

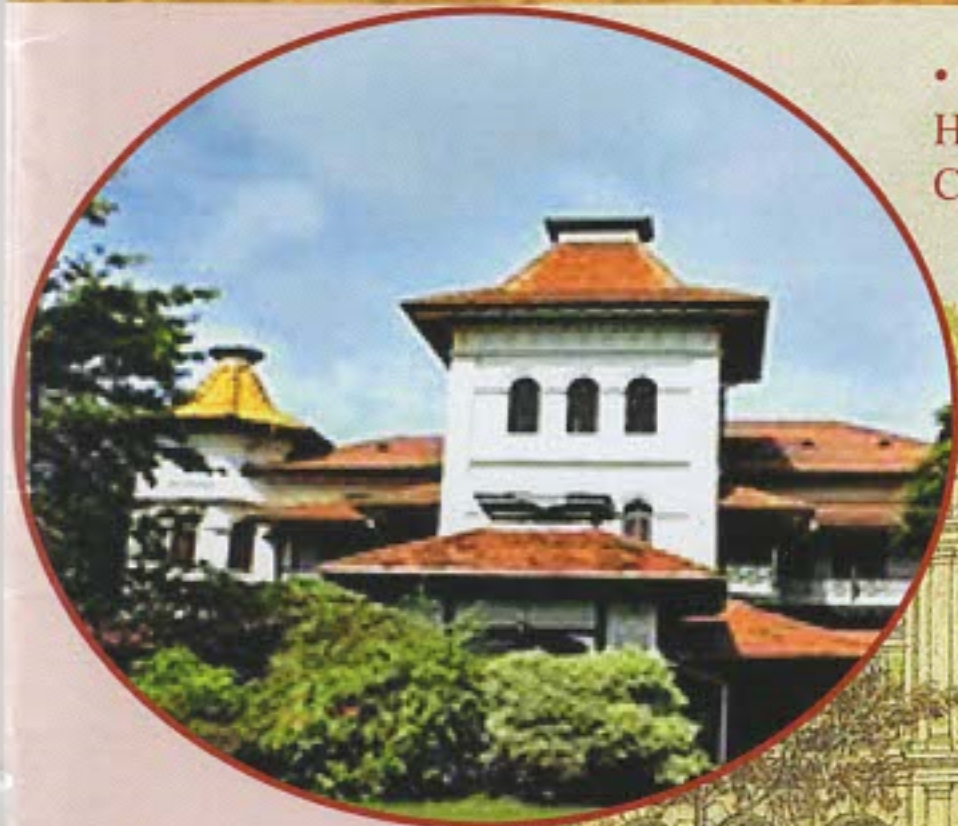


The Ceylanikaum

The Journal of the Ceylon Society of Australia

Keeping Our Heritage Alive
C.S.A.

• (Above): CH de Soysa with his uncle Susew (seated) in Alfred House. Photo by Slimm and Co Courtesy Duke of Edinburgh in Ceylon, Capper 1871.



• Regina Walawa -
now College House.



• ALFRED HOUSE IN 1870 Photo by Slimm & Co Courtesy Duke of Edinburgh in Ceylon. John Capper 1871.



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The Ceylankam

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From the Editor

7he world is gripped by the tentacles of the Coronavirus pandemic that has caught millions of people worldwide with a vengeance. With 6731 cases in Australia (at the time of writing) in its lethal clasp and netting more, it has squashed the lives of 87 people, mostly the elderly. Adopting strict measures to control its spread, and diligently enforcing them, Australia, along with a few other countries, seems to be showing signs of levelling the growth. Even though this country applied punitive measures promptly with the closure of venues where people congregate daily, like cinemas, clubs, pubs, beaches and advocated "stay home, stay safe" measures unless absolutely necessary and enforcing social distancing has helped Australia to seemingly lessen the spread and reduce loss of life, there is no guarantee of control in the near future. Vigilance is also paramount with the CSA, having adopted drastic measures such as putting off committee meetings, cancelling general meetings open to the public (as we did with the May 2020 meeting) until Government saw it fit to ease the actions.

We have been fortunate that our printer, like several other printing companies, has continued to remain open for business throughout. This has enabled the publication of *The Ceylankan*, maintaining its record of uninterrupted publication throughout its lifetime. Your Editor is grateful to our contributors who, fortuitously or otherwise, sent in more than ample number of articles to fill this issue.

Firstly, I must give our readers the great news that we have compiled an Index for *The Ceylankans* published up to November 2019 (Numbers 1 to 88). A highly qualified Indexer, Ms Chitra Karunanayake completed a professional document which we touched up to suit our needs. A review of the Index by Thiru Arumugam with excerpts of Index are reproduced on page 34 for the benefit of members. The plan is to have the Index printed so interested members can purchase their copy for a nominal price.

Welcome to our newest contributor Des Alfreds (new member of the CSA as well). In this scholarly article, Des examines, with some detail, the role played by the American Missionary College played in English Education in Jaffna.

Dr Raja Bandaranayake, the speaker at the Sydney General meeting in February this year, has provided his script that we have reproduced for the benefit of our readers everywhere. Makes very interesting reading.

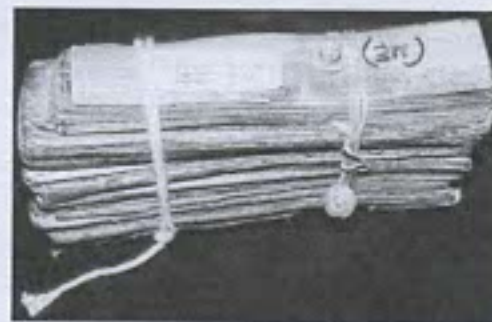
Many of us will remember Ceylon's pre-Independence days of the Soulbury Commission and the years after when Lord Soulbury was appointed Governor-General of Sri Lanka. Soulbury's son James Ramsbotham chose to live another life in Sri Lanka far away from the luxury of the Queen's House. Thiru Arumugam expertly unveils the story in these pages.

Once again your journal contains the usual news about CSA activities, albeit severely curtailed by Covid-19 regime. May hopefully make staying home a trifle more interesting.

FROM THE PAST from Vama Vamadevan's "Ola" leaf books in *The Ceylankan* No. 4, October 1998

Libraries were in vogue principally in ancient Greece and Rome and a few other places in the Western world from very early times. These libraries had stocks of books which could be consulted for reference requirements, and as literacy among the general population may not have been what it is today, there were still many citizens who could take advantage in the literature that was available to increase their knowledge. If it had not been for these libraries, some of the renowned works of Classical Greece and Rome would have been lost to posterity. Buddhist temples and monasteries played a corresponding function in Sri Lanka. They were the seat of learning and repositories of old 'Ola' manuscripts containing religious and medicinal discourses...

In Sri Lanka there were 'Ola' manuscripts from about 500 BC. Before this time, writings



on the Island were inscribed on potsherds with bone "styli" and date back to about 800 BC. The entire Buddhist Canon was written during the reign of King Vattagamini Abhaya in 100 BC as claimed in the Mahavamsa (The Great Chronical). Buddhaghosa (5th Century) the Indian Buddhist monk and scholar, studied Buddhism at the famous library of the Mahavihara (Great Monastery) in Anuradhapura. Scholars from near and far visited the temples and monasteries to have access to 'Ola' manuscripts.

Our Readers write

Myths exploded

Thank you Pauline for a brilliant and balanced account of our ancient history. (J89, February 2020) The presentation is as accurate as any historical narration based partly on documented material and partly on oral tradition could present.

True it is that 'golden lily' neither needs painting or gilding but your presentation would have helped those in the audience who might have been misled by blatantly false hysterical rantings of those who wish to promote their own excellence, to see the true picture. Especially as you have invited those present to savour our island at first hand.

You have exploded several statistical myths about the percentages of different ethnic groups or the holders of different philosophical beliefs or practitioners of different religions.

Thank you also for a laudatory mention of the Sixteenth Amendment to the Sri Lanka Constitution which I drafted with the assistance of Dr Neelan Thiruchelvam, on the instructions of the All Party Conference led by President Premadasa.
SUNIL DE SILVA, Kariong, NSW 2250
(Our correspondent is a former Attorney-General of Sri Lanka).

Melbourne's gain

I just heard the postman arrive and was enthralled to receive a somewhat thicker envelope which I knew was "THE CEYLANKAN" – thanks so much Doug and Harry for the additional copy which I will send to the Negombo Bharatha Association.

Of course the selfish self took over and I re-read my article first which I must say Doug, you have excelled in your publishing conventions – it conveyed all the details I wished to impart to readers and it certainly encourages my literary bent!

The next article which immediately drew my attention was Hugh's and I must say it has been more than my pleasure and privilege to visit him often and gain from his immense knowledge and literature of our homeland which he so selflessly shares – Sydney's loss is certainly Melbourne's gain. My gratitude increases immensely when I read that he was a co-founder of the CSA – what foresight to have had.

Pauline's article is much too much to absorb in the first reading – it appear to be a Phd discourse and I will sit down with a cup of Ceylon Tea when next I can create my reading time – thanks Pauline, you appear to have the makings of a literary genius.

