catholic children with suitable schools and as the Catholic children would not attend non-Catholic schools, "they must be doomed to ignorance".⁽³³⁾ He also pointed out that within the small area of the Jaffna Peninsula the three Protestant missions⁽³⁴⁾ had more than 160 schools and that "if the three-miles rule was applied to them, a slight decrease should be the consequence. But as it is, the rule injures the Catholics only".⁽³⁵⁾

Therefore, Bonjean appealed to the Colonial Secretary that the rights of Catholics to establish Catholic Schools for their own

children, independent of any rule of distance from another school, be respected. He put his request thus:

I do not ask Government help to enable me to found schools among those not belonging to my Church: but only for the benefit of those whose chief Pastor I am, and who have no one but myself to plead their cause with Government and uphold their rights as loyal subjects, and tax payers. (36)

The Colonial Secretary in his letter to Bishop Bonjean, dated 18 February 1875, explained that the rule was intended to put an end to the competition of the different religious bodies in extending their number of schools and that,

if a school occupies the ground among the Natives, Buddhist [sic] and Heathen, assistance will not be given to another school founded subsequently within the prescribed limits, unless the first school works badly. If however, there be a Christian religious community of sufficient number for a school, there would be no objection per se to an application for a grant to a new school, in spite of the fact of there being within the 3 miles limits another School conducted on religious principles to which the parents of a large portion of the pupils object, or to which children from religious objections, refrain from going. Such a condition of things would be an "exceptional circumstance:" but every such case would have to be carefully inquired into before the sanction of Government to a grant could be given. (37)

In other words, the fact of there being a large number of pupils objecting on religious principle to attend a pre-existing school was to be accepted as an "exceptional circumstance" justifying the application for a grant to another school within three miles. This explanation of what could be considered as an "exceptional circumstance" as stated by the Colonial Secretary pleased Bonjean very much. (38) Thus, the Catholics were allowed to establish a school to serve their children in spite of the existence of a Protestant school nearby. But with regard to Buddhist, Hindus and Muslims, the rule was found to be discriminatory in the sense that unless an existing Christian school within the prescribed distance was inefficient they could not establish

a school for their children and seek a grant even as an "exceptional circumstance". These indigenous religious groups were also not organized well to make any protests at that time over this new three-mile distance rule.

Within a few years of the new educational policy coming into effect, both denominational and government schools increased in number with a corresponding rise in scholars as is evident in the table below. (39)

TABLE 7:2

THE INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF SCHOOLS AND SCHOLARS, 1869-1885.

Year	Government schools	No. of scholars	Aided schools	No. of scholars	Total schools	Total scholars
1869	108	7,156	21	1,600	129	8,756
1870	156	8,276	229	10,000	385	18,276
1875	276	12,776	654	41,343	930	54,199
1880	369	21,294	833	59,820	1,202	81,114
1885	417	26,624	866	58,918	1,283	85,542

The years between 1869 and 1880 were also noted for economic prosperity in Sri Lanka due to an increased national income largely due to the booming coffee industry. (40) As a result, the Government was in a position to allocate reasonable amount of grants for the expansion of education. But the advent of an economic crisis from 1879 to 1887 owing to the failure of the coffee industry brought down the revenue of the government and in turn the government was forced to control expenditure on education in order to meet the falling off of the general revenue. Hence changes which came into force in 1880 - known as the "Revised Code" (41) which Charles Bruce (42) drew up, made the conditions governing grants more strict.

In article 12 of this Revised Code, the three-mile distance rule for grants-in-aid was replaced by a two-mile rule which read as

follows:

As a general rule, no application will be entertained for aid to a boys' school when there already exists a flourishing boys' school of the same class within two miles of the proposed site, without some intervening obstacle, unless the average daily attendance for six months prior to the date of the application exceeds 60.

An Anglo-Vernacular school will be considered as of the same class as a vernacular school. (43)

Bonjean explained that when the grants-in-aid scheme was first introduced the Catholics were not quite prepared for it because of their limited resources in men and money. Hence they had to defer for some time the opening of many of the schools the Catholics needed. But, in the meantime, the Protestant missionaries "had stolen a march upon us" and in numerous instances, "had planted their schools in the vicinity of our Catholic villages". When the three-mile rule was enacted, it made it impossible for the Catholics to open schools for their children and hence made it obligatory for the Catholic children to attend Protestant Schools. Had the rule been allowed to stand in its obvious construction, Bonjean pointed out,

it was plainly over with our schools, as far as State help goes: their participation in the Government Grant was no more a matter of principle; it was simply to be the result of a race in which all higher interests being disregarded, the palm was to be carried off by the swiftest runner, or the more cunning, or the bolder, or the wealthier projector. (44)

Therefore, he had earlier appealed to the Government and the reply he received from the Colonial Secretary was an explanation of what should be considered as an "exceptional circumstance", which satisfied the Catholics to a certain extent.⁽⁴⁵⁾ But now in the Revised Code, Bonjean pointed out, that the three-mile rule "has become a two-mile rule" and the words "save under exceptional circumstance" have been changed into "without some intervening obstacle". If the Department is

to be at all times guided by the principle laid down by the Colonial Secretary's letter of 18 February 1875 and if the object of publishing that letter⁽⁴⁶⁾ was to give the Catholics an assurance that they did not have before, why not, he asked, make it a standing rule?

Interpretations of legal texts pass away and are forgotten: the dry hard text only remains and is law - If then, the assurance the Catholics are to derive from this interpretation is not fictitious, illusory and ephemeral, if it was meant to be a reality, and not merely to adorn an official Report and smooth the passage of the Code through the Council, let it take its place at once in the body of the Code. The matter is of considerable importance; for the Colonial Secretary's letter puts land-marks, which must save in future much confusion, indecision, inconsistency and disagreeableness. (47)

Furthermore, Bonjean pointed out that "two very distinct systems are here laid down": the three-mile rule as explained by the Colonial Secretary clearly pointed to a "Denominational System" whereas the new two-mile rule clearly allowed religious societies, if they chose, to open schools for children not of their own denominations and receive grants from the government after having had 60 pupils in attendance over a period of six months. This amounts to nothing but using,

government help and money to further the inculcation of their own sectarian religious views upon the poor unwary children they gather in their schools, under the sole pretence of imparting to them secular knowledge. (48)

This question of using government grants (given specifically for secular education) for proselytizing work by the Protestant missionaries was something Bonjean was determined to highlight in his writings and this will be referred to later on in this chapter. The opposition of the Buddhists and Hindus to this two-mile rule was very feeble as they were still not organized sufficiently to voice their protests forcefully.

In 1891, an amendment to the distance rule was introduced by the Director of the Department of Public Instruction and it read as follows:

No application will be entertained for a new school when there already exists a school of the same class within a quarter of a mile of the site of the proposed new school. (49)

Earlier on, the distance rule could be overcome if the average attendance in a school over a period of 12 months had been over 60 pupils. But in the new amended rule, the quarter-mile requirement was essential and numbers did not matter. This was indeed a severe blow to the Hindus and Buddhists who were beginning to erect schools for their children in towns and in central places. In the words of Jayasuriya,

If there already existed two Protestant schools, for example a Wesleyan mission school and a Church mission school (in a predominantly Buddhist village with Buddhist children attending them and undergoing Christianization in the absence of a conscience clause) to establish a third school not within a quarter mile of each of the existing schools was in effect to locate it in the wilderness and construct road to reach it. (50)

Subsequently, in the following years 1892 and 1893, further amendments were made to the rule giving an apparent concession by making an exception in regard to towns with "special claims".⁽⁵¹⁾ When the Department of Public Instruction started applying this quarter-mile rule retrospectively, some of the schools started by the Buddhists and Hindus for the education of their children and had been maintained for 12 months or more with the hope of getting grants for them had to be closed down. The English magazine, The Buddhist, expressed this sad situation thus:

This new rule was almost a death blow to the cause of the Buddhist and Hindu education in the island because it meant the pulling down and removal of substantial buildings which had been put up at great expenditure by poor villagers. (52)

After several appeals and protests by the Buddhists,⁽⁵³⁾ it was agreed in the Legislative Council that the rule will not be applied retrospectively. It is worth noting here the protests the Roman Catholics made over this issue of a quarter-mile rule, particularly in its reference to the hardships caused to the indigenous religious groups than themselves. "The Catholic Messenger"⁽⁵⁴⁾ stated that the Buddhists children have started deserting the Protestant schools to fill up the schools opened by their co-religionists and

the Protestant call that ingratitude, but we don't think the reproach merited. Had Protestants entered the field merely as educators having no other end in view than to impart instruction to the people, they would have a title to the people's gratitude but to them education was a means to an end. Their intention was to impose upon the unsuspecting natives their particular religious tenets...to try and turn the two mile rule into a war-engine directed against the Buddhist schools erected for the use of Buddhist boys is an abuse against which we must raise our own voice in the name of justice and liberty. (55)

- b) Grants-in-aid for proselytizing work?: a disclosure and a query by Bonjean.

The Morgan Committee recommended that denominational schools should be given grants for secular instruction and left completely free to do as they liked with regard to religious instruction in them.⁽⁵⁶⁾ In view of this policy of the government, as was expected, there was a great expansion of the grants-in-aid scheme.⁽⁵⁷⁾ The restrictions on religious instruction that prevented the missions during the three decades prior to 1869 from entering into the grant scheme on a large scale being removed from 1869, and the missions were able to compete with one another to establish schools in many parts of the country. Grants for secular instruction seemed to have provided adequate financial support for the Protestant schools as institutions to carry out proselytizing work in them. In the words of Jayasuriya,

the state promoted missionary education and subsidized proselytism by offering grants for

secular subjects and leaving the schools uncontrolled with respect to religious instruction. It is only a conscience clause that could have offered some protection against proselytism in schools earning grant for secular instruction, but the government did not dare to introduce a conscience clause as the missions threatened to walk-out of the grant-in-aid scheme if such a clause were introduced. (58)

The first Director of Public Instruction, J. S. Laurie, was quite uneasy about the propriety of forcing non-Christians to receive religious instruction in Christianity in mission schools and expressed the view that a conscience clause would be very useful, only to be told that it was none of his business to suggest the inclusion of such a clause. (59)

Bishop Bonjean, fully aware of the danger of grants being used for proselytizing work in the absence of a conscience clause, reminded Laurie about it in his letter to him on 8 July 1869. Explaining that moral training worth anything was possible only in close connection with religious belief and practice and declaring his strong objections to a system of separating religious from secular teaching and training, Bonjean went on to state that the Catholic schools were there "to impart thorough Catholic education to Catholic children" and for this they obtained for their schools "the amount of public aid which as tax-payers, they are undoubtedly entitled to". In this respect, the Catholics,

unlike most Protestant missionary bodies, do not seek Government assistance for proselytizing schools for children of other religions, but simply and exclusively for schools attended in totality or in large majority, by their own Catholic children, and in which the presence of a few non-Catholic pupils is not the rule, nor the thing aimed at, but only an accident and an exception. (60)

Furthermore, he stated that the Catholics were entirely undisposed to take advantage of the accidental presence of non-Catholic children

in their schools to force upon them religious doctrine and practices not their own; and that

averse on principle to all putting into play of worldly motives and influences in a matter so sacred as religion; the decided hater of all soul-bargaining and of all hypocrisy, I can freely pledge myself to allow non-Catholic pupils in our schools the utmost freedom of conscience. (61)

Allowing non-Catholic pupils to stand out during the time of Catholic prayers or catechetical instruction had been, Bonjean said, the practice in Catholic schools for a long time and that he had no objection to binding himself to a continuance of this practice. (62)

In a letter to Walter Sendall, Director of Public Instruction, a year later, Bonjean once again explained the Catholic position with regard to the accidental presence of non-Catholic children in Catholic schools. It was never the wish of the Catholic Church, he said, "to attract to our schools large numbers of non-Catholic pupils". Even when they were admitted, it was done "at their own request" and after obtaining guarantees that their admission will not lead to interfering with the Catholic instruction of Catholic pupils. The reason why the Catholic Church threw open some of her schools to pupils of all religions, Bonjean wrote, was to show "our appreciation of the efforts made here in the cause of public instruction, and as acknowledgment of the support given us by Government". Not willing to influence the non-Catholic pupils in these schools in the matter of religion,

we have adopted a standing rule prohibiting their presence at the religious instructions which Catholics only can attend with profit and at exercises of religious worship which Catholics only can share, we can have no difficulty now to pledge ourselves officially to the observance of that rule and to give the strength and solemnity of a mutual compact to an arrangement we had adopted in obedience to our own religious principles. (63)

The above pledge, Bonjean felt, would give every satisfaction to the public and eventually remove from even the utmost scrupulous Protestant parent any apprehensions he might have felt earlier in sending his children to Catholic schools for secular instruction. (64)

In the following year Bonjean sent out a circular to the managers of Catholic schools requesting them to hang the accompanying notice in all their English schools "where there was any number of non-Catholic pupils". (65) The notice read like this:

Non-Catholic pupils in this school are not allowed, except at the express request of their parents, to be present in the school-room during prayers and religious instruction.

By order of H. L. the Bishop
L. Mauroit, OMI

Jaffna, 1st November 1872.

Secretary

Even among British administrators there were quite a few who were very uneasy about the absence of a conscience clause in schools. William Blair, Inspector of Schools, in his report for 1879 wrote as follows:

In not a few cases schools are established not for the spread of education per se, but to spread the doctrines of Christianity. In some of these cases the reading books used are full of the most dogmatic theological opinions which to an honest and intelligent Buddhist or Mohammedan are very offensive and calculated to do more harm than good. (66)

Later on, when he acted as Director of Public Instruction in 1882 after Bruce's departure, Blair stressed the need to introduce a conscience clause because of the rule forbidding the establishment of a new school within two miles of an existing school. The practical effect of this rule,

is that, in the majority of small towns and large villages in which there are mission schools, the

people are virtually compelled to send their children to mission schools, or to none. This imposes on Government a heavy responsibility. Not only must care be taken that the schools are efficient in discipline and instruction, that the instruction imparted is of the kind that is most suited to benefit the scholars in after life, but there also shall be an absolute freedom from compulsion with regard to subjects of a religious character. (67)

However, H. W. Green who succeeded Bruce as Director disagreed with Blair and preferred to take the line of his predecessors Sendall and Bruce and expressed that "sufficient safeguards exist for rights of conscience under the present system" and that it would be most inadvisable "to bring again into force a conscience clause system which has had one protracted trial already". (68)

While this difference of opinion existed among the administrators, Bonjean took the opportunity to express his horror at the way public money was being used, in the absence of a conscience clause, for proselytizing work in Protestant schools. He disclosed the fact that year after year the Managers of Protestant schools received grants from government for their schools in which the majority of pupils were non-Christians and whose religious liberty was left "absolutely unprotected against the unscrupulous attempts of an ardent sectarian proselytism". (69) Thus, public money

is used in forcing upon the children of those who contribute it, religious tenets and practices for which they entertain nothing but profound dislike. (70)

With the existence of the distance rule and as there could be no other school within a certain area, there was no alternative left to the parents but "to send their children to Missionary School". Taking data from the "Report of the Director of Public Instruction for 1880", Bonjean demonstrated that the Protestant schools in 1880 had received grants from the government amounting to Rs. 114,885.58 cents for the education of 38,342 scholars. (71) If the non-Christian scholars in

their schools numbered only 26,801 (or more) the sum received on their behalf would have been Rs.80,134.99cts.⁽⁷²⁾ As to how this sum was utilized, Bonjean remarked thus:

I say it is employed in forcing upon thousands of non-Protestant scholars the tenets of the various Protestant sects by whom the schools are managed; in compelling them to read and study the Bible which they do not revere as a sacred book, and to join in the external acts of a religion in which they do not believe. I say it is so much money paid by Government to protestantize the poor natives of Ceylon, to whom the Queen has by proclamation given by her royal word that they should be left undisturbed in the free exercise of their own religion. I say that it is used in perverting the moral sense of the young, who are enticed to purchase the temporal benefit of secular instruction at the price of an outward compliance with religious acts of an awful solemnity which in their heart they slight, and which, once out of the sight of their masters, they freely ridicule and scoff at. (73)

In order to prove the above statements, Bonjean cited the best authorities on the subject, namely the reports of the Missionary Societies themselves. The fact that boys were being "thoroughly and systematically and earnestly proselytized" is evident, Bonjean said, in what was reported in the "Proceedings" of the Church Missionary Society. The Revd. W. E. Rowlands from Colombo had written thus:

The religious teaching, also, is thorough and systematic, and is carried on with so much earnestness and reality... that scarcely a single heathen boy comes under its influence without being more or less impressed with the truths of Christianity. (74)

The Revd. J. Allcock of the same society had written expressing his belief that "schools are doing a great work in winning souls to Christ".⁽⁷⁵⁾

A remarkable admission of the pressure that was brought to bear upon non-Christian pupils to make them accept religious instruction and of the reluctance of both the children and their parents was clear in

the statement of the Revd. J. I. Jones when he wrote that boys in Kegalle area

have refused to join their class fellows in receiving religious instruction. The parents in some cases object. One of our boys took home a Catechism on the Way of Salvation, but his father burned it. (76)

In the 65th Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Society is found, Bonjean said, a clear statement about this society's proselytizing work.

The Schools and Training Institutions in Ceylon are a great power. In hundreds of centres these are preparing the native mind and heart for an enlightened grasp of Christ. (77)

By citing such evidence from the Missionary Societies' records Bonjean showed how government money was used "in the unhallowed work of proselytizing thousands of non-Christian children in the schools". Therefore he raised the question whether "the sectarian objects of the Missionaries or the real interests of education were advanced" by the excessive multiplication of schools in the Island? (78)

Furthermore, the fact that the Protestant preachers challenged Hindus and Buddhists to public discussions as to the relative claims on man's acceptance of the Bible and of the books those people hold sacred, and heaped abuse upon abuse "on their Gods, their philosophers, their doctrines and their practices", only gave the impression that

those would-be heralds of the Gospel are seeking not Christ's but their own glory; that they want not to convert, but to conquer, in order to parade their triumph through the pages of their Missionary Records. (79)

Unable to agree among themselves as to what truth is, these missionary societies, Bonjean declared, were only forcing upon the ignorant people

their conflicting opinions and errors, mindless of the fact that "they thus help to make confusion more confused still" and bring disgrace "upon the very cause they pretend to defend".⁽⁸⁰⁾ With regard to what was taught in Protestant schools, Bonjean said that it was "an adulterated, mutilated Christianity" and that he could not see any reason "why the multitudinous heresies which have sprung from the upas tree of the Reformation" should be imported from Europe into Ceylon and "be paid for by the Ceylonese."⁽⁸¹⁾ Moreover, "the forcible inculcation of Christian truths and the compulsory reading of the Bible in Protestant schools" have only led to the formation in Sri Lanka "of a generation of sneaking hypocrites" and scoffing infidels,

who hate Christianity in proportion to the spiritedness of the efforts that were made to impress it upon their reluctant consciences when at school; ever ready by turns, as the interest of the moment dictates, either to parade themselves as stout believers, or to laugh to scorn every thing connected with Christianity. ⁽⁸²⁾

Bonjean very regretfully expressed his firm opinion, based on facts that had come under his observation during his 26 years of stay in the Island, that the religious instruction imparted in Protestant schools had thoroughly demoralized the infidel population, "needlessly provoked and irritated them" and had given rise "to feelings of aversion to Christianity which did not exist before".⁽⁸³⁾

In this connection, what Bonjean said of the Buddhists and Hindus is worth quoting in full here for the light it throws on the attitude of a Roman Catholic Bishop, as early as 1882, towards the indigenous religions.

The Hindus and Buddhists may have no great faith in their own religion; they may not feel themselves bound in conscience to believe its tenets, or to abide by its precepts; but they are men endowed with reason and a free will; they are responsible agents, and ought not to be coerced or bribed into submission even to truth. Their Creator respects their liberty; surely, we their fellow-creatures, ought to respect it also; their assent to truth,

if it is to give glory to God, if it is to be meritorious themselves, must be reasonable and free. Can all the Protestant Missionaries in the world compel a man to love God? But, so long as they fail to bring him to that, what do they expect to gain by mere external compliance with religious practices? (84)

The interests at stake, in forcing Christian truths upon children who come to a school only to acquire secular knowledge with a view to their future worldly advancement, were, Bonjean said, "no longer those of man's conscience but the very interests of the Almighty God of dread Majesty as well". (85)

In view of the fact that proselytizing work was going on in Protestant schools, Bonjean protested against Catholics schools being placed "under the misleading appellation of Aided Schools" in the same category with the proselytizing Protestant schools.

Denominational, this is what our schools are, this is their proper appellation; and this fact of their being Denominational, is the very ground upon which their claims to aid from Government are to be adjusted. Let them and every school like them, the object of which is not to convert the youth of other denominations, but to teach the young of their own, be made into one class with a set of rules appropriate to them; and let all other schools be made subject to such stringent regulations as will render impossible in them the use of public money for proselytizing purposes. (86)

As children of various denominations may have to be taught in the same school, for local or other reasons, Bonjean wanted the inclusion of a conscience clause in the Code for Aided Schools, the one that he had already brought to observe in Catholic schools (through his Circular of 5 December 1872) as the only way "to get out of the difficulty". (87) In the absence of such a conscience clause, there were several abuses and proselytizing too was taking place in Protestant schools is confirmed in the petition presented to the Legislative Council on 4 January 1884 on behalf of the Hindus by Mr. Ponnambalam Ramanathan. (88)

On another date, Ramanathan drew the attention of the Council to the fact mentioned in the petition, namely

that children who are obliged to go to these missionary schools are forced by the missionaries under pain of fines of expulsion to read the Bible, whether they like it or not... and also to rub off those sectarian marks which Hindus are bound by the rules of their religion to wear on their forehead. (89)

Ramanathan, by pointing out that the Archbishop of Canterbury too had insisted upon a conscience clause in their Church schools, requested that "sooner a clause of that kind is introduced the better it will be for religious freedom in Ceylon".⁽⁹⁰⁾ Even though inquiry into this matter was promised by the Governor in response to this request and several protests too were made by the indigenous religious groups, the attitude of the government in refusing to include a conscience clause in the code of regulations for grants-in-aid did not change for a long time.⁽⁹¹⁾

School books. It is to be noted here that the Catholic Church had consented to participate in the grants-in-aid scheme only after receiving the assurance both from Governor Hercules Robinson and William Gregory that it would be left entirely free in the choice of school books.⁽⁹²⁾ But Bonjean, pointing out the fact that the majority of the pupils in Protestant Missionary schools were Hindus and Buddhist, expressed the view that the refusal by the missionaries to allow only missionary works in their schools should be a good reason for them to advance a claim to schools of their own - "a claim which could hardly be consistently ignored by Department".⁽⁹³⁾ According to Bonjean the books produced by the Christian Vernacular Education Society were very much below the mark as literary productions; often faulty in point of diction, ungrammatical and generally not idiomatic.

No greater harm could in my opinion be done to the native languages of this Island, than by having the young generations trained in such books. In point of matter, they are intellectually weak and silly, little apt indeed to widen the mental range of native

children, ...and these defects are hardly redeemed by the sectarian spirit which pervades those books and the mawkish, wishy-washy character of their would-be moral lessons. (94)

By exposing the unsuitability of these books, Bonjean was only signalling to the Buddhist and Hindus that they could object to sending their children on account of the derogatory nature of the books that were used in the Protestant schools. Mr. Blair, Inspector of Schools, too had highlighted this aspect, as mentioned earlier on.⁽⁹⁵⁾ When the Scholars of the Sinhala language pointed out that the books were defective on grounds of languages, idiom and orthodoxy and requested the government to produce a series of school books, the Christian Vernacular Education Society objected to this very strongly. As a result no change was brought about untill the turn of the century.

c) Grants-in-aid and teacher training.

In view of the fact that the new educational policy was geared to the extension of vernacular education, both denominational and government schools sprang up in most parts of the country to meet the rising demand for education. Thereupon the need arose to have qualified teachers in order to maintain the quality of education in the country at an acceptable standard. Thus, it became necessary for the Department of Public Instruction not only to formulate a definite scheme for teacher training, but also to establish and maintain suitable institutions for the purpose.⁽⁹⁶⁾

The Normal School that had been in existence during the early period of the Central School Commission, as has been mentioned above,⁽⁹⁷⁾ had to be closed down mainly due to the economic crisis of the late forties of the nineteenth century. It was J. S. Laurie, a man well acquainted with the developments taking place in England at that time in the promotion of teacher training,⁽⁹⁸⁾ who proposed the idea

of establishing a Normal School in Sri Lanka. But it was only after his departure, in March 1870, that the Normal School was opened with ten students in the English class and twenty in the vernacular classes.⁽⁹⁹⁾ As students to this institution were drawn from all parts of the country, there arose the need to provide residential accommodation and this too was completed in 1873.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ Meanwhile, the view was expressed that it would be more productive "if government were to hold out inducements to educating bodies to establish training schools".⁽¹⁰¹⁾ In 1876 the Director of Public Instruction announced the willingness of the Department to approve grants-in-aid for denominational Normal Schools and laid a set of rules as conditions for participation in the scheme.⁽¹⁰²⁾

In his comments on the Revised Code of 1880, Bonjean once again repeated the views that he had advocated fifteen years previously when he had stated that

like all other professions, that of teacher also, requires a special training. I do not know to what Government would be able to train teachers on principles acceptable to other denominations. But, of this I am quite sure, that they are not fit to train Catholic teachers. They would be sure to train them either on the Protestant, or, on the non-religious principle, and neither can suit us. But, if in addition to Grants for our Catholic schools, they were to make also adequate provision to enable us to train our own Teachers in our own way, I should have nothing to say against a Normal School for the benefit of those whom it suited. ⁽¹⁰³⁾

Therefore he proposed that each denomination be allowed "to train its own teachers", and the reason he put forward was that "we attach a great deal more importance to the master who teaches, than to the book he teaches from".⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ Bonjean declared that, within a short period of fifteen years, the Catholic Church had trained in their institutions 69 teachers to serve in their mission schools and "all that was done without the help of Government".⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ He requested the Government to allow each denomination to train its own teachers and to let the Department,

instead of appropriating for its own Normal School the lion's share of the normal training allowance, distribute it among all denominations, on some fair scale, without making the share allotted to each, depend on the chance result of any one's examination, but upon the efficiency of the training institutions as a whole. (106)

Furthermore, he declared his willingness to commend a system of "equality for all, without, as to the phrase goes, any distinction of race or creed", and suggested that grants for the training of teachers should be given to the denominations in accordance with the number of children in their schools. (107)

With the availability of grants-in-aid for teacher training, as offered by the Revised Code of 1880, there came into being 6 denominational training schools in the Western, Central and Northern Provinces of the country, each with a very small number of trainees as the table below indicates. (108)

TABLE 7:3

DENOMINATIONAL TEACHER TRAINING SCHOOLS IN THE WESTERN,
CENTRAL AND NORTHERN PROVINCES OF THE COUNTRY

Training School	Management	Number of students		Total
		1st year	2nd year	
Kotte	Church of England	2	2	4
Tellipallai	American Mission	5	6	11
Kopay	Church of England	0	3	3
Colombogam	R. C. Mission	2	3	5
Vembadi	Wesleyan Mission	3	4	7
Kandy	Church of England (Diocesan)	1	0	1

The candidates successful at an admission test were awarded a Queen's scholarship to the value of Rs. 250.00 for the two-year period of training. (109)

Meanwhile the financial crisis in 1881 and the consequent withdrawal of government efforts at English education and entrusting it to denominational bodies made the English classes at the Normal School come to an end. The provision for the training of teachers for the Anglo-vernacular schools carried on for a couple of years and that too came to a close when the Normal School as an institution was closed down in 1884. The training of teachers, thus, fell entirely into the hands of denominational bodies. (110)

With regard to the training of female teachers, the Department of Public Instruction was very reluctant from the very beginning to start an institution for it and therefore left it entirely to the missionary organizations to fulfil this difficult task. The American Missionary Society made the move in this direction by converting the Uduvil Boarding School into a teacher training institution in 1884. (111) The other missionaries followed suit in establishing their own training schools for female teachers and by 1898 there were five female training institutions in the Island. The Catholic Church in Jaffna, it should be noted, had already taken up the task of training female teachers at its own expense, at a much earlier date with the assistance of the European Sisters, as was mentioned in the evidence given by Bishop Semeria to the Morgan Committee. (112)

3. The establishment of a Board of Education.

Although a majority of those who gave evidence to the Morgan Committee had urged the importance of establishing a Board to advise the Director of Public Instruction, the Morgan Committee did not deem such an advisory body to be necessary. With the centralization of education under a Director, the missions had lost their hold on educational planning in the country. Moreover, the revival of Buddhist and Hindu educational institutions, as will be seen later, not only

disheartened the Protestant missions but threatened their future role, both in their educational and "protestantizing" activities in the country. Under these mounting unpleasant circumstances the Wesleyan Mission took the initiative to demand the appointment of a Board of Education. The Wesleyans conceived the idea of a conference among missions as a means of expressing their views to the government and convened a meeting. Not all missions sent their representatives, hence the conference could not bring forth the desired results. Yet the Wesleyans carried on pressing the Governor to appoint "an Educational Board where the experience of Managers could best be brought" in dealing with the important aspects of educational planning in the country. (113)

The proposed cut in the annual grants-in-aid to schools, as mentioned in the Revised Code for 1896, made the managers of grant-receiving schools present a joint memorandum to the government in protest against the proposed reduction of grants-in-aid to their schools. (114) In view of the mounting demand from the denominational bodies, the Governor established a Board of Education towards the end of 1896 with the specific proviso that the Board was to be a purely consultative body with no administrative or coercive powers whatsoever. The function of the Board of Education was indicated in the Report of the Director of Public Instruction for 1897 as follows:

The Board is essentially advisory. The interests of all missions and educational agencies are represented on it. Its duties are primarily to confer with the Director of Public Instruction upon all questions affecting schools other than government schools, and generally to assist the Director in the multifarious details which must necessarily from time to time occur when so many conflicts of interests of agencies and managers are involved. (115)

This Board consisted of seven members with the Director as the Chairman. (116) Thus, a long standing desire of the Missions, particularly of the Wesleyan Mission, was realized. Though the

inclusion of a Buddhist representative on the Board of Education was noteworthy, the exclusion of a Hindu (and Muslim) representative provides a clear indication of the failure of this Board to be inclusive of all the indigenous religions.

Another important development during the period under review was the introduction of the Cambridge Local Examination in 1880, and of the London University entrance examinations in 1882. From 1870 onwards scholarships were awarded for study at a British University and the first student from the Colombo Academy was admitted to Exeter College in the University of Oxford.⁽¹¹⁷⁾ The next year's scholarship winner was admitted to Christ's College in the University of Cambridge. Originally the English University scholarship was awarded to the best student of the Colombo Academy. But with the introduction of the Revised Code of 1880, this scholarship was thrown open to students of all English schools in the Island and was awarded on the results of the Cambridge Senior Examination. As the numbers sitting for the Cambridge examinations increased steadily a special scholarship examination was introduced in 1895.⁽¹¹⁸⁾

The period under review, as we have seen, saw a great expansion of the grants-in-aid scheme. In the absence of a conscience clause, missions were able to compete with one another in order to establish their own schools. The non-Christian organizations too were invited to participate in the grants-in-aid scheme but they had many obstacles to overcome before they could fully enter into it. The distance rule only made it more difficult, if not impossible, for them to start their own schools in towns and in big villages. The grants-in-aid scheme also gave rise to the problem of "proselytism" in Protestant schools. The introduction of teacher training, both male and female, also stands out as another significant development during this period. It will be our concern in the following pages to look into the revival of the indigenous religions during this period, their efforts to get their

share of the grants-in-aid, and the difficulties they faced as they attempted to organize proper schools for the education of their children.

4. Religious resurgence: a challenge to the Christian Missions.

The activity of the Christian (Protestant) missions had been at its highest level in the first half of the nineteenth century, as shown above.⁽¹¹⁹⁾ Education, during this period, figured prominently as a means of diffusing Christianity. The educational activities of the missionaries received high praise from the Colebrooke Commission in 1831.⁽¹²⁰⁾ The education provided by the Buddhist monks was dismissed as scarcely meriting any notice,⁽¹²¹⁾ while the labours of the missionary societies were praised and the natives were said to be "indebted for the opportunities of instruction afforded to them" by these societies.⁽¹²²⁾ The School Commission established in 1834 to "facilitate the reform of government schools"⁽¹²³⁾ was under the monopoly of the clergy of the Anglican Church. This Anglican monopoly was broken in 1841 when under the new "Central School Commission" membership was broadened to give representation to other Christian missions, including the Roman Catholic Church which constituted the largest Christian group in Sri Lanka at that time. Later on dissatisfaction with the Central School Commission resulted in the establishment of the Department of Public Instruction in 1869. The three and a half decades that the School Commission was in charge of education saw the exclusion of indigenous religious groups from the educational policy making of the country.

a) The revival of Buddhism.

It is to be noted that lack of government support up to the beginning of the Department of Public Instruction did not lead to the

extinction of Buddhist monastic schools. Although there was a general decline in the Kandyan provinces, there was, according to Malalgoda, "a steady strengthening of monastic education in the course of the nineteenth century".⁽¹²⁴⁾ Even at their best, these Buddhist monastic schools were no match for the Christian schools, neither in so far as the educational needs of the people were concerned, nor in the provision of an English education for their children to enable them to secure jobs in government service.

Meanwhile, the attitude of the Buddhists to the Christian missions during the first half of the nineteenth century was one of tolerance. The Christian missions received no more resistance from the Buddhists than their Portuguese and Dutch predecessors. The Buddhists, both laymen and monks, were more interested in fostering their religion in their own way than in competing with Christian missionaries, as is evident in the writings of Tennent.

Active hostility can scarcely be said to be manifested either by the Buddhists or their priesthood; and although more energetic exertions have been recently made by the latter, ...the efforts have been directed less to the discouragement of Christian religion than to the extension of their own. ⁽¹²⁵⁾

Moreover, Christianity was nothing entirely new to many Buddhists and it seems they never considered the two religions as being violently opposed to each other, so as to consider one as being the "Truth" and the other as being in "Error".⁽¹²⁶⁾ For them, the arrival of the British missionaries meant a new Anglican form of Christianity that came to be regarded as the religion of the government at that time, in succession to Roman Catholicism under the Portuguese and the "Reformed Church" under the Dutch.

The position of Buddhists in relation to education in Christian schools was that they simply had no alternative but to seek instruction

in Christian schools if they had any desire to gain positions under the government. For the Buddhists, so long as their children had an education that prepared them for a respectable career, they had no serious objections to religious instruction given in schools.⁽¹²⁷⁾ Though a "conscience clause" was adopted by the School Commission in 1841, the manner in which this "conscience clause" was formulated seemed to have favoured the teacher rather than the parent. It was up to the parent to object to religious instruction rather than for the teacher to obtain the consent of the parent. Hence, as stated by Malalgoda, indifference and/or reluctance on the part of the parents to displease the teachers may well have played some part in rendering the clause ineffective. According to him, the Buddhists

were not inclined to compare - and contrast - Buddhism and Christianity in the same way as the missions did; they were not given to considering respect or allegiance given to one as a root and branch rejection of the other. Theirs was a syncretistic religious tradition where "pure Buddhism" mingled with "non-Buddhist" beliefs and practices; and though they were not incapable of differentiating between these two aspects of their religious tradition, they were also capable of seeing harmony between them. Likewise, though it gave no comfort to those who taught them Christianity, they were also capable, in their own way, of seeing similarities between Buddhism and Christianity. ⁽¹²⁸⁾

Moreover, the Buddhist monks looked upon the Christian missionaries not so much as being adversaries, but rather as religious groups more or less like themselves. In general, they did not shun the company of European missionaries. There are recorded instances of Buddhist monks assisting in the preparation of places of Christian worship in the immediate neighbourhood of their temples.⁽¹²⁹⁾ Such were the cordial attitudes of the Buddhist monks in the first half of the nineteenth century.

It was persistent attacks made on Buddhism by Christian missionaries, in both spoken word and the written word, that eventually

provoked the Buddhists to withdraw their tolerant attitude and turn against Christianity and the missionaries. These attacks, though they disheartened the Buddhists at first, were welcomed gladly by the Buddhists as an occasion to revive their religion. Just as Christian missionaries' efforts to diffuse Christianity had resorted to education, preaching and the printing press, the Buddhist reaction to Christian missionaries' opposition too occurred on three fronts, but not all at once. In the field of education they were able to make appreciable progress only after the arrival (1880) in the Island of the American Theosophist, Colonel Henry Steele Olcott and Madam Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, the leading lights of the Theosophical Movement.⁽¹³⁰⁾ Their arrival roused the dwindling spirit of the Buddhist community and inaugurated an era of resurgence. In the other two fields, namely preaching (together with public debates) and the printing press, the Buddhists were able to thrust themselves forward on their own between 1860 and 1880 as will be made clear in the following pages.⁽¹³¹⁾

Also worth noting at this point are the crucial changes that were taking place in the history of the Buddhist-Christian relationship in Sri Lanka at that time. On the Buddhist side, this period marked the transition from their traditional attitude of tolerance towards other religions to active and militant resistance. On the Christian missionaries' side, according to Malalgoda, the same period witnessed

a waning of their evangelical enthusiasm, a gradual realization that converting the whole population was not a feasible ideal, leading eventually to a shift of attention from the unconverted to the converted - to minding the business of their own flocks, and therefore to an attitude of practical tolerance towards other faiths. ⁽¹³²⁾

The religious debates that took place in the years 1864-1873 between Protestant missionaries and Buddhist monks were greatly publicized events in the country. As a missionary technique of instruction (and conversion) these public debates were not peculiar to

Sri Lanka. In many parts of the tropical world, a favourite technique of the missionaries was to seek to engage priests of the indigenous religious groups in public discussion and to steer the disputation in such a manner as to convict their opponents of inconsistencies in defense of their faiths and so make it seem that only the Christian Gospels had all the answers to them. In Sri Lanka the technique of public debate, which the Protestant missionaries had used so effectively in the past, provided the Buddhist spokesman with a platform on which to re-assert the virtues of his own faith. Of the five debates that took place between 1864-1873, the Panadura debate was the most notable.⁽¹³³⁾ The Revd. Migettuwatte Gunananda Thero⁽¹³⁴⁾ proved himself to be a debater and his triumph at Panadura set the seal on a decade of quiet recovery of Buddhist confidence. It was the news of this debate that appeared in the newspapers that attracted Olcott's attention in America who soon began a regular correspondence with Migettuwatte Gunananda Thero, giving his full support and encouragement. On the invitation of the Revds. Hikkaduwe Sumangala Thero and Gunananda Thero, Colonel Olcott and Madam Blavatsky arrived in Sri Lanka in May 1880.⁽¹³⁵⁾ Their arrival in Sri Lanka, as in the words of K. M. de Silva,

was of a two-fold significance. Because of their familiarity with the rationalists and "scientific" critique of Christianity they gave a more positive intellectual content to the movement against the Christian forces in Ceylon. More importantly they gave the Buddhists what they lacked most - a lesson in the techniques of modern organization to match the expertise in this sphere of the missionaries, and in doing so they contributed enormously to strengthening of self-confidence and morale among the Buddhists. ⁽¹³⁶⁾

When Olcott arrived in Sri Lanka the Buddhist revival was already under way. This Buddhist revival of the second half of the nineteenth century was the first phase in the recovery of national pride in the Island, the first step in the long process which culminated in the growth of nationalism in the twentieth century.⁽¹³⁷⁾ Realizing that the Buddhist activities needed to be organized on modern lines in order

to be effective, Olcott founded the Buddhist Theosophical Society (B.T.S.) in 1880 to promote Buddhism and to guard it from all attacks of those who professed other religions.⁽¹³⁸⁾ His survey of the educational scene clearly showed him the great importance of establishing a network of Buddhist schools to counter the influence of Christian schools and the proselytizing that was going on in them. He made the Buddhist community in the Island realize the need for Buddhist education and made it accept responsibility for conducting schools for Buddhist children. Under the aegis of the Buddhist Theosophical Society an Education Fund was launched in 1881 to meet the cost of running these schools. At that time, there were only 4 schools with 246 children that were receiving grants from the government.⁽¹³⁹⁾ Between 1880 and 1890 this Society was instrumental in establishing 40 Buddhist schools,⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ and by the turn of the century, the number had increased to well over eighty.⁽¹⁴¹⁾ The Buddhists justified the opening of new schools on the ground that they wanted to meet the genuine needs of the Buddhist population. As A. E. Buultjens put it,

We deny that schools are opened merely in the spirit of opposition and we claim our just rights to establish schools in Buddhist villages. ⁽¹⁴²⁾

It is worth noting here that Bishop Bonjean, at the same time as pointing out that the teaching in a Protestant school was harmful in its influence on the students of other religious persuasions, supported the non-Protestant groups in establishing schools for their children. He remarked:

To say that a boy could with impunity attend the teaching of a Protestant school master, was like saying that one could without danger to himself live in a house filled with cholera and small-pox patients. ⁽¹⁴³⁾

The revival of Buddhism and the establishment of Buddhist schools that grew in number steadily broke the monopoly of the Christian missions in the sphere of education. Above all, they also served as

the training ground of a new elite educated in the Buddhist atmosphere who, in the twentieth century, were to make their presence felt in politics, education and in the civil service. The emergence of this elite seems to have helped to quicken the pace of political agitation, to instil a pride in Buddhism, the Sinhala language and its culture.

b) The Hindu revival movement under Sri Arumuga Navalar.

The revival of Hinduism⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ in the nineteenth century Sri Lanka seems to have started a few years earlier than that of Buddhism.⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ Hindu traditions survived mostly in the homes and in the temples during the Portuguese and the Dutch rule and there is no evidence of the establishment of Hindu temples of learning during this period of the types that flourished in South India. In the first half of the nineteenth century and even later, the missionary organizations were much stronger in Jaffna than in most other parts of the country. Though there were fewer sectarian conflicts among the missionaries (Christian) in the North and their schools were efficiently run, yet it was their educational activities that gave the additional impetus for a Hindu revival. The Vaddukoddai Seminary of the American Mission not only maintained a high standard of education in English but also taught Tamil Classics and Hindu Philosophy.⁽¹⁴⁶⁾

The leadership in the revival of Hinduism in Sri Lanka was given by Sri Arumuga Navalar,⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ just as the lead in the South was given by Migettuwatte Gunananda Thero of Panadura fame. A great Saivite, a Tamil scholar and one time translator of the Bible, he began his career as tutor to the Revd. Peter Percival, the Wesleyan head in the North.⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ It is here that he learnt the methods, organization and propaganda of the missionaries and then gave up his work and began to be concerned with the preventing of conversions of Hindus to Christianity and to preserve the orthodox form of Saivism. Educated both in the Saivite tradition and in the tradition of the missionary

schools at that time, he was fully equipped to meet the challenge of Christianity at every level. From his association with the missionaries he grasped the idea that religious recovery was best effected through the provision of education. Thus he spearheaded the campaign to start Hindu schools in the North. He delivered lectures on the glories of Hinduism and produced a mass of literature suitable for Hindu children. His first effort to start an English school in Vannarpannai turned out to be a failure. As his next attempt he started, without any State assistance, a Hindu school in Vannarpannai, the Saiva Prakasa Vidyasalai in 1848,⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ that set the pace for Hindu education in the country. In 1872, mindful of the values of English education, Arumuga Navalar founded the Saivangala Vidyasalai where English could be taught along with the religious background necessary for Hindu children.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾

As early as 1849 Arumuga Navalar established a printing press at Vannarpannai which enabled him to publish quite a number of tracts and pamphlets expounding the principles of Hinduism and defending them against the strictures of the missionaries. Furthermore, he initiated a move to write in simple prose to reach the masses and the revival of Tamil prose. In his career as pamphleteer and propagandist he made a profound contribution to the development of modern Tamil study and to the revival of Hindu tradition, both in Sri Lanka and in South India.⁽¹⁵¹⁾

After the death of Arumuga Navalar in 1879, a group of leading Saivites in Vannarpannai organized the "Saiva Paripalana Sabhai".⁽¹⁵²⁾ This "Sabhai" started a newspaper called the "Hindu Organ" which, in the words of Jayasuriya,

exposed not only the Hindu cause but also the Buddhist cause, both of which suffered equally at the hands of the missionaries and the government. ⁽¹⁵³⁾

It is this "Sabhai", encouraged by the success of the Buddhists in getting a handful of their schools registered for grants, that started the Jaffna Hindu College in 1889 and later succeeded in having it registered for grants in 1895.⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ At first, this College was under the management of the "Sabhai" but later was transferred to a Board known as the Hindu College Board of Management. This Board set about extending its field of work and took over as affiliated schools a number of leading schools started by local Hindu enthusiasts in different parts of Jaffna thus strengthening its hand for promoting Hindu education.⁽¹⁵⁵⁾

There is little doubt that Arumuga Navalar made maximum use of the techniques of religious propaganda that he had learnt from the missionaries to propagate Saivism. The open-air lectures delivered in simple language on topics connected with the Gospels and the tenets of Christianity prompted him to adopt similar techniques in his campaign in defence of Hinduism.⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ Ponnambalam Ramanathan,⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ when complaining of the intolerance on the part of missionaries towards indigenous religionists, referred to Arumuga Navalar as "the Champion Reformer of the Hindus in the Northern Province".⁽¹⁵⁸⁾

Thus, Arumuga Navalar's main contributions to the Hindu revival had been the initiation of Hindu schools, the publication of a large number of Saivite religious texts and also the formation of a secular organization - Saiva Paripalana Sabhai - devoted to the propagation of Hindu Ideals. But the crucial flaw in Navalar's work, according to K. M. de Silva, was that Navalar

was not a social reformer. The Hindu revivalist movement which he led basically strengthened orthodoxy and did little to soften the rigours of the caste system. While the Sinhalese caste system had merely a social sanction, its Hindu counterpart had a religious one as well, and untouchability was very much a problem in Hindu society in Jaffna. ⁽¹⁵⁹⁾

Considering the plight of Hindus at that time with regard to education and knowledge of their own religion, Arumuga Navalar's concern was to pull them out of their ignorance of their faith and to instil in them a desire to make every effort to revive their religion. This, no doubt, Arumuga Navalar did to the best of his ability with the resources available to him at that time, and he is to be commended for having been a reforming leaven in Hinduism in the second half of the nineteenth century, in spite of the many difficulties he had to face at that time.

c) The educational activities of the Muslims.

Along with the revival of Buddhism and Hinduism, Islam too received new strength and vitality during the period under review. The resistance to conversion had persisted in the eighteenth century and nineteenth century as well. The Dutch, from their arrival in Sri Lanka (1658) pursued a policy of restricting the activities of the Muslims because of their trade links with other parts of the world.⁽¹⁶⁰⁾ They were forced to move out of principal towns and harbours, mainly from Colombo and Galle. There were a series of "Plakaats" passed against them and one of them was that they should not possess any house or grounds within the Fort and Pettah of Colombo. All these acts destroyed to a certain extent the trading character of Muslims and forced them to move out of towns into the interior of the country and to different parts of the country.⁽¹⁶¹⁾

The establishment of schools in order to propagate the Christian doctrine was the object of the Dutch as is evident in the statement of Governor Joan Maetsuyker:

We have established a certain number of schools in these districts with the object of propagating the Christian doctrine among the inhabitants,

promoting God's glory and the salvation of the
souls of the poor folk, rooting out heathenism
and checking the consumer canker of the Mohammedan
heresy. (162)

Fearing then that the aim of the Parish-Schools was proselytism, the Muslims did not dare to send their children to these government schools. Instead they preferred to spread an indigenous educational tradition at two levels. One was an education in crafts where a father taught his sons or where an elder taught his younger relatives. Pursuits such as the making and selling of textiles and gem-cutting were the standard ones of the Muslims, which no doubt needed a careful passing on of expertise from one generation to another.⁽¹⁶³⁾ At the same time, they had their own Qur'an schools which consisted in classes of Arabic recitation and grammar conducted by a "Lebbe".⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ Such was the condition of the Muslims prior to the beginning of the British rule of the Island in 1796.

The semi-liberalising policies of the British⁽¹⁶⁵⁾ towards the Muslims did not much help them to escape from their attitude of clinging on to their own community so as to help them spread throughout the Island. Perhaps it was because of their presumed fear of the impact of a foreign culture on Islam. Besides, education provided in the schools was not only in English but also largely Christian in content, and for that reason, according to K. M. de Silva,

they were not prepared to endanger the faith of
their children even at the expense of sacrificing
the material benefits of an English education. (166)

A Baptist minister gives proof to this effect when he complained bitterly that,

the conversion of Mohammedans in Ceylon is more
rare than the conversion of Jews in England. (167)

Certainly their attitudes towards government and church schools seemed to have helped them to keep their religionists from crossing over to

Christianity. Commenting on this, Samaraweera says that

of the traditional religions, Islam clearly suffered the least from the onslaughts of the Christian missionary organisations, which became active in Ceylon soon after the establishment of British rule. In striking contrast to the Buddhists and Hindus, only an insignificant number of Muslims deserted their fold in favour of Christianity. (168)

But yet this fear of losing their ancestral faith had rather regrettable consequences during the second half of the nineteenth century when the more enlightened ones among the Muslims began to deplore the fact their community had become sunk "in ignorance and apathy, parochial in outlook and grossly materialistic", as K. M. de Silva put it.⁽¹⁶⁹⁾ Their view of the government and missionary schools that had no provision for instruction in Islamic religion as institutions that would have a corrupting influence on their children revealed a crucial feature of the Muslims - their inherent conservatism. Innovation and change were looked upon with suspicion if not outright condemnation.

The revival activities of the Buddhists and Hindus stemmed from a common ground as a reaction against the dominance achieved by Christianity and Christians under the British rule. The Muslim revivalist movement, on the other hand, when it arose in the early 1880's, aimed mainly to arrest the decline in vitality of the Muslim community. The arrival of Arabi Pasha,⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ the exiled hero of Egypt paved the way for the quickening of Muslim revival and in turn pulled them out of their "conservative seclusion". He is best remembered by the Sri Lankan Muslims for the role he played in the development of the Muslim revivalist movement specially in the field of education. Up till then the Muslim children were being kept outside of formal educational structures and were only attending the madrasas (schools) attached to mosques. But, as mentioned earlier, education in these madrasas was virtually limited to the study of the Qur'an and Arabic.

It did not take long for Arabi Pasha to be struck by the educational poverty of the Muslims in the country. Pointing out that the Muslims had not a single school of their own to which his son would go, he declared his intention of sending him to a Christian missionary school for he knew that his son "was so well grounded in the Qur'an, it was impossible that he would become a Christian".⁽¹⁷¹⁾

There was a native leader, M. C. Siddi Lebbe⁽¹⁷²⁾ who, like Arumuga Navalar in the North, saw the urgent need of education as means to the regeneration of his community, and who was prepared to take up the cue from Arabi Pasha and to initiate an educational movement. The first step in this direction was taken in November 1884 with the founding of the first Anglo-Mohammedan Boys' School (Al-Madrasathul Khairiyyatul Islamiah).⁽¹⁷³⁾ Once the initial enthusiasm of the Muslims had waned and the funds had been depleted, this Anglo-Mohammedan Boys' School began to lapse into a dormant state. A fresh impetus was given after the establishment of the Colombo Muslim Education Society in 1891. In 1892 this society founded a new boys' school, Al-Madrasathul Zahra at the site of the former school.⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ This school (Zahra) became eligible for grants from the government in 1894 and thus became the inspirational model for several Muslim boys' school that were founded later in different parts of the country during the ensuing years. Siddi Lebbe's attempts to spread education among Muslim girls did not achieve noteworthy success in the period under our review.⁽¹⁷⁵⁾ Once the schools started to receive grants there was a gradual increase in the number of the school-going population among the Muslims. Along with this the Muslim revival brought in numerous social and cultural organizations that helped them to update themselves. Thus, by the end of nineteenth century, the Muslims too, along with the Buddhist and Hindus, were receiving grants for their schools from the government. Yet, taken as a community, according to Samaraweera, the Muslims remained "very much backward in education for decades".⁽¹⁷⁶⁾

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The revival of the indigenous religions in Sri Lanka was merely a part of a wider movement that was fast spreading throughout Asia and North Africa during the second half of the nineteenth century. In these, the centres of ancient religious systems, religious "nationalism", according to K. M. de Silva,

preceded and inspired political "nationalism" providing as it did an ideal basis for the rejection of the west. (177)

In consequence the missionaries began to be identified with the cause of western imperialism. Nationalism, thus, became a force opposed to anything alien and hence opposed to Christian missions as well. The beginning of the 20th century witnessed some of this attitude very well.

While the revival of the indigenous religions (Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam) was taking place in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Catholic Church too underwent quite a few structural changes from time to time. It will be our main focus in the following pages to see how the Catholic Church progressed in the expansion of its educational activities and the efforts it took in providing higher education to Catholic children after the establishment of the Department of Public Instruction in 1869.

5. The Catholic Church, its life and its educational activities.

a) Bishop Bonjean as Vicar Apostolic of Jaffna.

On the recommendation of the General Council of the Oblates, (178) as was expected in Sri Lanka, Christopher Bonjean was appointed on 5 July 1868 by Rome to be the Vicar Apostolic of Jaffna, succeeding

Bishop Semeria who had died in Marseille on 2 January 1868. Bonjean's strong personality and his immense activity in the field of education left no doubt that he would leave his impression on the life of the Roman Catholic Mission as well as on the educational history of the Island. Soon after taking office as Vicar Apostolic of Jaffna, Bonjean tried his utmost to get more priests and brothers from Europe to carry out the mission work more effectively. That his efforts were successful is evident in the increase in the number of missionaries from 22 in 1868 to around 50 in 1883. Moreover, he always instructed his missionaries of the need to adopt the correct attitude in the often complex situations they were placed in Sri Lanka and of the importance of realizing that they had much to learn from them. He instructed the missionaries to acquire a thorough knowledge of the non-Christian religions and the native languages.⁽¹⁷⁹⁾ The zeal and great enthusiasm shown by Bishop Bonjean and his missionaries in the field of mission work was reported by the Revd. John O. Rhodes of the Methodist Missionary Society as that the Catholic priests were prepared to "compass sea and land to make one proselyte".⁽¹⁸⁰⁾

In the field of Catholic education, as mentioned earlier, Bonjean, in consultation with Bishop Sillani of Colombo, conducted a series of correspondences with Governor Hercules Robinson and finally obtained financial support for the Catholic schools, and the freedom to choose appropriate text books and to appoint teachers of their choice.⁽¹⁸¹⁾ When the expansion of the Catholic school network seemed seriously threatened in 1874 because of the introduction of a three-mile distance rule, Bonjean stated his objections to the Colonial Secretary and received the assurance that exceptions could be allowed if sufficient number of parents objected to the already existing schools.⁽¹⁸²⁾

The Jaffna Boys' Seminary founded by Bishop Bettacchini matured into a superior English school. Its commendable early progress was witnessed by Inspector Sendall.⁽¹⁸³⁾ In 1878, under the leadership of

Fr. Michael Murphy, (184) one of the ablest and most zealous clergymen that Jaffna had seen, the Jaffna Catholics agitated for the provision of higher education. (185) Once the approval was obtained from the Visitor General of the Oblates, Fr. Murphy set about the task of collecting the necessary funds for the College of higher education. On 10 January 1881, St. Patrick's College was opened in the new buildings which were then partly completed. The event marked a new era in Catholic education in Jaffna,

as the College raised the standard of the Jaffna Boys' Seminary, introducing new and useful subjects into its curriculum; the prestige of the Catholic community was enhanced, enabling Catholic children to obtain higher education in their own schools, and providing the young with the means of securing honourable and remunerative situations in course of time. (186)

Fr. J. R. Smyth, (187) appointed the first Rector of St. Patrick's College, had the pleasure of recording for St. Patrick's its first success in the Cambridge Junior Examination in 1882. (188)

On 27 December 1877, Bonjean addressed a circular to all the missionaries in the Jaffna Vicariate regarding their obligations to their schools and reviewed for their information the progress of Catholic education in the Vicariate since the establishment of the Department of Public Instruction. (189) In the circular he explained that the grants-in-aid scheme was

practically, and as far as we Catholics need it, a system of Denominational Education, under which, whilst we are entitled for the secular education of our Catholic children, to a proportionate share in the educational funds, we are left entirely free as to the religious character of the education we give. (190)

The advantages that had accrued to the Church from the new system of education was best shown by a table such as the following. (191)

TABLE 7:4

THE INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF CATHOLIC SCHOOLS, 1871-1877

Year	No. of Catholic schools				No. of pupils		
	Eng.	Ang-Vern.	Vern.	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1871	8	2	40	50	1,584	419	2,003
1872	8	1	45	54	1,870	503	2,373
1873	8	3	53	64	2,988	735	3,723
1874	9	3	75	87	4,121	1,363	5,484
1875	9	3	75	87	4,346	1,595	5,941
1876	9	3	76	88	4,503	1,634	6,137
1877	10	4	81	95	4,432	1,617	6,049

Although the above figures seemed encouraging, the missionaries were reminded of "two other sides of the subject" which were less bright and cheering, nevertheless necessary to be considered diligently and gone into "in a spirit of self-examination". The two questions put forward were:

1. Have we done all we could to place our schools on that footing of excellence which the object we aim at calls for?
2. Has the religious formation of our pupils kept pace with their mental development? (192)

From trustworthy evidence and personal inspection of the schools, Bonjean declared that he had come to the sad but inevitable conclusion that "in both the one and the other respect, our schools have fallen short of our reasonable anticipations". (193) Although the education of the bulk of Catholic Youth was then in Catholic hands, some Catholic schools, through neglect and want of supervision, had

fallen off from their original excellence... We are compelled to confess that many others are only relatively good, and are hardly equal to the trial of serious competition, should any such arise. (194)

Therefore, he requested the missionaries to put in all their efforts to achieve the first rank and reminded them that unless

we unceasingly strive to go forwards, we shall soon find to our dismay, that we have gone backwards. There is ample room for improvement in this respect, and it is no less certain that the necessity for that improvement is urgent. (195)

As regards the second question, namely the religious formation of the scholars, the Catholic Bishops of England, Bonjean said, had attached so much importance as to have appointed a body of Ecclesiastical Inspectors to report upon the religious teaching in Aided Catholic Schools. Though he was not in a position to do likewise in Sri Lanka, Bonjean felt that the local missionary was certainly bound to see that the important work of inspecting the quality of religious instruction was not neglected in Catholic schools. Therefore he inquired:

What can it avail us to withdraw our children from non-Catholic schools, if the schools they are put in, are Catholic in nothing but the bare name? (196)

He wanted the missionaries to pay attention not only to the daily reading and recitation of Catechism in schools but also to other important duties in connection with religious education of youth and he summed it up thus:

The whole tone of our schools ought to be thoroughly and deeply religious... Missionaries are to bear in mind that under no circumstances and no pretext whatever, and not even in the merest details of their outward arrangements, are our schools to be suffered to forfeit their character as institutions uncompromisingly Catholic. (197)

Furthermore, explaining that the non-Catholic pupils should be forbidden to attend religious instruction except at the formal request of their parents, Bonjean went on to state categorically that on no account should the presence of non-Catholic children in Catholic schools

deprive our Catholic pupils of even one tittle of those religious advantages which, in a Catholic school, are not their privilege merely, but their right. Our schools are Denominational, and we must carefully preserve their strict character as such; else, we had better give them up at once. (198)

Thus, he laid down in the Circular the regulations needed very urgently to keep the Catholic schools in their proper atmosphere in order to give the necessary formation to the children attending them. (199)

The defense of the Catholic school had, more than anything else, shown the necessity of the Church having its own printing press and newspaper. Bonjean, during the first years of his term, was obliged to have articles and pamphlets printed in Madras, Trichchirapalli and even by the Protestant press, "Examiner" in Colombo. He was obliged in 1868 to appeal to a friend in France and thus obtained a hand printing press in 1871. It was only on 19 January 1876 the first number of the "Jaffna Catholic Guardian" appeared. (200) Bonjean, as was expected, used the "Jaffna Catholic Guardian" as a forum to express his position on all important matters relating to religion and education.

In 1876, Bonjean requested a coadjutor, having in mind the division of the Vicariate. The General Administration of the Oblates was prepared to give him a coadjutor but did not agree with him as regards the creation of a new Vicariate. (201) After much consultation, Father Andrew Melizan (202) was appointed coadjutor on 18 July 1879. He was typical of the pastorally oriented missionary who preferred to be among the people rather than give thought to administration or to an original vision of the apostolate. However, Bonjean and Melizan got along well and, in fact, they complemented each other. Bonjean had less work and thus was able to devote his time to other urgent matters while Melizan visited the parishes and looked after the spiritual needs of the faithful.

In February 1883, the General Administration of the Oblates was approached by Propaganda with a view to getting the consent of the Oblate Congregation to accept charge of the Apostolic Vicariate of Colombo. (203) The Oblates were asked whether they would give assurance as to the establishment of an English College, an orphanage and also the preaching of the Gospel to non-Christians, things which their predecessors were not able to accomplish. (204) When the Oblates accepted the conditions, Propaganda divided the Vicariate of Colombo and transferred Bishop Bonjean from Jaffna to Colombo. The Silvestrines with Bishop Pagnani were moved to the newly created Vicariate of Kandy. (205) In Jaffna, Bishop Melizan who was coadjutor to Bishop Bonjean since 1879 was nominated as Vicar Apostolic of Jaffna. (206) He was only 39 years old when he succeeded Bishop Bonjean in 1883 and did not have the same leader's temperament as his predecessor and lacked the self-confidence and initiative to tackle conflicts that arose with the Government such as those regarding education and, later on, the marriage laws. The fact that he did not speak or write English fluently could have been one of the reasons for this. Nevertheless he was very much loved by the missionaries and the faithful for his pastoral mindedness. (207)

Melizan's first task was, however, to see to the replacement of the missionaries who had gone with Bishop Bonjean to the Colombo Vicariate. (208) Thus, the first few years were difficult for the Jaffna Vicariate due to the shortage of priests. In the area of education, Melizan could only boast of the efforts of his predecessor to secure proper education for the Catholic children. In his pastoral letter to the faithful in his Vicariate, Melizan said that Dr. Bonjean

neglected nothing to promote the cause of education and to make the Catholic communities entrusted to his pastoral care, reap the benefits of a good Catholic education so that when he left last year, for Colombo, he could boast of leaving only very few places unprovided with schools, and, that, for reasons quite beyond his control. (209)

Thus he reminded the Catholics in his Vicariate that they had been furnished, without any trouble to themselves, with means of securing for their children "not only a sound religious training which is the chief point but also a good secular education".⁽²¹⁰⁾

Though Melizan desired to build on what he had inherited from his predecessor, he had to face a number of difficulties starting with the shortage of priests. St. Patrick's College, after the removal of Fr. J. R. Smyth to Colombo, suffered very much on account of the lack of an authoritative educator at the head of the college and subsequently the student population declined from 190 in 1884 to 160 in 1886. However the reputation of the college recovered slowly and by the beginning of 1890 the number of students had increased to 275.⁽²¹¹⁾ Some of the students of this college achieved outstanding results in the Cambridge Senior Examinations and in the London Matriculation Examination⁽²¹²⁾ and thus the college came to be recognized as a leading institution in the country. It was under the leadership of the dynamic Fr. Patrick Dunne⁽²¹³⁾ that St. Patrick's built a good reputation as a leading institution and thus attracted many more even non-Catholic students, into her portals.

The expansion of English and Anglo-vernacular schools too were carried on during the period of Melizan. But it was the expansion of vernacular schools that received much greater attention during this period. By the time Melizan had settled down and had arranged for the smooth running of the diocese, he was called to take charge of the Colombo Vicariate after the death of Bonjean on 3 August 1892.⁽²¹⁴⁾

Shortly before the death of Bonjean, Propaganda had conceived the plan of erecting new vicariates in Sri Lanka mainly because of the vastness of the Vicariates and the difficulty of having access to some towns such as Galle and Matara in the Colombo Vicariate, Trincomalee

and Batticaloa in the Jaffna Vicariate.⁽²¹⁵⁾ Bonjean's death gave the opportunity to reconsider the ecclesiastical division and at the end of long negotiations, too complicated to be dealt with here, the Catholic Church in Sri Lanka was divided into five dioceses: Colombo and Jaffna entrusted to the Oblates; Kandy to the Silvestrines; and Galle and Trincomalee to the Jesuits.⁽²¹⁶⁾ Melizan was transferred to Colombo and he was succeeded in Jaffna by Henry Joulain.⁽²¹⁷⁾ The early years of Joulain's episcopacy were fraught with many difficulties mainly due to shortage of missionaries. There were, in 1898, only 31 priests of whom 8 were native Sri Lankans, working in Jaffna.⁽²¹⁸⁾ In 1902 Father Jules Collin⁽²¹⁹⁾ wrote to the General Superior as follows:

It is extremely dangerous to want to maintain an English college without having one single professor in the presence of several Protestant colleges run by Englishmen. (220)

Thus, it was the shortage of personnel that slowed down very much the efforts of the Catholic Church in Jaffna in improving the quality of education of Catholic children in Jaffna.

b) Educational activities in Colombo and in other dioceses.

Bishop Sillani, as mentioned earlier, on the instruction of Propaganda directed his attention to the establishment of schools. In 1867 St. Benedict's Institute was entrusted to the Christian Brothers and shortly afterwards the corner-stone of the Good Shepherd was laid which was to become the leading school for girls in Colombo.⁽²²¹⁾ The press was another apostolate to which Bishop Sillani devoted much attention and in 1869 he launched the "Ceylon Catholic Messenger" as a fortnightly, followed in 1873 by the Sinhala paper, the "Gnanartha Pradipaya".

For the amount of work in the Vicariate, there were clearly too few personnel. Even though the number of priests had increased from 20 in 1867 to 25 in 1872, the needs of the Vicariate had also increased very much.⁽²²²⁾ Since the missionaries at his disposal had their hands full with the care of the faithful entrusted to them, Bishop Sillani established two native religious Congregations to meet the need for apostolic works.⁽²²³⁾

The gradual revival of Buddhism was another factor that the missionaries in Colombo Vicariate had to take into consideration. The public debates between the Protestants and Buddhists mentioned earlier contributed much to the restoration of self-confidence among the Buddhists. They turned more outspokenly against Christianity and thus against the Catholic Church as well. Along with the revival of Buddhism went the rise in nationalism that would rapidly turn against all Christian Missions.⁽²²⁴⁾

When Sillani died on 27 March 1879, Propaganda had the difficult task of appointing a successor. After consultation with the Abbot General of the Silvestrines in Rome, Propaganda appointed Clemente Pagnani⁽²²⁵⁾ as the new Vicar Apostolic of Colombo, together with its insistence on the part of the Silvestrines for an immediate increase in the number of missionaries and the founding of an institution of higher education.⁽²²⁶⁾ Pagnani felt that it was impossible for the small group of missionaries of the Southern Vicariate to respond to the demands made on them, especially with regard to the provision of higher education for the Catholic children. The years 1881-1882 were extremely difficult years for Bishop Pagnani for he was pressurized from all sides. Propaganda, in responding to complaints received from Sri Lanka, wanted Pagnani to start a seminary for the training of native clergy, a college for higher education and also to increase the number of missionaries by appealing to the Superior of his Congregation in Rome. The Silvestrines in Rome, on the other hand, wanted Pagnani

to start a novitiate with a large number of novices to have more native monks. Placed under such pressure, Pagnani decided to request Propaganda to divide the Colombo Vicariate, a plan that he had conceived two years previously, and that the Central Province be given to the Silvestrines.

Meanwhile, a group of Catholics in Colombo, on hearing that the Silvestrines were planning to leave Colombo, sent a petition to Propaganda requesting that the Southern Vicariate of Colombo be entrusted to the Jesuits who could easily set up institutions of higher education.⁽²²⁷⁾ The petitioners placed before Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect of Propaganda Fide, their utmost desire to "have a school in Colombo superior or even equal to the schools of other denominations". The Catholic institutions they had, the petitioners pointed out,

were inadequate to meet the demands of those who seek a higher and more comprehensive education than an elementary course. The petitioners want institutions which would be in a position to carry the pupils through the higher branches of education, so that they may pursue therein a collegiate course and secure to themselves all the advantages other institutions offer, and thus obviate the necessity of their being sent to schools other than Catholic.⁽²²⁸⁾

Furthermore, they lamented the fact that the Catholic institutions they had were not in a position to impart higher education which the pupils wanted in order to keep abreast of the intellectual advancement at that time and to keep themselves fit for the social positions or for respectable and lucrative callings. Highlighting the successful work of the Jesuits in India in the field of education, the petitioners pleaded that the Southern Vicariate be entrusted to the Jesuits.⁽²²⁹⁾

In the meantime, the Oblate General Council, on hearing about the plan of the Silvestrines moving out of Colombo, decided to act quickly and immediately contacted Propaganda expressing their willingness to

take over Colombo Vicariate.⁽²³⁰⁾ Propaganda of course was ready to offer Colombo to the Oblates on condition that they give assurance as to the increase in the number of missionaries in order to extend the apostolate among the Buddhists and to establish institutions for secondary and higher education.⁽²³¹⁾ Having received assurance from the Oblate Congregation to the above conditions, Propaganda divided the Vicariate of Colombo and Bishop Pagnani was transferred to the newly created Vicariate of Kandy. As was expected, the Oblate Congregation suggested the transfer of Bonjean from Jaffna to Colombo and Propaganda, knowing Bonjean's capabilities and talents and having consulted him on several occasions on various issues connected with mission work in the Island, was only too pleased to have the transfer approved and effected smoothly.

On 23 August 1883 Bonjean was solemnly welcomed in Colombo, his new city of residence. Even before he arrived in Colombo, Bonjean had already appealed to the Oblate Administration in Rome for more missionaries, particularly those whose mother tongue was English and who could make a significant contribution to education in the country.⁽²³²⁾ Meanwhile, with great care Bonjean started improving the schools in his Vicariate and by 1892, six months prior to his death, he was able to say in his "Pastoral Letter on Education" that

a most remarkable feature of our Catholic Mission is that wherever a Catholic congregation had gathered round a church, there also is to be found a Catholic school. (233)

But he was also quick to point out that progress in education did not consist in the multiplication of schools and scholars but "chiefly in the improved nature of the education imparted". He was proud to note that the Catholic schools, "both English and Vernacular stand amongst the best of their class in the whole Island". The aim of the Catholic Church had been

to place our Catholic educational institutions in the matter of secular training upon a level with

the best non-Catholic institutions in the land, so as to cut off from Catholic parents all pretexts to send their children to those institutions in which no amount of secular knowledge imparted to them can compensate the loss or the awakening of their faith and the unavoidable deterioration of their morals. (234)

To attain that end which would meet the requirements of the large majority of Catholic children, Bonjean suggested the desirability of building a Catholic College. (235) In answer to his appeal a public meeting of the Catholics was convened on 2 April 1892 and at this meeting a sum of Rs.18,500.00 was collected immediately and later this amount rose to Rs.60,000.00 through contributions from others. (236) Bonjean did not live to see his dream come true and it was left to his successor Bishop Melizan to complete it. Thus a movement started in the beginning of 1892 ended on 2 March 1896 when the main building of St. Joseph's College was thrown open to students aspiring collegiate education while at the same time fulfilling a long felt need of the Catholics of Colombo.

With the creation of five dioceses after the death of Bonjean, as mentioned earlier, and with the "return" of the Jesuits to Sri Lanka, (237) educational activities began to improve in the Southern and Eastern Provinces as well. In Galle, the Belgian Jesuits gave special attention to St. Aloysius' school and developed it into a college to prepare students for the Cambridge local examinations. In Batticaloa, St. Michael's school that had been in operation since 1871 rose from its modest beginnings to be one of the finest educational institutions on the Island. Similarly in Trincomalee, St. Joseph's school too began to improve and became a college only in 1909. (238) Different Congregations of Nuns also arrived on the Island to improve the quality of Catholic life as well as Catholic children's educational standards.

During the period under review, Catholic provision of education steadily rose in the Vicariates, as is evident from the table below. The English schools increased in number and the vernacular school multiplied considerably so that each village or parish had its school supervised by a missionary. (239)

TABLE 7:5

DISTRIBUTION OF ROMAN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS
RECEIVING GRANTS-IN-AID, 1871-1900.

YEAR	ENGLISH SCHOOLS	ANGLO-VERNACULAR SCHOOLS	VERNACULAR SCHOOLS	TOTAL No. OF SCHOOLS
1871	12	3	34	49
1875	21	3	117	141
1880	27	2	173	202
1885	24	2	174	200
1890	27	1	197	225
1895	25	1	231	257
1900	34	1	301	336

The quality of education also improved under the teaching and supervision of religious men and women of various Congregations that had come into the Island. The Director of Public Instruction and Inspectors of Schools witnessed the efficiency of most of the Roman Catholic schools. (240) Bonjean spared no pains to keep the Department at bay when it sought to interfere with Catholic schools on matters of religious instruction or the opening of new schools in spite of the "three-mile" distance rule which admitted of "exceptional circumstances". (241) Bonjean strove hard to preserve the denominational character of Catholic schools that opened their doors to non-Catholic pupils. Their religious liberty was safe-guarded with a conscience clause adopted in the schools on Bonjean's orders. (242)

After the creation of the Vicariate of Kandy and with the establishment of the Hierarchy in Sri Lanka on 1 September 1886, (243) missionary work and education expanded. The creation of two more dioceses, Trincomalee and Galle in 1893, and the "return" of Jesuits

and the arrival of other religious Congregations as well helped the Catholic Church in the Island to improve the quality of education in her schools. Certain weaknesses in Catholic higher education were seen and remedied with the adjustments of staffs and courses and the opening of St. Joseph's College for the classical education of Catholics. By the turn of the century, Catholics had some of the best educational institutions in the Island.⁽²⁴⁴⁾ St. Benedict's and St. Patrick's pioneered and excelled in commercial education, the former school also excelled in the teaching of Art. The services of a large number of dedicated religious men and women too were made available to the Catholics in Sri Lanka.

6) The state of education at the end
of nineteenth century.