I also noted a mention of our previous High Commissioner, Skanda whom he so kindly prefers to be addressed by. I had the grateful privilege to be invited to share a breakfast with him while in Sri

Lanka recently and I must say, in him is a volume to be explored and published, although he insists that it must not be about his self-promotion – any takers to co-author with me?

To all concerned in keeping the CSA alive and active, my sincere and grateful thanks.

JEREMY DE LIMA

Vermont South, VIC 3133

Distinctive dialect

Ninety nine per cent of the populations of Welihena, Kochchikade, Bambukuliya, Muruthana were also Bharathas in the 1970s. In fact, the Bharathas of Welihena (the village where I grew up and fondly have many childhood friends still) have their own distinctive dialect of Tamil which sometimes even I had difficulty in understanding though I grew up among them! Interestingly, my father could on demand produce a good reproduction of the dialect when he spoke to them (he grew up and lived all his life in Welihena too). Sadly, most of them now do not talk in Tamil with only the older generations (sadly passing away at an alarming rate) practising their dialect. Perhaps somebody should record it for posterity before it dies out.

AJITH CHELLIAH

(Some valuable observations on the article on "The Bharathas" by Jeremy de Lima published in The Ceylankan (J89 of February 2020) sent to Michael Robert's Thuppai Blog where the article was reproduced.)

Intriguing covers

Recent issues of *The Ceylankan* journals have arrived with beautiful, imaginative covers, the most recent intriguing me greatly. For the past several years I've been studying the goddesses of Europe, the Middle East and the Indian Kali, so it was wonderful to view the front cover of the current of *The Ceylankan* with its gorgeous, bronze statue of several names, Pattini, Kannaki and Tara supposedly discovered on Sri Lanka's east coast, followed by Thiru Arumugam's informative article.

The current magazine had several interesting features. Pauline Gunewardene's "Resplendent Lanka – forty leagues from Paradise," an easy read of Sri Lanka's history and its move into the modern era. A memorial to Scot Dirckze an outstanding member of the Burgher community. Hugh Karunayake's always interesting articles and finally Aubrey Koelmeyer's "Of manners, mores and maiden Aunts" that has so cleverly captured the pointed wit and folk wisdom of the Sri Lankan people.

Finally, my great appreciation to you and your team in bringing me *The Ceylankan* promptly to my mail box every four months.

GERALDINE DE SARAM JANSZ
Ontario, Canada.

19th Century opulence - the story of Alfred House

by **HUGH KARUNANAYAKE**

Nineteenth Century Ceylon boasted of many stately homes such as Queen's House, Horagolla Walauwwa, and Alfred House. Alfred House achieved considerable fame as the venue for a much remembered dinner in 1870 to the visiting Prince of Wales, Prince Alfred, then titled the Duke of Edinburgh. Alfred House was then a large mansion standing on 125 acres of land planted with coconut and cinnamon. The grounds of Alfred House covered almost the whole of Kollupitiya southwards from the present Walukarama Road, to land adjacent to Station



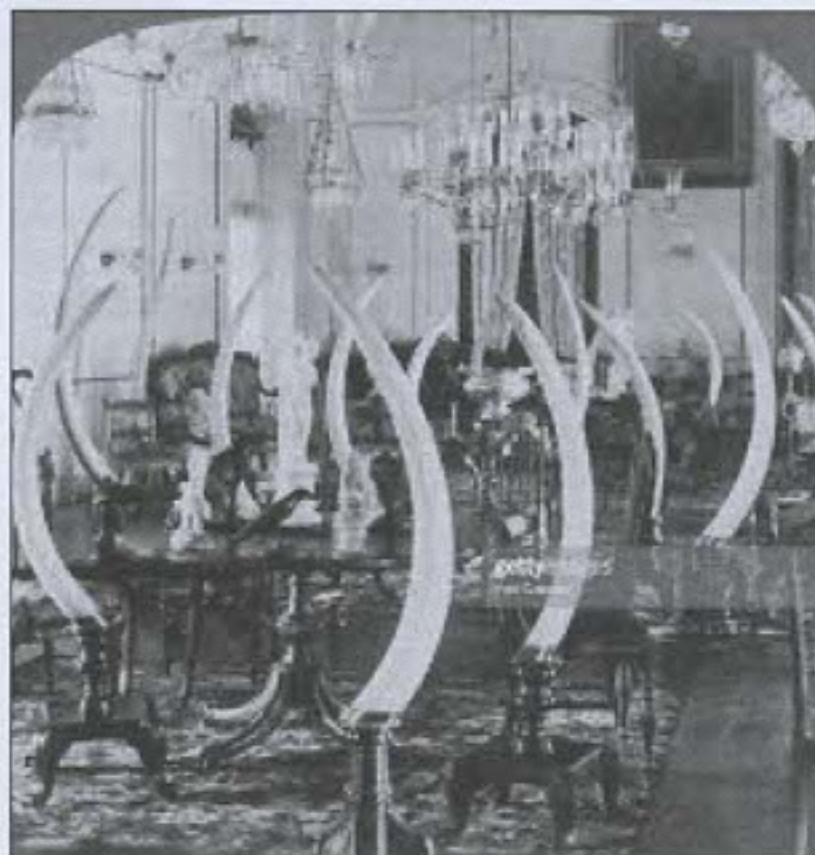
• *Big Bagatelle in 1840.*

Road, Bambalapitiya. Eastwards it covered almost the entirety of both sides of Thurstan Road and included the University premises as well as the grounds of Royal College up to Racecourse Avenue. It was easily the largest property in Colombo and the most valuable piece of real estate in Ceylon of the 19th Century.

The name Bagatelle seems to have originated when it was under the ownership of Arbuthnot and Co who appears to have owned it from the time it was offered for sale by the Government. The property was first advertised for sale in the Ceylon Government Gazette of 9 March 1822 as "a thatched cottage with a tent roof, about two miles and half from the Fort of Colombo, to be disposed of by private contract." The owner at the time was believed to be a prominent businessman in the Fort with the quaint name Daddy Parsee. He was a well known businessman operating from No 4 King Street in the Fort, being a key importer of luxury goods and wines into the island. It appears that he had defaulted in payment of dues to the government and hence the decision to sequester the property to recover dues.

The Ceylon Almanacs of the 1840s lists Bagatelle Estate as a property owned by Arbuthnot

and Co, who were agents for the Government of Ceylon in India, and who were the sole exporters of cinnamon from Ceylon which was a government monopoly at the time. It would seem that Arbuthnot & Co acquired the property from the government in 1822. A few years later the property was in the possession of C.E Layard who lived there for many years. There is no information available as to whether the Layards owned the property (most likely) or were tenants, but during his period of residence C E Layard replaced the old thatched roof building with a substantial two storied house which was named Big Bagatelle. The Layards were an illustrious



• *The interior of Alfred House showing the Hall of Tusks.*

family from Bristol which was closely associated with the administration of public service and judicial institutions in Ceylon for many generations and have played a significant role in the colonial history of early British Ceylon.

Charles Edward Layard came out to Ceylon in 1803. He was the Collector of Kalutara in the first batch of Civil servants. He had a house called "Mount Layard" on the banks of the Kalu Ganga. It is believed that the famous Teak Bungalow in Kalutara was situated there later. He retired in 1839 as District Judge Colombo North and died in 1854. At the age of 20, he married Barbara Bridgeteen Mooyart, fourth child of Gualterus Mooyart, administrator of Jaffna,

the youngest of whom, Barbara, was born in Bagatelle in 1843 and died in a house called "Grimsthorpe" in Nuwara Eliya in 1914. Layard was a great horticulturist and during his residence at Bagatelle had introduced several exotic plants to the island. Fertility seemed to have abounded there, as in addition to the propagation of plants, we have the Layards with 26 children followed by the De Soysa with 14 children!

Around the mid 1850s, Susew de Soysa, a pioneer native plantation owner became the owner of Bagatelle Estate. He was a pioneer coffee planter who together with his brother Jeronis, established initially in Hanguranketa Estate, and successfully steered his land holdings through the coffee crisis. They later owned the biggest acreage of plantations in the island ever. Susew called his residence Bagatelle Walauwwa. His nephew Charles Henry de Soysa to whom the property passed on, demolished the old homestead and built a magnificent home comprising of around 100 rooms. The Fergusons Directory of 1871 lists Bagatelle as a cinnamon cum coconut estate of 125 acres.

The house was named Alfred House with the permission of Prince Alfred, the Duke of Edinburgh, who visited Ceylon in 1870. C.H. de Soysa died in 1890, bitten by a rabid dog that strayed into Alfred House on 02 August 1890. It was originally decided to take him to Paris for treatment, but he chose to remain in Ceylon and receive native treatment. When he passed away, he was buried outside the Holy Emmanuel Church, Moratuwa, next to his son who died in his infancy. His mortal remains were laid to rest, amidst a gathering, then described as the largest seen in Ceylon in the nineteenth century. His wife who died in 1914 was laid to rest beside him. He left behind a large family of 14 sons and daughters to inherit an enormous estate which in addition to Alfred House included several thousand acres of coconut, tea and rubber lands spread around the island.