While competition for the establishment of schools was largely among Christian denominations during the period of the School Commission (1834-1869), the period under review was characterized by the entry of new protagonists, namely the Buddhists, Hindus and Muslims. Though in theory the non-Christian organizations could make use of the grants-in-aid scheme as much as missions schools, the obstacles placed before them, such as the distance rule, forced them to wage a bitter struggle to obtain grants-in-aid for their schools. And as such, the non-Christian organizations were able to have only a few schools participate in the grants-in-aid scheme, as is evident from the table below.⁽²⁴⁵⁾

TABLE 7:6
NUMBER OF SCHOOLS UNDER MANAGEMENT RECEIVING
GRANTS-IN-AID IN THE YEAR 1900.

MANAGEMENT	No. OF SCHOOLS	No. OF SCHOLARS
American	129	9,455
Baptist	25	2,048
Buddhist	142	18,700
Church of England (CMS)	170	11,375
Church of England (Diocese)	148	11,658
Private & Saivite	65	6,560
Presbyterian	2	347
Roman Catholic	336	36,116
Wesleyan	307	24,128
Mohammedan	4	362
TOTAL	1,328	120,751

With the establishment of the Department of Public Instruction in 1869, overall administrative responsibility was vested in a government official known as the Director of Public Instruction. The first holder of this office, J. S. Laurie, survived for only one year as he committed, according to Jayasuriya, "the cardinal sin in colonial circles of taking to heart too seriously the educational needs of the people"⁽²⁴⁶⁾ without placating the Christian missionary interests that were held so important by the government. When he advocated the introduction of a conscience clause, that was enough to make him persona non grata. The fact that a conscience clause was introduced in England in 1870 did not prevent the Protestant missionaries in Sri Lanka from opposing the introduction of such a clause in Sri Lanka.

The fact that grants was given solely for the purpose of secular instruction and that it was paid for passes in secular instruction drove the mission schools to aim at good results in the secular subjects with a consequent diminution of interest in the religious purpose of missionary schools. However, it created competition among schools which led to a certain amount of concentration on the achievement of high standards in secular subjects. Some of the English schools of the missions aimed at achieving the standards of the Grammar

schools in England, and in doing so competed with one another in the Island as well. This competition among the mission schools forced the missions to recruit teachers from England and other European countries for their schools. These men and women brought with them not only high standards of scholarship but also excellence of character, discipline and dedication to work.

In the case of vernacular education, it did not extend beyond the elementary level, even though the declared policy of the government during the period under review was to promote vernacular education by encouraging voluntary efforts through grants-in-aid. The government did provide some vernacular schools under its management, but at the same time preferred, whenever possible, to withdraw its own school and let children attend the grant aided schools conducted by denominational bodies. The table below indicates the expansion of grants-in-aid vernacular schools during the period under review and the Roman Catholic Church's involvement in this sphere is notable as its vernacular schools increased from 34 in 1871 to 301 by the year 1900. (247)

TABLE 7:7
DISTRIBUTION OF GRANTS-IN-AID
VERNACULAR SCHOOLS, 1871-1900.

MANAGEMENT	1871	1875	1880	1885	1890	1895	1900
AMERICAN	56	89	113	113	127	126	124
BAPTIST	9	29	26	27	40	28	24
BUDDHIST	0	0	4	8	17	44	129
CHURCH OF ENGLAND	76	134	170	168	243	271	267
MOHAMEDDAN	0	0	0	0	0	3	2
PRESBYTERIAN	2	2	2	0	0	0	0
PRIVATE	14	26	17	18*	26*	41*	51*
ROMAN CATHOLIC	34	117	173	174	197	231	301
WESLEYAN	46	88	163	168	217	222	272
	237	485	668	676	867	966	1170

* Private & Saivite

With regard to English education, the policy of the government was to withdraw from it slowly and to leave English education to the

missionaries and local government bodies. When the local government bodies declined to take over the responsibility, English education fell into the hands of the missions. It is also to be noted that English education was available only in urban areas and only to a small number of students, the economically and socially privileged. Government was satisfied so long as there were sufficient number of English educated persons for service under the government. Whereas for the people, English education was very important, as it opened the door to employment and social mobility. With regard to the quality of English education, a notable change took place when, in 1880, examinations conducted by examining bodies in England were introduced into Sri Lanka. The table below shows the growth of grants-in-aid English schools during the period under review. Beginning with 37 schools in 1871, the number increased to 142 in 1900 with the Church of England having the greatest number of English schools.(248)

TABLE 7:8
DISTRIBUTION OF GRANTS-IN-AID
ENGLISH SCHOOLS, 1871-1900.

MANAGEMENT	1871	1875	1880	1885	1890	1895	1900
AMERICAN	0	1	4	4	5	5	5
BAPTIST	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
BUDDHIST	0	0	0	0	1	10	12
CHURCH OF ENGLAND	9	19	22	26	39	40	46
LOCAL BOARD	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
MOHAMEDDAN	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
PRESBYTERIAN	5	0	0	0	0	2	2
PRIVATE & SAIVITE	0	2	6	7	6	9	14
ROMAN CATHOLIC	12	21	27	24	27	25	34
WESLEYAN	11	12	14	15	21	21	27
	37	56	73	88	101	113	142

As from 1900 onwards, the increasing expenditure on education began^{to} receive the attention of the Governor who declared that

we cannot continue indefinitely to increase an expenditure which in less prosperous days we may be unable to continue. The solution of the problem is to be found in inducing localities to contribute to the cause of Education within their

limits, and I propose that this session you should empower Municipalities, Local Boards, and even village Committees, to levy a rate or cess for Educational, Medical and other local requirements. (249)

There was consequently an exploration of ways of passing on part of the burden on expenditure to others. The Governor appointed a committee of three Civil Servants (E. R. Ellis, H. Wace and B. W. Ievers) to report on this issue. The creation of Local Education Authorities to take responsibility for education in England was very much in the air at this time, though legislation was promulgated only in 1902.

The Census Report of 1901 highlighted the inadequacies in the provision of education at all levels - elementary, secondary and higher - for the population in general.⁽²⁵⁰⁾ The Census Report attracted the attention of some parliamentarians in England who urged the expansion of educational facilities for the general population as well as for the children of estate workers.⁽²⁵¹⁾ Local pressure too began to mount as various national and social reform groups agitated for compulsory elementary education, a more relevant secondary education, the establishment of a university and a place for the national languages. The government began to have recourse to commissions and committees for recommendations to solve several issues in education. As such the problems the government was facing at the beginning of the twentieth century were of a different kind, and it is right that this present inquiry should end at this point, at which, from the point of view of the Catholic Church, significant progress had been made in the provision of sound education to Catholic children and the contribution of the Catholic Church to the educational history of the Island too had been quite substantial. There were no significant changes in this set-up till the end of the British rule of Sri Lanka in 1948, and indeed till the take over of schools by the government of Sri Lanka in 1961.

CHAPTER VIII

THE OUTCOME OF A HUNDRED YEARS OF ENDEAVOUR.

To re-appraise the evidence of a century of the Catholic Church's educational activities during the principal period of the British rule of Sri Lanka, attention will now be paid to gathering together the different ideas and theories that have been uncovered by this study and giving a thematically organized interpretation of them, in so far as they relate to the Catholic Church's life and educational activities during the nineteenth century. Evidence and illustrations of the activities of the Catholic Church in the provision of education to Catholic children have already been given in the main body of the work, and it is not the intention to repeat those details here.

1. The non-Catholic missions.

The period under review (1796-1901) certainly was one of intense activity by the various non-Catholic missionary organizations that arrived in Sri Lanka. Their educational activities were a powerful force in the evolution of the country's affairs. Despite the official British policy in the colonies of religious neutrality, the colonial government in Sri Lanka seemed to have followed a policy of reliance on Christian (Protestant) missions for the organization of education in the country. The different Christian missionary societies that came into Sri Lanka received the active support of the governors and this clearly accounted for their early success. Moreover their success also depended on factors such as the extent of the resources at their disposal, the availability of an adequate number of personnel, and the attitude of the local inhabitants.

The Christian missions were able to build up their own network of schools and also to exert influence in educational matters at the policy making level of the country. Proselytizing was a primary aim of these missions, as is evident from their policy declarations and activities.⁽¹⁾ Reformed Christianity was the most important subject in all the government schools during the period under review, and this teaching was not subject to a conscience clause in their schools, which would have safeguarded the interests of other religionists, the Buddhists, Hindus and Muslims who formed the majority of people of Sri Lanka. Rivalries within the Protestant missions clearly revealed that each mission was keen to preach its own variety of Reformed Christianity as being the one, true religion and also to compete one with another in establishing their parish communities and schools. The location of these, often almost in the same villages, must have confused the Buddhists and Hindus as to whether there was one Christ or different Christs to be found in each of these different sects. James Steuart, a contemporary British writer, commenting on the poor impressions created by Christian sectarianism in the minds of the Buddhists, Hindus and Muslims, wrote that the indigenous religionists,

notice that each Christian sect, while striving to convert the heathen, is also eager to make proselytes from other Christians in order to swell the number and increase the importance of their own respective folds; and they conclude, in consequence of these differences and rivalries, that while all may be contending for that which they believe to be truth, it is quite impossible that they can all be right, and that it is possible that all may be wrong. (2)

Yet the Buddhists and Hindus had to send their children to the Protestant schools if they desired an education for their children which would enable them to gain entrance to higher social positions and to higher status.

2. The Catholic Church's endeavours.

According to K. M. de Silva, during the first three decades of the British rule of Sri Lanka, the Catholic community became "the target of

Protestant efforts at conversion, and 'Papist' was as much a term of contempt as 'heathen' or 'pagan'." (3) The relaxation of the Dutch plakaats and the generosity shown by some of the governors of Sri Lanka towards the Catholics did not indicate any consistent and purposeful departure from the anti-Catholicism that was so prominent in early Victorian England, which was also echoed in the colonies. K. M. de Silva is correct in asserting that hostility to and prejudice against Catholics in Sri Lanka was "widespread among British officials". (4) It was against this background that the Catholic Church in Sri Lanka had to develop during the first half of the nineteenth century, indeed, throughout the whole period of our study. Because of this antagonism, much energy and effort had to be spent throughout the century on competing with the Protestant missions in order to prevent their being in a better position to provide education for Catholic children, and also in answering criticisms leveled against Roman Catholicism.

The early part of the British rule witnessed a decline in Catholic life as the Goan Oratorian Fathers no longer showed the zeal they had shown earlier during the Dutch rule of Sri Lanka. When Propaganda attempted to reorganize the Catholic Church in the Island, the Goan Oratorians resisted, and when Propaganda sent European missionaries to Sri Lanka, the Oratorians openly showed their dislike for them. Later on tensions began to appear between the Silvestrines and the Oblates, when the latter began their mission work in the Island. In 1848, the Oblates themselves resented the idea of being given the help of Jesuits from India to assist the work being done in the Vicariate of Jaffna. There were several disputes and arguments between the Bishops on the Island over issues such as finance, the fixing of boundaries, and education. (5) Many a time, suspicion and mistrust dominated the relationships between the different groups of Catholic missionaries working in the country. Indeed, throughout the nineteenth century, the conflict between the patronal rights of Portugal and the Vatican formed an ever-recurring theme. The many complications generated by the so-called "Goan schism" illustrate the complexity of the ecclesiastical

problem, but it never seriously threatened Rome's plan to reorganize Catholic life by means of establishing new Apostolic Vicariates.

The negative aspects of the Catholic Church's activities in Sri Lanka disclosed by the numerous documents examined for the present study do not indicate that the missionaries lacked sense of intention and direction for their mission in Sri Lanka. Certainly they were men and women who had been inspired by a conviction of the urgent need for the Gospel to be preached, who left their home country and had made exhausting apostolic journeys through tropical countries, facing the dangers of regularly recurring epidemics.⁽⁶⁾ According to the theology of the day, which they had studied in their seminaries, they were convinced that the Catholic faith must be brought to the "pagans", and that salvation could only be attained within the Catholic Church and, above all, that the Kingdom of God must at all costs be established on earth. Presumably they all believed that their labours would sooner or later bring about the conversion of the people of the Island and that there would be all the characteristics and qualities that are subsumed under the term "Church", as understood by the Catholics of their day.

Yet, from the negative aspects of the Catholic Church's life in Sri Lanka manifested during the nineteenth century, it would appear that, on the whole, the missionaries had a lesser sense of "Church" than might be expected today. This could be explained by the fact that the doctrine of the Church played a far less prominent part in Catholic theology at that time, than it does today. Then the emphasis was placed on the Church as an administrative organization, as a corporation, rather than on the more biblical notion of the Church as a divine creation, a community of believers, the body of Christ. Father Yves Congar, commenting on the dogmatic text-books used in Seminaries in the nineteenth century regarding the Church, says that in those

books,

the study of the nature of the Church is reduced to the study of its authority as judge in matters of controversy. These are treatises about the ecclesiastical or clerical structures of the Church. The only part Christ plays in it is that of founder; the role of the Holy Spirit is to guarantee the final infallibility of the judgements passed by the Church and nothing else. Apart from a few pages at the beginning, where as part of the explanation of various names by which the Church is called, a number of texts from the Bible are quoted, nothing whatever is said about the inner being of the Church. (7)

It is understandable, then, that the Catholic missionaries coming from Seminaries that taught such ecclesiology had no sense of the community of believers being the Church. In most cases, they were men from different Religious Orders, invited by Propaganda to take up mission work. They became employees of their Religious Order and of Propaganda, and they failed to recognize themselves as co-workers in the building up of the Kingdom of God in Sri Lanka. Naturally the idea of "mission", of preaching the Gospel and converting the people filled their thoughts and their horizon. But this provided no substitute for the awareness of being the Church in that place, together with those whom they converted.

Moreover, the earlier missionaries were sent ahead to carry out their labours without the help and direction of a bishop, the focus of the Church in any location. This meant that they were responsible to their Congregation or Society in the West, the heads of which, however enthusiastic, could not always be aware of the real needs of the work in the mission field. Thus the leadership was, to some extent, acting independently of the central fellowship of the Church. The existence of such circumstances goes a long way toward explaining the suspicion, mistrust and differences of opinion that existed between the Catholic missionaries, and later even between the bishops during the nineteenth century.

The fact that the early missionaries were men inspired with a great sense of "mission" and not of "Church-sense" raises the question of why, instead of restricting themselves to the teaching of the sacred sciences, did the missionaries devote themselves to teaching secular subjects and thus involve themselves in the education of the people, eventually becoming a chief agent of the government for the education of the masses? The answer to this must surely be found in a particular understanding of the mandate received by the Church from her divine founder: "Go forth to every part of the world, and proclaim the Good News to the whole creation". (Mk.16:15. NEB). In theological jargon, to proclaim or to announce is to communicate to people a message that is relevant to them that can evoke a response which will affect their lives and can produce a behavioural change. The most frequent means of communicating, even for the divine message, still remains the word, spoken or written. The message of Christianity has not only to be proclaimed but also to be handed down. As the message is preached the listeners must understand and become proclaimers in their turn. Thus the message is handed down. This handing down (of tradition) cannot be done by a mere repeating of words but by translating from one language to another, from one culture to another and from one historical and personal situation to another. In trying to accomplish this task of handing down the message, they had to educate the listener who was in turn to become the proclaimer of the Good News of salvation to others through word or deed. For the message to be understood correctly, they had to educate the people, and the eradication of illiteracy came to be an essential part of Catholic missionary activity wherever they went to proclaim the message of salvation.

Moreover, the missionaries felt that the teaching of secular subjects was the way to make the believers become fully human and alive to the world, as education builds up a new man, and that it cannot be accomplished in one shot but it is a process that goes on. The missionaries found classroom learning very helpful in initiating this process of growth in faith through the experience of community. In

order to renew all things in Christ, the missionaries have always felt the need to promote the welfare of the whole man, not merely his spiritual side but also his earthly part. In modern times, this aspect has been stressed by the Second Vatican Council in its Declaration on Christian Education.

In fulfilling the mandate she (i.e. the Church) has received from her divine Founder to proclaim the mystery of salvation to all men, and to restore all things in Christ, Holy Mother the Church must be concerned with the whole of man's life, even the earthly part of it in so far as that has a bearing on his heavenly calling. (8)

It is in the proclamation of the message of salvation for the whole man that the Church found it necessary to eradicate illiteracy and thus enter the field of secular education as well. Though the Catholic Church in Sri Lanka could not achieve as much as it had wanted, it was able to lay a firm foundation in the last quarter of the nineteenth century for the education of Catholic children. It could be safely said that the Catholic Church, in trying to provide the Catholic children with a sound religious and secular education, found itself actively involved in the education of the masses.

Having looked at the attitudes of the Catholic missionaries during the nineteenth century, and the reasons for the Catholic Church entering the field of secular education as well, we can now assess the Catholic missionaries' educational activities and the contribution they made to the educational history of Sri Lanka.

a) Christopher Bonjean - an educationist.

It was only in the middle of nineteenth century that the Catholic Church was able to give a challenge to the superiority the Protestant missions had held in the educational field in the country. This

challenge was delivered, perhaps most effectively, by the Catholics under the leadership of Christopher Bonjean. Bonjean left his stamp on the Church in Sri Lanka, first as Vicar Apostolic of Jaffna (1868-1883) and then as Vicar Apostolic and, from 1886 on, as Archbishop of Colombo (1886-1892). He was an extraordinary polemicist who never avoided the prickly questions and succeeded in commanding respect and prestige for the Catholic Church in Sri Lanka. In him, the Church and the Island had a capable educational leader to shape the denominational system of education. Already as a priest, he championed the denominational system of education which was later established in the eighteen sixties and continued down to the take-over of the schools by the government of Sri Lanka in 1960. As a first class organizer, Bonjean considerably expanded the educational network of Catholic schools, insisting at that same time on the importance of a thorough study of the local languages and cultures of Sri Lanka.⁽⁹⁾ He championed the rights of not only the Catholics but also the non-Christians, the Buddhists and Hindus, in his fight for the neutrality of the State in matters of religion, and he demanded the introduction of a conscience clause in schools to safeguard the freedom of the large number of non-Christians attending Protestant schools.

Bonjean's contribution to education was assessed in 1892, the year Bonjean died, by C. J. Cull, the Director of Public Instruction on the Island at that time, who remarked that

the report for the year would be conspicuously incomplete without reference to the supreme loss sustained by the cause of education in the death of His Grace the late Archbishop Bonjean. For many years the late prelate took a very prominent part in all matters relating to the advancement of education, and especially of the grant-in-aid system.

With pre-eminent powers of organisation and administration, marked force of character, the keenest insight into educational needs, the keenest interest in the educational activity, a strenuous champion for all that tended to advance the educational progress of the Island, the area of the Island wheresoever the Roman Catholic schools

exist might be almost described as coterminous¹² with the sphere of his energies. It goes without saying that the relations between the deceased prelate and the Department were not always absolutely harmonious, but the friction was wholesome and stimulative. (10)

Thus Bonjean's efforts in the sphere of Catholic education brought self-respect and self-esteem to the Roman Catholics of Sri Lanka. By the end of nineteenth century, the Roman Catholic Church, by virtue of its resources both human and material, as K. M. de Silva puts it,

came to possess a stake in education which overshadowed that of the Protestant missions, but the very effectiveness of their success served to bring them, in the twentieth century, to constant conflict with the increasingly militant Buddhist revival. (11)

b) Conscience clause or proselytization.

From the writings of Bonjean it is clear that it was the official policy of the Catholic Church in Sri Lanka not to use its schools for proselytizing. In fact, Bonjean through his writings highlighted the evils of using government money for proselytizing work, particularly in schools. The Catholic schools, he pointed out, were solely for the benefit of Catholic children and the presence of a few non-Catholic pupils in them was merely an accident and an exception. The Catholic position on education was put forward by Bonjean thus:

Proselytizing non-Catholic children in our schools by holding out to them the bait of secular instruction is no part of our system of evangelization! Schools are with us neither the means nor a proper means to the conversion to our faith of non-Catholic children, but only a necessary agency for the instruction of those who are either already Catholics, or have made up their minds to become Catholics. (12)

For the benefit of the non-Catholic pupils in Catholic schools, Bonjean introduced a conscience clause to give utmost freedom of conscience to non-Catholic pupils. He fought for the introduction of

such a clause in the schools of the Protestant missions but could not succeed in his life time.

It is worth noting that in England, the home country of most of these Protestant missions in Sri Lanka, a conscience clause was included in the condition for grants to schools by the Elementary Education Act of 1870,⁽¹³⁾ after much controversy in the fifties. According to Cruickshank, no educational controversy of the nineteenth century did more to inflame denominational bitterness than

the Anglican refusal to concede rights of conscience, for it bred deep resentment and distrust which were to rankle in dissenting hearts for many years to come. (14)

The Protestant missionaries in Sri Lanka, however, refused to allow the introduction of a conscience clause in the educational system, even after it was in practice in their home country.

In the absence of such a conscience clause, Bonjean declared that the forcible inculcation of Christian truths and the compulsory reading of the Bible, would only lead to the formation of a generation of hypocrites. He urged that men of other faiths "ought not to be coerced or bribed into submission even to truth".⁽¹⁵⁾ That proselytization was not being fostered in Catholic schools is clearly revealed in the report of the Wace Commission (1905),⁽¹⁶⁾ that was appointed to report on the "Education Question"⁽¹⁷⁾ in the country. As regards denominational schools, it reported thus:

The schools which are under Christian management fall roughly into two classes; those which are Roman Catholic and those which are not. In the Roman Catholic schools it is generally the case that a majority of the children - often a large majority - are Roman Catholics. In the other Christian schools it is generally the case that a large majority of the children are not Christians at all; in fact, cases are not unknown in which every child in a school under Christian management is either a Buddhist or a Saivite. The Roman

Catholic schools are the only considerable body of Christian schools of which the main object is to provide an education for children of their own denomination. The main object of the other schools under Christian management is to convert to Christianity the non-Christian children attending them. (18)

Moreover, the report deplored that fact that funds raised by taxation should be "used to support a movement for changing the religion of those taxed". (19)

The Catholic Church insisted that Catholic children should be given a good religious education, that being the *raison d'être* of the Catholic denominational school, and refused to teach their respective religious heritages to non-Catholic children attending Catholic schools. The Catholic Church felt that to do so would be to go against what it had earlier regarded as wrong. It had always maintained that to teach religion, a proper religious atmosphere is needed and that the Catholic Church would not have provided that religious atmosphere for Buddhist or Hindu pupils in its schools. However, this refusal to teach the Buddhist tradition to Buddhist pupils attending Catholic schools on the Island was one of the reasons that led the Buddhist Commission Report of 1956 to urge the government of Sri Lanka to take over all the denominational schools. (20)

From a late twentieth century point of view, it is to be regretted that the Catholic Church, at least towards the end of nineteenth century, did not consider that it would be a good thing to help non-Catholic pupils to learn their religious traditions and to practice their faith. Attitudes have since changed on this. In any event, the effect on non-Catholic boys and girls who attended Catholic schools at that time was that of alienating them from their own culture.

c) Caste

The introduction of Christian faith and the attempts to form Christian communities helped to a certain extent in the breaking down of social barriers, particularly those of the caste system. Caste divisions came into Sri Lanka with the Aryan immigrants from North India,⁽²¹⁾ and in succeeding centuries, especially from the eleventh to the fifteenth, became subject to change and developed in new directions under the influence of the Dravidian caste system of South India.⁽²²⁾ When the Portuguese came to Sri Lanka, they found among the Sinhalese a caste organization very much Dravidian in structure, but having its own indigenous characteristics as well. Caste among the Sri Lankan Tamils, however, had many similarities with the South-Indian system, while there existed some marked differences between the two.

Caste division was analogous to division of labour. Each caste had an occupation proper to it and the members of one caste could not, as a rule, adopt the occupation of another. Children inherited from their parents their caste and occupation. The social restrictions imposed on castes that were considered low made social progress in their case almost impossible. Thus from generation to generation men and women of low caste continued in their menial state. Caste determined even the kind of dress or amount of clothing one should wear. The so-called low caste man, even if he had the means, could not dress better than what caste law or custom allowed him. According to Ribeiro's report

it is not possible for them of low caste wherever they are to conceal their caste as this is always evident from their clothes for they may not wear their cloth below their knees while those of higher caste have it down to the middle of the leg. The Modeliars, Apuhames, Adigars and other grandees wear a shirt and a doublet which those of a low caste may not do. (23)

Moreover, it was in marriage more than anything else that caste division was rigidly maintained and, as a result, there was no intermarriage between the castes. Such was the state of affairs when the Portuguese and the missionaries arrived in Sri Lanka. They found these caste distinctions with their complicated sub-divisions, customs and observances both strange and confusing. The Portuguese authorities, since they wanted to secure the services of the people for their own gain, seems to have paid little attention to caste traditions. Furthermore, the Portuguese, being the masters and rulers, intermarried with the people, their subjects, admitted them to social intercourse with them and promoted people of the country to positions of rank and responsibility. This, indeed, had, to a certain extent, some sobering influence on the caste-consciousness of the people.

The missionaries in Sri Lanka, both during the Portuguese period and after, did not accept the caste distinctions because they perpetuated discrimination, deprivation, humiliation and exploitation which were contrary to Christian teaching of equality and brotherhood of man as created and redeemed by Jesus Christ. However, this does not exclude the fact that, at times, they tolerated some of the caste distinctions with the hope of expecting a change in the attitude of the believers later on. The missionaries, in their spiritual ministrations and pastoral care, extended their services to all without any difference due to caste. According to Ruberu, the mission schools that came to be during the British rule helped to reduce "caste consciousness, ameliorated the plight of the underprivileged, and in general emphasized the ideal of equality".(24)

The provision of educational facilities by the Catholic Church in the remote parts of the Island gave the backward communities opportunities they would not otherwise have had. The caste distinctions that prevented free intercourse between the different social groups within the community were weakened. Once the secular

education provided in mission schools paved the way for government jobs, occupation began to be determined less by caste and more by educational qualifications, and education became the ladder to social mobility. From time to time, the missionaries did face opposition from parents, teachers and sometimes from pupils to the mixing up of all castes in schools but, thanks to the uncompromising stand the missionaries took on this issue, cracks soon began to appear in the structure of the caste system.

d) Other influences.

i) Western Architecture. Along with the introduction of Christianity came Western styles of architecture in the building of churches. If the missionaries in Sri Lanka were not disposed to adopting the indigenous architecture for the church building, it was because on the one hand they regarded it as "pagan", and on the other they took it for granted that Christian architecture anywhere in the world should be what it was in Christian Europe. Thus with the building of churches an entirely new architectural feature was introduced into the country.

ii) Christian Images. As in Church building, so in making images, European images and their production were introduced into Sri Lanka during the Portuguese period. While European artists and sculptors gave their Madonnas the features and costume of the women of their own society, the Christian images produced in Sri Lanka turned out to be reproductions of European models. The reason for this is that the missionaries regarded Christianity as known and practised in Europe to be in every respect the true form of Christianity that should be extended to and established in other countries. Those who thought otherwise and attempted to make Christianity harmonize with the local cultures were exceptions and met with opposition from others.

iii) Religious Language and Music. With the Catholic faith brought by the Portuguese came a religious language, Latin, and thus the people were brought into contact with a Western classical language by reason of its being the official language of the Western Catholic community. It was in Latin that the liturgical religious services and sacramental rites were performed. The people were not expected to learn Latin, and consequently did not understand the text of prayers said during liturgical services, although they would have been instructed about their meaning.

Christian religious music was another item that was introduced into the country by the Catholic missionaries of the Portuguese period and which continued till the Second Vatican Council. On account of the prominence given to singing in Catholic worship, Western religious forms of music such as Plain Chant, also called Gregorian Chant, came to be popularized among the Catholic communities. Together with the introduction of Western music, the use of Western musical instruments too reached the people of Sri Lanka.

3. Missionary influence on education.

The introduction of Christianity (Catholic and Protestant) into the country and the educational activities of the missionaries had both beneficial and harmful effects in the social life of the people. The Christian missions brought into the country several missionary educators whose scholarship, character, self-discipline and dedication to work were outstanding, and who left a lasting impression on quite a few of the local population. Their efforts to educate the women of Sri Lanka and the outcome of the English education they provided needs to be assessed here.

a) The education of women.

Education in the Portuguese period had consisted mainly in the teaching of Christianity. The missionaries saw to it that, not only the boys, but also the girls in their mission stations were well instructed in Christianity. The practice of the Jesuits was to give daily instruction to children of both sexes. In the British period Catholic priests confined themselves to the education of boys and left the education of women to the Nuns of various Religious Orders. The fact that Protestant clergymen were, as a rule, married was a factor favourable to female education, and the wives of most of the missionaries were able to contribute to the education of girls. Some of them distinguished themselves as the foundresses of girls' schools.⁽²⁵⁾ Sri Lanka indeed owes a great debt of gratitude to the women missionaries of the nineteenth century who underwent many hardships to lay the foundations of female education on the Island.

On the Catholic side, the arrival of the Nuns of the Holy Family Order in 1862 and later of other Congregations improved the standard of female education in the country, particularly among the Catholics. They educated a large number of girls in their schools and by their lives of service and dedication inspired many women, both Catholics and non-Catholics. Through great efforts the Nuns were able to break down the prejudices and the traditional conservatism of the people and succeeded in getting the parents to send their girls to school and even to boarding school.⁽²⁶⁾

On the Island, the traditional attitude to women was such that it was considered improper for a woman to engage in any occupation, other than the domestic role assigned to her by tradition. However, the early missionaries, through their efforts, were able to bring about a change in this mentality. Urged on by the example of the women missionaries of the Protestant missions and of the Nuns, girls in Sri Lanka

gradually changed their outlook and were trained to be teachers and catechists and began to be employed in educational, social and even missionary work. This became an inspiration and example to non-Christians and soon they began to open schools for girls.⁽²⁷⁾ We can safely say that Christianity (Catholic and Protestant) made a substantial contribution to the education of women of Sri Lanka by organizing and promoting female education. One cannot deny the influence Bonjean's writings had in this particular field.⁽²⁸⁾

b) English education.

The British government encouraged English education in Sri Lanka because there was a need for a corps of local men to help them in the running of the country. This prominence given to English education and Western culture during the British rule of Sri Lanka had both beneficial and harmful effects in the social sphere. With the help of an English education, some Sri Lankans had access to the literature of the West, and through this literature they imbibed ideals of Western humanism and political ideologies, and were exposed to the sciences of the West. This, in turn, helped them to draw lessons from Western political ideologies and sciences for the progress of their own country and, indeed, helped them later on to be in the forefront of social and political reform. According to Don Peter, the national leaders who agitated for independence and won it (in 1948) were "products of Christian schools".⁽²⁹⁾

At the same time education in English gave rise to a class division, creating a new social structure, an elitist group.⁽³⁰⁾ The English-educated secured better jobs with higher pay, and thereby improved their economic and social positions, whereas there was much unemployment among the vernacular-educated people in the country. In this sense, an education in English was socially disruptive as it divided the country into two nations, consisting of an English-educated

minority that, according to Jayasuriya, enjoyed "a quality of education, privilege and wealth, and a non-English speaking majority that enjoyed the status of second class citizens".⁽³¹⁾

Because the majority of the best schools on the Island were under the Protestant and Catholic management, and meant primarily for pupils of their own denominations, the Christians on the Island, through an English education, rose to a position of influence and importance quite out of proportion to their population numbers. This prominence of Christians in public life naturally began to be viewed with disfavour by some sections of the Buddhist and Hindu public. Indeed, with independence in 1948, the opposition to this English education grew very strong, and demands were made for drastic changes to be brought about in the educational system in the country.

The Catholic Church's involvement in the provision of an English education to Catholic children arose because there was a demand for it from the Catholics of Sri Lanka. The number of petitions sent by the Catholics to Rome requesting missionaries with a knowledge of English, and the demand for Higher education in English⁽³²⁾ show that it was the wish of the Catholics of Sri Lanka that forced the missionaries to seek means of providing an English education to Catholic children. The Catholics demanded it because they wanted their children to be as well educated as the Protestant children and thus seek employment and social mobility. Hence the blame cannot be placed solely on the missionaries or on the Catholic Church for certain negative social effects of English education in the country.

However, an English education was also socially integrative, as it provided a medium of communication between the English-educated Sinhalese and Tamils in the country. Yet it failed to provide a common language of communication between the majority of the Sinhalese and

Tamils who could not afford an English education. English education and economic privilege went hand in hand.

4. Catholicism and enculturation.

Having seen the educational activities of the Catholic missionaries and the effects of the introduction of Christianity into the country, one is bound to raise the question as to whether Christianity, as preached by the Catholic Church, ever lent itself to interpretations in terms of the particular Sri Lankan culture; whether there was a real encounter between the Catholic faith and the Sri Lankan soul? In other words, did the Catholic missionaries, in their endeavours of bring the Catholic faith to the people of Sri Lanka, ever attempt to "Christianize" the local cultures through the process what is known in contemporary missiology as enculturation? In their educational activities were there any efforts to draw out (educere) the hidden goodness in the cultures of the people?

When Catholicism was first introduced into Sri Lanka by the Portuguese, the aggressive method employed to propagate Catholicism among the inhabitants was resented by the local population. This happened not merely because it was the desire of the Kings of Portugal and of the Church to spread their faith, but also because they expected it to form a bond that would strengthen their political ties with their subject peoples. The general attitude of both the Portuguese authorities and the missionaries towards other religious traditions in their colonies was not merely unsympathetic but positively hostile and destructive, and at the same time they resorted to rather questionable methods to propagate their own religion.⁽³³⁾ The fact that the attempt to propagate Catholicism was made by a nation that deprived the people of their political sovereignty, exploited the country for their own economic gain, and sought to destroy the traditional religions by repressive and destructive measures, tended to engender in the

inhabitants not only a strong antipathy to the foreigner but also a suspicion of the religion he brought. Had the Catholic faith been introduced purely as a religious faith, without it being allied in any way with European imperialism, the situation might have been different. The Catholic missionaries, for example, were welcomed and courteously received by Buddhist Kings when they came only as teachers of a religious faith and not as representatives or agents of a foreign power. When Catholics were persecuted and their priests hunted during the Dutch rule of Sri Lanka, Father Vaz and his companions were welcomed with great respect and friendliness by the Buddhist King of Kandy, Vimaladharma Surya II (1687-1706) and Sri Vira Narendra Sinha (1706-1739).⁽³³⁾ Even during the first half of nineteenth century, the attitude of the Buddhists towards Christian missionaries was one of cordial relationship.⁽³⁴⁾

If Catholicism, and other forms of Christianity that came to Sri Lanka after it, have sometimes been looked upon as "foreign" to the country, it is not so much that Christianity was introduced from outside but because, as Don Peter puts it,

it was the religion professed and imposed on the country by the people who, by the use of superior arms, robbed the country of its independence, reduced the inhabitants to the humiliation of servitude to them, and exploited the country for their own gain and to the detriment of the inhabitants. It is largely Christianity's association with Western imperialism that has tended to make Asian people regard it as "foreign" to them. ⁽³⁶⁾

Today, no Sri Lankan Catholic would consider his/her religion with a 400 years-old-tradition as "foreign", but he/she would consider it as one that had existed in the Island for as long a time as any other religious tradition. However, the form of Catholicism that was brought to Sri Lanka was one closely identified with European culture. The missionaries brought not only a religious tradition but also a culture

which they regarded as superior to the cultures of the local people. Because the missionaries looked upon the local cultures as "pagan" they found it difficult to adapt Christianity to the indigenous cultures of the peoples. Moreover, the Catholic missionaries had always to compete with the Protestant missions and anything they considered bad or evil would not have been accepted by the Catholic missionaries and the people too would not have liked anything to be of poorer standard than the Protestant missions.

Thus, during the period under study, Catholicism never became authentically Sri Lankan. In its concrete form and in its approach, it retained its European garb for the sake of self-preservation. Not only did the rigid policy that originated in Rome and other canonical prescriptions leave little room for adaptation, but the Christianity that was preached did not lend itself to interpretations in terms of the particular Sri Lankan character. The Catholic Church in Sri Lanka looked the same as her counterpart in Europe: the same Roman norms, the same Latin Liturgy worked out in detailed rubrics, the same catechism with Western terms to explain the faith. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Catholic Church in Sri Lanka had not shed its European character and, according to Boudens,

Ceylon did not accept Christianity because Christianity, even unconsciously, did not accept Ceylon in its uniqueness. (37)

Another factor that prevented the Church becoming fully integrated into Sri Lankan culture was that, as communications improved in the world and became more speedy, the missionary, at every turn, had to refer matters to his Congregation or Propaganda, that is, to a distant body of men, the majority of whom had never visited the lands concerning the destinies of which they had to make so many decisions. This was true in other spheres of influence, such as that of the Governor or Ambassador. Thus the man on the spot lost importance,

whereas previously, particularly during the Dutch rule, the missionary enjoyed almost complete freedom of action. Then, he was forced, due to circumstances, to make decisions, right or wrong. We have the example of Father Joseph Vaz and his companions managing the Church in Sri Lanka by themselves, during the Dutch persecution, even though the Island was juridicially part of the Diocese of Cochin. The people were allowed to follow their ancestral customs provided they were "Christianized" by prayer and the sprinkling of Holy Water. There were several attempts to steep the Catholic faith in the cultures of the people.⁽³⁸⁾ For all purposes the Catholic Church in Sri Lanka became an independent unit and accommodative of native culture. At a time when the Church in Asian countries was managed by European missionaries, we had in Father Joseph Vaz a unique instance of an Asian in charge of Asian Church manned entirely by Asian missionaries.⁽³⁹⁾ But as things became reorganized under Propaganda, this complete freedom of action and the importance of the man on the spot was also lost only to be gained by a distant body, for good or for ill.

a) Rome's attitude to enculturation.

The attitude of Rome towards adaptation of the Catholic faith and practice, including in the educational sphere, to the local customs of the people needs to be looked at in order to understand the pioneering efforts of the Jesuits in the East. The attitude of the Catholic missionaries who went to India, China and Japan during the sixteenth century, prior to the establishment of Propaganda Fide (in 1622), was one of adapting Christianity to the local custom of the people. Francis Xavier's⁽⁴⁰⁾ contact with the Japanese produced a change in his understanding of the nature of Christian missionary work which was to be of the greatest significance for the whole of his future mission work. In earlier years he had been inclined to think that in a non-Christian way of life there was nothing on which the missionary could build, and that everything must simply be leveled to the ground

before anything could be built up. These seem to have been his feelings in his dealings with the simple illiterate fishers in South India and Xavier had seen no reason to modify it. But when he was confronted in Japan with a civilization with so many elements of nobility in it, he saw that, as Stephen Neill puts it,

while the Gospel must transform and refine and recreate, it need not necessarily reject as worthless everything it has come before. This new idea was to be fruitful in results - also in controversies. (41)

In 1579, when Alessandro Valignano (1536-1606), an Italian Jesuit, visited Japan as the appointed Visitor of all the eastern regions, he held very strongly the view that in all possible ways, the missionaries and Christians must adapt themselves to local custom and prejudice.⁽⁴²⁾ It was Valignano who chose Matthew Ricci⁽⁴³⁾ to be sent to China to begin mission work there. In China, Ricci was faced with the thorny problem of finding Chinese equivalents for Christian terms and deciding how far ancient Chinese custom was reconcilable with Christian principles. His travels in the country convinced him that, if Christianity was to be acceptable to the Chinese, it must be made as little foreign as possible. Thus he began adapting Christianity to the local custom of the people and no doubt he faced difficulties in them. Meanwhile in South India, Roberto De'Nobili,⁽⁴⁴⁾ an Italian Jesuit, carried on adaptation work soon after arriving in the country in 1605. The achievements of De'Nobili were splendid and such a measure of success among the higher castes is almost unparalleled.

The attitude of Propaganda in its early days was quite prophetic and it is to be found in the instructions which it sent out, in 1659, to its Vicars Apostolic:

Do not regard it as your task, and do not bring any pressure to bear on the peoples, to change

their manners, customs, and uses, unless they are evidently contrary to religion and sound morals. What could be more absurd than to transport France, Spain, Italy, or some other European country to China? Do not introduce all that to them, but only the faith, which does not despise or destroy the manners and customs of any people, always supposing that they are not evil, but rather wishes to see them preserved unharmed. It is the nature of men to love and treasure above everything else their own country and that which belongs to it; in consequence there is no stronger cause for alienation and hate than an attack on local customs, especially when these go back to a venerable antiquity. This is more especially the case, when an attempt is made to introduce the customs of another people in the place of those which have been abolished. Do not draw invidious contrasts between the customs of the peoples and those of Europe; do your utmost to adapt yourselves to them. (45)

However, this remarkable attitude of Rome began to change with the arrival of Charles Maillard de Tournan,⁽⁴⁶⁾ the Pope's special legate to the East, in India, in 1703. He issued a decree wholly unfavourable to the methods and practices of De'Nobili and his companions. Then Tournan went to China (Dec. 1705) where he completely misread the situation and forbade everything in Jesuit custom in China that did not seem to him to square perfectly with the demand of Roman custom. The Jesuits in India and China tried very hard to have the decisions and ruling of Tournan changed, but Pope Benedict XIV issued a Bull, Ex quo singulari, on 11 July 1742, that swept away completely the earlier permission to try adaptations. It read thus:

We define and declare that these permissions must be considered as though they had never existed, and we condemn and detest their practice as superstitious. And thus, in virtue of our present constitution to be in force for ever, we revoke, annul, abrogate, and wish to be deprived of all force and all effect, all and each of those permissions, and say and announce that they must be considered forever to be annulled, null, invalid, and without any force or power. (47)

Thus, the great pioneering efforts of the Jesuit missionaries to steep the Catholic faith in the life of the people, their attempts to "Christianize" the local cultures, their efforts at enculturation, were

brought to a halt by Rome. Instructions were given that Roman practice, almost as it was in Rome, was to be in every detail followed in the missions. This strong clampdown by Rome on Jesuits' efforts at enculturation and the strict instruction to missionaries to follow Roman practice seem to have governed Catholic missionary practice for the next 200 years or so. This account of the history of the Jesuits' efforts at enculturation and the subsequent restrictions placed by Rome give us sufficient information to understand why the Catholic missionaries in Sri Lanka in the period of this study made no serious attempts to adapt the Catholic faith to local custom, and thus limited their educational plans to an essentially colonial or paternalistic perspective despite the vision of certain enlightened leaders of whom Bonjean was the outstanding example.

Rather late in the day, following the Second Vatican Council, attempts are being made to absorb Catholicism into the country's cultures. For instance, Latin has been replaced by Sinhala and Tamil, and other forms of adaptation, particularly in the field of worship and architecture, are taking place, with the hope that the "Europeanness" that existed in the Catholic Church would eventually change and become truly Sri Lankan. The study of the method and suitability of adaptation, of steeping the Catholic faith in the very cultures of the people of Sri Lanka without ever losing the Catholic ethos is something that leaves enough scope for future research. An explanation for the slowness in this field of enculturation during the nineteenth century, perhaps, could be found in the words of Bonjean who said that new things,

must be introduced one by one; so as gently to supersede in the affections of the people, older and less commendable one. The growth must be steady but gradual. To think of transforming in the wink of an eye, an Oriental society... is only the wild dream of a diseased imagination. (48)

In concluding this study of a hundred years of Catholic activities in the education field, we can say that the Catholic Church, in trying to provide Catholic children with a sound religious and secular education, influenced the education of all of the people of Sri Lanka. The success it had in establishing a fine network of Catholic schools was undoubtedly due to the persistent efforts of the missionaries throughout the nineteenth century. The men and women who undertook education in the Island had themselves been very well trained in Europe and were people thoroughly dedicated to their task. Of them all, Bonjean stands out as one who championed the cause, not only of the Catholics, but also of the indigenous religionists. In their efforts to provide the best education to Catholic children the missionaries did not use the educational system to proselytize unfairly. A no less important issue, however, is that, during the period of this study, the Catholic Church had not developed as a truly Sri Lankan Church through efforts at enculturation which came to characterize later missionary endeavours. The steady progress made by the Catholic Church in the second half of the nineteenth century in improving the educational facilities for Catholic children in the country shows that it was left to their successors to build on it, as Bonjean once said:

Time and patient perseverance are the conditions of success. In many things we must be content to fix the land-marks which will guide the labours of our successors. (49)

* * * * *

There is lying in the inmost depths of man's heart, an irresistible desire of perfection. Created for truth, for virtue and for happiness, man, under the load of miseries beneath which he bends and sinks; -amidst the darkness through which he seems condemned to feel his way; -with the many temptations which thwart him, and the many imperfections which unfit him for the fulfilment of his noble destiny, man sighs with inexpressible anguish for the light of truth, the perfection of his being and the eternal felicity which he was made to possess.

Bonjean.(1862) The Catholic Church and Civilization.
p.14

CHAPTER I

Notes and References.

1. Don Peter.1978, p.5. Whether it was in 1505 or in 1506 that the Portuguese arrived in Sri Lanka has been disputed, as stated by Don Peter.
2. Ibid., p.5.
3. Ribeiro.1909, p.2.
4. Queyroz.1930, p.76.
5. Ibid., p.220.
6. Ibid., p.295. Noronha was viceroy of India from November 1550 to September 1554.
7. See Map I. p.366. For a detailed history of how Kotte became a Portuguese protectorate in 1551 and the Kingdom of Jaffna in 1591 by the Nallur Convention, see Don Peter.1978, pp.7-8.
8. Don Peter.1978, p.9.
9. T. Ranjit Ruberu.1962a, p.17.
10. C. R. Boxer.1961, pp.38-39.
11. Queyroz.1930, pp.1141-1142.
12. The idea of "Conquest" even in the spiritual order appears in the title of other missionary chronicles. Trindade's work is entitled "Conquesta Espiritual do Oriente", and Francisco de Sousa's as "Oriente Conquistado a Jesu Christo".
13. S. G. Perera.1916, "The Jesuits in Ceylon in the 16 and 17 century", C.A.L.R., vol.2, p.7.
14. Trindade.1972, p.133.
15. Horace Perera.1959, p.58.
16. The Franciscans and Dominicans, both founded in the 13th century, had been in the forefront of the university movement in Europe. There were the Franciscan Bonaventure known as the "Seraphic Doctor", the Dominican Thomas Aquinas, the "Angelic Doctor", and others playing a leading role in the educational field in Europe at that time.
17. The Society of Jesus came into being at the second quarter of the 16th century with a group of seven university men as its nucleus. This society soon became distinguished in the educational field. Francis Xavier, one of the seven original members, became the first Jesuit to

come out to the East and came to be recognized by the people in the East as the greatest Christian missionary after St. Paul.

18. Queyroz.1930, p.176-182.
19. Trindade.1972, p.39.
20. Queyroz.1930. pp.212-213.
21. King Bhuvanekabahu had sent an embassy to Lisbon in 1542 to ask the King of Portugal, John III, to recognize his grandson Dharmapala as his successor, and continue to extend to him and his successor Portuguese military assistance against his brother Mayadunne of Sitawaka and also that Christian missionaries be sent to Kotte. It was the Franciscans who had told him that such a request would make King John III more inclined to help him. Six Franciscans, with Joao da Villa do Conde as their superior, arrived in Kotte towards the end of 1543. Trindade.1972, p.39.
22. Trindade.1972, pp.40-42.
23. The "Careas", from the Tamil "Karaiyar", were as the term implies, coast-dwellers. (Karai-means coast) They belonged to the Karava caste and were mainly fishermen.
24. From the Tamil "Pattamkatti" which means- one on whom a title (pattam) has been conferred. (Katti- means tied).
25. Sir Emmerson Tennent writes thus: "It is among the Paravas or fisher caste of the Sinhalese that Roman Catholics have at all times been most successful in their efforts to Christianize... Is it that there is an habitual tendency to devotion and veneration of the Supreme Power among those who go down to sea in ships and see the power of God in the great deep? It is that, being a low caste themselves, the fishermen of India and Ceylon acquire a higher status by espousing Christianity? Or is there any sympathy with a religion whose first apostles and teachers were the fishermen of Galilee? Tennent.1850, p.11.
26. Don Peter.1955, p.33.
27. Trindade.1972, pp.57-59. Also Queyroz.1930, pp.330-331.
28. Queyroz.1930, p.527.
29. Ibid., pp.334-351, 396-421.
30. Ibid., pp.428-429.
31. Trindade.1972, p.317. Trindade also gives a list of places where the churches were built and the number of Christians attached to them at that time (1628). A similar list is given in Queyroz.1930, pp.714-719.

32. Trindade.1972, p.137.
33. When the Portuguese arrived in Sri Lanka in 1505, the King of Jaffna was a person called Pararasasekaram. In 1519, he was assassinated by Sankili who then seized the throne.
34. This meeting is referred to as the Nallur Convention of 1591. There, "he proposed to the chiefs that they should accept the King of Portugal as their King. He in turn promised to maintain laws and customs of the people. These terms were accepted and the King of Portugal was proclaimed the King of Jaffna with Hendaramana Sinha, son of Periya Pulle, as the local leader". L. Horace Perera.1959, pp.35-36.
35. Gnana Prakasar.1920, pp.36-37. "Lascarins" - Native Militia, originally from Persian "Lashkar" meaning an army.
36. Trindade.1972, p.187.
37. This church was later moved to Nallur and in 1614 it was moved back to Jaffna. This church became the center and headquarters of the Franciscans in the Kingdom of Jaffna.
38. Don Peter.1955, p.37.
39. The churches and the number of adult Christians that belonged to each are to be found in Queyroz.1930, p.695.
40. S.G.Perera.1918, "Annual letter, Malabar Province, 1623", C.A.L.R., vol.4, p.95.
41. The residences were at Chankanai, Vaddukoddai, Pandeteruppu, Tellipallai, Mailiddy, Tampakanam, Kottandarkulam and the islands of Karaitivu. See Queyroz.1930, p.654-656.
42. S.G.Perera.1917, "Letter of Andre Lopez, 2 January 1627", C.A.L.R., vol.3, p.33.
43. S.G.Perera.1919, "Letter of Andrew Lopez to the General of the Society of Jesus, 1644", C.A.L.R., vol.4, p.155. The residences and the number of Christians belonging to them were as follows:

1. Cutandaculam (Kottandarkulam)	2538
2. Palle (Pallai)	1637
3. Tambamma (Tampakanam)	2614
4. Mugamalle (Mukamalai)	2000
5. Achevelli (Atchuvally)	2500
6. Mailatty (Mailiddi)	2985
7. Telipulle (Tellipalai)	4660
8. Malagam (Mallakam)	3222
9. Paditiripu (Pandeturuppu)	2627
10. Changane (Chankanai)	3140
11. Vatucote (Vaddukoddai)	2624
12. Cardiva (Karaitivu)	1740

44. Trindade.1972, p.237.
45. Ibid., p.62.
46. Ibid., p.56.
47. After the Dutch took over Jaffna in 1658 and the departure of all the Catholic missionaries from the Northern Kingdom, Baldaeus was the only clergyman left for the entire Jaffna peninsula and the adjacent islands, the Wannai and Mannar. His role was to eliminate the "Romish vanities" of Catholic Christianity and plant the Calvinist Reformed Church.
48. Baldaeus.1960, pp.316-342.
49. This is evident in the letters of the Jesuit Fathers, where they give also the number of children attending school for secular instruction. The letters are: 1) "Letter of Manoel Sylveiro, 17 Jan. 1641", C.A.L.R., vol.4, pp.150-153. (S.G.Perera.1919)
2) "Letter of Andrew Lopez, 1644", C.A.L.R., vol.4, p.155. (S.G.Perera.1919)
50. According to information available from the above letters (note 49) Religion classes were held in the church but secular instruction was given in another building, sometimes in the clergy house.
51. S.G.Perera.1919, "Letter of Didacus Affonsua, 1642", C.A.L.R., vol.4, p.153.
52. S.G.Perera.1919, "Letter of Manoel Sylveiro, 17 Jan. 1641", C.A.L.R., vol.4, p.150.
53. S.G.Perera.1916, "Letter of Pedro Francisco, 2 Dec. 1612", C.A.L.R., vol.2, p.84.
54. Don Peter.1978, p.138.
55. Mookerji.1947, p.211.
56. S.G.Perera.1918, "Letter of Ignatius Lobo, 31 Jan. 1629", C.A.L.R., vol.4, p.98.
57. This has remained, according to Ruberu, "the standard form of Christian teaching in the schools in Ceylon" for many years. Ranjit Ruberu.1962a, p.20.
58. S.G.Perera.1916, "Letter of Diogo da Cunha, 10 Dec.1603", C.A.L.R., vol.2, p.16.
59. S.G.Perera.1918, "Letter of Cyprianus a Costa, 1633", C.A.L.R., vol.4, p.101.

60. The tradition established by the missionaries of the Portuguese period of using drama for religious instruction was continued by the Oratorian missionaries of the Dutch period, though not to the same extent as they were much handicapped as a result of the persecution they underwent under Dutch rule.
61. S.G.Perera.1916, "Letter of Pedro Francisco, 2 Dec. 1612", C.A.L.R., vol.2, p.83.
62. Baldaeus.1960, p.346, earlier mentioned.
63. Again and again the missionaries complained to the Portuguese authorities in Goa or Lisbon about the actions of some officials who were bent on making money, even to the extent of looting the things of the poor people. See S. G. Perera.1919, "Letter of Simao de Figueredo, 1 Dec. 1643", C.A.L.R., vol.4, p.154.
64. Don Peter.1978, pp.151-152.
65. Ibid.
66. Trindade.1972, pp.65-66.
67. Ibid., p.239. Also Queyroz.1930, p.1053.
68. Don Peter.1978, p.158.
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid., p.169.
71. Ibid., p.170. The college they established in Jaffna was a smaller one and there is no mention of any theological studies in that college, as those candidates would have been transferred either to Colombo or to India.
72. S.G.Perera.1916, "Letter of Franc Cagnola, 9 Dec. 1610", C.A.L.R., vol.2, p.80.
73. Don Peter.1978, p.174.
74. Baldaeus.1960, p.290.
75. S. G. Perera.1962, p.67.

CHAPTER II

Notes and References

1. The Dutch East India Company (V.O.C) was formed in 1602. The Board of Directors of the Company consisted of seventeen members appointed by

the share holders and was usually referred to as "The Seventeen". It appointed the Governor-General who was assisted by a council called "The Council of India" (consisting of appointed members), and laid down the policy of the Company. The chief Dutch officer - the Governor General, resided in Batavia (formerly Jacatra in the Western Java) which was the chief Dutch naval and military base and the centre of their administration in the East. Though the Dutch East India Company started as a commercial company, in the course of time it, became a political power in the East and conquered extensive territories there.

2. The Dutch who were invited to fight the Portuguese, captured the ports of Batticaloa and Trincomalee in May 1639. This was followed by the fall of Negombo in January 1640, and Galle in March 1640. After a severe battle, Colombo fell to the Dutch in May 1656. With the capture of Jaffna two years later, all Portuguese territories in the Island came under the Dutch rule. (Vide Map.II.p.367) See Ruberu.1962a, p.29. It is to be noted here that after the Portuguese were expelled from the Island, the King of Kandy and his subjects resented the presence of the Dutch in the maritime areas. Their fear was: Would the Dutch attempt the conquest of Kandy as the Portuguese had done?
3. Details about these institutions will be mentioned later on in this chapter.
4. This religious tolerance of King Rajasinghe II seems to have continued even in the time of his successors - Vimaladharma Surya II (1687-1706) and Narendra Sinha(1706-1739).
5. A. M. Philalethes.1817, p.227.
6. CO 54/128 Letter of the Revd. J. M. S. Glenie, Archdeacon of Colombo to the Governor of Ceylon, 30 March 1833.
7. L. Horace Perera.1959, p.121.
8. S. Arasaratnam.1958, p.217.
9. According to S. Arasaratnam (1958, p.217), there were 250,000 Catholics at the time the Dutch took over the country.
10. Cited by Arasaratnem.1958, p.219.
11. Predikants - fully qualified preachers from Holland.
12. Wyndham.1933, p.24.
13. They were a number of prayers, the Gospel of St. Matthew, some of the Psalms and several sermons from the Portuguese language.
14. Wyndham.1933, p.24.
15. J. D. Palm.1846, p.105-110.
16. Wyndham.1933, p.22.

17. He was the highest Dutch authority in the East and was also directly responsible for the affairs in Sri Lanka.
18. Commandment - the jurisdiction of a Commandeur. The Dutch territory in Sri Lanka was divided into: 1) The Commandment of Colombo and the headquarters of the Dutch East India Company in Sri Lanka, 2) The Commandment of Jaffanapatam and 3) The Commandment of Galle (including Matara). It is to be noted here that the Jaffna Commandment was cut off from the rest of the Island by the Wannī district and was less affected by the political aggressions of the Kandyan court and thus made greater progress. See Ruberu.1962a, p.30.
19. Collins.1951, p.6.
20. Ibid., p.7.
21. He was known as the Dissawa, the name for the provincial head under the Sinhalese Kings.
22. L. H. Perera.1959, p.112.
23. Governor Maetsuycker's memoirs to his successor. 1650 A.C. (trans. E.Reimers) Government Press. Colombo,1927, p.19, as cited by Mottau.1969, p.316.
24. James Cordiner.1807, Vol.I, p.156.
25. Ruberu.1962a, p.32.
26. Ibid., p.33.
27. Anthonisz.1916, p.192.
28. The headmaster of these Parish-Schools was designated Thombo-Holder because he was the officer who kept the records of the Parish. These records were known as "Thombos" in Dutch language.
29. E. W. Perera.1915, p.90.
30. Ibid., "Poojas" - offerings to God.
31. Anthonisz.1916, p.193.
32. Ibid.,
33. Cordiner.1807, Vol.I, p. 175.
34. See above, footnote No.28. Further explanation of the schoolmaster as the Thombo-Holder will follow in the coming pages.
35. Wyndham.1933, p.24.
36. Out of 97 Dutch ministers in Sri Lanka between 1642-1725, only 4 could preach in Sinhala and 4 in Tamil. Wyndham.1933, p.24.

37. Ibid., p.219.
38. Baldaeus felt that oral instruction was the best means of making an impression on the minds of these tender Christians. Wyndham.1933, p.24.
39. Cited by Wyndham.1933, p.25.
40. Palm.1846, p.107.
41. Ibid., p.108.
42. Cordiner.1807, Vol.I, p.172.
43. E. W. Perera.1915, p.89.
44. The parish records were known as Thombos in the Dutch language.
45. E. W. Perera.1915, p.89.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid., p.91.
48. Mottau.1969, p.305.
49. Palm.1846, p.106.
50. Dissava was the officer immediately below the Governor. The significance of appointing him as the President of the Board is evident here.
51. Palm.1846, p.106.
52. Ibid.
53. The visits of the "inspectors" to the churches and schools in the district were difficult undertakings as there were no proper roads. Yet, their visit was always a very important event in the parishes and was announced by the beating of tom-tom. The children, as well as the adults, were summoned to the Parish-School by the headman of the area.
54. Palm.1846, p.107.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid., p.108.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid. The meeting of the School-Board which, at the beginning, was held quite regularly (once a month) gradually became lax.
59. Palm.1846, p.116. J. D. Palm also gives the number of children in

various parts of this division, at different times. The slave children under instruction are enumerated separately in the annual statement sent to the Colombo Consistory but whether distinct schools existed for them or not, is never mentioned anywhere. The "slaves" were the people brought from India by the Company to work for them in the country.

60. Mottau.1969, p.309.
61. Palm.1846, p.116.
62. Ibid., p.117. In 1738, the Province of Valikamam had 14 churches and schools, Vadamaradchi, Thenmaradchi and Pachchilaipalli 12 churches and schools, the Wanny 4, Mantotte and Mannar 10, the islands 5.
63. Ibid., p.131.
64. According to Mottau, the Colombo Seminary too was started on 24 August 1690, a few months after the Jaffna Seminary. Mottau.1969, p.319.
65. Ibid., p.310. Also J. D. Palm.1846, pp.117-118.
66. Mottau.1969, p.310.
67. Anthonisz.1916, p.192.
68. Palm.1846, p.117.
69. Wyndham.1933, p.29.
70. Ibid.
71. Van Imhoff (Governor 1736-1740): Memoir for his Successor Willem Maurits Bruynink, 1740, as quoted by Wyndham.1933, p.30.
72. Ruberu.1962a, p.40. Also Wyndham.1933, p.31.
73. In 1744, the first two students, a Sinhalese and a Eurasian, were sent. See Wyndham.1933, p.30.
74. Ibid., p.29.
75. Servants - The Dutch Company's employees were so called to distinguish them from other European inhabitants or burghers. Burghers - The word refers to the European descendents who were not in the Company's service, but were permitted under various conditions to reside or carry on trades and occupations in the towns.
76. Anthonisz.1916, p.193.
77. Don Peter.1955, p.244. The proclamations are given below in the following notes.
78. Proclamation of September 19th, 1658. Renewed on March 25th, 1733;

- August 10th, 1743; and February 25th, 1745. Cited by Don Peter.1955, p.244.
79. Proclamation of January 11th, 1715. Renewed on July 31st, 1751. Cited by Don Peter. op.cit.
 80. Proclamation of August 8th, 1715. Renewed on February 25th, 1745. Cited by Don Peter. op.cit.
 81. Proclamation of August 10th, 1748. Cited by Don Peter. op.cit.
 82. Proclamation of July 31st, 1751. Cited by Don Peter. op.cit.
 83. Proclamation of September 15th, 1758 and December 19th,1776. Cited by Don Peter. op.cit.
 84. Palm.1847, p. 138.
 85. S. G. Perera.1962, p.91.
 86. Palm.1847, p.138.
 87. The King of Kandy was also most displeased with the Dutch at that time for not handing over Colombo to him after its capture from the Portuguese.
 88. The priests who joined him too were all Konkani Brahmins. Father Vaz continued his mission work in Sri Lanka till he died in Kandy, in 1711.
 89. S. G. Perera.1962, p.23.
 90. Ibid.
 91. Ibid.
 92. Ibid., p.104.
 93. Ibid.,p.105. Father Goncalvez wrote many books in Sinhala and Tamil mainly for the use of Catholics, explaining their belief. He also wrote a book of the Gospels for every Sunday and Feast day. Another outstanding Oratorian was Father Gabriel Pacheco who wrote in Tamil. His main work was the "Tevappirasaiya Tirukkatai", a Tamil History of the people of God and the Catholic Church.
 94. Ibid.
 95. Ibid., p.106. This seems to have impressed many priests newly arrived on the Island from India.
 96. Ibid., p.107.
 97. C. Fernando.1963, p.43.

98. Ceylon Government Archives, D.R.743 (Secret Council minutes) August 9th, 1758. as cited by C. Fernando.1963, p.44.
99. Ibid., p.45.
100. Ruberu.1962a, p.42.
101. Tennent.1850, p.66.
102. Ibid., p.67.
103. Ibid., p.90.
104. Baldaeus.1960, p.720.
105. Ibid., pp.712-719.
106. Tennent.1850, p.68.

CHAPTER III

Notes and References.

1. K. M. de Silva.1973a, p.5.
2. Trincomalee remained under the French control till the end of war in 1783. At the peace negotiations of 1783-1784, the British who were more interested in an arrangement that would deny the French the use of Trincomalee, as K. M. de Silva puts it, "were content to let the Dutch retain Trincomalee". Ibid., p.9.
3. An assurance was given that these would be restored to Holland on the return of independence (presumably from the French) and of the ancient constitution and established forms of government to the country. Ibid., p.8.
4. The Dutch in Sri Lanka were too weak to attempt anything more than a show of resistance as they had neither the military (and naval) strength for such an undertaking, nor the financial resources. Moreover, there were sharp ideological divisions within the leadership, and between the leadership and rank and file. There were some who wanted to accede to the British demands and hand over the Dutch possessions to their control. Thus, the resistance they offered was very minimal. Ibid.
5. Ruberu.1962a, p.44.
6. The British East India Company was established for the purpose of trade with the East India, which also included India. On the 31st of

December 1600, Queen Elizabeth I granted a Charter to the Company under the title: "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London, Trading to the East Indies". Under the care of Charles II, this company grew to a Chartered Company with the right to acquire territory, coin, money, command fortresses and troops and exercise both civil and criminal jurisdiction. The political power of the Company commenced in 1689 with the establishment of the Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay. It remained a political power of India until the Indian Mutiny (1857) when Indian Administration was transferred to the Crown on 2nd August 1858. Vide - The Encyclopaedia Britannica, 13th edition, (1926) pp.834-835.

7. Marshall.1945, p.53.
8. These officers were ignorant of the local customs and prejudices of the people and abolished the indigenous forms of taxation and substituted the Madras system with the sole object of accumulating money for the Company. It was also evident that some were enriching themselves at the expense of the Island. See Ruberu.1962a, p.46.
9. The tax imposed was one silver fanam, which was about 12 cents on each coconut tree. This tax was levied whether trees produced an income or not. At times, the tax paid on the tree was greater than the income it brought. Ruberu.1962a, p.46.
10. CO 54/1 Letter of North to Court of Directors, East India Company, 26 February 1799.
11. The Revd. James Cordiner - He was appointed the Military Chaplain at Madras in 1797 and at the request of Governor North, Cordiner came to Sri Lanka to be the Chaplain to the garrison at Colombo. He was the first English clergyman to work in Sri Lanka. He stayed in the Island till 1804. After he returned to England, he published the book - A Description of Ceylon. He died on 13 January 1836. Jayasuriya.1976, p.41.
12. Cordiner.1807, Vol.1, p.159.
13. See Nurullah, Syed and J.P.Naik. 1951, pp.xiv-xv. Even in England, the provision of education was not regarded as a function of the government in 1796.
14. Frederick North, Fifth Earl of Guilford, (1766-1827) was born on 7th February 1766. After passing through Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, North took his seat in the House of Commons in 1792 as a member for the pocket borough of Banbury. In 1794, he was appointed Controller of the Customs in the Port of London and during the British Occupation of Corsica (1795-1796) held the office of Secretary of State to the Viceroy Sir Gilbert Elliot. He was appointed as the Governor of the British Settlements in Ceylon and arrived there on the 12th of October 1798. After leaving Ceylon in 1805, North took the initiative of establishing the Ionian University and became the first Chancellor after its inception on 24th May 1824. Vide - Dictionary of National Biography, (1895) vol.41, pp.164-165. London: Smith, Elder & Co.

15. See L. J. B. Turner.1918-19, p.130.
16. North's Address to Galle Assembly, 15 January 1799, as cited by L. J. Gratiaen.1922-23, p.37.
17. CO 54/1 North to Court of Directors, 26 February 1799.
18. Ibid.
19. CO 54/1 North to Court of Directors, 5 October 1799.
20. Ibid.
21. CO 54/3 North to Court of Directors, 18 February 1801. The Dutch Reformed Church was soon deprived of State support and lost the vast bulk of its flock who returned to their traditional faiths and to Roman Catholicism, thus demonstrating the essential superficiality of conversion to Protestant Christianity under the Dutch. See K. M. de Silva.1973c, p.66.
22. Ruberu.1962a, p.58.
23. CO 54/1 North to Court of Directors, 5 October 1799.
24. The practice of schoolmasters working also as registrars of marriages, which was a legacy of the Dutch, continued to be retained even under the British. For details, see above, Chapter II, p.37.
25. Rix-Dollar was the principal unit of money in currency during the early period of British occupation. 4 pieces= 1 fanam, 12 fanam=1 Rix Dollar. Sterling value of the Rix-Dollar varied from time to time, and the value in 1826 was one shilling and six pence. CO 59/22 The Blue Book, p.173.
26. Ruberu.1962a, p.61.
27. Cordiner records that Colombo, Negombo, Chilaw, Puttalam, Mannar, Jaffna and Batticaloa, each had a preacher as an officiating clergyman to the native Christians. Cordiner.1807, Vol.1, pp.160-161.
28. Ibid.
29. CO 54/1 North to Court of Directors, 5 October 1799.
30. Ruberu.1962a, p.63
31. See above, Chapter II, p.46.
32. Proclamation by Governor, Ceylon Government Gazette, 4 June 1802.
33. CO 54/1 North to Court of Directors, 5 October 1799.
34. Ibid. The Preparatory Schools were perhaps exclusively boys' schools as there is no evidence of any girls being admitted. By giving an

education for eight years with English as a subject, these schools were sufficient to prepare candidates for government service as well.

35. CO 54/1 North to Court of Directors, 26 February 1799.
36. CO 54/1 North to Court of Directors, 5 October 1799.
37. In 1802, there were 85 students of whom 49 were fee-paying day-scholars and 36 free boarders. It is to be noted here that the scholarships envisaged by North, at the outset of his educational reforms, did not materialize due to lack of approval from the Secretary of State.
38. See above, Chapter II, p.45.
39. CO 54/3 North to Court of Directors, 18 February 1801.
40. Valentia.1809, p.307.
41. Ruberu.1962a, p.74.
42. India Office Library and Records (IOLR) Ceylon Factory Records (G), G/11/52 Court of Directors to North, 5 May 1798. This directive of religious tolerance was proclaimed on 23 September 1798 and will be referred to later on.
43. Mr.Garrow seemed to have encouraged a case of concubinage which was clearly contrary to Catholic Church Law.
44. IOLR, G/11/3 Letter of North to Andrews, 2 November 1798, ff.35-36.
45. The marriage legislation introduced by the British caused some concern among the Catholics (that previous to the blessing of a marriage, the consent of the civil authorities had to be obtained and after registered by the priest, the form had to be sent to the collector of the district) and they had always felt that the Dutch laws were discriminating against the Catholics. They now took the opportunity of the arrival of the British to get rid of the many legal and financial obligations that they considered a heavy burden. See Boudens.1979, p.26. The memorial was signed by five Oratorian Fathers- Domingo Montei-ro, Gabriel Pacheco, Mariano de Saldanha, Sebastian Xavier and Joaquin de Monroe. IOLR, G/11/3, The Memorial., 29 November 1798, ff.78-86.
46. "Diaconie" - an institution of charity for the help of Orphans and widows founded by the Dutch.
47. IOLR, G/11/3, The Memorial. 29 November 1798, ff.78-86. North's answers are also contained in G/11/3, ff.1343-134.
48. IOLR, G/11/52, North to Board of Directors, 26 February 1799.
49. IOLR, G/11/6 North to Dutch Reformed Assembly, 6 April 1801, ff.1547-1548

50. A Collection of Legislative Acts of the Ceylon Government from 1796.
Colombo.(1853)
51. Jayasuriya.1976, p.39.
52. Ibid.
53. CO 54/5 North to Board of Directors, 19 December 1801.
54. CO 54/17 North to Earl Camden, 27 February 1805. Also quoted by
Vimalananda.1963, p.49.
55. Jayasuriya.1976, pp.40-41.
56. CO 55/61 Secretary of State to North, 8 February 1803.
57. The Revd. Thomas James Twisleton. With the establishment of an
Archdeaconry in 1818, he was appointed first Archdeacon of Colombo. On
the death of Twisleton on 15 August 1824, the Revd. James Glenie
replaced him as Archdeacon. Ruberu.1962a, pp.133-134.
58. Sir Thomas Maitland. In 1778 Maitland joined the Seaforth regiment and
served in Channel Islands and later in India. He returned to England
in 1790 and was elected Member for Parliament for Haddington in 1794.
In 1803, Maitland was sworn in as a Member of the Board of Control of
India and was admitted to the Privy Council in the same year. In
1806, he was appointed Commander-in-Chief and Governor of Ceylon. He
remained in Ceylon as Governor till 1811 when he retired due to ill
health. Vide - Dictionary of National Biography, (1893) Vol.35,
pp.374-375. London:Smith,Elder & Co.
59. See above, pp.57-63.
60. Dixon.1968, p.84.
61. CO 54/29 Letter of Maitland to Secretary of State, 12 August 1808.
62. He almost perfected the administrative machinery of the country. He
reorganized the Civil Service. He re-established the traditional
system of service or land tenure, relieved the Roman Catholics of the
disabilities imposed on them by the Dutch and also introduced trial by
jury in the Supreme Court. Ruberu.1962a,pp.80-81.
63. Ibid., pp.85-87.
64. CO 54/34 Letter of Maitland to Secretary of State, 4 March 1809.
65. Dixon.1968, p.103.
66. W. F. Lord.1897, p.119.
67. IOLR, G/11/8, ff.250-251 and f.437.

68. See Edward Norman.1968, pp.45-80.
69. Boudens.1979, p.29.
70. CO 54/34 Memorandum to Maitland from the Roman Catholics of Ceylon, 7 February 1809.
71. CO 54/35 Maitland to Castlereagh. 4 March 1809. In reality several restrictions were maintained for some time, although this was due to circumstances rather than to theoretical opposition. Boudens.1979, p.29.
72. The Revd. Claudius Buchanan. He was chaplain to the British forces at a garrison near Calcutta, in India. In 1806 and 1808 he toured Sri Lanka and, on his return to England in 1808 he drew the attention of the British public to the state of Christianity in the British colonies in the East including Sri Lanka.
73. Buchanan - In a letter sent by him from Jaffna to London in 1806, as cited by Gnana Prakasar.1926, p.13.
74. Jayasuriya.1976, p.78. The Roman Catholic activities began to be recognized only in the early 50's and, even then, the Protestant schools were in the lead up to the end of the 19th century.
75. CO 55/62 Letter of Secretary of State to Maitland, 21 February 1805.
76. Ibid.
77. Buchanan.1812, pp.60-62.
78. CO 55/62 Letter of Secretary of State to Maitland, 12 September 1808.
79. CO 54/34 Letter of Maitland to Secretary of State, 4 March 1809.
80. CO 54/37 Letter of Maitland to Secretary of State, 26 January 1810.
81. CO 55/62 Letter of Secretary of State to Maitland, 30 September 1810.
82. Ruberu.1962a, p.109.
83. Sir Robert Brownrigg (1759-1833). His greatest achievement in Sri Lanka was the subjugation of the Kandyan Kingdom in 1815. He was made a Baronet in 1819. He returned to England in 1820 and died on the 27th of May 1833.
84. CO 54/60 Letter from Governor Brownrigg to the Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries, 1820. Also cited in R. S. Hardy.1864, p.85.
85. "His Majesty's Government are most anxious to afford means of education and religious tolerance". CO 55/63 Letter of Secretary of State to Governor Brownrigg, 5 April 1812.
86. In the late 18th century and early 19th century a religious revival,

which was to exercise a profound influence on modern England, had been spreading "a rejuvenated Protestantism" especially in the old industrial regions of the North-West. Its repercussions were felt both within the Established Church and among the non-conformist sects. The Evangelicals were notable for their refusal to speculate on the niceties of doctrine and paid attention to personal conversion and holiness of life, while the Anglican wing of Evangelism added to these basic characteristics an intense sense of social responsibility. This became the great age of missionary societies. The first of the new British missionary societies was the English Baptists (1792), followed by the London Missionary Society (1795) which started with the aim of preaching to non-Christians without being tied to any particular form of church order or government. Next came the Anglican (and Evangelical) Church Missionary Society (1799) and later the Wesleyan Methodists. K. M. de Silva. 1973c, pp.66-67.