Over the years, the 125 acre Alfred House Estate underwent several sub divisions, some major changes being precipitated by the master plan for Colombo which foresaw many new roads across the estate. The earlier sub divisions were, however, made by the De Soysa family itself, which constructed several stately mansions within the property. The ornate Lakshmigiri which was built in 1910 by A.J.R. de Soysa, the second son of C.H. de Soysa, is a classic example of extravagant building design of the time. This house with its extensive gardens and massive cast iron gates is at the southern end of Thurstan Road, bordering Queen's Road. It bears assessment No.102 Thurstan Road and is much the same 70 years ago, as it was when constructed almost half a century earlier. Ten years after it was built, the house was mortgaged, and later foreclosed. It was then bought by the Adamjee Lukmanjee family and has remained in their ownership to date under the name

Saiffee Villa.

Seventy years ago there were no buildings between Saiffee Villa and Queens Road. Adjoining Queens Road is the house originally named Regina Walauwwa by its owner T. H.A. de Soysa, the fourth son of C.H. de Soysa. It was named after his late wife Regina, who died at the age of 29 years. The house was built in 1912. An imposing building with multiple roofs, turrets and towers it was a palatial residence facing Thurstan Road. The owner was a keen turfite



• *The ornate Villa Lakshmigiri, now Saiffee.*

owning many horses, and with a penchant for heavy wagers. The story goes that whenever he won over Rs. 100,000 at the races, he would hoist the family flag on the large flagstaff in front of the house to indicate to all and sundry that he had made a killing at the races. This ritual was locally referred to as "Lakseta kodiya" meaning "win a lakh of rupees and the flag goes up". Fortunes do, however, fluctuate, and by 1920, he was in financial difficulties and the house sold to the newly emerging University College. It was then renamed College House. The flagstaff or 'kodigaha' remains on the property to this day.

Any discussion on Alfred House in its heyday, cannot be complete without reference to the magnificent dinner hosted by Charles Henry de Soysa at Alfred House in honour of the visiting Prince of Wales, the Duke of Edinburgh. The story is best related by John Capper who published the book "The Duke of Edinburgh in Ceylon" published by Provost and Co, London, and dedicated to His Royal Highness Prince Alfred Ernest Albert, the Duke of Edinburgh, in October 1870. Two chromolithographs from the book are reproduced on the front cover of this journal. "The tables at the reception were arranged in the form of a cross, the building being brilliantly lighted and decorated; and as the numerous company stood round the well filled boards, the Prince and his party at one end of the cross, the scene was striking in the extreme. The plates, goblets, and knife and fork provided for his Royal Highness were of massive gold, set with rubies, emeralds, and pearls. The usual loyal toasts were given, the Prince bowing his acknowledgments

entourage remained till 2 o'clock in the morning. A few days later, The Prince H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh hosted a reception to the De Soysas at Mudaliyar (Wasala) on Susew de Soysa and Justice Queen's House and conferred the title of Gate of the Peace for the Island on Charles Henry de Soysa (the latter had declined the title of Mudaliyar). Alfred House was demolished in the 1930s to make way for road expansion to serve the civic needs of a burgeoning Colombo population thereby erasing a historical landmark which should have been preserved.

Many of the De Soysa family built stately homes on part of the De Soysa estate during the early years. They include the ornate previously discussed Lakshmigiri built in 1912 by second son AJR de Soysa, and Regina Walauwwa or College House as it is presently known, built by THA de Soysa. In addition there were Rheinland built by ELF de Soysa, Villa Venezia on Queen's Road by son in law Sir Marcus Fernando. The grounds of Alfred House ended in the South near today's Station Road Bambalapitiya, adjoining which was Brodie House, and where Unity Plaza stands today "Nellidith" the home of Dr WH de Silva, Ophthalmologist, and son-in-law of CH de Soysa. The property was sold to the Gulamhussein family where Onally built his well known "El Patio Yveony" in the 1950s on its grounds. At the Bambalapitiya Junction was "Glen Aber" by the sea, also on the original Alfred House estate. It belonged to JWC de Soysa the eldest son of CH de Soysa. The house is no more, but is commemorated by the road that led to it "Glen Aber Place". Son-in-law of CH de Soysa Dr Solomon Fernando built his home also within the Alfred House Estate and the house was named "Sigiriya" remembered today by the road Sigiriya Gardens off Bagatelle Road. Another stately home is the residence of the Indian High Commissioner formerly known as Karlowie on grounds purchased from the Alfred House Estate by the State Bank of India in the 1920s. It faces Thurstan Road and stands next door to College House.

Twenty nine years after the death of Sir Charles Henry de Soysa (knighted posthumously) a grateful public contributed to the construction of a memorial to him, unveiled 100 years ago, in 1919. He is still remembered for his magnanimity having donated the cost of several public institutions like the De Soysa-Lying-in Home, Victoria Memorial Eye Hospital, many churches, temples, schools like Prince of Wales College, and many more.

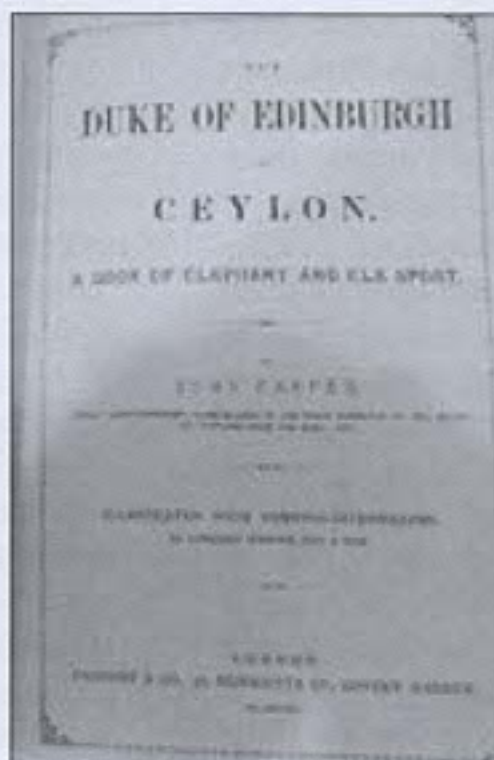
Alfred House is no more and its grounds now form the heart of Colombo's residential and

mercantile sector. Many roads exist to this day to remind us of the history of a great house and the family associated with it. Bagatelle Road, Bagatelle Gardens, Alfred House Gardens, Alfred Place, Charles Circus etc. are still there, some replaced by names that do not endure as much as the original. Very few (or none) of the descendants of CH De Soysa live in the original homes built on the Estate. Like in most families, fluctuating

fortunes combined with extravagant living had seen an end to much of what Charles Henry de Soysa left to his heirs. A large family such as his, has spread widely and the number of direct descendants may now number well over 300. The Ceylon Society of Australia had in its membership roll, some of the de Soysa descendants such as Srimi Peiris, wife of our former President the



• *Charles Henry de Soysa*



• *The book by James Capper The Duke of Edinburgh in Ceylon 1871.*

late Tony Peries and granddaughter of Sir Marcus Fernando who was married to a daughter of CH de Soysa. Chandra Senaratne our Social Convenor since the inception of CSA till 2019, himself a great grandson of CH de Soysa and also his late wife Marlene whose paternal grandfather was AJR de



• One hundred years ago, the unveiling of the De Soysa statue in Colombo in 1919.

Soysa of Lakshmigiri. Chndra has in his possession a set of monogrammed sterling silver cutlery from Alfred House with which I have dined at Chandra's residence on many occasions. We also had as a CSA member the late Lalith de Soysa (son of Sir Wilfred

de Soysa) who until his death in Melbourne a few years ago was the only surviving grandson of Charles Henry de Soysa. (There may be other descendants of CH de Soysa in the CSA membership of over 350, of whom I am not aware as a student of Sri Lankan genealogy. My apologies in advance for any inadvertent omissions.)

Apart from the dissolution and distribution of the largest ownership of real estate the country ever knew, the material goods such as the gold plates served at the Royal dinner, and those items of furniture which reflected a life of luxury, have all but disappeared. It is a pity that our Museum could not retain any of them to remember the remarkable indigenous entrepreneurship and extraordinary acumen of the pioneer De Soysas, of an order which no doubt befitted its times, but also served as a beacon for others to follow. The grandeur and opulence of the pioneering De Soysas is part of the history of Ceylon, now Sri Lanka.

COVER STORY



CROCODILE SKIN BOUND BOOK

The picture on the back cover is of a very rare book published in the late 19th Century and possibly the only book ever bound in crocodile skin! The rare *Picturesque Ceylon* issued in three volumes in 1895 by H W

Cave and Co. consists of three parts bound together viz Colombo and the Kelani Valley, (1893), Kandy and Peradeniya (1894) and Nuwara Eliya and Adam's Peak (1895). The book consists of 103 full page photographs by the author Henry Cave who says in the Preface that "my purpose is to enable the friends of European residents in Ceylon, and others who are interested in the island, to obtain a better idea of its charming features than is possible from mere verbal description".