87. See Collins.1951, p.42.
88. C. N. V. Fernando.1949b, p.198. The four missionaries were - J. D. Palm, M. C. C. de Vos, J. P. Ehrhardt, and W. Read. Governor North welcomed them and sent them to different parts of the country to work for the government. When the directors of the Mission in London withdrew their aid, the Ceylon branch of the LMS came to an untimely end. R.Lovett speaks of this mission "as an early example of the unsatisfactory result during the first twenty five years of the Society's history of attempting too soon to make missionaries locally self-supporting". Lovett.1899, Vol.1, pp.20-21.
89. The Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) was founded in 1792 with the main object of "diffusing the knowledge of Jesus Christ through the whole world beyond the British Isles, by the preaching of the Gospel, the translation and publication of the Holy Scripture and the establishment of Schools". See Charter.1955, p.55.
The BMS has always been the smallest of the missions in Sri Lanka.
90. Charter.1955, p.55. This work was later continued under the leadership of A. M. Ferguson and G. B. Leechman. The BMS became independent of the parent committee in London, in 1874.
91. Crozier.1895a, The Address of the President, 4 December 1827.
92. R. Tebb.1907, p.276.
93. WMMS-London, Correspondence - Ceylon I, Box.443, file 1817, Letter of Robert Newstead to the Secretary of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission Society, 30 October 1817.
94. CO 54/60 Letter of the Wesleyan Missionaries, B. Clough and G. Erskine, 25 January 1820.
95. The 10th Report of the General Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, 1827. London.

96. CO 54/60 Letter of Governor Brownrigg to the Wesleyan Mission, 30 January 1820.
97. Missionary Register, 1819, Letter of 25 June 1818
98. C. N. V. Fernando.1950a, p.110. This American Board of Commission for Foreign Mission (ABCFM) was founded in 1812 by the General Association for Massachusetts for the propagation of Christianity in Asia. The first band of missionaries were - The Revd. and Mrs. James Richards, the Revd. and Mrs. Benjamin Meigs, the Revd. and Mrs. Daniel Poor and the Revd. Edward Warren.
99. CO 54/59 Letter of Brownrigg to the Secretary of State, 27 March 1816, Enclosure: American Board to Governor Brownrigg.
100. CO 54/77 Enclosure in the Letter of Barnes to the Secretary of State, 10 October 1820.
101. Ibid.
102. C.N.V.Fernando.1950a, p.111. For a detailed account, see Ruberu.1962a, pp.186-200.
103. Report of Lieutenant-Colonel Colebrooke upon the Administration of the Government of Ceylon, 24 December 1831. See Mendis.1956, p.74.
104. The Church Missionary Society (CMS) was founded in 1799 by a band of Evangelists among whom was one of the greatest Evangelist -William Wilberforce. The spread of Christianity in Africa and Asia was the chief objective of the mission. CMS was joined in 1840 by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG). The Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) also associated themselves with this work.
105. Stock.1899, vol.1, p.216.
106. J. Selkirk.1844, p.105. The four missionaries were - the Revds. Samuel Lambrick, Benjamin Ward, Robert Mayor and Joseph Knight. They arrived in Sri Lanka in 1818 and were stationed in four different places. Samuel Lambrick in Colombo, Benjamin Ward in charge of Mannar and Kalpitiya, Robert Mayor in Galle and Joseph Knight in Jaffna.
107. Chandrasegaram.1962, p.135.
108. K. S. Latourette.1944, p.132.
109. Ibid., p.144.
110. The educational policy followed in Sri Lanka was characteristic of British policy in England during the nineteenth century.
111. CO 55/66 Letter of Secretary of State to Governor Barnes, 25 August 1821.

112. CO 55/59 Letter of Secretary of State to Governor Brownrigg, 27 March 1816. Lord Bathurst was the Secretary of State for the Colonies.
113. CO 55/63 Letter of Secretary of State to Governor Barnes, 18 June 1820
114. CO 54/77 Letter of Governor Barnes to Secretary of State, 10 October 1820.
115. Earlier Governor North had plotted with the Chief Minister of the King of Kandy to overthrow the King and undertook a short military expedition in 1803 - which ended in a disastrous defeat for the British.
116. Jayasuriya.1976, p.30. The powers and privileges of the Kandyan chiefs were recognized and maintained in the clauses of the Convention. Article 5 of the Convention read as follows: "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", as reproduced in Vimalananda.1963, p.xlviii.
117. The end of the "rebellion" was marked by a Proclamation issued on 21 November 1818 which toned down the guarantees given to Buddhism in the Convention of 1815 by extending protection to other religions as well. The Proclamation of 1818 formed the basis of the administration of the Kandyan provinces for the remaining 15 years, until the Colebrooke Commission introduced unification of the administration in 1834.
118. CO 54/60 Letter of Brownrigg to William Wilberforce, 13 January 1811.
119. From 1796-1816 Sri Lanka was part of the Diocese of London. In the year 1815 - the year of Waterloo and the Kandyan Convention -the Rt. Revd. Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, the first Bishop of Calcutta arrived in India. It was on 2 May 1814 that the British territories in the East Indies were constituted by an Act of Parliament into a Bishop's See, to be called the Bishopric of Calcutta. The proposal to establish such a Bishopric had met with a storm of opposition in the House of Commons and it was due to William Wilberforce that the Bill was passed through the House. Finally, provision was made not only for a Bishop but also for three Archdeacons : Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. In Sri Lanka, there was a curious anomaly of having an Archdeacon before there was a Bishop. Sri Lanka was added to the Bishopric of Calcutta in 1818, with an Archdeacon appointed by the Crown and not by the Bishop of Calcutta. This position of the Archdeacon in relation to the Bishop of Calcutta, underwent a change in 1835 - when Sri Lanka became part of the newly formed Diocese of Madras -and in 1845 Sri Lanka was made a separate Diocese. See Beven.1946, pp.41-43.
120. Ruberu.1962a, pp.130-132.
121. Jayasuriya.1976, p.65.

122. Ruberu.1962a, pp.136-137.
123. Jayasuriya.1976, p.52.
124. Ruberu.1962a, p.139.
125. Sir Edward Barnes (1776-1838). He arrived in Sri Lanka on 19th July 1819 to assume duties as Commander-in-Chief of the Forces. On the departure of Sir Robert Brownrigg, he took over the government of the colony as Lieutenant-Governor. Having acted as governor for two years, he handed over to the permanent incumbent, Sir Edward Paget, on the latter's belated arrival. Barnes was appointed Commander-in-Chief of India and left Sri Lanka on 2 February 1822. Within ten months he was obliged to give up his post owing to disagreements with his colleagues in the government of India and return to England. His record in Sri Lanka had been so good that the British Government transferred Sir Edward Paget to Calcutta as Commander-in-Chief and sent Barnes back to Colombo. Barnes arrived for his second innings as Governor of Sri Lanka, on 18 January 1824. His main contributions have been building roads and establishing coffee plantation. He returned to England in 1831. H. A. J. Hulugalle.1963, pp.40-42.
126. Jayasuriya.1976, p.52.
127. Ibid.
128. Governor Barnes' answer to the Commission of Inquiry, Mendis.1956, Vol.2, pp.31-32. Also CO 54/112 Barnes' answer to the Commission of Inquiry, 10 September 1830.
129. K. M. de Silva.1969, p.380.
130. Correspondence dated 9 March 1820 and 8 April 1820, as cited by Gratiaen, L.J.1927, p.9.
131. Jayasuriya.1976, p.53.
132. Mendis.1956, vol.2, p.31. Also CO 54/112 Barnes' answer to the Commission of Inquiry, 10 September 1830.
133. Gratiaen, L.J. op.cit.
134. Ceylon Government Gazette, 8 February 1809.
135. SCPF-Rome, Acta, vol.197, anno 1834, 24 November 1834, ff.196-201. It is to be noted that Governor Maitland's report to Sir Windham spoke of 90,000 Catholics for the year 1806. (CO 54/22 Letter of Maitland to Windham, 20 September 1806)
136. CO 416/6 Reply of Padre Sebastiao Pereira, Late Superior & Vicar General of the Roman Catholic congregation to His Majesty's Commission of Inquiry, 17 November 1829. ff.126-128.
137. Ibid.

138. CO 54/107, 2 November 1830.
139. Archives of the Archdiocese of Colombo, III, 1- Portuguese Oratorian manuscripts, as cited by Boudens.1979, p.31.
140. CO 416/6 Reply of Padre Sebastiao Pereira. op.cit.
141. Ibid.
142. SCPF-Rome, Acta, vol.197, anno 1834, 24 November 1834, ff.196-201.
143. C. Fernando.1963, p.57.
144. WMMS-London. Correspondence-Ceylon II, Box 444, file 1820, Letter of W. B. Fox to Headquarters, 28 July 1820.
145. WMMS-London. Correspondence-Ceylon II, Box 444, file 1821, Letter of J. Roberts to Rev. Watson, 3 December 1821.
146. The following places had a total of 97 Parish-Schools as at 31 December 1828: Colombo, Negombo, Kelaniya, Moratuwa, Talgamuwa, Kalutara, Galle, Tangalle, Jaffna, Trincomalee, Batticoloa and Chilaw. The number of children in these schools was 1914. Ruberu.1962a, p.230.
147. Ibid., p.370. It should be mentioned here that the recommendations of the Colebrooke Commission favoured to a considerable extent the consolidation of this missionary school system in later years.
148. The missionary schools 236, Government schools 97, Private schools 640. Ruberu.1962a, p.236, also Ruberu.1969, p.371.
149. Ruberu.1962a, p.237
150. CO 416/6 Reply of Padre Sebastiao, op.cit.
151. The chart was constructed by Ruberu from statistics found in a letter of the Archdeacon sent to the Commissioners, 15 February 1828. Ruberu.1962a, p.240. According to Ruberu, these 63 schools were founded by Roman Catholics in the country and that they had nothing to do with the Roman Catholic Church, and they were run by individuals.
152. Robert Wilmot Horton, Governor of Sri Lanka, 1832-1838, added Horton to his name in 1822 and had the task of carrying out the reforms recommended by Colebrooke Commission. For more details, see Chapter IV, note 2.
153. Jayasuriya.1976, p.91. In fact, Governor Barnes did protest earlier that there was no need for a commission to report on Sri Lanka.
154. Ruberu.1962a, p.243.
155. Collins.1951, p.58.

156. Lakshman Perera.1969, p.388.
157. Jayasuriya.1976, p.92.
158. Mendis.1956, vol.1, p.4.
159. Jayasuriya.1976, p.93.
160. Mendis.1956, pp.68 and 71.
161. He suggested the buildings and grounds on "Slave Island" near Colombo. He even recommended financial assistance from the government for the running of the college.
162. Lakshman Perera.1969, p.391.
163. Mendis.1946, p.53. The Colombo Academy is now called the Royal College.
164. Mendis.1956, p.72.
165. Ibid., p.73
166. Although the State took over the responsibility for education from the time of Governor North, the responsibility always rested with the Archdeacon of the Church of England. The Colebrooke Commission, for the first time, associated government officials who were not clergymen in the task of education. Yet, events later on proved that the clergy continued to dominate the School Commission as well.
167. Mendis.1946, p.53
168. Mendis.1956, p.73.
169. Ibid.
170. Colebrooke Commission Report, 24 December 1831, p.32, as cited by Ruberu.1962a, p.254.
171. The mission schools had already attracted students from the government schools, as mentioned earlier.
172. Mendis.1956, p.74
173. Ibid.
174. Jayasuriya.1976, p.97.
175. Mendis.1956, pp.74-75
176. Ruberu.1962a, p.247.
177. For an evaluation of the educational reforms introduced by the Colebrooke Commission, see Ruberu.1962a, pp.248-257.

CHAPTER IV

Notes and References.

1. CO 55/74 Letter of Secretary of State to Horton, 14 September 1832.
2. Sir Robert Wilmot Horton. He was born on 21 December 1784. He received his education at Eton and matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford in 1803. He graduated in 1806 and received his M.A. in 1815. In July 1818, he contested the Borough of Newcastle-under-Lyme and continued to represent it till he retired from the House of Commons in 1830. He was the Under-Secretary for war and Colonies from 1821-1828 and was admitted to the Privy Council on May 1827. In 1828, he resigned office. He was knighted in 1831. When he succeeded Sir Edward Barnes as Governor of Sri Lanka in 1831, the tradition of Military Governors was broken. He came to Sri Lanka with a reputation as a man of cultivated tastes and experience in public life. The Executive Council and the Legislative Council were set up during his tenure of office as Governor of Sri Lanka. The era of Newspapers, independent of the government, began with the arrival of Horton. The name "Horton" was added to his name on the death of his father-in-law in 1823. He was Governor of Sri Lanka from 1831 to 1837. Vide - Dictionary of National Biography, (1891), Vol.27, pp.390-391. London:Smith,Elder& Co., also Hulugalle.1963, pp.50-55.
3. Godage.1969a, p.399.
4. CO 54/128 Letter of the Archdeacon to Horton, 30 March 1833. The Archdeacon at that time was the Revd. James Moncrieff Sutherland Glenie.
5. Ceylon Government Gazette, 19 May 1834.
6. CO 54/135 Letter of Horton to Goderich, 24 September 1834.
7. Later it was called the Christian College and now it is known as Jayawardanapura Maha Vidyalaya.
8. This is the modern Royal College which has served the nation for the last one and a half centuries as the foremost Government Secondary School in Sri Lanka.
9. Jayasuriya.1976, p.113.
10. Mendis.1946, p.53.
11. The Archdeacon picked up a quarrel with the Revd. J. Marsh who was the Secretary to the School Commission and, as a result, Marsh felt compelled to resign. The reason for this quarrel was that the Archdeacon's son, the Revd. Owen Glenie and the Revd. J. Marsh had been rival candidates for the post of Headmaster of the Colombo Academy. The immediate reason behind Marsh's resignation was that the

Archdeacon had complained to the School Commission that Marsh, in his capacity as Secretary of the Commission, had failed to send notices to the Archdeacon regarding the meetings of the Commission. Jayasuriya.1976, p.115.

12. CO 54/156 Horton's Despatch to the Secretary of State, 4 October 1837. (No.145).
13. James Alexander Stewart Mackenzie - He was the eldest son of Admiral Keith Stewart. He married Maria Elizabeth Stewart-Mackenzie and added the name Mackenzie to that of Stewart. He was M.P. for Ross and Cromarty from 1831 to 1837. From 7 November 1837 till 5 April 1841 he was the Governor of Sri Lanka. Later he was Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands till 1843. He died at Southampton on 24 September 1843. Vide - Dictionary of National Biography, (1898) vol.54, p.368. (ed.Sidney Lee) London:Smith, Elder & Co. The "Ceylon Times" (10 August 1847) described him as "the best Governor Ceylon has yet seen".
14. CO 55/79 Letter of the Secretary of State to Governor Mackenzie, 2 October 1839.
15. CO 54/164 Mackenzie to the Secretary of State, 20 August 1838.
16. Godage.1969a, p.400.
17. CO 54/163 Mackenzie to the Secretary of State, 1 June 1838.
18. Ibid.
19. Jayasuriya.1976, p.118.
20. Mentioned earlier in note 11.
21. The Ceylon Chronicle, 23 April 1838. For a detailed history of the tussle between Governor Mackenzie and the Archdeacon, see K. M. de Silva.1965a, pp.29-39.
22. CO 54/163 Glenelg to Governor Mackenzie, 21 December 1838.
23. CO 54/179 Owen Glenie to Archdeacon of Colombo, 14 February 1840.
24. CO 54/179 Despatches from Mackenzie to Russell - Minute dated 18 May 1840
25. CO 54/185 Mackenzie to the Bishop of Madras, 12 May 1840. The Archdeacon, Venerable J.Glenie, according to K. M. de Silva (1965a, p.32), was a typical Anglican clergyman of his day who would have fitted comfortably into some affluent parish in the English countryside. He was a Tory in politics, High Church in his religious attitude, and had little interest in spiritual matters with no time for Theology. His time was mostly divided between the defence of the secular interests and privileges of the Anglican establishment and the cultivation of coffee. In fact, he "deserves to be remembered more as a pioneer coffee planter than as an Archdeacon of the Anglican

Church". Indeed, he owned 1,976 acres of the best coffee estate at Pussellawa in the Central Province of Sri Lanka.

26. Governor's address of 15 December 1839 in Addresses delivered to the Legislative Council of Ceylon by the Governors of the Colony, 1833-1860, Colombo (1876) vol.1, p.87.
27. CO 54/179 Mackenzie to the Secretary of State, 11 March 1840. Enclosure: Letter of Mackenzie to the Bishop of Madras, 2 March 1840.
28. Ibid. Both themes featured in his letter to the Secretary of State and in the letter to the Bishop of Madras.
29. CO 54/181 Mackenzie to Russell, 10 August 1840. Mackenzie had realised that the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge in Scotland, Wales and Ireland had wasted nearly a century in trying to instruct the Gaelic population of the Highlands and Western Islands of Scotland in English. But about the middle of the 18th century, the Gaelic society had been established to teach the Highlanders to read the Bible and the Psalms in their own language; that experiment had proved to be a great success and the Society had multiplied their translation and religious and moral tracts. More important, a desire for English language followed on this experiment. A similar experiment in Wales had had much the same results. Mackenzie recommended something on the same lines for the Sinhalese and Tamil population in Sri Lanka. See K. M. de Silva.1965a, p.146.
30. CO 54/181 The Revd. D. J. Gogerly's Memorandum to the Governor, 5 August 1840.
31. Ibid.
32. See the 3rd point in the Letter of Mackenzie to the Bishop of Madras, 2 March 1840.
33. CO 55/81 Secretary of State to Mackenzie, 11 April 1840.
34. Mendis.1946, p.54. This committee tried to raise the standard of the schools by giving grants according to recommendations made by inspectors who visited the schools.
35. CO 54/189 Governor's despatch to the Secretary of State, 12 August 1840. Enclosure: The Minute of 27 March 1841.
36. Governor Mackenzie's Minute of 27 March 1841, op. cit. The first members of the Central School Commission were-Mr.Philip Anstruther (Colonial Secretary) as Chairman, the Revd. J. P. Horsford (Colonial Chaplain), the Revd. G. G. Mac Vicar (Presbyterian Chaplain), the Revd. C. Antonio (Roman Catholic priest), the Revd. Joesph Bailey (Church Misssionary), Mr.John Armitage (unofficial member of the Legislative Council), Sir A.Oliphant (Chief Justice), Mr. P. E. Woodhouse (Government Agent of the Western Province), and Mr. George Lee (the Post Master General) who was appointed as the Inspector of

Schools and Secretary of the Commission, in addition to his own duties. See Gratiaen.1930, p.491.

37. CO 54/181 Mackenzie to Secretary of State, 12 August 1840.
38. Sumathipala.1968, p.13.
39. Sir Collin Campbell. He was born in 1776. In February 1795, he became a lieutenant in the 3rd battalion of the Breadalbane Fencibles. In 1815, he was attached to the staff of the Duke of Wellington as commandant at headquarters and was present at the battle of Waterloo. In 1833, he was appointed lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia. Though he was appointed governor of Sri Lanka in 1839, he arrived in Sri Lanka in November 1840 and took charge of office as governor only on 15 June 1841. He left for England on 19 April 1847 and died on 13 June 1847 and was buried in the Church of St. James', Piccadilly. Vide - Dictionary of National Biography, (1886) vol.8, pp.350-351. (ed. Leslie Stephen). Also Hulugalle.1963, pp.67-74.
40. CO 57/28 Education: Papers Relating to Grants-in Aid, Minute by the Governor, 26 May 1841. Hereafter referred to as The Minute of the Governor, 26 May 1841. Also in CO 54/188 Governor Campbell's Minute dated 26 May 1841.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. The Anglican Bishopric of Colombo was created in 1845.
46. Governor Campbell appointed the Bishop to the Post, for he felt that the Bishop could be more dangerous outside the Commission than inside it. WMMS-London. Correspondence - Ceylon, Box 448, Gogerly, 17 November 1845.
47. The Wesleyans could, with justice, call this phase "the most mournful period in the history of the mission..." Schools were erected and services established in the immediate neighbourhood of Wesleyan schools and chapels and "the Thombo registry and the burial ground were used as instruments of intimidation". R. S. Hardy.1864, pp.99-100.
48. George Byng Torrington. He was born on 9 September 1812. He was governor and commander-in-chief of Sri Lanka from 12 March 1847 to October 1850. He had the difficult task of handling the "riots of 1848". He went back and died on 27 April 1884 and was buried at Mereworth, Kent, on 2 May 1884. Modern English Biography, 1901, (ed. F.Boase) vol.3, p.993. Also Hulugalle.1963, pp.75-81.

49. Governor's letter to the Central School Commission, 14 August 1847. For a detailed account of this, see K. M. de Silva.1965a, pp.164-165.
50. Colombo Observer, 29 September 1847.
51. CO 54/238 Torrington to the Secretary of State, 10 September 1847.
52. Sir James Emerson Tennent. He was born at Belfast on 7 April 1804 and was educated at Trinity College, Dublin where he received an honorary degree of LL.D in 1861. He was elected member for Belfast on 21 December 1832. He remained a member of the House of Commons till July 1845 when he was knighted. From 12 August 1845 to December 1850 he was civil secretary (Colonial Secretary) to the colonial government of Sri Lanka. In October 1859, he published a book on Ceylon called - Ceylon:An account of the Island, Physical, Historical and Topographical. (2 vols.) He died suddenly in London on 6 March 1869 and was buried in Kensal Green cemetery on 12 March 1869. Vide -Dictionary of National Biography, (1898) vol.56, (ed.Sidney Lee) pp.65-66.
53. This was an attempt to transplant into Sri Lanka a device in vogue in contemporary England. The idea of Normal-Schools for training teachers originated in contemporary England where the sub-committee of the Privy Council, appointed by Queen Victoria on 10 April 1833 "for the purpose of promoting public education", formulated Normal-Schools as schools where "candidates for the office of teacher in schools for the poorer classes may acquire the knowledge necessary to the exercise of their future profession and may be practised in the most approved methods of religious and moral training and instruction". The committee had been acquainted with the work of the Glasgow philanthropist and educationist David Stow (1793-1846), who outlined a training system in the Glasgow Normal Seminary he started in 1826. For a full description of the Normal-School system in England, see Adamson.1964, pp.124-135. The Normal Institution started in Sri Lanka was, however, closed down in 1857 on the plea of "want of capability on the part of students". Godage.1969a, p.404. But what looks to be the most acceptable explanation is that the teaching profession did not attract many at that time because it was looked down upon as an ill-paid profession.
54. See above, Chapter III. pp.87-89.
55. Ibid.
56. Saverimuttu. 1980, p.16.
57. See below, Petitions from Jaffna and Colombo, note.77.
58. For details about this patronage, see Don Peter.1978, pp.18-21.
59. Date of the brief - 3 December 1834. Between 1832-1836, Propaganda had erected four Apostolic Vicariates comprising most of the areas of the former dioceses of Cochin, Cranganore and Mylapore: those of Madras, Calcutta, Sri Lanka and Coromandel. Saverimuttu.1980, p.18.

60. SCPF-Rome, Congre. Part., Cina, anno 1831, 4 July, f.27 as cited by Boudens.1979, p.38
61. Boudens.1979. p.79.
62. SCPF-Rome, Acta, vol.197, anno 1834, 24 November, ff.196-201.
63. The nomination letter sent through Lord Clifford, chairman of the Disciplinary Committee for Indian Affairs in England, reached Sri Lanka only in June 1836. But Father Francis Xavier had died on 11 Jan.1834, more than 10 months before he was nominated by Propaganda.
64. He maintained that Sri Lanka was too poor to maintain a Seminary of its own, which was an essential requisite for an independent Mission; celibacy would remain a barrier for the Sri Lankans; and finally the caste system was, as everywhere in India, would pose a major obstacle. SCPF-Rome, Acta, vol.199, anno 1836, ff.273-274.
65. The brief expressly stated that the new Vicariate did not come under the jurisdiction of Cochin. SCPF-Rome, Acta, vol.199, anno 1836, ff.274-283rv.
66. Ceylon Observer, 17 January 1838.
67. Padroadists: Those who defended the rights of the Crown of Portugal.
68. Saverimuttu.1980, p.19.
69. When the Vicar Apostolic of Sri Lanka, Vicente do Rosayro asked Propaganda to grant him a coadjutor and proposed the name of Gaetano Antonio, Rome was very reluctant to consider Gaetano precisely because of his earlier connection with the Padroadists. But as Propaganda could not find anyone else more suitable to handle the situation, the choice fell on Gaetano, after the death of Vicente do Rosayro.
70. Archives of the Kandy Diocese, Correspondences.1806-1849, Petition of the Colombo Catholics and Answer, August 1837.
71. Ph.Caspersz: History of the Padroado Mission in Ceylon, (Ms). Archives of the Archdiocese of Colombo, Sri Lanka, as cited by Boudens.1979, p.61.
72. Saverimuttu.1980, p.20.
73. For example, between 1557 and 1838, a period of 281 years, the See of Cochin had not been occupied for 148 years. Boudens.1979, p.59.
74. In 1841, Governor of Goa issued a decree which declared that the properties of those who accepted this brief or other instructions from Rome, be confiscated and that the priests themselves were to be imprisoned for one year if they dared to enter Portuguese territories. But the Goan Fathers, with the encouragement of Gaetano Antonio, decided to remain faithful to Rome, "even if it meant living as exiles

in the Island that they considered as their spiritual inheritance".
Boudens.1979, p.59.

75. Joao Bonifacio Misso, Surgeon, Consul General of Portugal (appointed on 30 January 1847) was born on 13 April 1797 and died on 8 March 1864. In 1822 he married Wilhelmina Andriess in St.Lucia's Church, Colombo. They had six children. See Altendorff.1930, pp.55-76.
76. The schism continued to exist even into the 20th century, until approximately 1940. It was due to the efforts of Bishop Gaetano Antonio (Vicente do Rosayro died on 29 April and Gaetano Antonio was consecrated Bishop on 8 May 1843) that the schism was never allowed to assume greater proportions at the beginning. For a detailed history of this, see Boudens.1979, pp.51-64.
77. SCPF-Rome, SCIO, vol.8, anni 1841-1842, Letter of 9 May 1842 signed by 3050 Catholics of Colombo, ff.603-607.
78. Ibid., f.603rv.
79. Ibid., f.604.
80. Ibid., f.604rv.
81. Ibid., f.605.
82. Orazio Bettacchini was born in 1810 at Piosina, a small village near Citta di Castello in the Papal States in North Italy. While engaged in his priestly ministry, he became interested in the Oratory of St.Philip Neri and later joined that Congregation. He came to Sri Lanka on 7 December 1842, was consecrated bishop on 11 February 1846, and died on 26 July 1857 at the age of 47. Boudens.1979, p.42. For a detailed history, see Saverimuttu.1980.
83. E. Peiris.1975, p.7.
84. SCPF-Rome, LD, vol.332, anno 1845, Gaetano Antonio to Propaganda Fide, 15 February 1846, ff.746-747. The nomination was made on 17 February 1845. But when this nomination of Bettacchini as Coadjutor was known to the Goan Oratorians, they asked Gaetano Antonio not to publish the nomination bull till they received an answer from Rome to the letter of protest they had sent. They even threatened to leave the Island rather than obey an Italian Coadjutor. The situation became very serious and finally it was Gaetano Antonio who cut the knot by publicly reading the nomination bull on 5 October 1845.
SCPF-Rome, LD, vol.332, anno 1845, 22 November 1845, f.769.
85. SCPF-Rome, LD, vol.333, anno 1846, Propaganda to Gaetano Antonio, 13 April 1846, ff.344-345rv.
86. SCPF-Rome, SCIO, vol.10, anni 1845-1846, Bettacchini to Propaganda, 6 June 1846, ff.1098-1101.
87. Boudens.1979, p.47.

88. This Congregation was started in France on the 25th of January 1816 with five members for the purpose of preaching the Gospel to the poor. With the rules and constitution of the Institute approved by Pope Leo XII on 17 February 1826, the Congregation began to spread rapidly in France and in 1834 to other parts of the world. On the request of Father Reinaud, a little earlier, Bishop de Mazenod had expressed his willingness to send his men. For a detailed history of this, see Boudens.1952a, pp.168-178 and pp.312-322.
89. Mazenod.1982, p.14. Original letter in Italian is found in SCPF-Rome, SCIO, vol.11, anni 1847-1848, de Mazenod to Cardinal Fransonì, 11 August 1847, ff.401-402.
90. Mazenod.1982, p.15.
91. Boudens.1979, p.48. These Oblates were a group of young people, respectively 36,24,27, and 26 years of age and Semeria was the superior of the group.
92. Mazenod.1982,p.17, de Mazenod to Cardinal Fransonì, 25 September 1847.
93. AOMI-Rome, Dossier Semeria, Letter to Bishop de Mazenod, 10 December 1847.
94. Ibid.
95. SCPF-Rome, LD, vol.336, anno 1847, 10 September 1847, ff.1175rv-1177rv. Also SCPF-Rome, SCIO, vol.11, anni 1847-1848, Pius IX to Gaetano Antonio, 19 September 1847.
96. Gnana Prakasar.1926, p.15.
97. Mazenod.1982, p.15.
98. See Boudens.1979, p.49, Mazenod.1980,p.17, Saverimuttu.1980, pp.79-82.
99. Already in 1846, Gaetano Antonio had proposed to Rome that, in order to diffuse the tension that existed between the Goan Fathers and Bettacchini, the Northern part of the Island be given to Bettacchini and the South be given a Coadjutor, preferrably a Goan Oratorian, which would please the Goans a lot and thereby bring peace among the clergy in the Island. SCPF-Rome, SCIO, vol.10, anni 1845-1846, Gaetano Antonio to Propaganda, 15 February 1846, ff.746-747.
100. SCPF-Rome, LD, vol.338, anno 1849, 31 July 1849, ff.198rv-200rv.
101. Guiseppe [Joseph] Bravi was born in Marte Santo on 6 December 1813. He joined the Silvestrines in 1830 and was ordained a priest in 1836. He reached Colombo on 14 August 1845. His coming to the Island paved the way for many other Silvestrines to find their way into Sri Lanka. The reason for choosing him was that he was most acceptable to the Goan Oratorians and, being of a religious order, assured Rome of a steady supply of new missionaries into the Island. He was consecrated bishop

on 13 January 1850, in St.Lucia's Church. He died on 15 August 1860 on his way to Europe. Boudens.1979, pp.44 & 66. Also Anselm Weerasinghe.1945, pp.2-4.

102. Coffee crisis - In 1847, with the entry of Brazil and Java into the coffee market, London recorded a steady decline in the price of coffee that was, then, in excess of demand. Coffee which brought 100 shillings per cwt. in 1844 brought only 45 shillings in 1847 and only 27 shillings in 1849. As exports from Sri Lanka fell, revenues declined and for nearly four years expenditure on the Island was in excess of revenue. It was to balance the budget of these lean years that Governor Torrington imposed a series of new taxes etc. For details, see L. Horace Perera.1959, pp.185-188.
103. C.S.C.R. No.7, (1846-1847) p.1.
104. C.S.C.R. No.8, (1847-1848).pp.1-3.
105. CO 54/249 Torrington to the Secretary of State, 4 July 1848.
106. CO 54/258 Torrington to the Secretary of State, 11 May 1849.
107. C.S.C.R. No.8, (1847-1848) pp.9-21.
108. Ibid.
109. England woke up to the need "to educate our masters" only a generation later. K. M. de Silva.1965, p.173.
110. C.S.C.R. No.8, (1847-1848) pp.9-21.
111. Charles Justin MacCarthy was the Auditor-General at that time and was also a member of the Central School Commission. When Sir Emerson Tennent was called to England in 1849, to face the Parliamentary enquiry into Lord Torrington's administration in Sri Lanka, MacCarthy became the President of the School Commission in his capacity as the Colonial Secretary. He was also the Governor of Sri Lanka from 1860 to 1863.
112. C.S.C.R. No.9, (1848-1849) from a reprint in "The Examiner", 31 December 1850.
113. When fees were reduced in 1852, however, there was a noticeable increase in attendance. Yet, it did not reach the level of 1848 again for some years.
114. The rebellion of 1848 - a pretender to the throne of Kandy appeared in 1848 and a revolt was organised against the British Rule. The rebellion was quickly put down and the pretender and the ring of leaders of the revolt were tried for high treason and sent to the gallows. (Colombo Observer, 16 September 1848 & 18 December 1848) According to K. M. de Silva.1965, p.176, the disturbances of 1848 had one beneficial effect on educational policy in that it forced the Government onto a realisation of one of the major defects in their

educational policy - the neglect of the Kandyan provinces.

115. C.O.57/28 Minute by the Governor, 26 May 1841.
116. CO 57/28 Letter from Bishop Bravi to Secretary of the School Commission, 26 January 1858. It is to be noted here that Bishop Bravi was accused later on by Bishop Semeria, Vicar Apostolic of Jaffna, for encouraging Catholic students to attend government schools.
117. C.S.C.R. No.2, (1841-1842) Appendix 15, pp.xxvi-xxix.
118. Ibid.
119. Ibid., pp.xxviii-xxix.
120. Ibid., Appendix:pp.57-76.
121. Mr. C. M. Doyle, an Irishman, was its Principal with an annual salary of £100. Other members of the staff were Don Domingo Wijesinghe (£36.) C. D. Alwis, (£18.) and Don Bastian, Sinhalese teacher (£7-14). CO 59/56 Blue Books, p.670.
122. Ibid.
123. CO 59/56 Blue Books, (1845) p.670.
124. See below, Table 4:1
125. CO 59/56 Blue Books, p.670.
126. SCPF-Rome, SCIO, vol.10, anno 1846, The Humble Memorial of the Chief Catholic inhabitants of the Town of Jaffna, in Ceylon, to Cardinal Franson, 10 September 1846, f.1309.
127. Ibid.
128. Ibid.
129. Ibid.
130. Gnana Prakasar.1925, p.155.
131. Ibid.
132. This was first known as the Jaffna Catholic English School and later, with the reception of a grant from the Government in 1851, came to be called by the Central School Commission as the Jaffna Boys' Seminary, and now known as St.Patrick's College. This school seems to have been founded, according to Gnana Prakasar.1925, p.156, in the year 1850. But in the Pastoral Letter of Bishop Semeria, it is stated that this school was started in 1848. SCPF-Rome, vol.17, anni 1859-1861, Pastoral letter of Dr. J. Stephen Semeria, O.M.I., 5 August 1860, f.1455rv.

133. V. Cassinelli: First Report of the Vicariate Apostolic of Jaffna for the Year 1850, p. 17.
134. St. Patrick's Annual, 1911, No.6, p.43. In Colombo, the Colombo Academy, now the Royal College was established by Sir Robert Horton in 1836, St. Thomas College was founded by Dr. Chapman, the first Anglican Bishop, in 1849.
135. J. Batayron. Supplement. vol. I, p.13, as cited by Saverimuttu. 1980, p.58.
136. Ibid. The three schools referred here were the Boys' English School, the Girls' English School and the Girls' Tamil school that was attached to the Girls' English School.
137. Ibid.
138. CO 57/28 Minute by the Governor, 26 May 1841.
139. AOMI-Rome, Batayron. J.: Le diocese de Jaffna et les Oblats de Marie-Immaculee, vol. I, p.79.
140. C.S.C.R. No.10, (1851) p.1. However, Semeria's Pastoral letter (op. cit.) states that they had received aid in 1848. Father Mola, a secular priest, was nominated by Bettacchini to be a member of the School Committee of Jaffna. Kuruppu. 1948a, p.23.
141. C.S.C.R. No.12, (1853)
142. CO 57/28 Governor's Minute of 26 May 1841. Also in CO 54/188.
143. Jayasuriya. 1979, p.137. Thereafter, in the words of Godage, the grants-in-aid "became a matter of hot discussion in the local press and a headache to the Government". Godage. 1969, p.409.
144. Jayasuriya. 1976, p.137.
145. During his stay in Kandy, he established a school in his parish house for the Catholic children, as mentioned earlier.
146. Father Levasseur, an Oblate priest, justifies this action of Bettacchini (of bringing the Jesuits into Jaffna) saying that the newly arrived Oblates in Jaffna, at that time, did not know Tamil and only one could speak English and that too very slightly. Levasseur. 1985, pp.60-61.
147. AOMI-Rome, Journal Semeria: 1847-1866 (1907) p.22.
148. Kuruppu. 1948a, pp.21-24. They were assigned to Kayts and Mannar.
149. Boudens. 1979, p.79.
150. Saverimuttu. 1980, p.62.

151. Morning Star - Anglo-Tamil fortnightly publication of the American Mission of Jaffna. A. Weerasinghe.1945, p.8.
152. SCPF-Rome, SCIO, vol.10, anno 1846, 10 September 1846, f.1309.
153. As cited by Weerasinghe.1945, p.8.
154. Gnana Prakasar.1925, p.206.
155. Batayron:Memoirs of Mgr.Stephen Semeria. 1848, Vol.II, p.42.
156. See Boudens.1975, p.448.

CHAPTER V

Notes and References.

1. Bravi was the Catholic Member on the Central School Commission from 1849. Those previous to him were Gaetano Antonio 1841-1845 and Father Reinaud 1845-1849.
2. As cited by Anselm Weerasinghe.1945, p.13.
3. C.S.C.R. No.9 (1849-1850).
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid. Hereafter, this committee will be referred to as the Book Committee.
6. CO 57/28 Minute by the Governor, 26 May 1841.
7. C.S.C.R. No.9 (1849-1850).
8. Ibid. Also in Bonjean.1861, p.102
9. Ibid. "Abhor false Gods, reject idols, worship God the Father Almighty and Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord."
10. C.S.C.R. No. 9 (1849-1850).
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.

14. Gratiaen.1931, p.52.
15. Christopher Ernest Bonjean.(1823-1892) He was born in France, on 23 September 1823. In 1846, he joined the Seminary of the Foreign Missions, Paris. Early 1847 he went to India and worked in Coimbatoor as a missionary for ten years. He expressed his desire to join the Oblates in a letter he wrote to Father Semeria, dated 7 August 1855. After his vows (1858) he became the close collaborator of Semeria. He succeeded Bishop Semeria as Vicar Apostolic of Jaffna on 5 July 1868. In 1883, he was transferred to Colombo to become, on establishment of the hieracrchy in Sri Lanka in 1886, its first Archbishop. He died in Colombo on 3 August 1892. Boudens.1975,p.446. Kuruppu.1948,pp.vii-viii.
16. Bonjean.1861, p.91.
17. Ibid.,p.93.
18. Bonjean wanted the books intended for the Catholic children not to have anything, not even a word, that was not in accordance with the Catholic faith. At the same time, he wanted the books in use to have some reference to Religion, whether History or Geography, and the teaching to be thoroughly Catholic. Bonjean.1961, p.94.
19. Ibid., p.95.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid., p.96.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid., p.107.
25. CO 57/28 Minute by the Governor, 26 May 1841.
26. Letter from the Secretary of State to Governor Horton, 30 April 1831, reproduced in Mendis.1956, vol.2, p.153.
27. Ibid.
28. The possibility of exempting a child from such instruction, if the parents objected to it, first appeared in the Prospectus of the Colombo Academy, issued in January 1837. cited by Godage.1961, p.58.
29. CO 55/79 Letter from the Secretary of State to Governor Mackenzie, 2 October 1837.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid.

32. CO 54/179 Letter from Governor Mackenzie to the Secretary of State, 11 March 1840. Enclosed Governor's letter to the Bishop of Madras, 2 March 1840.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. CO 54/181 Letter from Governor Mackenzie to the Secretary of State, 12 August 1840. Enclosed the letter from the Bishop of Madras to Governor Mackenzie, 25 May 1840.
36. Ibid. Letter from Governor Mackenzie to the Secretary of State, 12 August 1840.
37. CO 57/28 Minute by the Governor, 26 May 1841.
38. Ibid.
39. CO 57/30 C.S.C.R. No.18 (1860-1861).
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. CO 57/28 Letter from the Clerk of the Legislative Council to the Secretary of the School Commission, 24 November 1858. (No.11)
43. CO 57/28 Letter from the Secretary of the School Commission to the Colonial Secretary, enclosing the Supplementary Rules. 26 November 1858. See Appendix. A, p.361, for the new Supplementary Rules.
44. See Appendix. A. p.361.
45. CO 57/28 Letter from the Secretary of the School Commission to Father L. M. Keating, 16 May 1859. (No.14)
46. CO 57/28 Letter from Father Keating to the Secretary of the School Commission, 30 March 1859. (No.13)
47. Ibid.
48. CO 57/28 Letter from the Secretary of the School Commission to the Colonial Secretary, 16 May 1859. (No.14)
49. Ibid.
50. CO 57/28 Letter from the Assistant Colonial Secretary to the Secretary of the School Commission, 13 June 1859. (No.15)
51. Ibid.
52. CO 57/28 Letter from C. A. Lorenz to the Governor, 4 July 1859. Enclosed in the letter of the Colonial Secretary to the Secretary of

the School Commission, 13 August 1859. (No.17)

53. CO 57/28 Extract from the Proceedings of the School Commission, 2 July 1859. (No.16)
54. See Appendix. A. p.361.
55. CO 57/28 C. A. Lorenz's letter to the Governor, 4 July 1859. (No.17)
56. Ibid.
57. CO 57/28 Letter from the Colonial Secretary to the Secretary of the School Commission, 13 August 1859.(No.17)
58. CO 57/28 Letter from the Secretary of the School Commission to the Colonial Secretary, 3 October 1859. (No.18)
59. The Missionaries were: the Revd. John Wise (Chaplain), 6 Church Missionary Society missionaries and 2 Wesleyan missionaries.
60. CO 57/28 Petition of Certain Missionaries to the President and the Members of the Legislative Council, 7 December 1859. (No.19) The following revised rules regulating grants-in-aid schools in the Madras Presidency were cited by the petitioners:
 1. Grants-in-aid of schools and other educational institutions will be made with the special object of extending and improving the secular education of the people, and will be given impartially to all schools (so far as the funds at the disposal by government may admit) which impart a sound secular education upon the conditions hereinafter specified. It will be essential to the consideration of applications for aid that the schools on behalf of which they are preferred shall be under the management of one or more persons, who in the capacity of proprietors, trustees, or members of a committee selected by the Society or Association by which the school may have been established will be prepared to undertake the general superintendence of the school and to be answerable for its performance for some given time.
 2. Every application for a grant must be accompanied by a declaration that the applicants are prepared to subject the school...to the inspection of a Government Inspector; such inspection and examination relating only to the general management and to the secular instruction, and having no reference to any religious instruction which may be imparted in the school.
61. Ibid.
62. Don Peter.1962, p.180.
63. Bonjean.1860, pp.21-22.
64. Ibid., p.23.
65. Bonjean.1861.

66. K. M. de Silva.1973d, p.195.
67. Ibid.
68. Don Peter.1962, p.179.
69. CO 57/30 C.S.C.R. No.18 (1860-1861) Appendix.A-VI: Report of the sub-committee of the Legislative Council on the Supply Bill of 1861. This Report was adopted by the Legislative Council in December 1860.
70. Bonjean.1861, p.57.
71. Ibid.
72. According to the Rules of 1858, Religious Instruction in Government Schools had to be in the first hour of the day and attendance was not compulsory. This restriction was earlier objected to by some Protestant Missionaries.
73. The Ceylon Times, 10 August 1860. Also cited by Bonjean.1861, p.58.
74. Bonjean.1861, p.58.
75. The relative numbers of the leading classes of all Religionist, as stated by Bonjean (1861, p.15) is as follows:
- | | | | |
|------------|---------|---------------------|---------|
| Hindus | 588,000 | Catholics, at least | 150.000 |
| Buddhists | 879,000 | Protestants, all | |
| Mohamedans | 100,000 | sects, at most.. | 10,000 |
76. Ibid.
77. Ibid., pp.16-17.
78. Sumathipala.1968, p.15.
79. CO 57/30 C.S.C.R. No.18 (1860-1861) Appendix.A-VII: Letter from the Secretary of the School Commission addressed to Gentlemen interested in "Grants-in-aid" of education. 12 February 1861.
80. Bonjean.1861, p.80.
81. CO 57/30 C.S.C.R. No.18 (1860-1861) Appendix.A-X: Mr. Dickson to Bonjean, 8 May 1861.
82. CO 57/30 Ibid.
83. CO 57/32 C.S.C.R. No.19 (1861-1862) Appendix.A-III: Memorial from Certain Missionaries addressed to the Central School Commission, 9 September 1861. (The Revd. Levi Spaulding and others)

84. Ibid. Appendix.A-IV: Letter from the Secretary of the School Commission to the Revd. L. Spaulding, 2 October 1861.
85. Ibid. Appendix.A-VI: Letter from the Secretary of the School Commission to the Acting Inspector of Schools, 30 January 1862.
86. The Wesleyan schools in Jaffna came to be known as "Jaffna Central School" and "Wannarponne Preparatory School".
87. According to Boudens, in 1860, there were 109 Government Schools, 300 Protestant Schools and only 41 Catholic schools in Sri Lanka. Boudens.1979, p.93.
88. John Stephen Semeria. When Bishop Bettacchini fell ill during a journey to Europe in 1854, Propaganda started thinking of a coadjutor to him and two years later appointed Father Semeria as Bishop of Olympia in partibus infidelium and coadjutor with right of succession. He was consecrated on 17 August 1856 by Bishop de Mazenod. When Bishop Bettacchini died on 26 July 1857, Semeria took charge of the administration of Jaffna Vicariate. He died in Marseille on 23 January 1868 (age 54). Boudens.1979, pp.79,80,96.
89. SCPF-Rome, SCIO, vol.17, anni 1859-1861, f.1451-1452, Pastoral Letter of the Rt. Revd. Dr. John Stephen Semeria, OMI, Lord Bishop of Olympia and Vicar Apostolic of Jaffna, to the clergy and faithful of our Vicariate, 5 August 1860.
90. Ibid., f.1452.
91. Ibid., f.1453.
92. Ibid., f.1455.
93. Published in the same year as the Pastoral Letter of Bishop Semeria. op.cit. See Bonjean.1860.
94. Bonjean.1860, p.36.
95. Ibid., p.37.
96. Ibid.
97. Ibid., p.34.
98. Ibid.
99. Ibid.
100. Ibid., pp.34-35.
101. Ibid. p.41.
102. Ibid. His reference was to the Catholic schools already established in those countries.

103. Boudens.1979, p.86.
104. References are found in the letters Bishop de Mazenod wrote to Bishop Semeria in Jaffna. Mazenod.1980, pp.151, 153,154.
105. The Congregation of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, popularly known as the De La Salle Brothers, was founded in Rheims, France, by the Canon Jean Baptiste De La Salle (1651-1719); declared "Blessed" in 1888, canonized a Saint in 1900, and declared Patron of all teachers by Pope Pius XII in 1950. His Congregation, devoted exclusively to Christian Education, was approved (Papally) in 1725 by Pope Benedict XIII. At the time of Jean Baptiste's death, the Institute of Brothers had spread throughout France and had 26 schools in France and Rome with 274 Brothers teaching 9,885 pupils. By 1860, the Congregation had spread to the different parts of the world. There were half a dozen houses in India as well. Vide - Dictionary of Catholic Biography, (1962), (ed. John J. Delaney & James Edward Tobin) London: Robert Hale Ltd., p.317.
106. The Irish Christian Brothers were founded by Edmund Ignatius Rice (1762-1844) of Waterford. Born in Callan, Eire, he worked in his uncle's export house in Waterford. In 1802, he opened a school in Waterford and soon had schools in several neighbouring towns. He and his associates drew up a rule, pronounced vows before the Bishop of Waterford in 1808, applied for Papal approbation in 1817, and had the new Congregation Fratres Monachi (the Institute of the Brothers of Christian School of Ireland) approved by Pope Pius VII in 1820. At the time of Rice's death, there were 11 communities of his Institute established in Eire, and 11 more in England and now this Congregation is found throughout the whole world. Vide - Dictionary of Catholic Biography. (1962), p.988.
107. Its worth noting here that the Irish Brothers' Reading Books were already in use in the two Catholic English schools in Jaffna. See CO 57/30 C.S.C.R. No.18.(1860-1861) Appendix.A-VII.
108. They were - Father Yves Le Cam and Brothers Brown and Byrne, as mentioned in the Letter of Bishop de Mazenod to Bonjean in Jaffna. 19 November 1859. Mazenod.1980. pp.146-147.
109. Bishop Bonnand of Pondicherry was on his Apostolic Visit, specially to settle the dispute that arose between the two Vicariates with regard to the mission of Kurunegala. The Vicar Apostolic of Colombo wanted it to be attached to his Vicariate.
110. St. Patrick's College Annual, 1905. pp.6-7.
111. Letter of Bishop de Mazenod to Semeria, 8 July 1860. Mazenod.1980, pp.153-154.
112. Letter of Bishop de Mazenod to Fr. Boisrame, Master of Novices at Sicklinghall, 7 July 1860. Mazenod.1979, pp.158-159.

113. namely to the Christian Brothers, to be introduced into their methods of Primary School teaching.
114. Mazenod to Fr. Boisrame, 7 July 1860. Mazenod.1979, p.159.
115. St. Patrick's College Annual, 1905. p.8.
116. The six Holy Family Sisters were: Mother Mary Xavier Marchand,(French) Superior; Sisters Mary Ligouri Roger (French), Mary Joseph Maroilles(French), Mary Stanislaus Quinn(Irish), Helen Winter(Irish) and Theresa Van Meurs(Dutch). Boudens.1979, p.79.
117. Mrs. Mary Anne O'Flanagan. An Irish widow (County Limerick, Eire), concerned herself to the lots of the girls in educating them. She showed herself to be a hard worker and a strong personality who tolerated no opposition, even from the missionaries. She must have taken charge of the girls' school in Jaffna in 1850 or so. Her daughter Catherine joined the Holy Family Sisters and received the name Marie-Louise. Her son Patrick became an Oblate priest. Boudens.1979, pp.94-96. Also E.Peiris.1980, pp.19-20.
118. E. Peiris.1980, pp.19-20.
119. "Prospectus of St. Mary's College", in the Ceylon Examiner, 10 January 1863.
120. Ibid.
121. Ibid.
122. SCPF-Rome, SCIO, vol.18, anni 1862-1864, f.1020-1021rv. Semeria to Barnabo, 3 February 1864. In fact, it was only after the abolition of the School Commission and the establishment of the Department of Public Instruction in 1870 that the above mentioned practice came into use.
123. Walter J. Sendall. In 1862, he replaced Brooke Bailey as Inspector of Schools. A series of interesting and detailed reports issued from his pen. He never minced words and was quick to condemn inefficiency wherever it was found. On the whole, he was scrupulously fair in his estimates and criticism of schools and candidates at examinations. He was quick to recognize and appreciate merit wherever it was found and at the same time never failed to condemn what he thought bad. His reports did the most damage to the prestige of the School Commission and finally forced the abolition of the same. Also see below, Chapter VII, note 22.
124. namely the Jaffna Boys' Seminary and the Jaffna Female Seminary.
125. CO 57/38 C.S.C.R. No.22 (1864-1865), Appendix.E-IV: Report upon Aided and other Schools in the District of Jaffna. There were 76 pupils on role and the school superintendant was the Revd. Father J. Mola.

126. Ibid.
127. CO 57/44 C.S.C.R. No.24 (1866-1867) Appendix. E-II: Report upon Aided Schools in the District of Jaffna, visited in July, August & September 1866
128. Ibid. The school referred to is the American Mission School at Batticotta,
129. Ibid. The school referred to is the Chundicully Girls' School(CMS).
130. Brooke Bailey, then Inspector of Schools, visited the two Roman Catholic Schools in Jaffna and reported that neither of them was in efficient state; the Boys' School was sadly inferior to the two large schools [the Chundicully school(CMS),and the Central School of Jaffna(Wesleyan)] and the Girls' school "did not meet the wants of the community". C.S.C.R. No.15 (1856-1857) Appendix. II.
131. CO 57/44 C.S.C.R. No.24 (1866-1867), Appendix.E-III: Report of G. S. Steward, Acting Inspector of Schools, on Schools in the Western, Central, Eastern, Northern and North-Western Provinces.
132. Ibid.
133. Bombay Catholic Examiner, 4 July 1863. The letter of Bonjean was published in this newspaper.
134. CO 57/40 C.S.C.R. No.23 (1865-1866) Appendix.E.II: Report upon Aided and other Schools in the District of Jaffna, visited in August/September 1865.
135. The Society of the Brothers of St. Joseph. This Society was established to train native Brothers to take care of orphanages and to teach in vernacular schools. Boudens.1979, p.96. Gnana Prakasar.1926, p.18.
136. CO 57/40 Report of Sendall upon Aided Schools. op.cit.
137. Bravi himself had stated thus: "There never came, to my knowledge, any reasonable conscientious objection to sending children to Government Schools, which I,... have always recommended and encouraged". CO 57/28 Letter from Bishop Bravi to the Secretary of the School Commission, 26 January 1858. (No.5)
138. SCPF-Rome, SCIO, vol.18, anni 1862-1864, ff.1001-1012, Rapport sur quelques points en discussion entre le vicariat de Colombo et le vicariat de Jaffna, 25 Jan.1864.
139. AOMI-Rome, Dossier J. Mola, Letter from Father Mola to Bishop de Mazenod, 10 August 1860. Also SCPF-Rome, SCIO, vol.18, anni 1862-1864, Bonjean to Propaganda, 12 July 1862. Also in the letters Bishop de Mazenod wrote to Propaganda requesting that the Oblates be given the Colombo Vicariate as well. Mazenod.1982, pp.116-117, 125-127, 142-143, 151-153. There was also another tension between the two

Vicariates over the demarcation of the boundary. Boudens.1979, p.66.

140. Propaganda, in appointing Bravi (Silvestrine Order), had thought that he would be able to get a steady supply of missionaries from his own Congregation. See above, Chapter IV, Note 101. Bravi did try to get more Silvestrines for Sri Lanka but as the number of members of this Order was so small he was forced to turn to Propaganda for help.
141. SCPF-Rome, LD, vol.339, anno 1850, ff.997-998rv. Propaganda to Mazenod, 15 November 1850.
142. This is evident in the letters Bishop de Mazenod wrote to Propaganda and in the letters he wrote to Semeria.
143. These Oblates were: Fathers Dominique Pulicani, Adrien Duffo, Jean-Pierre Pereard and Laurent Lallemand. They arrived in Sri Lanka on 25 July 1851.
144. Propaganda agreed to this and wrote to Bishop de Mazenod to this effect. SCPF-Rome, LD, vol.340, anno 1851, ff.817-818rv. Propaganda to Mazenod. 11 November 1851.
145. The other two parties were the Europeans and the Goans. SCPF-Rome, SCIO, vol.14, anni 1853-1854, Bravi to Fransonì, 12 January 1854. Bravi's dislike for the Oblates became worse when Bishop Semeria replaced Bishop Bettacchini in Jaffna and the Oblates began to suggest to Propaganda for a return to one single Vicariate under the leadership of Bishop Semeria in order to avoid the divergent religious policies of the two Vicariates. AOMI-Rome, Dossier J. Mola, Mola to Mazenod, 10 August 1860.
146. SCPF-Rome, SCIO, vol.16, anni 1855-1856, ff.352-355, Bravi to Fransonì, 5 March 1855.
147. SCPF-Rome, SCIO, vol.16, anni 1857-1858, ff.1172-1173, Mazenod to Barnabo, 3 December 1858.
148. AOMI-Rome, Dossier J. Mola, Mola to Mazenod, 9 April 1859.
149. Letters of Bishop de Mazenod to Propaganda, Mazenod.1982, pp.116-117, 125-127, 142-143. Also the letters of Bishop de Mazenod to Semeria, in Jaffna. Mazenod.1980, pp.62-63, 158-160.
150. See above, Chapter IV, p.116.
151. Boudens.1979, p.73.
152. SCPF-Rome, SCIO, vol.17, anni 1859-1861, f.1392 and f.1547. Mazenod to Barnabo 18 October 1860 and 15 December 1861.
153. SCPF-Rome, Acta, vol.226, anno 1862, ff.153-155rv. 4 August 1861.

154. D. Ilarione Sillani, former Abbot of San Stefano in Rome, and Procurator of the Sylvestrines, was sent to Sri Lanka as a help to Bravi.
155. Sillani explained that there were 23 missionaries in Colombo and that it was sufficient for the time. Boudens.1979, p.74.
156. SCPF-Rome, Acta, vol.226, anno 1862, ff.150-185.
157. Ibid., vol.227, anno 1863, ff.361-363.
158. Sillani was consecrated on 27 December 1863 by Bishop Valerga in Cottar, India, at the age of 51, after having worked in Sri Lanka for only 5 years. He died in Rome, on 27 March 1879.
159. Modeliar Don D. Wijeijesinghe was the interpreter for the two Courts of Justice of Kandy and a good Sinhala scholar who edited the works of Father Jacome Goncalvez.
160. SCPF-Rome, Acta, vol.226, anno 1862, ff.176rv-182. Letter of a Catholic, Don D. Wijeijesinghe to the Most Eminent Barnabo, 15 August 1860. According to Wijeijesinghe, there were about 150,000 Catholics in the Southern Vicariate and only 20 priests were there to care for the spiritual needs of the people. (5 Goans, 8 Italians, 3 French, 3 Spanish and 1 Sri Lankan)
161. Ibid.
162. Ibid.
163. SCPF-Rome, Acta, vol.227, anno 1863, ff.356-378. Nomina del Vic. Apost. dei Silvestrini, 31 August 1863.
164. SCPF-Rome, SCIO, vol.18, anni 1862-1864, ff.357-358. Sillani to Propaganda, 14 November 1862.
165. This plan could not be implemented fully, as Sillani had wished and, thus, the minor seminary (for prospective Sylvestrines) was transferred to Kandy in 1867 when St. Benedict's was entrusted to the Christian Brothers. SCPF-Rome, SCIO, vol.19, anni 1865-1867, ff.1371-1372rv. Sillani to Propaganda, 29 January 1867.
166. The Colombo Examiner, 28 February 1863.
167. Ibid., The foundation stone was laid on 13 February 1863. It was only after this Sillani travelled to Rome to be consecrated bishop. He returned on 5 January 1864. Supplementary to the Colombo Examiner, 13 January 1864.
168. Archives of the Sylvestrines, Rome, Dossier. I.D.2, No.3, as cited by C. Fernando.1963, p.183.
169. The Brothers (Hidulphus, Ulfen Daniel and Hermelard Leo) came in December 1866. Later an Irish brother, John, also joined them.

170. Supplementary to the Colombo Examiner, 18 May 1867.
171. Ibid., The other newspapers, the Colombo Observer and the Ceylon Times too carried similar letters.
172. See above, Chapter.IV, pp.114-116.
173. L. A. Wickremeratne.1973, pp.180-181.
174. by a correspondent "Audi Alteram Partem", in the Colombo Examiner, 18 May 1867.
175. The Colombo Examiner, 7 August 1867. However, the Irish Brother John, who had joined the other Brothers in Sri Lanka at a later date, stayed back and continued with Frs. Vanderstraaten, Assauw and Brandt Fernando who conducted the administration of the College till the new set of Brothers arrived after a fresh agreement was signed between Bishop Sillani and the Superior General of the Brothers in Paris.
176. The new Brothers were Cyprian, Aloysius, Peter, Frederick and Benedict. La Sallian Tercentenary Souvenir, (Colombo.1951) p.26, also Boudens.1979, p.99.
177. The Colombo Examiner, 19 December 1868.
178. In the report Sillani sent to Rome in 1865, he mentioned that in his Vicariate there were 27 Sinhala and 4 Tamil schools for boys and 11 Sinhala and 3 Tamil schools for girls. SCPF-Rome, SCIO, vol.19, anni 1865-1867, f. 648, Administratio spiritualis in Vic. Columbo, 1864-1865. When Sillani died (1879) there were 123 schools in his Vicariate. Boudens.1975, p.443.
179. CO 57/37 Minutes of the Legislative Council, 14 October 1865.
180. Evidence given before the sub-committee of the Legislative Council appointed to investigate the state of Education in the country showed ample proof of this. See CO 57/44 Sessional Paper VIII, 1867.
181. Ibid., Evidence of W.W. Cairns to the M.C.
182. Ibid., Evidence of the Revd. S. O. Glenie, Colonial Chaplain, to the M.C. p.67.
183. Ibid.
184. No salary was paid to the members of the Commission at that time.
185. Ibid.
186. The Ceylon Observer, 15 July 1844.
187. Sir Charles Justin Maccarthy (1811-1864). He was born in Brighton in 1811. He was the Auditor General of Sri Lanka in 1847 and became the

Colonial Secretary in 1851. He was also the President of the School Commission from 1850-1860. He became the Governor of Sri Lanka from 23 August 1860 to 1963. He died on 14 August 1864. Vide - Modern English Biography, (F.Boase.1987) vol.II, p.569. Truro: Netherton & Worth.

188. Such tensions were evident in the battle that went on between the Legislative Council and the School Commission over the grants-in-aid rule. See above, p.149,
189. from the C.S.C.R. No.18 (1860-1861) and thereafter.
190. The reports Sendall gave after inspecting the schools in the different Provinces, especially C.S.C.R. No.24 (1866-1867) in CO 57/44 and No.25 (1867-1868) in C O 57/47.
191. Sir Hercules George Robert Robinson. (1824-1897) He was the second son of Admiral Hercules Robinson of Rosmead, Westmeath, Ireland and Frances Elizabeth, only daughter of Henry Widman Wood of Rosmead. He was born on 19 December 1824 and was educated at Sandhurst. He joined the army in 1843 and retired in 1846. On 3 March 1854, Robinson was appointed to one of those posts which for many years formed the nurseries of colonial governors, viz., that of president of Montserrat in the West Indies. In 1859, he was promoted to be governor of Hong Kong. In 1865, on the expiration of the ordinary term of government, he was sent to Sri Lanka where he took charge of the administration of the colony on 31 March 1865. He organised the public works department of the colony on the lines which have made it perhaps the most efficient works department in the colonies. At the end of his term, in January 1872, he left for England. Afterwards, he was sent to different colonies to govern them. He was created a baronet in 1891. He died in London on 28 October 1897. Vide - Dictionary of National Biography, Supplement, (1901) vol.III, pp.300-302. London: Smith, Elder, and Co.
192. CO 54/487 Letter from Governor Robinson to the Secretary of State, 14 September 1867.
193. Sir Muthu Coomaraswamy (1820-1879). He became a member for the Tamil Seat in the Legislative Council in 1861. He was the first Tamil Knight in Sri Lanka and the first non-Christian in Sri Lanka to be called to the English Bar. Godage.1969, p.423.
194. CO 57/44 Minute of the Legislative council, 14 October 1865, Appendix. A. This motion was seconded by Mr. Maartenz.
195. Richard Morgan was the Chairman and the other members were the Surveyor-General Captain M. A. B. Feyers, the Collector of Customs, Mr. J. Parsons and Messers. Coomaraswamy and Maartenz. See CO 57/44 op. cit.

CHAPTER VI

Notes and References

1. See above, Chapter V, pp.173-174.
2. See above, Chapter III, pp.94-95.
3. See above, Chapter III, for the activities of the governors.
4. See above, Chapter IV, p.101.
5. CO 57/44 Report of the Sub-Committee of the Legislative Council. This Report of the Sub-Committee (popularly known as the Morgan Committee) will be referred to hereafter as the Morgan Report (M.R). This Report (M.R) itself runs into 28 pages. The Morgan Committee questionnaire is found in Appendix: A, of this Morgan Report, pp.31-31. The replies to Questions proposed by the Morgan Committee is found in Appendix. D, of the above Morgan Report, pp.41-171.
6. See above, Chapter IV, pp.103-104.
7. J. F. Dickson, in his evidence to the M. C. p.68.
8. The Rt. Revd. the Lord Bishop of Colombo, in his evidence to the M. C. p.68.
9. The Revd. C. Bonjean (Roman Catholic Mission) in his evidence to the M. C. p.129.
10. Cruickshank.1963, p.3, also Barnard.1961, p.98.
The amount was to supply half the cost of building new school houses. The other half was to be found in voluntary contributions.
11. Barnard.1961, p.99. Cruickshank.1963, p.3.
12. It was created by an Order in Council dated 25 February 1856. Barnard.1961, p.109.
13. This came to be known as the Newcastle Commission, (1858-1861). Barnard.1961. p.109.
14. Ibid. p.110.
15. Robert Lowe had been the Vice-President of the Education Department since 1859. He was a Liberal free-trader and was prepared to apply to education his economic theories. For details, see Barnard.1961, pp.111-112.
16. The voices of men such as John Stuart Mill (1806-1873), Mathew Arnold (1822-1888), John Ruskin (1819-1900), Frederick Denison Maurice (1805-1872), Charles Kingsley (1819-1875), were heard demanding that

State should take action to educate the ordinary working classes.
Barnard.1961, pp.144-155.

17. For Robert Lowe's actual words, see Oxford Dictionary of Quotations, London:Oxford University Press. 1953 (2nd edition). p.172.
18. The Wood's Despatch of 1854 was a long document of a hundred paragraphs and it dealt with several questions of great educational importance. For details, see Nurullah. S.1951, pp.203-216.
19. Cited by Nurullah. S.1951, p.206.
20. Jayasuriya.J.E. 1976, p.217.
21. For the list of questions, see Appendix. B, p.362.
22. For the names of the gentlemen, see Appendix. C, p.364.
It is worth noting here that 21 of the 47 recipients (45 individuals and 2 associations) of the questionnaire were clergymen of the different denominations and were with one exception, Europeans. 11 were public servants of whom 2 were Sri Lankan Burghers. The 2 Associations were from Jaffna (one Christian and one Hindu). All in all, the indigenous ethnic interests (Sinhalese & Tamils) and religious interests (Buddhist, Hindu and Muslim) received little opportunity of making their views known to the Morgan Committee.
23. CO 57/44 The Morgan Report, Appendix. A: The Questionnaire of the Morgan Committee, pp.31-31.
24. See Appendix. B, p.362 for the questions.
25. The Revd. S. O. Glenie, in his evidence to the M. C. p.67.
26. J. F. Dickson, in his evidence to the M. C. p.68.
27. C. A. Lorenz, in his evidence to the M. C. p.163.
28. The Catholic witnesses were : Bishop Semeria, Fathers Christopher Bonjean, Emiliano Miliani and Benedict Bondoni from Galle, Salauun, Vicar General of Jaffna, the Negombo Missionaries- Cornelius Justus Brandt Fernando, John Baptist Vistriani, Stanislaus Tabarrani, Gentilucci, Bonfilius Baldoni, and Louis Keating from Trincomalee. See CO 57/44 The Morgan Report, Appendix. D, pp.124-149, 153-155. also in Fernando.C.1963, p.219.
29. The Revd. C. Bonjean, in his evidence to the M. C. pp.124-141.
30. Ibid. p.124.
31. Ibid. p.125.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid. pp.125-126.

34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid. p.127.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid. p.128.
43. See above, Chapter IV, p.108.
44. Bravi had objected to certain books being included in the list of books for the schools. See above, Chapter IV, pp.136-139.
45. Ibid. p.129. The Governor's Minute of 26 May 1841 had stated that the promotion of Christian education as one of the objectives of the School Commission. See above, Chapter IV, p.108.
46. Ibid. p.129.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid. p.130.
49. Ibid. It is well worth noting here that Bonjean has already begun to advocate the inclusion of other religionists and the locals in order to have a wider participation in the educational policy making in the country.
50. J. F. Dickson, in his evidence to the M. C. p.68.
51. Jayaweera, S. 1972, p.39.
52. The Colebrooke Commission had recommended the use of English as a medium of instruction and had discouraged the use of public funds for promoting the study of local languages. See above, Chapter III, p.97.
53. The "Ceylon Examiner", 20 July 1865.
54. This was in consequence of the Colebrooke recommendations.
55. Jayaweera, S. 1972, p.39.
56. Walter Sendall, in his evidence to the M. C. p.56.

57. C. A. Lorenz, in his evidence to the M. C. p.166.
58. H.W. Wriggins.1960, p.27.
59. The Revd. Levi Spaulding (American Mission,Jaffna) in his evidence to the M. C. p.101.
60. The Revd. G. Schrader (Colonial Chaplain of Galle) in his evidence to the M. C. p.144.
61. The Revd. B. Boake (Principal, Queen's College, Colombo) in his evidence to the M. C. p.109.
62. J. E. Anthonisz, in his evidence to the M. C. p.85.
63. The Revd. J. B. H. Bailey, in his evidence to the M. C. pp.158-159.
64. The Revd. C. Bonjean, in his evidence to the M. C. p.135.
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid.
70. The Morgan Committee recommendations stated thus: The Sub-Committee are of opinion that owing to the great ignorance of the bulk of the population of this Colony, vernacular education should be undertaken by the Government on a larger scale than at present, and by the term vernacular education, it is here intended to imply only Elementary Education. CO 57/44 Morgan Report. p.11.
71. See Saiyidain, K. G. et al. 1966, pp.18-19, 323-327.
72. Buddhism was introduced to Sri Lanka in 274-232 B. C. by the Buddhist Emperor, Asoka the Great of India, by sending his son Mahinda Thero with a group of monks. The schism of the Buddhist priesthood into various sects (Nikayas) on the basis of caste accelerated the process of creating caste consciousness among the lay people as well. According to B. H. Farmer, the word "Nikaya" sometimes translated as "sect" could be misleading, for "the differences between and within Nikayas are a matter of caste rather than of doctrine or practice". According to him, the Siam Nikaya, is thought to contain about 2/3 of Sri Lankan Bhikkus and is confined to the Goyigama (farmer) caste. The Amarapura Nikaya, founded by the Salagama caste as a protest against the caste exclusiveness of the Siam Nikaya, is said to contain Karava (fishermen), Durava (toddy tapper) and other castes, together with a number of Goyigama in Kandyan districts. Schism within the Nikayas, according to Farmer, have mainly been on caste basis. See B.H.

Farmer.1965, pp.431-440. Also K.M.de Silva.1973d, pp.200-203. For a detailed explanation, see L.A.Wickremaratne.1969, pp.131-138.

73. H.W.Wriggins.1960, p.24. Also Beaglehole,J. H. 1967, p.59.
74. Administration Reports. 1875, p.140.(co 57/66)
75. The "Ceylon Examiner", 11 September 1884.
76. J. W. H. Birch, in his evidence to the M. C. p.97.
77. F. W. Williford, in his evidence to the M. C. p.42.
78. The Revd. John Scott,(Chaplain, Wesleyan Mission, South) in his evidence to the M. C. p.116.
79. The Revd. Levi Spaulding,(American Mission, Jaffna) in his evidence to the M. C. p.100.
80. The Revd. C. Bonjean, (Roman Catholic Mission, Jaffna) in his evidence to the M. C. p.133.
81. Ibid.
82. Ibid. He suggested the useful arts of cutting and stitching, domestic economy, knowledge of book-keeping, drawing and piano, all with the hope of making her perform her duty well.
83. Ibid. p.134.
84. For Sendall's comments about the Jaffna Female Seminary of the Roman Catholic Mission, see above, Chapter V, pp.162-163.
85. For the details about the efforts of Bishop Semeria, see above, Chapter V. pp.155-156.
86. Bishop Semeria, in his evidence to the M. C. p.143.
87. as demonstrated by Henry Weerasinghe in his thesis. Weerasinghe.1973, p.141.
88. Question 16 of the questionnaire. see Appendix. B, p.362.
89. The rules issued by the School Commission in 1861 on this question had imposed a conscience-clause, limiting religious instruction to the beginning or end of the day and had restricted it to nondenominational teaching. The majority of the missions had refused to avail themselves of grants-in-aid under these conditions and only 20 of the 497 missionary schools were in receipt of grants in 1869. Jayaweera,S. 1972, p.40.
90. Bishop Semeria, in his evidence to the M. C. p.143.
91. Ibid.

92. CO 54/432 Governor Robinson to the Secretary of State, 14 January 1868.
93. The M. C. also recommended that under the Department of Public Instruction there should be one general Inspector of Schools and a sub-Inspector for each province. Besides other qualifications, the Inspectors were expected to know the two vernacular languages, namely Sinhala and Tamil.
94. By "vernacular education" what the M. C. meant was the Elementary Education whereby the rudiments of knowledge are conveyed to the mass of the people and not the cultivation of the Classics in the vernacular languages.
95. The Mixed School was expected to occupy a middle place between the purely vernacular and the purely English Central School and serve as a stepping stone from one to the other.
96. The M. C. was of the view that vernacular education, particularly of educating girls, cannot be carried out without the support of the missionary societies.
97. CO 57/44 Proceedings of a Special meeting of the School Commission together with a Statement prepared by a sub-committee of the School Commission with reference to the Report of the Sub-Committee of the Legislative Council on Education. pp.477-482.
98. Ibid. pp.479-480.
99. The Governor's speech reported in The "Ceylon Observer", 18 December 1867.
100. The recommendations of the M. C. were accepted on 14 January 1869.
101. CO 55/115 Secretary of State to the Officer Administering the Government, 26 August 1868.
102. Ibid.
103. The local applicants were: Walter J. Sendall, the Revd. B. Bailey and the Revd. B. Boake. The dates of their letters to the Governor were - 12 February 1868, 15 February 1868 and 27 January 1868 respectively.
104. CO 55/115 op. cit.
105. The "Ceylon Examiner", 27 February 1869.
106. S.G.Perera.1955, p.178.
107. Sessional Papers. No.33, 1896, p.1
108. G.C.Mendis.1946, p.73.
109. K.M.de Silva.1973d, p.195.

110. S. Jayaweera.1972, p.46.
111. K.M.de Silva.1973d,. p.197.
112. Some of them were the phenomenal increase in the number of grant receiving missionary schools, a steady reduction in the number of government schools and a marked increase in the number of Buddhist (and Hindu) schools

CHAPTER VII

Notes and References.