Henry W Cave arrived in Ceylon in 1876 as the Private Secretary to Bishop Copleston. After a couple of years he established himself in a shop in Chatham Street, Colombo selling books on religious works. He later established himself as a pioneer bookseller and importer of musical instruments in a building in Upper Chatham Street. In the early 20th Century the company employed 350 staff and were the front line suppliers of all things relating to books including leather book binding. When Gaffoor

building was constructed around 1910 Cave and Co occupied almost the entirety of its ground floor. The Company later passed on to Ceylonese ownership around 1960.

Henry Cave was an excellent photographer and his main pastime when not running his business, was travelling across the country and taking some beautiful images preserved for posterity in the pages of this book. He was the author of other books on Ceylon viz *The Ruined Cities of Ceylon* (1897), *Golden Tips* (1900), *the Book of Ceylon* (1908) and *the Ceylon Government Railway* (1910) all the products of his descriptive prose, and meticulous photography.

—HUGH KARUNANAYAKE

Traditional Green Path

Ananda Kumaraswamy Mawatha better known by its former name Green Path, cuts through the middle of Viharamahadevi Park. As you enter the park on this street from the west, you pass the Public Library (1978) on your left, marked by a Boy Scout statue in front. Just north is a War Memorial to servicemen killed in the world wars. The memorial was first raised in 1914, additional plaques were added after the defense of the island in the Second World War. Every November 14, a military parade and wreath laying service is held here. The nation observes a full minute of silence following a two-gun salute.

A short distance further along Green Path on the right, the Mahaweli Exhibition and Royal Asiatic Society Library building featuring traditional Kandyan architecture.

— Insight's Sri Lanka

THIRU ARUMUGAM reveals how

Lord Soulbury's son lived as a mendicant in Ceylon for nearly three decades

James Herwald Ramsbotham was the eldest son of Lord Soulbury, the last British Governor-General of Ceylon who held the post in the middle of the 20th Century. Although he was the son of a Governor-General, he lived as a mendicant in Ceylon for nearly 30 years.

Lord Soulbury

Herwald Ramsbotham (1887-1971), later to become known as Lord Soulbury (see **Figure 1**), was born in Crowborough Warren, East Sussex. He had his schooling at Uppingham School, a 400-year old private school in Rutland which has the distinction of having the largest area of playing fields of any school in England, covering a total area of 65 acres. He served in the Army during the First World War, rising to the rank of Major.

He was elected as a Conservative MP in the British Parliament in 1929 and was appointed as a Minister in 1936 under Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin. In 1941 he was raised to the peerage as Baron Soulbury and in 1944 he was sent to Ceylon as the Chairman of the Commission on Constitutional Reform in Ceylon (popularly known as the Soulbury Commission). This assignment took him several months. The Commission's recommendations, which were based on the Westminster model, culminated in the Ceylon Independence Act of 1947.

Henry Monck-Mason Moore was appointed Governor of Ceylon on 19 September 1944. When the Soulbury Constitution of Independent Ceylon came into effect on 04 February 1948, he continued as the first Governor-General of Ceylon until his retirement on 06 July 1949. He was succeeded by Soulbury who held the position until 17 July 1954, and was succeeded by Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, the first Ceylonese Governor-General. When Soulbury retired in 1954 he was elevated to the created rank of Viscount Soulbury, of Soulbury in the County of Buckingham.

James Hereward Ramsbotham

Soulbury's eldest son was James Hereward Ramsbotham (see **Figure 2**), who was born on 21 March 1915. He was educated at Eton College, near



• **Figure 1. Governor-General Lord Soulbury** (Courtesy Wikipedia)

Windsor in Berkshire. This school was founded in 1440 by King Henry VI and is one of the most prestigious schools in the world. It presently charges students about AS 80,000 per year. James participated in all the appropriate activities in Eton and was Captain of his House. From Eton, James entered Magdalene College in Oxford University where he read Philosophy. After graduating from Oxford, James started working in an Export-Import Company in the City of London. When World War Two broke out, instead of joining the Regiments or Guards like his classmates, he joined the Corps of Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers.

K Siva Yoga Eswaran of Birmingham, UK, has written a booklet about the life of James which is titled "The Life of a Sivathondan Santhaswamy" (2005). Sivathondan means a devotee of the God Siva and Santhaswamy was the name adopted by James later in life which means

'Swamy of felicitous music in song and poetry'. This booklet says (p. 6) that, in Germany before the



• **Figure 2: James Ramsbotham also known as Santhaswamy.** (Photo courtesy Yoga Eswaran).

Second World War, James had met a remarkable esoteric philosopher. He was P D Ouspensky, a Ukrainian Russian, who had expanded on the work of the Greek-Armenian teacher of esoteric doctrine, George Gurdjieff. Ouspensky's philosophy of life "... offered practical ways of thinking, behaving and perceiving through self-observation and awareness to escape from the conflicting egos inside one and from the ceaseless round of false imaginings and identification". Following the exacting requirements of these methods changed the way of life of James.

After the War ended and he was demobilised, James followed Ouspensky to America and brought him back to England, where the latter died in 1947. It was during meetings held by Ouspensky that he met Anthea Margaret Wilton. They got married on 05 April 1949 and were happy together. Unfortunately, after just over a year, on 26 June 1950, Anthea and their baby son both passed away in childbirth. Distraught, James never married again.

James's first visit to Ceylon

James's first visit to Ceylon was about 1953

when his father was the Governor-General. Instead of living in the lap of luxury in the parental residence of Queen's House in Fort, Colombo, he chose to travel and explore the length and breadth of Ceylon, living simply. It was during these travels that he met German Swamy.

Peter Joachim Schoenfeldt (later to become popularly known in Ceylon as German Swamy) was born in Germany in 1907. In 1936 he came to Ceylon embarking on a spiritual quest which he called his 'Grail Quest'. When the Second World War broke out in 1939, he was arrested by the British Government of Ceylon because he was a German National and sent to internment camps, first to Diyatalawa and in 1943, to Dehra Dun in North India. He managed to escape from the latter camp and made his way through the Tibetan border where he lived out the rest of the war days in a remote monastery.

When the war ended Peter continued to live in India and wandered around as a Sadhu and adopted the name of Gauribala, meaning child of Gauri, the resplendent Goddess of Purity. After living in India in various ashrams for a few years, he decided to come back to Ceylon. He lived for many years in Kataragama and in Jaffna where he became a disciple of Yogaswamy. For 25 years he participated in the "Paada Yaatra", the annual pilgrims walk all the way from Jaffna to Kataragama along the East coast to attend the Kataragama festival. The walk took nearly two months to complete and he only gave up in the 1970s when he was no longer physically fit. He was a complex character. The Editor of the Sunday Observer in his introduction to an article about German Swamy by Sam Wickremasinghe in the issue of 21 June 1992 posed the question "Was he a humbug? Or a lone warrior walking on the razor's edge of liberation?" German Swamy lived the rest of his life in Ceylon and passed away in 1984.

James and German Swamy were living in huts in the grounds of the Selva Sannithy Temple near Thondaimanaru in Jaffna (also called Kataragama of the North), meditating and living on simple meals provided by charitable people. James had cynically named his hut "Queens Cottage" compared with "Queens House" the name of his parents' residence in Colombo. One day in 1953, German Swamy took James to Columbuthurai, a suburb of Jaffna Town and introduced him to Yogaswamy, the mystic. James was introduced as the son of the Governor-General. Yogaswamy greeted him and said simply "I am your Governor and your General" (Yoga Eswaran p. 7).

James had found his Guru.

Yogaswamy was born in Jaffna in 1872. After leaving school he joined the Irrigation Department as a Storekeeper. A few years later he met Chellappa Swami, a mystic who lived in the premises of the famous Nallur Kandaswamy Temple. Soon afterwards he gave up his job and worldly life to become a

disciple of Chellappa Swamy. Yogaswamy lived in a hut in Columbuthurai in the grounds of Yoga Eswaran's ancestral property where he lived a life of meditation and piety.

The writer's father Sanmugam Arumugam, recollected how one day as a young man, he was smoking a cigarette and looking at some books in the Lanka Book Depot in Kankesanthurai Road in Jaffna Town, somebody shouted that Yogaswamy is coming. Out of respect for the sage he stubbed out his cigarette, but not soon enough, for Yogaswamy told him "You can smoke if you want to, but browse the books carefully because one day you will be a prolific writer". The prophecy turned out to be true because in later life he wrote several books and numerous articles.

Yogaswamy's philosophy of life can be summarised in the two Tamil words "Summa iru" which means "just be". The nearest Sinhala equivalent is "Nikang *inder*". Summa iru has been defined to be "a state of mind where there are no polarities, no likes or dislikes, no attachment, in short the state of Godhead where all religions lead to. It is the egoless state in which one would be in the spirit of 'Thy will is done' - a state of complete surrender to God wherein one loses the self in the presence of the Absolute". Yogaswamy passed away in 1964.

Apart from James, Yogaswamy had three other leading disciples, one of whom was Subramuniyaswami (1927-2001) an American who went on to found in 1970 a temple-monastery in the garden island of Kauai in Hawaii. On a 382 acre site the Kadavul Temple was built and currently nearing completion at the same site is the San Marga Iraivan Temple. This is an all-granite temple with a design life of one thousand years. It has been built entirely with hand carved stones from India, financed entirely by public donations at a total cost of about six million dollars.

In 1956 a group of followers of Yogaswamy banded together and formed a group called the 'Kutti kuuttam' or 'Council of Cubs'. **Figure 3** is a grainy photograph of this group taken in Kataragama in 1956. Those in the pictured are: Seated left to right,



• **Figure 3. The Council of Cubs, with James seated on the right - see text (Courtesy Sam Wickramasinghe)**

Barry Windsor of Australia (Narikutti or Young Jackal), Balasingham (Pandrikutti or Piglet), and James (Yanaikutti or Baby Elephant). Standing left to right, Sam Wickremasinghe (Pulikutti or Leopard Cub), Adrian Snodgrass of USA (Punaikutti or Kitten), German Swamy (Naikutti or Puppy) and Allirajah of Kataragama. A photo of James and German Swamy taken in 1960 can be seen in **Figure 4**.

In 1957 James returned to Europe. He had been attracted to the Greek Orthodox Church, possibly arising from his study of the work of the Greek-



• **Figure 4.** James on left and German Swamy on extreme right (Courtesy Arya Sangha)

Armenian philosopher George Gurdjeff. He had paid several visits to holy Mount Athos in Greece, where twenty monasteries are located. Yoga Eswaran says (p. 8) that the day before he was due to be inducted into the faith, he had a surprise visitor, German Swamy, who brought a message from Yogaswamy. The message led him to abandon the initiation ceremony, scheduled to be held on the following day.

The Initiation of James

In the early 1960s, James returned to Ceylon. On 30 December 1963 at Yogaswamy's Ashram in Jaffna, James was anointed by Yogaswamy with the words "From today onwards you are a Sanyasi (a person who surrenders possessions, life and spirit to God) and your name is Santhaswamy" (Yoga Eswaran p. 9). A Sanyasi practises a form of ascetism and it is the fourth and final stage of renunciation of material wants and desires and detachment from material life.

Yogaswamy's sayings had been transcribed by his devotees. James translated the Tamil sayings into English and compiled them into a book titled 'Words of our Master' and it was published by the Sivathondan Society.

Sivathondan Nilayam in Chenkaladi

Yogaswamy instructed James to proceed to Chenkaladi near Batticaloa and start a place of retreat and meditation to be called Sivathondan Nilayam. Chenkaladi is situated 15 km north-west of Batticaloa and the Eastern University is now located here. 'Sivathondan' means a devotee of the God Siva and 'Nilayam' means abode. Yogaswamy intended that this institution would be not only an abode for those

who wished to meditate and pray but it would also be a small farm with vegetables, fruit trees, flowering plants, animals, coconut trees and also paddy fields. He sketched out the plans for the buildings and the foundation stone was laid in 1964. James was involved in this project from the very beginning. The first buildings were completed by March 1965 (see **Figure 5**) but meanwhile Yogaswamy had passed away in March 1964 at the age of 92 years. For the consecration of the Nilayam in March 1965, Yogaswamy's sandals were taken in a procession by James from Jaffna to Chenkaladi. James continued to live in Chenkaladi for about thirteen years until May 1977. He was fully involved in all aspects of the running of the institution. He was also seen on many occasions driving a tractor in the paddy fields. It was during this period that James translated the Tamil version of the book of sayings of Yogaswamy into English. His knowledge of the Shastras and Scriptures came in useful in this venture. He titled the book "Songs and Sayings of Yogaswamy".



• **Figure 5.** Sivathondan Nilayam, Chenkaladi (Courtesy Yoga Eswaran).

Sometimes during his period of stay in Chenkaladi he would mysteriously disappear for weeks at a time. It was later found that he had been going deep into the surrounding jungles and living with the Veddas. Inevitably a newspaper would 'scoop' the story of his death and he would return wandering what the fuss was all about.

Thanks to the initial work of James, today Sivathondan Nilayam is a flourishing institution and has lived up to Yogaswamy's expectation that those who stayed here practised good religious conduct, were at mental peace with themselves, meditated in the hall and among the groves and fields, fully in pursuit of self-realisation. Not only that, it was a place of service and the produce of the farm gave food for the needy. In May 1977, James handed over the running of the Chenkaladi Sivathondan Nilayam to a Committee of honorary members and proceeded to Kaithadi in Jaffna where he lived in meditation and prayer with Markanduswamy, another leading disciple of Yogaswamy, who had established a hermitage. After living there for about six years he finally

returned to England in May 1984, after spending nearly thirty years as a mendicant in Ceylon.

James in England

James returned to England in 1984 and established a small comfortable hut in which he lived in the grounds of the family's ancestral property in Winchester. Meanwhile, his father Lord Soulbury had passed away in England in 1971 at the age of 84 years. As the eldest son, James automatically inherited the title of 2nd Viscount Soulbury and was entitled to a seat in the House of Lords. He made his maiden appearance in the House of Lords on 13 December 1984, but there is no record in Hansard of his having made a speech on that occasion, or indeed on any subsequent occasion.

Yoga Eswaran (p. 11) records that in 1985 James wrote a 148 page book titled "A Recapitulation of the Lord's Prayer". The author's name is not given in the book with all due modesty, but the anonymous Publisher is stated to be "J P Ross". The 'J' stands for his sister Joan; the 'P' for his brother Peter; 'R' for the family name of Ramsbotham; 'o' for his brother-in-law O'Grady; 's' for Soulbury (James); and the final 's' for scripsit which means 'written by'.

It is indeed a remarkable book. The 148 pages of the book is devoted entirely to a study of the superficial and underlying meaning of The Lord's Prayer (Matthew VI 4-13). Each of the nine lines of The Lord's Prayer is explained in a different chapter. For example, the line "And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil" is explained in a Chapter which runs to twenty pages of text. The book is littered with quotations from the Bible, showing a profound knowledge of the subject. The book shows "His profound knowledge of the gospels brought to bear on his studies - across denominations and inter-faith barriers - with insight into the mystical writings of Christian, Jewish, Buddhist, Hindu and Sufi traditions".

His brother Peter has said that "Sometimes, I thought, he carried to extremes the virtues of resolution and humility. He could be obstinate to a fault (e.g. refusing to see Doctors), but also deeply humble; reluctant to speak about his beliefs and experiences, and preferring to respond in terms of the written word and the teachings he had received". (Yoga Eswaran p. 12).

In 'The Island' newspaper of 04 June 1995, James wrote an article to commemorate the 123rd birth anniversary of Yogaswamy in which he wrote "The fundamental aim of all religions is the realisation of Truth. This is a matter of direct experience in which neither the mind nor the intellect nor any human faculty is involved. It is a question of being. There is only one reality which is God ... This is the meaning of 'know thyself'. He who knows himself knows everything and is one who has attained liberation while in the human body".

He was not in good health in the last six years of his life due to a series of strokes. He was looked after in the Old Alresford Cottage a Residential Care Home in Winchester, Hampshire. He passed away on 12 December 2004, at the age of 89 years. On 23 December his body

was prepared for the funeral and dressed in a similar manner to the way he was dressed when he was ordained by Yogaswamy, 41 years earlier. He was cremated in Basingstoke and his ashes scattered, according to his wish, on the River Thames on Christmas Day 2004.

Born to nobility, educated in Eton College and Oxford University, he could have chosen any distinguished career he wanted to, like his younger brother Peter who was the British Ambassador in USA. He chose, however, to live a humble and simple life spent in the pursuit of self-realisation.

Fruit Etiquette

It is the invariable custom to place dessert on the table after dinner, and although this consists of every variety of tropical fruit in season, none save recent arrivals, ever venture to eat fresh fruit in the after part of the day; the elder residents occasionally venture upon a little dried ginger, or try an English biscuit, the crispness and flavour of which have not been improved by its travels. We have noticed the flush of delightful anticipation pass over the new-comer's face as he gazed with evident satisfaction upon the cool looking tempting fruits, garnished with gorgeous flowers, that were spread in trim array before him; what delicious-looking pineapples and mangoes, what magnificent bananas and custard apples, what luscious pumelows and guavas, what inviting water melons and green figs. The custard apples are near 'the new man', he takes one on his plate and carefully bisects the mellow melting fruit, preparing to devour the same with great gusto. His neighbour, if charitably disposed and old resident, in which case he is almost certain to possess a yellow skin and diseased liver, may whisper with compassion for such ignorance, "I would advise you not to eat fruit after dinner, as it is very likely to produce cholera" (the plate is pushed away with extreme avidity;) "eat as much as you like at breakfast or tiffin, that won't harm you in the least". The green thanks the yellow man, resolving to indulge his gourmandise and affection for fruit the following morning.

— Henry Charles Sirr, *Ceylon and the Cingalese*, 1850.

Motion pictures and me

I seriously object to seeing on the screen what belongs in the bedroom.

Motion pictures should never embarrass a man when he brings his wife to the theatre.

I make my pictures to please myself.