1. Laurie, soon after arriving on the Island, presented himself at the office of the former School Commission. He received a letter from them asking him to vacate the present rooms (formerly occupied by the School Commission) and provide himself with other offices. Laurie had to occupy the premises then known as the Industrial school which was thoroughly unsuitable to house a Department. Even though the Public Works Department was asked to effect the necessary repairs, it looks that no notice was taken about this matter.
2. CO 54/446 No.100, Despatch from Governor to Secretary of State, 28 September 1869. Enclosure 6:Special Report on the state Public Instruction in Ceylon.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., Enclosure I:Letter from J. S. Laurie to the Secretary of State, 9 September 1869.
8. CO 54/446 No.100, Despatch from Governor to Secretary of State, 28 September 1869. Appendix A:Department of Public Instruction Circular of 12 March 1869.
9. Bonjean was appointed on 5 July 1868 by Rome to be the Vicar Apostolic of Jaffna, succeeding Bishop Semeria. AOMI-Rome, Cons. Gen. II, 260, 24 April 1868.
10. CO 54/446 No.100, Enclosure 7:Statement of the views of the Catholic Bishops of Ceylon in the matter of Aided Schools. 3 September 1869. Reproduced also in Bonjean.1882, pp.48-49. The Morgan Report had assured them grants subject only to Inspector's assessment of secular

instruction and stable management. Accordingly the Bishops stated that they were willing to "submit the secular portion of our teaching in all aided schools under us to Government inspection". Ibid.

11. Sir Hercules George Robert Robinson, (1824-1897) first Baron Rosmead, was the son of Admiral Hercules Robinson of Rosmead, Westmeath, Ireland, and Frances Elizabeth, only daughter of Henry Widman Wood of Rosmead. He terminated his education at Sandhurst. He joined the army on 27 January 1843, became first lieutenant in 1844 but retired in 1846. He was governor of Hong Kong (1859-1865) before he came to Sri Lanka. He arrived in Sri Lanka on 30 March 1865 and assumed the government of Sri Lanka the next day. His remarkable contribution to the Island had been in reorganizing the Public Works Department to become the best in the colonies at that time. He was on leave of absence in England from August 1868 to May 1869 and, at the end of his term in January 1872, he returned to England. He was sent as Governor to different colonies later on. He died in London on 28 October 1897. Dictionary of National Biography, Supplement Vol.III, (ed.Sidney Lee) 1901, London:Smith,Elder & Co.
12. CO 54/446 No.100, op.cit. Also cited by Bonjean.1882, p.10. The D.P.I. was asked to inform the Managers of Schools that "grants will be regulated by the results of each school, as tested by the Government Inspector, and that it is not required as a condition to participation in the grant, that their teachers shall undergo examination". Ibid.
13. CO 54/446 No.100, op.cit. Enclosure I:Letter from J. S. Laurie to Secretary of State, 9 September 1869.
14. CO 54/446 No.100, op.cit. Enclosure 6:Special Report on the state of Public Instruction in Ceylon.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid. It is worth noting here that the Wesleyans and the Roman Catholics had earlier accepted this Conscience Clause as a condition for grants except the Church of England missionaries.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. CO 54/446 No.100, Letters from the Governor to Secretary of State, 29 September 1869 and 1 October 1869.
21. CO 54/454 No.72, Despatch from Governor to Secretary of State, 7 March 1870. Enclosure:Memorandum of the Director of Public Instruction to the Secretary of State, 17 February 1870.
22. Walter J. Sendall began his career in Sri Lanka as a Master at the Colombo Academy. He became a Sub-Inspector of Schools in 1862. His appointment as Acting Director of D.P.I. was confirmed subsequently by

the Colonial Office. After a period of service as Director of D.P.I. he left the Island to take up appointment as Governor of Cyprus. See above, Chapter V, Note No.123, p.329.

23. The M.R. suggested liberal grants for education in secular subjects and the absence of any kind of restrictions on the teaching of religion in Aided Schools.
24. Governor's Address of 12 January 1870, Addresses delivered to the Legislative Council of Ceylon by Governors of the Colony, 1860-1877. Vol.II, pp.191-192.
25. Ibid., p.191.
26. Gratiaen.1933b, p.2. The pace of educational expansion seems to have been quickened owing to the great impetus it received from the implementation of the Village Committee Ordinance in 1877. This Ordinance conferred powers on Village Committees to build and repair schools within their jurisdiction. see Ordinance No.16 of 1871 in The Legislative Enactments of Ceylon, Vol.I,(1874) p.1001.
27. CO 57/51 A.R. (R.D.P.I.) 1870.
CO 57/54 A.R. (R.D.P.I.) 1871.
CO 57/57 A.R. (R.D.P.I.) 1872.
CO 57/63 A.R. (R.D.P.I.) 1874.
CO 57/69 A.R. (R.D.P.I.) 1876.
28. WMMS- Letter from the Revd. J. Kilner, 10 September 1870.
29. CO 57/57 A.R. (R.D.P.I.) 1872, p.317. The Department's general educational policy towards giving grants to school was earlier announced in the Director of Public Instruction's Annual Report for 1871 - which specified that grants to both Government and Aided Schools would depend on the results of the annual inspection. The schools were also to be grouped as Vernacular, Anglo-Vernacular and English Schools.
30. CO 57/63 A.R. (R.D.P.I.) 1874, Appendix.E-I:Notice to Grant Managers, p.138.
31. Their application for grants had been rejected much earlier.
32. The letter of Bishop Bonjean to the Colonial Secretary, as reproduced in The Jaffna Ecclesiastical Directory, 1876, p.99.
33. Ibid.
34. The three Protestant missions referred to were the American Mission, Wesleyan Mission and Church Missionary Society. They all had English, Anglo-Vernacular and Vernacular schools that were in receipt of government grants. The American mission alone had, according to Bonjean, more than 80 vernacular schools. Ibid.
35. Ibid.

36. Ibid. Underlining is mine.
37. Letter from the Colonial Secretary to Bishop Bonjean, 18 February 1875. as reproduced in The Jaffna Ecclesiastical Directory, 1876, p.101. Underlining is mine.
38. The statement of Weerasinghe in his thesis that "...the protest of the Roman Catholic Mission being shelved for obvious reasons, the three-mile rule was carried into effect" is incorrect. Weerasinghe.1973, p.54.
39. CO 57/95 A.R. (R.D.P.I.) 1885, p.67D
40. For example, the revenue which was #978,492 in 1865 rose steadily and reached an unprecedented figure of #1,290,918 by 1873 and continued its upward climb till 1877 when it reached #1,596,205. Later the tide turned and successive years the revenue declined due to "Coffee crisis". For details see Wickremaratne.1970, p.90.
41. CO 54/529 No.283, Letter from Longden to Kimberly, 27 December 1880. As expected, Bonjean produced another booklet on this subject of the "Revised Code" explaining his views on the topics it contained. The booklet is: Remarks on the Revised Code for Aided Schools in Ceylon, chiefly in its bearing on Sectarian, Neutral and Denominational Schools. (1882)
42. Charles Bruce. He was the Director of D.P.I. from 1878 to 1882. He left the Island to accept the post of Colonial Secretary of Mauritius in 1882. His term of office as Director of D.P.I. is generally regarded as a period of educational reforms. He organized the inspectorate on the basis of a geographical division of the Island. He prepared the Code of Rules for the guidance of teachers, Inspectors, Managers of schools and other officers of the Department. He was instrumental in the introduction of a pension scheme for the retiring teachers, a thing unheard of before. He is credited with systematizing the educational administration in the Island.
43. CO 57/81 S.P. No.18, Code for Aided Schools, 1881. Underlining is mine.
44. Bonjean.1882, p.3.
45. See above, note No.37.
46. CO 57/81 S.P. No.18, "Memorandum of the amendments contained in the Revised Code", published by the Governor's order. Also cited by Bonjean.1882, p.3.
47. Bonjean.1882, p.4.
48. Ibid. p.5.
49. CO 57/116 S.P. No.28, Revised Code for Aided Schools,1892. Underlining in mine.

50. Jayasuriya.1976, p.264.
51. CO 57/119 S.P. No.38, Revised Code for Aided Schools,1893. "But in any case, however large the attendance, no new school will be aided within a quarter of mile of an existing school, excepting in towns with special claims". What those "special claims" meant was not defined but was left to the discretion of the Director.
52. The Buddhist, 1 September 1893. "The Buddhist" was an English supplement to the "Sandaresa", the Sinhala paper that was started in December 1880. "The Buddhist" was started by L. W. Leadbeater and was edited by him for some time.
53. Mr. T. P. Panabokke (the Kandyan representative) raised this issue in the Legislative Council on 18 November 1892 and on 23 November 1892. He submitted to the Council a memorandum signed by 2135 Buddhists protesting against the quarter-mile rule. The "Ceylon Hansard", (The Debates of the Legislative Council) 18 November 1892 and 23 November 1892.
54. The Catholic Messenger - the Catholic newspaper started in Colombo by Bishop Sillani in 1869.
55. The Catholic Messenger, 23 November 1890. also quoted in The Buddhist, 12 December 1890.
56. See above, Chapter VI, pp.196-197.
57. as seen earlier on, see above, pp.206-207.
58. Jayasuriya.1976, p.312.
59. CO 54/446 No.100, Despatch from Governor to Secretary of State, 28 September 1869.
60. CO 54/446 No.100. Enclosure 7:Letter of Bishop Bonjean to J. S. Laurie, 8 July 1869. Also reproduced in Bonjean.1882, Appendix.A, pp.47-48.
61. Ibid. Also Bonjean.1882, Appendix.C, pp.53-54.
62. Ibid.
63. The letter of Bishop Bonjean to Walter J. Sendall, Director of Public Instruction, 21 August 1871. Reproduced in Bonjean.1882, Appendix.C, pp.54-55. Underlining is mine.
64. Ibid.
65. Circular of 5 December 1872. Reproduced in Bonjean.1882, Appendix.D, p.57.
66. CO 57/79 A.R. (R.D.P.I.) 1879, Appendix.B:Report of W. Blair, Inspector of Schools, for 1879, p.C59.

67. CO 57/86 A.R. (R.D.P.I.) 1882, p.D31.
68. CO 57/90 A.R. (R.D.P.I.) 1883, p.D27.
69. Bonjean.1882, p.28. He placed before the readers, figures and statistical statements on which he based his demonstration. See pp.29-32. For the amount of money received by the CMS, Wesleyans and the American Mission, see pp.33-37.
70. Ibid., p.28.
71. Ibid., pp.29-32.
72. Bonjean felt that the correct sum would have been anything between Rs.80,134.00 and 104,620.00. Ibid., p.32.
73. Ibid., p.33. It is true that many reverted back to their old religions later on in the early 20th century for political reasons as well.
74. "Proceedings" for the year 1878-79, p.135 as cited by Bonjean.1882, p.33.
75. "Proceedings" for the year 1880-81, p.139, as cited by Bonjean.1882, p.34.
76. Ibid., p.141, as cited by Bonjean.1882, p.34.
77. 65th Report of the WMMS, p.46, as cited by Bonjean.1882, p.35. Bonjean also cited examples from American Mission as well. see pp.36-37.
78. Bonjean.1882, pp.36-37.
79. Ibid., p.38.
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid., p.39.
82. Ibid.
83. Ibid., p.40. See p.231, for Malalgoda's opinion about the Buddhists living in harmony with Christians in the early nineteenth century.
84. Ibid., pp.40-41. Underlining is mine.
85. Ibid.
86. Ibid., p.41-42.
87. Ibid., p.42
88. This petition was signed by 1500 Hindus. It was a complaint about the intolerance on the part of certain (CMS & AMS) managers of grants-in-

aid schools in the North of the country. The "Ceylon Hansard" (LC) 04 January 1884 and 04 February 1884.

89. The "Ceylon Hansard" (LC) 11 February 1884.
90. Ibid.
91. The conscience clause was re-introduced into schools providing vernacular education by the Ordinance No.5 of 1906, Section 9. As far as English schools were concerned, the denominational system continued without any kind of conscience clause till 1920 when the Education Ordinance of 1920 made it obligatory for both vernacular and English schools.
92. Bonjean.1882, p.20. Bonjean pointed out that the books that used in Catholic schools in Sri Lanka were those in use in Catholic schools in England and were never objected to by any of Her Majesty's Inspectors.
93. Ibid., p.21.
94. Ibid., pp.21-22.
95. See above, p.217.
96. See above, p.203.
97. See above, Chapter IV, p.123. The institution was for the provision of teachers for the then existing English Schools.
98. The Ceylon Examiner, 29 May 1869. Normal Schools as pioneer institutions for the training of teachers had been popular in England from 1840 onwards. It was Kay Shuttleworth who for the first time introduced Normal Schools into Britain. Barnard.1961, pp.101-102.
99. CO 57/51 A.R. (R.D.P.I.) 1870, p.269. It was located in the premises of the former Industrial School (Colombo). The students were selected through an open competitive examination. They were given a monthly allowance of 10 shillings for the period of study and were also obliged to agree to work for the Department for not less than 5 years after completing their training. Ibid., p.289.
100. CO 57/63 A.R. (R.D.P.I.) 1874, p.98.
101. CO 57/62 A.R. (R.D.P.I.) 1873, Appendix.A-I:Report of E. A. Helps, Inspector of Schools, for 1873. p.137.
102. CO 57/69 A.R. (R.D.P.I.) 1876, p.C222-223.
103. CO 57/44 Bonjean in his evidence to the M.C., p.139. also cited in Bonjean.1882, p.17.
104. Ibid.

105. Bonjean.1882, p.17. Of the 69 trained already, Bonjean declared, 13 were in English schools, 6 were in Anglo-vernacular schools and 50 were in the Vernacular schools.
106. Ibid.
107. Ibid., pp.18-19.
108. CO 57/86 A.R. (R.D.P.I.) 1882, p.D20. Of these, 4 were in the North - Tellipallai, Kopay, Vembadi, Colombogam. By the end of 19th century, the Wesleyans and Church of England had established 3 training schools each, Roman Catholics two and the American Mission one. (A.R. (R.D.P.I.) 1905, p.A40.)
109. CO 57/90 A.R. (R.D.P.I.) 1883, p.D22 and D92
110. The number of training schools by that time was nine.
111. CO 57/93 A.R. (R.D.P.I.) 1884, p.D25.
112. CO 57/44 Bishop Semeria in his evidence to the M.C. p.143.
113. The Ceylon Friend, (3rd series) Vol.1, No.26, 1886, p.220.
114. CO 57/131 A.R. (R.D.P.I.) 1896, p.D7.
115. CO 57/134 A.R. (R.D.P.I.) 1897, p.D6.
116. The Board consisted of the Bishop of Colombo (Church of England), a Wesleyan missionary, a Roman Catholic missionary (Fr. C. Collin OMI), a representative of the B.T.S (E. R. Goonaratne), the Inspector of Schools of the Western Province, the Principal of Royal College and the Principal of the Ceylon Technical College. CO 57/134 A.R. (R.D.P.I.) 1897, p. D6.
117. Jayasuriya.1976, pp.285-286.
118. Sumathipala.1968, p.35. Also see Jayasuriya.1976, p.284.
119. For the details of the arrival of different missionaries and their work, see above, Chapter III, pp.76-79.
120. See above, Chapter III, pp.96-97.
121. See above, Chapter III, p.98.
122. G.C.Mendis.1956, p.73.
123. Ibid.
124. Malalgoda.1973, p.176.
125. Tennent.1850, pp.320-321.

126. Malalgoda.1973, p.182.
127. Ibid., p.184.
128. Ibid., pp.184-185. See also Tennent.1850, p.240.
129. Robert Spence Hardy.1850, pp.270-273,290.
130. In New York, the Russian Madam Blavatsky and the American Olcott founded the Theosophical Society (1875) with the discovery of truth in all religions as one of its objects. In 1878, they made Adaiyar (Madras) as their headquarters and began the study of Hinduism. Olcott opened a correspondence with the Revd. Migettuwatte Gunananda Thero "the most brilliant polemic orator of the Island" as Olcott described him. These contacts paved the way for the arrival of Olcott and Madam Blavatsky in Sri Lanka in May 1880.
131. Ironically enough the Buddhist Press (at Colombo) was the self-same Press which over three decades had belonged to the Church Missionary Society at Kotte and was sold in 1855 to a person who had been employed for some time in the printing office. A second Buddhist Press called "Lamkopokara Press" was established in Galle in 1862. For the publication of these printing Presses, see Malalgoda.1973, pp.191-193.
132. Malalgoda.1973, p.173.
133. The first and second at Baddegama and Varagoda (both in 1865) were conducted in writing and hence cannot be considered proper debates. The Udanvita (1866), Gampola (1871) and Panadura (1873) debates were public debates and were much publicized at that time. The Panadura debate took place between the Revd. Gunananda Thero and the Revd. David de Silva, a learned and a fluent speaker and Mr. Srimanna, a catechist who spoke on behalf of the missionaries. The debates lasted for three days from 27-29 of August 1873. See B.T.S. Diamond Jubilee Souvenir, 1880-1940. Also K. M. de Silva.1973d, pp.198-199.
134. The Revd. Migettuwatte Gunananda Thero. (1823-1890) He was popularly known as Migettuwatte Hamurduruvo. Through these debates he became the leading champion and popular hero of the Buddhists in the Christian-Buddhist confrontations. He was born in the Southern Province but lived at Kotahena, Colombo. His first step in mobilizing resistance to the missionaries was the organization in 1862 of a "Society" which was called "Sarvajna Sasanabhivuddhaidayaka Dharma Samagama". The name of this society when translated means - The Society for the Propagation of Buddhism, in evident imitation of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) which was already in Sri Lanka. According to Malalgoda, this was indeed an attempt on the part of the Buddhists "to meet the missionaries on their own ground, with weapons deliberately modelled on those of their opponents", but it was a feeble one. Malalgoda.1973, pp.193-194. Also B.T.S. Diamond Jubilee Souvenir, 1880-1940.
135. They were received amidst notable scenes of religious favour. Both of them dramatically embraced Buddhism in the presence of an enthusiastic

crowd. This was, indeed, according to K.M.de Silva, "an astute and tactical move" for they had already become Buddhists in New York, and the ceremony in Sri Lanka was "a mere public avowal of the fact". K.M.de Silva.1973d, p.200.

136. Ibid.

137. Ibid.

138. The B.T.S. was founded on 17 June 1880. A building was purchased in 1885 for the headquarters of the B.T.S. A Buddhist flag was also adopted. Buddhist Sunday School was started in 1886, later converted into an English day school which finally developed into the present Ananda College. See Mendis.1946, p.89. B.T.S. Diamond Jubilee Souvenir, 1880-1940.

139. CO 57/85 A.R. (R.D.P.I.) 1881, p.D93

140. K.M.de Silva.1973d, p.203.

141. Ruberu.1966, p.114.

142. The letter of A. E. Buultjens in "The Ceylon Independent" reproduced in "The Buddhist", 19 December 1890. A. E. Buultjens - a Burgher, was a product of St. Thomas College, the premier Christian school at that time. On a scholarship he entered Cambridge University for higher education. While there, he developed an attraction to Philosophy and Religion and later he became a Buddhist. He was the Principal of Ananda College from 1890-1899. B.T.S. Diamond Jubilee Souvenir, 1880-1940.

143. "The Ceylon Independent", 7 August 1889 as quoted in "The Buddhist", 9 August 1889.

144. The beginning of a separate Hindu cultural tradition in Sri Lanka may be traced to the increasing immigration from South India to the Northern part of Sri Lanka during the 9th and 10th centuries till it reached its climax with the invasion of the land by the Raja Raja Chola and the establishment of a Tamil rule in Sri Lanka with Polonnaruwa as its capital. The great Vijayabahu after years of tireless campaigning succeeded in rolling the Cholian invaders back and expelling them from Anuradhapura also. A spirit of tolerance seemed to have prevailed between the Buddhists and Hindus till the arrival of the Portuguese. Somasegaram.1969, p.1137. On the revival of Hinduism, see J. Cartman.1957, p.55.

145. The revival of Hinduism seems to have begun a little earlier because of the educational activities and the influence of the missionaries in the North was much stronger. But according to Weerasinghe, as stated in his thesis, it was the "growing national impulse among the Buddhist" that inspired the Hindus in the North for a similar revival is wholly untenable. Moreover, he has also failed to indicate any reasons for it. See Weerasinghe.1973, p.94.

146. Two of its students - Thamotharampillai and Carroll Visvanathapillai - who were successful at the first B.A. examination of the University of Madras in 1857, were Tamil scholars of no mean repute. Later Thamotharampillai was the head of Tamil studies in the Madras Presidency College. Mendis.1946, p.75.
147. Sri Arumuga Navalar. He was born on 18 December 1822 at Nallur, Jaffna. He studied at the Methodist Central School (now Jaffna Central College) under the headmastership of the Revd. Peter Percival. He taught in that school and then reverted to the religion in which he was born (Hinduism). He died on 19 November 1879. For details of his life and works, see Kandiah.1965, pp.31-37. In the Eastern Province, Hindu revival was carried on by a son of the soil, Pundit Mailvaganam who joined the Ramakrishna Mission in India and took on robes as Swami Vipulananda. He started a movement to establish Hindu schools in the Eastern Province. See Somasegaram.1969, p.1140.
148. The Revd. Peter Percival was collecting lexical matter, at that time, for an English-Tamil Dictionary and hence solicited Arumuga Navalar to be his tutor. Kandiah.1965, p.33.
149. This school is still in existence. The other schools he started were at Innuvil and Kopay and thus a beginning was made for a chain of Hindu schools to replace the mission schools. Ibid., also K. M. de Silva.1973d, p.208.
150. According to K.M.de Silva, this school later became the present Jaffna Hindu College. K. M. de Silva.1973d, p.208.
151. Somasegaram.1969, p.1139.
152. According to Ruberu, this was founded in 1888 to propagate Saivism in the country. "Paripalana" means welfare and "Sabhai" means association. Thus, it meant the Society for the Propagation of Saivism. Ruberu.1966, p.114, also Mendis.1946,p.75.
153. Jayasuriya.1976, p.225.
154. See Somasegaram.1969, p.1140.
155. CO 57/105 A.R. (R.D.P.I.) 1888, p.D88.
156. In the Sivan Temple at Vannarpannai, he lectured on every Friday thus introducing for the first time the weapon of lectures for mass propaganda. Kandiah.1965, p.36.
157. Ponnambalam Ramanathan was the unofficial Tamil representative at the Legislative Council. He was revered by the Sinhalese and Tamils alike.
158. The "Ceylon Hansard" (LC) 11 February 1884. Underlining is mine.
159. K. M. de Silva.1977.pp.390-391.

160. The Dutch looked upon the Muslims as remnants of the Arab power in the East. It is worth mentioning here that the lack of documentation and the almost total absence of Muslim Historiography for this period (19th century) makes it difficult to present a well documented picture of the state of Muslim education during the second half of nineteenth century.
161. In the inland areas, the Muslims lived in pockets and in the relatively "open" settlements of Southern Sri Lanka. In the North-Western seaboard, like Mannar and in the Easter Province the Muslims were in sufficiently large numbers to form established communities. Mahroof.1972, pp.120-122
162. Governor Joan Maetsuyker's Memoirs to his Successor, 1929, p.19. Colombo:Government Press.
163. The craft of gem-cutting, even today, is hereditary in places like Beruwala, in Sri Lanka.
164. "Lebbe" - a Muslim male well versed in the Theology of Islam.
165. The British accepted the law of the Muslims and published in 1806 as "The Mohammedan Code". They repealed some of the restrictive laws of the Dutch. The Plakaat prohibiting the owning of grounds and houses in Fort and Pettah of Colombo was repealed by Regulations 2 of 1832. For details, see Mahroof.1972, pp.122-123.
166. K. M. de Silva.1977, p.392.
167. The Missionary Herald, November 1849, p.172.
168. Samaraweera.1976, p.224.
169. K. M. de Silva.1973d, p.210.
170. Arabi Pasha, (1839-1911) the leader of the abortive uprising against the Western powers in Egypt. His role in politics ended with his defeat at the hands of the British in September 1882 at Tel-al-Kabir. He was convicted on the charge of mutiny. On the intervention of the British, he was spared the usual punishment of death and was sent to Sri Lanka as an exile along with many of his companions. He arrived in Sri Lanka in January 1883. He spent 19 years of his life (1883-1901) in Sri Lanka. Arabi the exile emerged as a completely different person to the Arabi the rebel. To the Muslims of Sri Lanka, he was the Arabi Pasha of Tel-al-Kabir, the hero of Egypt and they welcomed him into their midst with great enthusiasm. He was the last of the exiles to leave Sri Lanka (May 1901). For details of his life in Sri Lanka, see Samaraweera.1976, pp.219-227. Also Mahroof.1973, pp.304-316.
171. Times of Ceylon, 12 January 1883.
172. Mohamed Cassim Siddi Lebbe. (1838-1898) He was born in Kandy, became a Proctor in 1862 and for some time functioned as a Municipal

Magistrate. Thus, he was in a position to know of the rising wave of westernisation in Sri Lanka. He realized that the task to be performed at that time was that of bending the western type and tradition of education into the Islamic mould. He was instrumental in establishing the Muslim boys' schools as well as girls' schools, and also for the introduction of Arabic into Muslim schools. He was a dynamic person - a historian, a proctor, manager of schools, a writer on Islamic mysticism and a newspaper proprietor. He spent his money and time on the development and progress of the Muslim community. Mahroof.1973, pp.310-311.

173. According to Samaraweera, in establishing this school, a key role was played by Siddi Lebbe and by Wapache Marikkar, a wealthy businessman and landowner who provided the much needed financial support. The land adjacent to the Maradana Mosque, the premier place of worship in Colombo was chosen for this school. Samaraweera.1976, p.225.
174. This later became the Zahira College of today.
175. There were several reasons for this. see Mahroof.1973, pp.311-317. also Samaraweera.1976, p.226.
176. Samaraweera.1976, p.226.
177. K. M. de Silva.1973d, p.211.
178. AOMI-Rome, Cons. Gen. II, 250 (24 April 1868)
179. AOMI-Rome, Dossier Bonjean, Corresp. Fabre, 11 December 1876.
180. WMMS-London, Correspondence North Ceylon, 1867-1882. Box. 451, J. O. Rhodes to the General Secretaries, 10 June 1869.
181. See Bishop Bonjean's letter referred to earlier, p.203.
182. See above, p.209.
183. See above, Chapter V, p.162-164.
184. Fr. Michael Aloysius Murphy. He was born in Leeds (England) on 1 June 1850. He joined the Oblates in Sri Lanka and died in Jaffna on 19 January 1887. Boudens.1979, p.117.
185. St. Patrick's College Annual, 1905, p.10.
186. Ibid.
187. Fr. John Rowley Smith. He was born in Ardmore (Eire) on 12 November 1846. He was a convert from Protestantism and a former civil servant in Sri Lanka. He was ordained a priest in 1881. He was the first Rector of St. Patrick's College. He died in Jaffna on 4 May 1888. The Catholic Messenger, 8 May 1888.

188. St. Patrick's College Annual, 1905. p.11. Passes in the Cambridge Senior were still a long way off.
189. "Circular on the obligations of the missionaries in connection with the schools of their respective missions. 27 December 1877" in The Jaffna Ecclesiastical Directory, 1878. pp.124-133.
190. Ibid., p.124.
191. Ibid.
192. Ibid., p.126.
193. Ibid.
194. Ibid.
195. Ibid.
196. Ibid., p.127.
197. Ibid.
198. Ibid., pp.127-128.
199. The rules as to how the Catholic schools should be run was laid down by Bonjean. Ibid., pp.128-133.
200. At first, the paper was printed once a fortnight but as from 1887 it began to appear as a weekly Catholic paper. Fr. Michael Murphy was the editor at that time. AOMI-Rome, Dossier Bonjean, Bonjean to Murphy, 6 March 1877 and 25 July 1877.
201. AOMI-Rome, Cons. Gen. III, (24 November 1876) p.231.
202. Theophilus Andrew Melizan. He was born in Marseilles (France) on 27 May 1844. He came to Sri Lanka in 1868 and was named coadjutor to Bishop Bonjean on 18 July 1879. He became Vicar Apostolic of Jaffna in 1883 and later Archbishop of Colombo in 1893. He died on 27 June 1905. Missions, O.M.I., 1905, pp.382-388.
203. The Jesuits were asked first but they could not accept the offer as they lacked the required personnel at that time.
204. AOMI-Rome, Corresp. SCPF, Ceylon. Simeoni to Fabre, 3 February 1883.
205. See Map IV. p.369 for the new Vicariate.
206. SCPF-Rome, Acta, Vol.251, anno 1883, ff.262-263 and f.269.
207. AOMI-Rome, Dossier Mauriot, Mauriot to Soullier, 14 January 1884.
208. Bonjean took about 20 Oblates with him to Colombo. Boudens.1975, p.452.

209. Melizan.1884, p.3.
210. Ibid., p.2.
211. AOMI-Rome, Cons. Gen. VI, 55 & 66 (31 March 1890 & 13 May 1890).
212. See CO 57/115 A.R. (R.D.P.I.) 1891.
213. Fr. Patrick Dunne. He was born in Killemaule (Eire) on 26 February 1862 and became a priest in 1885. He arrived in Sri Lanka in 1885 and was the Rector of St. Patrick's College from 1889-1901. He returned to Europe in 1904 and died on 18 December 1922. Boudens.1979, p.157.
214. AOMI-Rome, Cons. Gen. VI, (13 July 1892). The objections Melizan placed before Propaganda as to his unsuitability for the post were brushed aside as there was no acceptable alternative.
215. The plan of creating new dioceses was first mentioned by Cardinal Ledochowski, the new Prefect of Propaganda, in his letter of 2 August 1892 to the General Administration of the Oblates. AOMI-Rome, Corresp. SCPF, Ceylon I (2 August 1892).
216. SCPF-Rome, Acta, vol.263, anno 1893, 31 July 1893, ff.307-321. See Map.V. p.370 for the new divisions.
J. Van Reeth, a former Provincial of the Belgian Jesuit Province was appointed on 10 December 1894 bishop of Galle. He was consecrated bishop of Galle on 19 March 1895 and was appointed temporary administrator of Trincomalee until a bishop could be appointed from the French Jesuit Province of Champagne. Bishop Van Reeth arrived in Sri Lanka on 16 October 1895. SCPF-Rome, NS, vol.95, anno 1896, Rubriche 128, 10 December 1894, f.570. Also Boudens.1982, pp.41-43.
Charles Lavigne, born in Marvejols (France) in 1840 and who was already a bishop in Kottayam (South India), was appointed to Trincomalee on 1 August 1898. He took charge of the Diocese of Trincomalee on 22 December 1898. He died in Montpellier (France) in 1913. SCPF-Rome, NS, vol.166, anno 1899, Rubriche 128, Lavigne to Ledochowski, 28 December 1898, ff.257 & 269. Also Boudens.1982, p.45.
217. SCPF-Rome, Acta, vol.263, anno 1893, 26 June 1893, ff.278-280. Henry Joulain. He was born in Saint-Romans-les-Melle (France) on 24 September 1852. He was ordained a priest in 1875 and was consecrated bishop of Jaffna on 24 August 1893. He died in Jaffna on 8 February 1919.
218. Missions.O.M.I., 1898, p.380.
219. Jules Collin. He was born in Poitiers (France) on 12 November 1851. He joined the Oblates in 1877 and died in Colombo on 9 August 1927. His elder brother Fr. Charles Collin was also an Oblate in Sri Lanka. Boudens.1979, p.121.
220. AOMI-Rome, Dossier J. Collin, Collin to Augier, 10 May 1902.
221. See above, Chapter V, p.171.

222. SCPF-Rome, SCIO, vol.20, anni 1868-1874, ff.1333rv-1334. Sillani to Propaganda, beginning of 1872.
223. The two congregations were: the Sisters of St. Francis Xavier founded in 1871 and placed under the supervision of the Good Shepherd Sisters and the other was the Franciscan Brothers of Maggona. This congregation was canonically instituted only under Archbishop Bonjean.
224. K. M. de Silva.1973d, pp.196-197.
225. SCPF-Rome, Acta, vol.247, anno 1879, ff.444-479rv.
Clemente Pagnani. (Silvestrine Order) He arrived in Sri Lanka in 1860. He was Vicar Apostolic of Colombo from 1879-1882, Vicar Apostolic of Kandy/Bishop of Kandy from 1883-1911.
226. SCPF-Rome, Acta, vol.247, anno 1879, ff.444-479rv.
227. Petition of the Roman Catholics of the Southern Vicariate of the Island of Ceylon, East Indies, to the Cardinal Prefect of the SCPF, 16 October 1882. SCPF-Rome, SCIO, vol.23, anni 1881-1882, f.683rv.
228. Ibid., f.683.
229. Ibid., f.683rv.
230. AOMI-Rome, Dossier Pulicani, Pulicani to Fabre, 8 November 1882. also Dossier Bonjean, Bonjean to Fabre, 4 December 1882.
231. AOMI-Rome, Corresp. SCPF, Ceylon I, Simeoni to Fabre, 3 February 1883.
232. AOMI-Rome, Dossier Bonjean, Bonjean to Fabre, 31 July 1883.
233. Bonjean.1892, p.2.
234. Ibid., p.4.
235. Ibid. He pointed out that the Christian Brothers of St. Benedict's Institute were not willing to teach the classical languages as it went against their rule and as such he had no alternative but to get the help of the Oblates in this matter.
236. Blue and White, No. 1, June 1905, p.53. The foundation stone for St. Joseph's College of present day was laid by his Excellency Mgr. Ladislaus Zaleski, Apostolic Delegate to the East Indies, on 15 December 1894.
237. It is proper that we speak of a "return" of the Jesuits since they had played an important role in the evangelizing of the Island during the Portuguese rule of the country. See above, Chapter.I.
238. Boudens.1982, pp.49-50.

239. The Circular of Bonjean in The Jaffna Ecclesiastical Directory, 1878, pp.124-125. The table is prepared from the A.R. of the Director of Public Instruction for the years 1871-1900.
240. Reports of Sendall, see above, Chapter V, pp.162-164.
241. See above, pp.207-213.
242. See above, p.217.
243. Gnana Prakasar.1926, p.20.
244. They were: St. Patrick's, Jaffna, St. Michael's, Batticaloa (EP), St. Aloysius', Galle (SP), St. Benedict's and St. Joseph's in Colombo, Girls' High schools in Kotahena, Kandy, Kurunegala, Bampalapitiya, Wennappuwa, Moratuwa and Jaffna.
245. The Table is taken from the A.R. of the Director of Public Instruction for 1900. (C.O 57/143)
246. Jayasuriya.1976, p.533.
247. The Table is prepared from the A.R. of the Director of Public Instruction for the years 1971-1900.
248. Ibid.
249. Governor's Address to the Legislative Council, 18 October 1900, in The "Ceylon Hansard" (LC) p.8.
250. The Census Report of 1901, (1903) Colombo.
251. The Parliamentary Debates, (Great Britain) 1903, vol.120, p.1114. It was Mr. Schwann who raised the question in the House of Commons (6 April 1903) regarding the state of elementary vernacular education and the plight of the children of the Tamil estate labourers who were without any facilities for education.

CHAPTER VIII

NOTES & REFERENCES

1. See above, Chapter III, pp.76-79.
2. James Stewart.1862, p.113-114.
3. K. M. de Silva.1973d, p.195.
4. Ibid.

5. For details, see Boudens.1979, pp.66-68.
6. Many missionaries met an early death, mostly because of the difficult living conditions. For example, Bishops Bravi and Bettacchini were only 47 years old when they died. Fathers Ciamin and Crousel were only 33, Father Murphy 37 and Father Bondoni 39. Boudens.1979, p.165.
7. Yves M. J. Congar(1960):L'Ecclesiologie au XIX^e siecle. p.95, as cited by Stephen Neill.1986, p.381.
8. Abbott.1966, p.638.
9. Bonjean said that even though "English culture was the door to advancement - but it should never interfere with the appreciation of their proper culture". Bonjean.1862, pp.27-28.
10. CO 57/120 A.R. (R.D.P.I.) 1892, pp.D11-D12.
11. K. M. de Silva.1973d, p.197.
12. Bonjean.1882a, pp.1-2.
13. Curtis & Boulwood.1970, p.75.
14. Cruickshank.1963, p.10.
15. Bonjean.1882a, pp.40-41.
16. A commission of 5 members was appointed in 1905, with Herbert Wace as the chairman, to inquire into and report on the Education Question with a view to proposing practical steps to effect the suggestion contained in a previous committee report (Ellis Committee of 1901). The Wace Commission, as it came to be known, found it necessary to consider the related questions such as compulsory education, denominationalism in education, a conscience clause etc. This report is known as the Wace Commission Report. Sessional Papers No. 28 of 1905.
17. The Wace Commission Report of 1905, p.1.
18. Ibid., p.4.
19. Ibid.
20. For details, see Don Peter.1962, pp.195-196.
21. For a detailed account of the Aryan caste system, see H.Ellawala.1969, Chapters. 2, 3 & 4.
22. See Bryce Ryan.1957, pp.132-145.
23. Ribeiro.1909, pp.144-145.