— Sam Goldwyn



• 1967 Ford Anglia

Remember what it was like?... 'tearing' back to Colombo after a day at the Katakurunda motor races? With the roar of the Dean brothers' Norton Dominators and Raja Sinnathuray's Java still pounding in your ears; still high on the smell of the Richard Peries's Fords burning racing fuel – still in your nostrils. Urging on your friend (driving his father's Ford Anglia) to keep his foot pressed to the floorboard; while other recognisable Colombo drivers went screaming past you in their new Peugeots, Skodas and Simcas.

Tearing back to Colombo after a day at Katukurunda races

Remember what it was like?.. Finding yourself horribly lost at about 3am on a Sunday morning, on a desolate and barely lit backroad on some tea estate, where you were sitting on the pillion of a friend's motorbike (a 350cc. BSA)? Having volunteered to be his navigator at the annual Monsoon Reliability Trials - and having made that slight miscalculation of the route, giving instructions to take a wrong turn?. There was nothing else to do but find some shelter from the cold, in some bus shelter in a tea estate and await the morning – when you could successfully navigate your way back to the check-out point at Galle Face Green in Colombo? Well out of the contention for any placing in the rally. Quite exhilarated by the experience nevertheless.



• *Class M6 Diesel Electric Locomotive built by Henschel of West Germany drawing Romanian carriages of all steel construction got down in the early 1980s.*

and project manager of the 'upcountry railway line of Ceylon' project was D. J. Wimalasurendra, a distinguished Ceylonese engineer and inventor.

The designer of the viaduct was Harold Cuthbert Marwood of Railway Construction Department of Ceylon Government Railway. The 1923 report titled "Construction of a Concrete Railway Viaduct in Ceylon" published by the Engineering Association of Ceylon has details of all the records including the plans and drawings.

With The Bridge in the Sky as its mainstay, Ella has become a great tourist attraction because of its historical caves, giant waterfalls, walking trails and its profusely green and luscious surrounds.

Ella's Nine Arches Bridge

The Nine Arches Bridge, also known as the Bridge In The Sky, is a viaduct bridge located in Ella, in the Sri Lankan hill country. Just when work on the construction of this magnificent masterpiece commenced, World War I between the European Empires also began in July 1914. Bridge building came to a standstill. The steel set aside for the bridge construction was reallocated to strengthen Britain's war-related projects. The locals, using their ingenuity, recommenced construction using materials available to them - stone bricks and cement.

It is one of the best examples of colonial-era railway construction in the country. The construction of the bridge is generally attributed to a local Ceylonese builder, P. K. Appuhami working in consultation with British engineers. The chief designer

APOLOGIES

Our readers will recall the memorable photographs of the CSA's Annual Social & Dinner that graced the pages of February 2020 issue of *The Ceylankan*. MAHAL SELVADURAI was the photographer, well known to members and guests of the Society. Unfortunately, credit for the photography was erroneously given to a Mahes Selvadurai. The Editor sincerely apologises to Mahal for the error and any embarrassment this may have caused.

The American-Ceylon Mission and English education in Jaffna

by D.M. Alfreds



The American Ceylon Mission (ACM) was established in 1816 by missionaries sent by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), established in 1810 to spread Christianity across the world. In the fifty years from 1812, the ABCFM established missions to native Americans in the American South East and West, India (around Bombay), Jaffna, Hawaii, China, Singapore, Burma, Thailand, the Middle East and Africa.

Now, 214 years later, descendants of Tamils converted by these and other missionaries in Jaffna – Jaffna Tamil Christians – are spread across Sri Lanka, India, South East Asia and the West.

The Missionaries

The ACM commenced its missionary activities in Jaffna in 1816 at Vaddukkodai (which they called Batticotta) and Tellippalai. The ACM comprised five missionaries and their wives. Two of these missionaries – Daniel Poor and Benjamin Meigs – were to spend four decades in Jaffna. Daniel Poor, the first principal of Batticotta Seminary, died of cholera in Jaffna in February 1855 and Benjamin Meigs retired from the mission and returned to America in 1857.



• Daniel Poor, first Principal of Batticotta Seminary. Photo from J.V.Chelliah's book (1922).

In 1820, five more missionaries and their wives arrived. New stations were established at Uduvil, Manipay and Pandatharippu. These missionaries included the first medical missionary in the world, Dr John Scudder (died in Madras, January 1855), Levi Spaulding (died in Jaffna in 1873 after five decades living in Jaffna), Miron Winslow (died in Cape Town in 1864, having spent most of his life in Jaffna and Madras) and his first wife Harriet Winslow, the founding principal of Uduvil Girls School (died in Jaffna in 1832).

Mission Education

By 1823, the five mission stations operated by the ACM in Jaffna were providing boarding and education for some 105 boys and 28 girls. Their schooling was mainly in the Tamil medium, with some twenty of the boys studying English. The mission considered

that these boys were ready for higher learning, and determined that this could best be effected by centralising secondary education at one station.

To this end, the ACM opened the Batticotta Central Boys School in July 1823. The central school was intended as 'a college for the literary and religious instruction of Tamul and other youth' to: • 'give native youth of good promise a thorough knowledge of the English language ... (so) that it will open up to them the treasures of European science and literature, and bring fully before the mind the evidences of Christianity'; • cultivate Tamil literature and raise 'a class of native authors, whose minds being enriched by science may be capable not only of embodying European ideas, but of putting them into a handsome native dress ... rendering most important aid to the interests of learning and Christianity'; • give a select few, particularly among those being trained to be preachers, a background in Sanskrit, Hebrew, Latin and Greek; and • 'teach, as far as the circumstances of the country require, the sciences usually studied in the Colleges of the United States'¹

The plan for the College soon ran foul of British colonial authorities. In 1822 acting Governor Edward Barnes refused the mission permission to establish a printing press in Jaffna; ordered the removal of a missionary newly arrived from America; and prohibited further reinforcement from America. Sir Edward insisted that Ceylon was making significant progress in education and the diffusion of Christianity, and did not require foreign aid. Sir Edward's decision was subsequently endorsed by the British Government and the ban was to last until 1832.

Sir Edward's prohibition prevented the expansion of the school to a college and forced it to operate as the Batticotta Seminary until its closure in 1855. Nevertheless, 'the curriculum embrace(d) all the ordinary branches of historical and classical learning, and all the higher departments of mathematical and physical science, combined with the most intimate familiarisation with the great principles and evidences of the Christian religion.'²

Under its founding principal, Daniel Poor, enrolment at the Seminary increased from 42 at commencement in 1823 to about 140 in 1836. Teaching was bilingual, with religious instruction in Tamil. A significant proportion of Seminary students were Christian (e.g. in 1833, 52 were church members; in July 1837, 58 students were church members).

By 1837, the Batticotta and Uduvil boarding

schools, along with some 30 village day (non-boarding) primary schools, had more than 7000 students. These schools enabled missionaries to make close personal connections with the children and their parents and build better understanding of their different cultures.

English was central to education at the two central boarding schools: there were simply insufficient suitable books in Tamil for a secondary school education. In justifying the extension of the course at Batticotta Seminary from four to six years and the teaching of English, the missionary teachers (Poor, Hoisington and Ward) wrote, in July 1835, that 'English seems to be the only medium through which the light of science and religion can ever be made to beam fully upon the Hindoo mind ... The habits of study, the knowledge of language in general, the enlargement and elevation of mind, and the various acquisitions in truth, secured by the study of English books, are but so many important qualifications, in reality, for the profitable study of the Tamul language and systems ... It is a mistaken idea which some seem to entertain, that religion simply, without education, will do every thing for a people.³ Moreover, it was argued, that 'one missionary with ten or twelve well qualified native assistants will effect as much missionary labor, as four or five missionaries without assistants, and at less than half the expense.'⁴

Of 106 graduates of the Seminary in 1837, 57 were employed by the ACM in Jaffna and Madura, 10 in other missions in Jaffna, 22 in government, 7 as tutors in European families and 10 were dead.⁵ The mission acknowledged that the 'hope of ultimately receiving employment from the missionaries or from government is the great incentive to a thirst for education.'⁶

After Dr Poor's period as principal, the Seminary suffered from time to time from severe cutbacks in funding from America (especially in 1837-1838, when there was a severe economic crisis in the US) and from missionary staff with a poor command of Tamil (e.g 1841-1844 and 1849-1855). Enrolment dropped to around 100 in 1844 and remained at around that level for the next decade.

Nevertheless, the Seminary 'attained a commanding influence in the community, as a literary and scientific institution, and is a stepping stone by which many have been able at a cheap rate, to rise to posts of influence and emolument.' The Seminary produced 'a class in the community who have, in a measure, been freed from the bondage of superstition, whose views have been liberalised by science, and who may do much for the improvement of their countrymen.'⁷

The role of education in ABCFM missions was a continuing subject of debate through the nineteenth century. The Board of Commissioners in Boston became increasingly concerned that schools

and medical services were detracting from the mission's evangelical function. The missionaries on the ground in Jaffna, on the other hand, saw schools as integral to their evangelical function: 'an important means of perpetuating Christianity in the land - of fortifying our positions.'⁸

The missionaries had found that preaching alone brought few converts as there were many religious, caste and other social/family constraints on Tamils converting to Christianity. Brahmanical ideology 'is an ethic that does not favour social mobility, but rather, restricts the individual's choice in regard to residence, occupation, marriage and social contacts ... (and encourages one) to submit completely to the dharma of one's pre-ordained role.'⁹ Missionaries complained that 'people are a sort of conglutinated mass. They adhere together from habit and the laws of clan and custom, and never think of breaking loose from each other.'¹⁰

The missionaries looked to education, and boarding schools in particular, to create a socio-cultural environment conducive to conversion. These schools were organised as separate communities, free from what the missionaries called 'heathen influences' and subject to a disciplinary code of conduct, to provide mental and moral training and produce converts.¹¹

Traditionally, Hindus could renounce their home, family, caste and other social constraints to become sannyasins or wandering ascetics in search of moksha (enlightenment or spiritual liberation). There is also a monastic tradition (i.e. communal sannyasins), especially among Buddhists and Jains in South India. In this cultural context, missionaries were increasingly seen by caste Tamils as modern sannyasins; and ACM boarding schools as alternative or parallel societies of renunciators.¹²

The Board's position on education was set out by Secretary Rufus Anderson in a tract in 1838: elementary education in mission schools was seen as the only method of gaining early access to 'heathen' minds; of enabling access to the printed word of God; and of expanding the mission's influence in a community.

However, Anderson opposed secondary education on the scale conducted in Jaffna. He proposed a rule: 'That the system of education, in all its parts, so far as it is supported by the funds of the mission, should have a direct reference to the training of native teachers and preachers.' He also directly challenged the declared view of missionaries on the ground in Jaffna: 'The notion that instruction in the principles of human science must precede the study of theology is derived from the schools of philosophy, and is not countenanced by the word of God.'¹³

There was no suggestion in the Anderson tract that education needed to be in English. This at a time when British colonial authorities were strongly

committed to English education for their colonial subjects. In 1835, Thomas B Macaulay, in a minute for the Supreme Council of India, successfully called for an education policy to develop 'a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect.' ¹⁴

In November 1837, the Colonial Secretary in Colombo wrote recognising that 'in consequence of recent failures in America, your mission is exposed to financial difficulties, which will probably compel you to discontinue, at least for a time, some of the schools which you have established with so much advantage to the public' and provided £200.¹⁵ This was formalised in 1844, when the colonial government committed to long term funding of mission schools in Jaffna: £200 per annum for ACM schools (roughly equivalent in purchasing power to A\$35,000 in 2018 ¹⁶) and £150 per annum (A\$26,000) each for Anglican and Wesleyan mission schools, on the proviso that the missions maintained current annual expenditure (£390 or A\$68,000 for the ACM and around £150 each for the others). In return, the missions undertook to: • continue education in English; • provide quarterly reports on attendance; • run half-yearly examinations; and • permit visits by Government officials. ¹⁷

The character of the Seminary changed with government support for education. Students from wealthy families enrolled for an English education that would fit them for government service in Jaffna, India and beyond. Despite mission and government funding, student fees were increasing. In 1854, annual student fees amounted to about £4 (A\$656) each and brought in about £150 (A\$24,600) per annum.¹⁸ In the process, the Christian objectives of the Seminary suffered as fewer students joined the church. In 1855, of 454 former students of the Seminary then living, only 185 (40%) remained members of ACM churches. More significantly, of 96 students then enrolled at Batticotta Seminary, only 11 were church members. ¹⁹

On the other hand, the majority of former students 'are now filling situations of credit and responsibility throughout the various districts of Ceylon' as teachers, catechists, preachers, school superintendents in mission stations in Ceylon and India. '(A)nd among those who have attached themselves to secular occupations I can bear testimony to the abilities, the qualifications, and the integrity of the many students of Jaffna, who have accepted employment in various offices under the Government of the colony.' ²⁰

Uduvil Girls School, established in 1824, was the first boarding school for girls in Asia. The mission's objective for the school was to 'impart a careful Christian education to a select number of females under circumstances that would exclude them

from heathenish influences and be most hopeful for their moral and intellectual improvement. And it was thought that, by this means, there would be provided more suitable and acceptable companions for the young men educated in the Mission Seminary.' ²¹

Uduvil Girls School had more success in its evangelical purpose than Batticotta Seminary. Of 203 past students of Uduvil Girls' School living in 1855, 163 (80%) were church members. 29 of the children of past students had been or were being educated at the School and a further 15 at Batticotta Seminary.

'There is no part of our missionary work, which we have regarded with more pleasure and hope than this school, and there are no results of our labors here, which seem to us to be telling with more power, at the present moment, upon the evangelisation of the land, than those connected with this department of our mission.' ²² One church member testified that 'these women are the life of religion in their families, and a light in the midst of the heathen' as a result of their habits of prayer, Bible reading and discussion, contemplation and singing spiritual songs. ²³

The decade to 1855 also saw rapid changes to missionary personnel. The older missionaries, Dr Poor, Rev Meigs and Rev Spaulding returned for 2-3 year furloughs to the USA in this period, each after more than 20 years service in Jaffna. Dr Poor, Dr Scudder and Rev Winslow also spent more time evangelising at Madurai, Madras, Arcot and surrounding areas in South India. The younger missionaries who arrived in this period were not proficient in Tamil language and culture, with the notable exception of Dr Samuel Green. In America, patrons of the Board expressed disappointment in the fact that church membership in Jaffna was stagnating and fell in some years.

Medical Service and Education

From the early 1820s, Dr Scudder trained young men (mostly students and graduates of Batticotta Seminary) to assist him in providing medical services at each of the ACM stations. This practice continued under his successor, Dr Ward who arrived in Jaffna in 1833.

The third ACM doctor, Dr Samuel Fisk Green, greatly expanded the medical training of Tamils. Green arrived in Jaffna in 1847 'first, to be physician to the missionaries and then to be of use to the heathen round about.' ²⁴ He quickly became a strong advocate and practitioner in the use of the vernacular in his medical and evangelical work. Green was also more accepting of Hinduism than most missionaries: 'Sivaism, in its more refined parts, is a system of morality ... The heathen never 'found out God' but have attempted to satisfy, by gifts and tortures, Him who owns themselves and all their acquisitions, and whose demand is the obedience of the entire life, inward and outward.' ²⁵

By 1850, he had begun laying what he called 'the foundation, the beginning of medical literature in Tamil ... (via) small pamphlets on the more important

branches of medical science ... and distributing them gratuitously among the people.'²⁶ He did this by having his students and assistants, all bilingual graduates of Batticotta Seminary, draft the pamphlets then working with them to correct and improve them. He also called on senior students to run the dispensary and doctors, trained by his predecessors and himself, to take some of the teaching load. The increasing participation of Tamils in medical services caused Green to undertake the definition of medical terms accurately in Tamil.



• *The old mission house in Vaddokkodai, part of Jaffna College today.*

From January 1852, he received an annual grant of £50 from the colonial government for his translation and medical training work. This enabled him to hire a munshi to lead the translation work and hence more ambitious translations of medical text books. The first such book, an American text, Dr Calvin Cutter's *Anatomy, Physiology and Hygiene*, was published in Tamil in 1852. It and the medical pamphlets (e.g. on the eye, ear, hand, foot and other organs) were very popular, including among practitioners of traditional medicine in Jaffna and India. Hundreds were sold, so that much of Dr Green's work was increasingly funded by government grants, charges for medical services, sales of publications and philanthropy, rather than mission funds.

Board Deputation

In 1854, the ABCFM in Boston commissioned Board Secretary, the Rev Rufus Anderson, DD and Rev Augustus Thompson to visit its missions in India and Western Asia 'with full power and authority to give such directions to the several missions, which shall be visited by them, as they shall judge that the best interests of the missions demand.' A leading object was to ascertain 'to what extent in India (and Ceylon) the missions of the Board are prepared to rely on the oral preaching of the gospel, and to dispense with the pioneering and preparatory influence of schools, and especially of schools in which the use of the English language is a prominent and characteristic feature.'²⁷ The delegation visited 37 ABCFM mission stations, 28 in India and Ceylon (in Maharashtra around Bombay,

Madurai, Madras, Arcot and Jaffna) and 9 in Syria and Turkey. It arrived in Jaffna in February 1855, days after Dr Poor's death from cholera.

The delegation reported that the general consensus of its discussions with missionaries in India, Ceylon, Syria and Turkey was that their 'one great object' was 'promoting the preaching of the Gospel with a view to the conversion of the existing generation of heathens, the gathering of the converts into churches, and the ordaining of native pastors over the churches'. So far as rural areas (including Jaffna and Maharashtra) were concerned, the Report deplored the tendency to centralise schools, printing presses and churches around missionaries. The Report considered that such centralisation promoted an over-dependence on schools and missionaries, and impeded the establishment of self-governing, self-sustaining, and self-propagating churches.