24. Ruberu.1967, p.109.
25. The first girls' schools of the British period were opened by them. The first one was in 1828, by Mrs. Samuel Lambrick. Tennent.1850, p.156.
26. See above, Chapter VII, pp.243-255.
27. See Olcott's efforts to open schools in Chapter VII, p.235.
28. See above, Chapter VI, pp.192-195.
29. Don Peter.1962, p.272.
30. Ruberu.1967, p.94.
31. Jayasuriya.1976, p.541.
32. See above, Chapter IV, pp.114-115.
33. Although there may have been no direct coercion to make anyone Christian, the hostile and destructive treatment of other religions might have certainly influenced the people to become Christians. For a study of this aspect, see Don Peter.1978, pp.64-72.
34. See above, Chapter II, Note No.4, p.294.
35. See above, Chapter VII, p.231.
36. Don Peter.1979, p.249.
37. Boudens.1979, p.170.
38. See above, Chapter II, p.49.
39. Don Peter.1979, p.246.
40. Saint Francis Xavier. (1506-1552) Born in the Basque area of Spain Navarre on 5 April 1506, he was sent to the University of Paris in 1525, met Ignatius Loyola and became one of the seven who in 1534, at Montmartre, founded the Society of Jesus. He arrived in India in 1542. He was in Japan from 1545 to 1551. In 1552, he set out for China, landed on the island of Sancian within sight of his goal, but died before he reached the mainland. He was canonized in 1622 and proclaimed patron of all foreign missions by Pope Pius X. Dictionary of Catholic Biography, (1962) p.443.
41. Stephen Neill.1986, p. 133.
42. Ibid., pp.134-135.
43. Matthew Ricci. (1552-1610) Born in Macerata, Italy on 8 October 1552, joined the Jesuits in 1571. He was ordained in 1579 and after teaching in Goa was sent to China in 1583. In China, he adopted Chinese

manners, customs and dress. He was the first missionary to establish Catholicism in China and laid the foundation for future efforts there. He translated Chinese classics into Latin and Euclid and the Gregorian calendar into Chinese. Dictionary of Catholic Biography, (1962) pp.987-988.

44. Roberto De'Nobili. (1577-1656) Born in Rome, became a Jesuit at Naples in 1596, was ordained in 1603 and was sent to India in 1604. He learnt the local languages, adopted Brahmin customs and dress to overcome native hostility, cut himself off from his fellow Europeans and was remarkably successful in making around 4000 converts in the 3 districts of Southern India. He died in Mylapore, South India, on 16 January 1656. Dictionary of Catholic Biography, (1962) p.856.
45. As cited by Stephen Neill.1986, p.153.
46. Charles Maillard de Tournan. (1668-1710) Born in Turin, Italy, on 10 December 1668, he studied at the Propaganda Fide College, Rome. He was appointed patriarch of Antioch and papal legate to India and China in 1701 to take charge of the missions there and eliminate the "Chinese rites" among the native Christians. He was created a Cardinal in 1707 and died in prison on 8 June 1710. Dictionary of Catholic Biography, (1962) p.1132.
47. As cited by Stephen Neill.1986, p.165.
48. Bonjean.1862, p.22.
49. Ibid.

APPENDIX. A

SUPPLEMENTARY RULES FOR GRANTS-IN-AID adopted on 26 November 1858

1. In every school aided by a grant, the first hour of tuition in each day, shall be devoted to Religious Instruction, which shall be confined to that hour.
2. If any parent or guardian object to the attendance of the child during that hour, he shall intimate that such objection to the Teacher, and the attendance of the child shall not be insisted upon.
3. The Religious Instruction shall be confined to the truths received by Christians of every denomination and shall comprise the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Apostles' Creed, together with the daily reading of the Bible.
4. Grants shall not be made to Groups of Schools.
5. No school shall be aided which is established in the immediate neighbourhood of a previously existing school of the same class.
6. Every School aided by a grant shall be periodically visited by the Inspector of Government Schools, who shall report to the School Commission the state of the School.
7. No Grant shall exceed a moiety of the entire expenses of the School.
8. All replies to applications for Grants-in-aid shall be submitted for the approval of Government.

CO 57/28 Letter from the Secretary of the School Commission to the Colonial Secretary, 26 November 1858, enclosing the Supplementary Rules for Grants-in-aid.

APPENDIX. B.

THE MORGAN COMMITTEE QUESTIONNAIRE.

1. What is your opinion of the School Commission? Does this Board answer the purpose for which it was established; viz. "the instruction of the population of Ceylon"? Favour us with your reasons for your opinion on this subject.
2. Does the School Commission admit of being modified or improved? And in which respects?
3. In case you disapprove of the School Commission, can you suggest any scheme in substitution for it, and to subserve the same end?
4. Is it advisable to have in Ceylon a single Director of Public Instruction, as in the Presidencies of India? What do you conceive are the advantages of disadvantages of appointing such an officer instead of the School Commission?
5. What is your opinion of the quality of education, Superior as well as Elementary imparted in this Colony? What are the defects, if any, of the present system? What improvements on it can you suggest?
6. Do you say, as a rule, there are more words taught than ideas communicated? And do you not consider that in educating Orientals the great desideratum is to impart a knowledge of physical facts and physical sciences and that such knowledge has been hitherto comparatively neglected in favour of studies of a less practical and useful character?
7. Do you attach any importance to female education? What progress has their been made in this respect in the Town, District or Province of the Colony with which you are more intimately connected or which you best know? What are the defects, if any, of the present system of female education, and what improvements does it admit of?
8. Can you suggest any measure by which a larger number of Sinhalese and Tamil girls than are now found attending the "Girls' Schools" might be induced to take advantage of them?
9. Are you an advocate of purely vernacular education, and on what grounds? Has due attention been paid to vernacular education in the Town, District or Province with which you are more immediately connected or which you best know? What ^{are} the defects, if any, of the existing vernacular education? What improvements does it admit of?

10. What kind of vernacular education would you recommend in case you think favourably of it? What is the nature of the books that should be translated from the European languages into vernacular? And are there men in the Colony competent to undertake this work in case there be a want of such books? How else could this difficulty be obviated?
11. Are Industrial Schools of any use in Ceylon? Would you recommend the establishment of Industrial Schools in the Town, District or Province with which you are more immediately connected, or which you best know, in the event of there being none at present? If you have had any experience of these schools in Ceylon, be good enough to say whether they have produced any satisfactory results, and if not, why?
12. In the Town, District or Province with which you are more immediately connected or which you best know, is there a sufficient number of schools? Does the existing number admit of being increased, reduced or better distributed? Are these schools of such a class as to meet the wants of all sections of the community? Have they an adequate number of teachers, and are they provided with sufficient furniture, books, maps, etc.?
13. What is the cause of the inefficiency of teachers in the employ of the School Commission? Can you propose any method for ensuring a staff of teachers thoroughly qualified for their work? Do you consider the present salaries sufficient? And could anything be done to raise the status of the teachers, if this be not at present what it ought to be?
14. Will the Normal School for the training of teachers be of any service? Do you happen to know whether the Normal Schools which once existed in Ceylon answered their purpose? And if not, why?
15. On sanitary, economical or other grounds, do you think it advisable that Government should purchase or build Schoolhouses, and keep them in repair, rather than take premises on lease?
16. Do the conditions on which grants-in-aid are now made to private schools admit of improvement? Have the sums allowed as grants-in-aid been a clear addition to the amount expended, by others than the Government, on education?
17. Are the schools of this Colony duly and sufficiently inspected? Have you any suggestions to make in this respect?
18. Do you consider it better that a uniform rate, as at present should be charged as school fees for all schools of the same class throughout the Island, or that the rates should vary, as in parts of India, according to local circumstances, etc.? Are the present rates thought too high or too low?

APPENDIX. C.

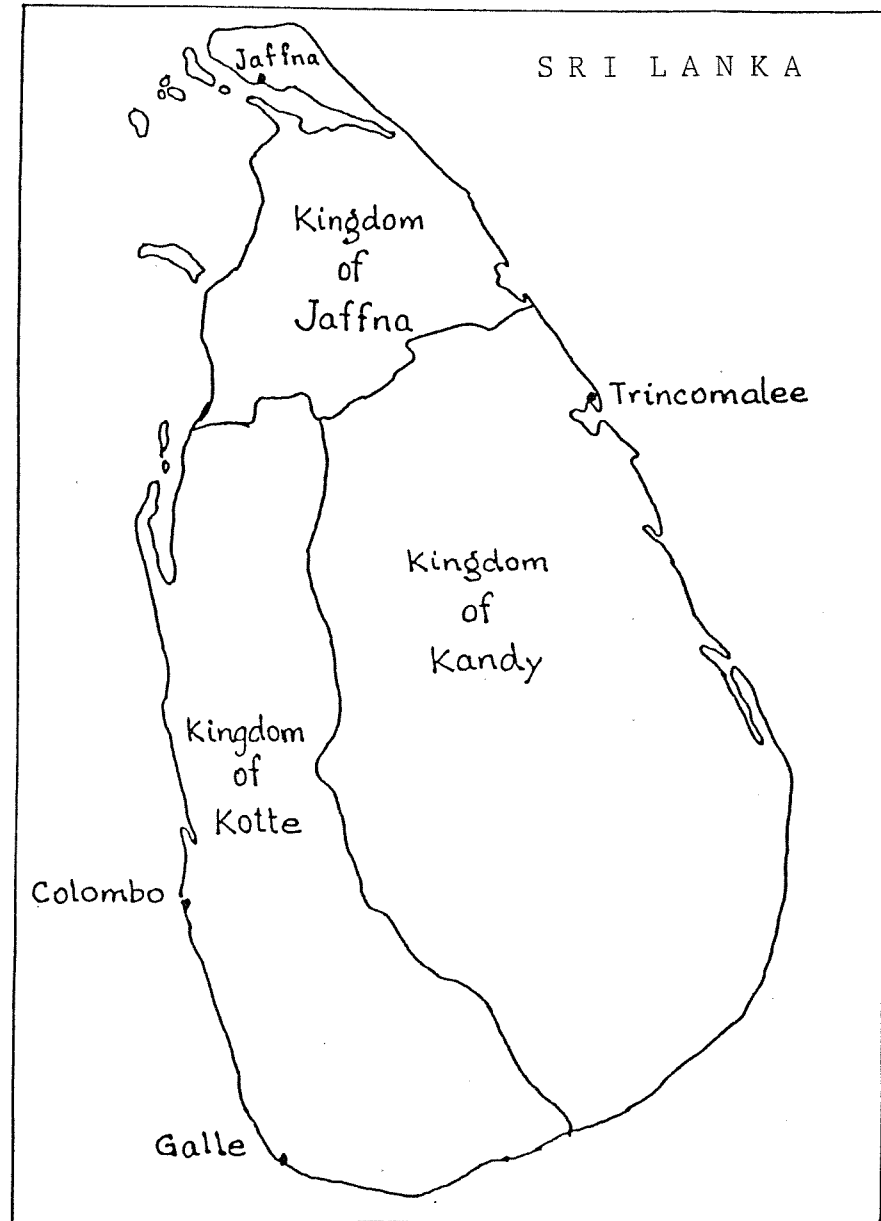
THE MORGAN COMMITTEE WITNESSES.

1. W. W. Cairns, Acting Postmaster-General.
2. F. W. Williford.
3. G. H. Gomaz.
4. Louis Nell, Deputy Queen's Advocate, Galle.
5. The Revd. H. R. Pigot, Baptist Missionary, Colombo.
6. J. Walter Sendall, Inspector of Schools.
7. The Rt. Revd. the Lord Bishop of Colombo.
8. The Revd. John Watt, Presbyterian Chaplain, Kandy.
9. The Revd. S. O. Glenie, Colonial Chaplain, Trincomalee.
10. J. F. Dickson, Acting Assistant Colonial Secretary.
11. G. S. Steward, 3rd Master, Colombo Academy.
12. Thomas Stede, Police Magistrate, kandy.
13. W. G. Macready, Assistant Government Agent, Puttalam.
14. Miss. H. Louisa Tate, Principal, Female Superior School.
15. John Hill, Head Master, Kandy Central School, Kandy.
16. J. E. Anthonisz, Head Master, Galle Central School.
17. R. Newton.
18. S. Hawkins, 6th Master, Queen's College, Colombo.
19. The Revd. J. C. Mill.
20. J. W. W. Birch, Assistant Government Agent, Hambantota.
21. Lieutenant Charles Woodward.
22. The Revd. Levi Spaulding, American Mission, Jaffna.
23. The Revd. J. C. Smith, Udupiddy, American Mission, Jaffna.

24. The Revd. W. W. Howland, American Mission, Batticaloa.
25. Samuel F. Green, American Mission, Jaffna.
26. The Revd. B. Boake, Principal, Queen's College. Colombo.
27. The Revd. G. Schrader, Colonial Chaplain, Galle.
28. name omitted, Jaffna.
29. The Revd. John Scott, Chairman, Wesleyan Mission, South Ceylon.
30. name omitted, Kandy.
31. G. F. Nell, Deputy Queen's Advocate, Kurunegala.
32. Jaffna Representative Committee.
33. R. C. Pole, Assistant Government Agent, Jaffna.
34. John Garth, Sub-Inspector of Schools, Western Province.
35. The Revd. C. Bonjean, Roman Catholic Mission, Jaffna.
36. John Copper.
37. The Revd. J. S. Semeria, Bishop of Olympia and Vicar Apostolic of Jaffna.
38. The Revd. G. Salauun, Missionary Apostolic, Jaffna.
39. The Revds. J. B. Fernando, J. B. Vistriani, S. Tabarrani, Gentilucci, and B. Baldoni, Roman Catholic Mission, Negombo.
40. The Revd. Miliani and the Revd. B. Bondoni, Missionaries Apostolic, Galle.
41. Hon. Sir E. S. Creasy, Chief Justice of Ceylon.
42. Jaffna Branch of London Indian Society.
43. The Revd. L. Keating, Missionary Apostolic, Trincomalee.
44. The Revd. J. Mooyaart, Archdeacon of Colombo. (Anglican)
45. The Revd. J. B. H. Bailey, Secretary of the School Commision.
46. C. A. Lorenz, Advocate of the Supreme Court of Ceylon.
47. James Alwis, Advocate of the Supreme Court of Ceylon.

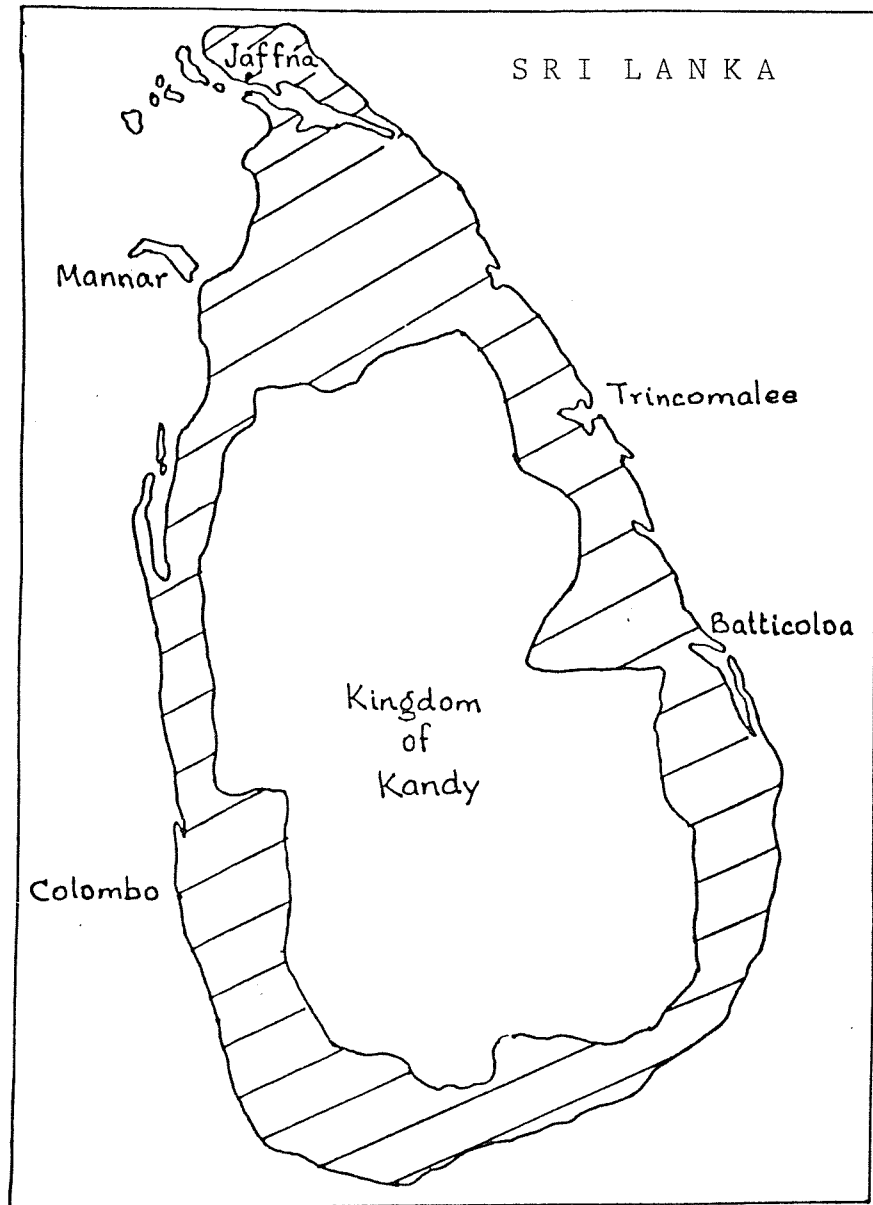
MAP I

THE THREE KINGDOMS FOUND IN SRI LANKA AT THE TIME
OF THE ARRIVAL OF THE PORTUGUESE



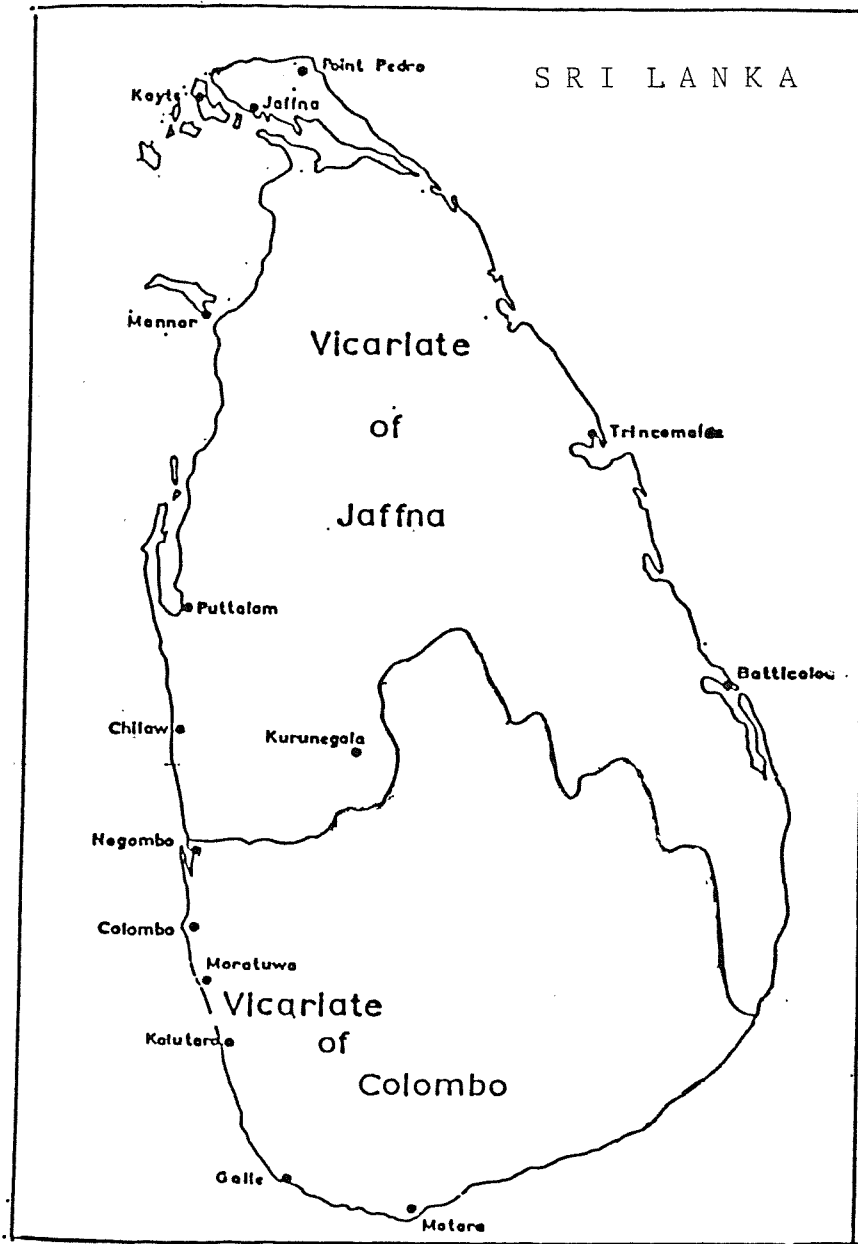
MAP II

MARITIME PROVINCES OF SRI LANKA WHICH WERE UNDER
THE DUTCH AND LATER SURRENDERED TO THE BRITISH



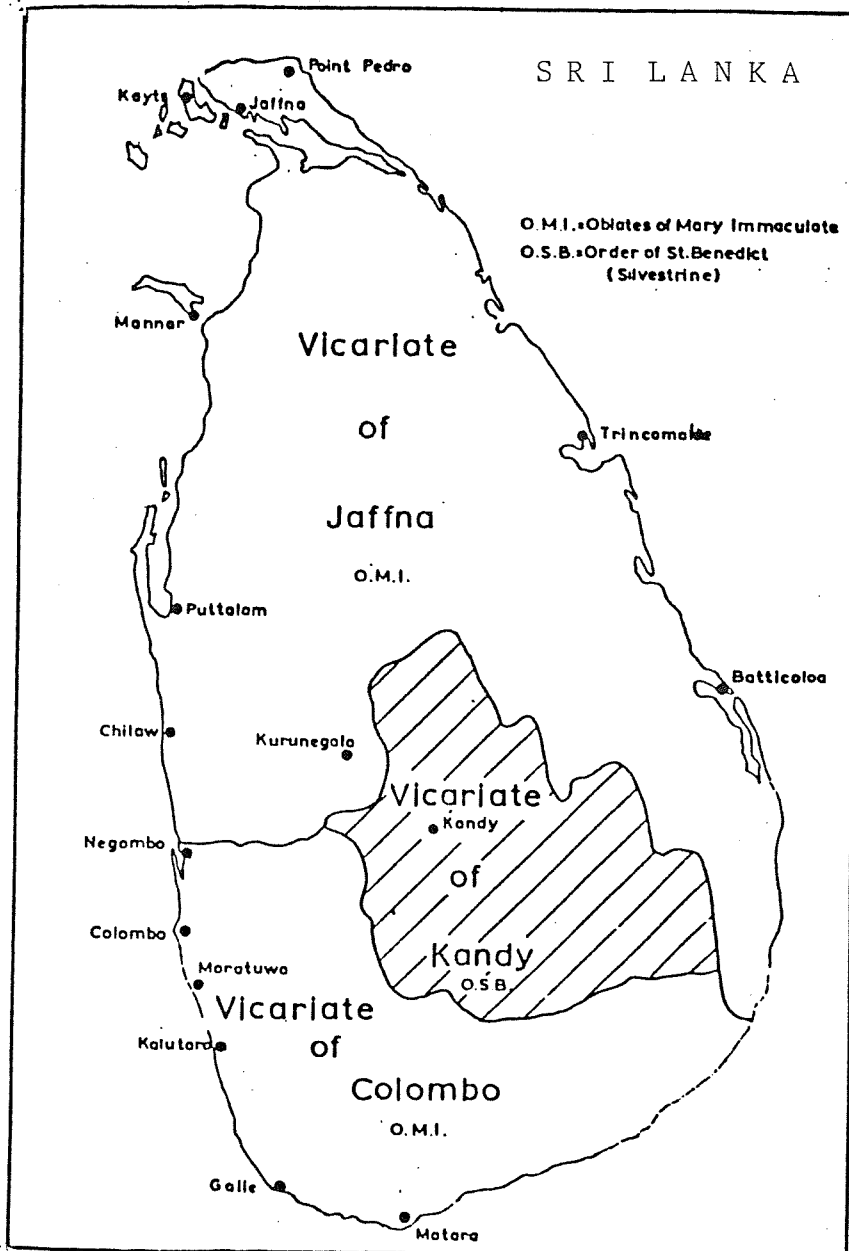
MAP III

THE TWO VICARIATES OF SRI LANKA IN 1847



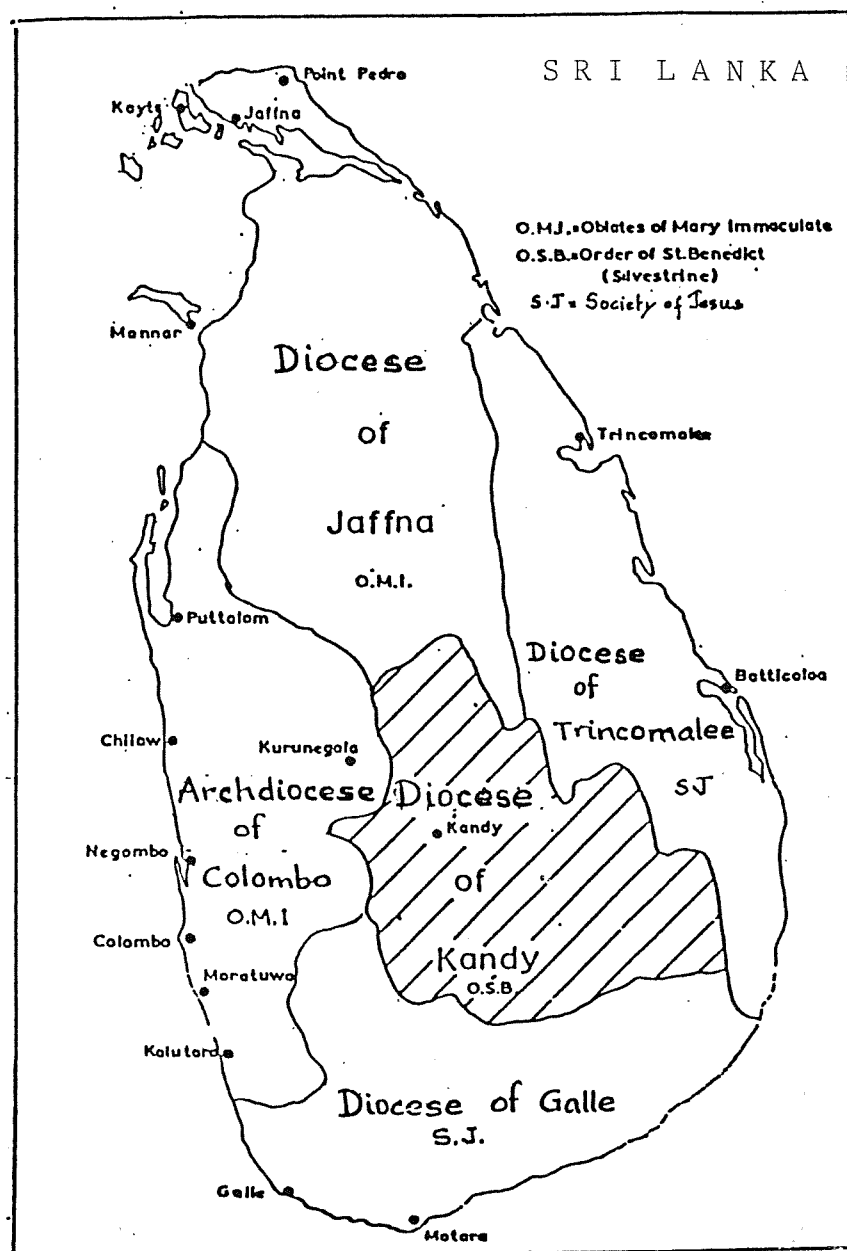
MAP IV

THE THREE VICARIATES OF SRI LANKA IN 1883



MAP V

THE FIVE DIOCESES OF SRI LANKA IN 1893



LIST OF SOURCES

A. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

I. Archives of the Sacred Congregation for the Evangelisation of Peoples (SCPF) or de Propaganda Fide.

(Archivio della Sacra Congregazione per L'Evangelizzazione dei Popoli)

The documents in the Historical Archives of the Sacred Congregation for the Evangelisation of Peoples (SCPF) are important for the history of the Missions, the spread of Christianity by the Catholic Church and the history of the Congregation responsible for missionary activity since 1622. According to its act of establishment, the SCPF consisted of 13 Cardinals of whom one was the Prefect, two Prelates and a Secretary. As a rule, the members met once each month in what were called "congregazione generale" (general meetings) and these often took place "coram Sanctissimo" (in the presence of the Pope) when matters of great importance were to be discussed. Questions which required deeper study were entrusted to a special commission of Cardinals and others competent in a particular field and these met in what are known as "congregazione particolare" (special meetings). These latter commissions were "ad hoc" and ceased to exist when a particular question was solved. The monthly assemblies are now known as "congregazione ordinaria" (ordinary meetings). In all cases the decisions are communicated to the persons concerned by the Sacred Congregation in the form of letters, decrees, instructions or circulars.

a) Acta Sacrae Congregationis. (Acta)

The "Acta" are the minutes of the monthly meetings of the Cardinals and other members of the Congregation: the reports (Ristretto) of the Cardinal or of the Secretary and the resolution (Rescritto) taken by the members. Thus, the "Acta" reflect the main activities and decisions of the Congregation in the accomplishment of its various duties. Altogether there are 345 volumes for the years 1622-1982. The volumes consulted for this research are:

Vol. 197	anno 1834	Vol. 227	anno 1863
199	anno 1836	234	anno 1868
206	anno 1843	247	anno 1879
219	anno 1855	251	anno 1883
222	anno 1858	263	anno 1893
226	anno 1862		

b) Scritture riferite nei Congressi. (SC)

(Documents referred to in the weekly meetings)

The documents of this series were discussed in the weekly meetings and are most precious from a historical point of view because they reflect, in a certain way, the daily life of the missions. In it we have the letters that reached Propaganda from the mission lands. The letters from Sri Lanka are found under the section - Indie Orientali. There are 37 volumes (1800 -1892) and the undated papers are bound in 3 special volumes marked "Miscellanea". There are no index of the documents contained in them. These documents will be referred to, in our research, as SCIO. The following volumes were consulted:

Vol. 8	anni 1841-1842	Vol. 21	anni 1875-1878
9	anni 1843-1844	22	anni 1879-1881
10	anni 1845-1846	23	anni 1881-1882
11	anni 1847-1848	24	anno 1883
12	anni 1849-1850	25	anni 1884-1885
13	anni 1851-1852	26	anni 1885-1886
14	anni 1853-1854	32	anno 1887
15	anni 1855-1856	33	anno 1888
16	anni 1857-1858	34	anno 1889
17	anni 1859-1861	35	anno 1890
18	anni 1862-1864	36	anno 1891
19	anni 1865-1866	37	anno 1892
20	anni 1868-1874		

The documents of the period after 1893 are bound according to the succession of "Rubriche" (code numbers corresponding to titles) in the volumes known as the "Nuova Serie" (New Series). Each volume in the Nuova Serie has at the end an index of the documents contained therein. There are 265 volumes for the period 1893-1903. These documents will be referred to as Nuova Serie (NS) in our research. The volumes consulted are:

Vol. 25	anno 1893, Rubriche 128
48	anno 1894,
71	anno 1895,
95	anno 1896,
116	anno 1897,
143	anno 1898,
166	anno 1899,
191	anno 1900,
213	anno 1901,
235	anno 1902,
261	anno 1903,

c) Lettere e Decreti della Sacra Congregazione. (LD)

(Letters and Decrees from the Sacred Congregation and notes from the Secretary)

These letters refer to the execution of decisions taken either by the Prefect alone, or by the general or particular meetings, or by the weekly meetings. These letters often explain the content and the spirit of the "rescritto" (decision). From 1820 onwards the Decrees of the General meetings were added at the end of the letters and thus this part of the series was given the title- Lettere e Decreti (LD) The volumes consulted are:

Vol. 315	anno 1834	Vol. 349	anno 1858
328	anno 1842	350	anno 1859
332	anno 1845	351	anno 1860
333	anno 1846	352	anno 1861
336	anno 1847	354	anno 1863
337	anno 1848	356	anno 1865
338	anno 1849		
344	anno 1853		

II. Archives of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, Rome. (AOMI)

- a) The personal files of the Oblates who worked in Sri Lanka.
- b) The files of the Superior Generals and of the General Assistants having authority for Sri Lanka.
- c) Correspondence with the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of Faith.
- d) Journal Semeria:1847-1866:Histoire de notre etablissement a Ceylon. Transcription par James Batayron OMI (1907) (Manuscript).
- e) Batayron, J. : Le diocese de Jaffna et les Oblats de Marie-Immaculee. 2 Vols. (Manuscript)
 - Vol.I- 1845-1868: I. The Pontificate of Mgr. Bettacchini
II.The Pontificate of Mgr. Semeria
 - Vol.II-1868-1898:III.The Pontificate of Mgr. Bonjean
IV.The Pontificate of Mgr. Melizan
- f) Conseils Generaux de la Congregation des Missionnaires Oblats de Marie Immaculee. (Cons. Gen.)
 - vol.1 16 December 1844 to 28 May 1859. (typed)
 - vol.2 10 December 1861 to 30 December 1872. (Ms)

vol.3	1 January	1873	to	30 December	1878.	(Ms)
vol.4	3 January	1879	to	9 June	1885.	(Ms)
vol.5	16 June	1885	to	25 September	1889.	(Ms)
vol.6	2 October	1889	to	9 October	1900.	(Ms)

III. Public Record Office, Kew Gardens, London.

Another most important official manuscript source is the series of Colonial Office documents. (CO)

- CO 54/ This series contains despatches from Governors of Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) to the Secretary of State along with their enclosures, Colonial Office minutes and memoranda, and drafts of despatches from the Secretary of State. The "Miscellaneous" volumes contain letters from officials and private individuals, and occasionally, memoranda from private persons or officials in their personal capacity.

- CO 55/ This series contains the despatches from the Secretary of State to the Governors of Ceylon. Volume 2 (1796-98): Proceedings of the Committee of Investigation into the state of the revenue.

- CO 56/ The Legislative Enactments of the Government of Ceylon.

- CO 57/ This contains the proceedings of the Legislative and Executive Councils of Ceylon and the Administrative Reports of Government Departments (Sessional Papers).

- CO 58/ The Ceylon Government Gazette.

- CO 59/ This contains the Blue Books which give information regarding the Island's Revenue, Exports and Imports, Education, Population etc. The Educational Returns give full information on schools, school population, teachers, salaries etc. This series has bound volumes of local newspapers too.

- CO 326/ This is a Correspondence Register of the in-letters. This is the General Register for the Colonies.

- CO 337/ This is a Register of Correspondence from 1849-1926.

- CO 381/ Vols. 26,27,28 contain commissions and instructions to the Governors and Lieut-Governors of Ceylon from 1837-1872.

- CO 416/ The 32 volumes in this series contain the evidence collected by the Commissioners of Eastern Inquiry (1828-1831). Volume 6- contains petitions on Education. Vols.29-32 Contain other petitions. These volumes give an excellent background to the history of the activities during the 19th century.

IV. Archives of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society,
London. (WMMS)

Both from the extent of their activity in Sri Lanka and their influence with the Government, especially in the field of education, the Wesleyan manuscripts are an extremely valuable source of information. Only the letters (in-coming) of the missionaries have survived. The files are kept in boxes and the following were consulted.

1. Synod Minutes - Ceylon 1821-1901.

2. Correspondence - Ceylon 1814-1867

Box No.443, 1814-1818	Box No.447, 1829-1836
444, 1819-1821	448, 1837-1845
445, 1822-1824	449, 1846-1857
446, 1825-1828	450, 1858-1867

3. Correspondence-North Ceylon, 1867-1936.

Box No.451, 1867-1887
452, 1888-1905

4. Correspondence -South Ceylon, 1868-1935.

Box No.453, 1868-1876
454, 1877-1885
912, 1906-1913

5. Correspondence - Colombo, 1885-1906.

Box No.456, 1885-1901
924, 1901-1906.

V. India Office Library and Records, London. (IOLR)

a) The Ceylon Factory Records (G) of this office comprise reports on the proceedings of the committee of investigation into the affairs of Ceylon in 1797-1798; proceedings and correspondence of the Governor between the 12 Oct.1798 and 18 Sept.1802; and other miscellaneous documents between 1798 and January 1806. The following files were examined:

G/11/No.3-9 :Proceedings of the Governor in the Public Department from 12 Oct.1798 to 30 June 1802.
G/11/No.52 :Correspondence between the Court of Directors and Governors of Ceylon, 25 May 1798 to 31 Dec.1901.
G/11/No.54 :Manuscripts concerning Ceylon - notes on various subjects connected with Ceylon by the Rt.Hon.Sylvester Douglas, 1799-1800.

b) East India Company Court Minutes. (B)

The Court Minutes constitute the central records of the business transacted at meetings of the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

B/127-131 :Minutes of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, 1798-1801.

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