Dr Anderson wrote that 'Schools, regarded as *converting* instrumentalities, have almost wholly disappointed us; regarded as *preparatory* means, they have not answered expectation; and as *auxiliaries*, they have been expensive ... The school is not a good nucleus (for a permanent and valuable congregation) ... Such a congregation ... is the result of a gradual process, and much preaching ... until there is a sufficient number of converted persons, through God's grace, to be formed into a church. The church is in fact the only effective nucleus; nor will its greatest attractive power be attained till it has its pastor and deacons'²⁸

The Board Delegation met with missionaries and Tamil Christians in Jaffna in April 1855. Following the practice the delegation had adopted in Western Asia and India, missionaries were divided into a number of committees which, over twenty days, examined a number of proposals put by Dr Anderson in relation to: mission objectives; preaching; the role of village churches and pastors; education; the printing establishment; mission administration etc.

Following these consultations, the ACM resolved: '1. To disencumber our work, as much as possible, from all appliances which may act as a hindrance or diversion from the direct making known of the gospel to the heathen, in simple reliance upon divine power to make it effectual for their salvation; and, 2. To aim at the establishment of the institutions of Christianity in the villages upon a natural and independent basis.'²⁹ (i.e. with Tamil pastors funded initially by the mission but gradually funded by the village.)

They concluded that the Seminary had raised a class of men who, while well-educated were 'not in the best manner fitted by their course of training for the kind of humble and persevering labor, which is most needed in making known the gospel, and giving it a footing permanently, in the villages, on a self-sustaining basis.' The Committee resolved to better

The Committee resolved to better 'prepare a class of young men to be Christian teachers, catechists, and pastors, in every village in the land, to which they can gain access – such men as can live on humble means, and will be earnest in their efforts to save souls.' Accordingly, it recommended that the Seminary should: • no longer teach English; • reduce the number of students to 25; • reduce the course from 8 to 4 years; and • reduce the staff to 1 missionary and 2 local teachers.³⁰

The Report of the delegation was remarkably silent on Dr Green's medical work, presumably because by 1855 most of his work was funded, not from mission funds, but from Government grants; from sales of Tamil medical texts and pamphlets; from charges for medical services provided by Green and his students; and from philanthropy.

After the Deputation

The years after the Deputation's visit in 1855 were difficult years for the ACM. In 1855, there were 9 missionaries. In 1857, there were only 3 missionaries, 4 having gone to America and 1 transferred to Madura. Dr Poor had died suddenly of cholera on the eve of the Deputation's arrival in Jaffna. The mission suffered from depression and overwork.

The ACM decided to suspend Batticotta Seminary in September 1855. 'It seemed probable that it would be easier to commence again on the plan which we had adopted (to give instruction principally in the vernacular) after a suspension of some length, than attempt the modification in the midst of other changes it seemed necessary to make.'³¹

Further, the principal, Rev E Hastings, felt he was insufficiently proficient in Tamil to head a Tamil medium seminary. He moved to Chavakachcheri, where there were fewer English speakers, to improve his Tamil.

A small theological training school, operating entirely in the vernacular, replaced the Seminary to 'supply Christian workers not too highly educated to be useful among the humblest but rooted and grounded in Biblical truth and fitted to impart it.'³² Root suggests the standard of education was much below the Seminary's because there were never sufficient Tamil translations of English books (despite the ACM having translated several books from English to Tamil and vice versa).

English was eliminated from the course of study at Uduvil and the number of students reduced

to 25, 'the number estimated as 'needed for wives of the Christian helpers of the mission.'³³ Instruction in English was also abandoned in all smaller ACM village schools in Jaffna.

As they were no longer teaching English, the mission declined the Government's annual £200 grant-in-aid and the number of schools reduced substantially. A maximum wage was set for Tamil mission workers at a level lower than the highest then being paid.

Misgivings about the changes to education in Jaffna soon emerged among the ACM missionaries and the Jaffna Tamil community. Some of these misgiving were expressed in missionary letters home, especially by the older missionaries, Spaulding and Meigs. These missionaries, 'more than others, could not see a distinction between evangelisation and the spread of enlightenment.'³⁴ The root of these concerns was the fact that English was the official language in colonial Ceylon (and surrounding countries) and therefore 'the language of all proper ambition on the part of Tamil youth'³⁵

It became apparent 'that the changes had been too drastic and many plans were modified while some were reversed altogether' over many years.³⁶ 'The judgement of the Deputation was wrong ... The advantage of the broader policy for really influencing India and sowing Christian truth wide over the land is now all but unquestioned. To it ... the Board was at length compelled to return.'³⁷

Dr Green strongly supported the decision to teach in the vernacular alone. He had found that many medical students and assistants, trained by the mission, had left for more lucrative Government positions in Jaffna, Colombo and elsewhere. *He began teaching entirely in Tamil and published A Dictionary of Tamil Medical Science and Medical Synonyms, English and Tamil. The Dublin Practice of Midwifery was published in Tamil in 1856. He also helped his students and assistants set up their own practices in Jaffna so 'step by step I hope to get true scientific medicine really planted in the land which being done I have no fear as to the result.'*³⁸

The Tamil Response

The suspension of the Seminary was 'the cause of much regret among the natives, particularly among the native Christians, whose children were just beginning to reap the benefits'.³⁹

When the Seminary closed in 1855-1856, parents and students approached a missionary then stationed in Batticotta, Rev W Howland, for a private tutor to continue bilingual education. Howland's assistant, JP Cooke, was asked to teach the students.

Cooke was a Tamil convert. Many Tamil converts had Western/Christian names because the ACM had a program whereby American church members who donated funds to cover the board and education of a Tamil child would have their



• EP Hastings
(Courtesy Wikipedia).

names given to one of these children. Many were known among Tamils by their Tamil names but by their Christian names in mission records: Cooke, Breckinridge, Nevins, Lyman etc. The practice continued as converts often named their children after missionary teachers, pastors and doctors.

Cooke was quickly swamped with students. To meet the demand for secondary education in English, a former teacher at the Seminary, Robert Breckinridge, agreed to open a private high school. When it opened in March 1856, it had 50 students and was funded entirely by student fees. The school grew quickly and Breckinridge obtained permission to use the mission house at Vaddukkodai for the school and part of the Seminary buildings for boarding students. He also soon recruited William Nevins, Daniel Niles, J Lyman and T Tampoe as teachers.



• *J.P. Cooke played a vital role in the continuation of English education in Jaffna.*

In January 1858, the ACM decided it was not yet prepared to re-open the Seminary and noted with pleasure the success of Breckinridge's bilingual high school, which now had 132 students. The mission reported that Breckinridge was a church member 'of good standing'.⁴⁰ The School's constitution was soon amended to provide that 'its object shall be to impart to native youth useful knowledge, upon a Protestant Christian basis; that the course of instruction shall be Biblical, scientific and literary, both in English and Tamil; and that a body of men, not less than four in number, including the Principal – all Protestant Christians – shall form a Board of Trustees.'⁴¹

Rev Spaulding was appointed a Trustee. Many students were the children of Christian parents and/or children of the wealthy and influential. Fees were paid quarterly in advance. Government grants-in-aid (but not mission funds) were resumed, but at half the rate previously provided to the Seminary: £100 per annum.

By April 1866, there were 150 pupils at Breckinridge's bilingual school. When Breckinridge left the school to become Government sub-inspector of schools in 1870, JP Cooke took over as headmaster and remained headmaster until the school merged with Jaffna College in 1915.

The ACM Tamil medium Theological Training School was established in the Seminary buildings under a missionary principal Rev M D Sanders in 1859. It was funded entirely with mission funds and most of its graduates became teachers in vernacular schools. Benjamin Rice, J R Arnold and JP Cooke were employed as teachers at this school, Cooke being a teacher at both the private school and

the Theological Training School.

In time, as mission resources were cut back in the late 1850s and early 1860s and Rev Sanders was forced to devote his energies elsewhere, the Theological Training School was taught by B Rice and JP Cooke. In April 1861, following further funding reductions in the midst of the American Civil War, Sanders wrote sadly 'when orders come requiring our guns to be spiked and our posts to be abandoned, much time must be consumed in consultation and prayer.'⁴²

The demands on Rice and Cooke must have been huge. As indicated previously, there were not many texts in Tamil, so texts had to be translated from English 'some as we go along – the teacher in advance of the class, and the pupils copying out each lesson before learning it'.⁴³ Pupils often dropped out of the theological school if an opportunity emerged to study English in the growing Christian and Hindu schools in Jaffna.

'The effort to establish native churches under pastors of their own went on slowly, as all things do in Jaffna, but with marked success.'⁴⁴

The first two Tamil pastors were ordained in 1855, CM Cornelius (Karadive 1855-1861) and TP Hunt (Chavakachcheri 1855-1872, Jaffna College 1872-1880, Chavakachcheri 1880-1903). Other early

Tamil pastors were Francis Asbury (Navaly 1860-1898), David Stickney (Valani 1858-1864, Udupidi 1864-1901, Alaveddy 1901-1905), Benjamin



• *Tamil Pastors in 1898. Courtesy the author.*

Rice (Vaddukodai 1867-1905), Augustus Anketell (Tellippalai 1870-1877), Moses Welch (Alaveddy 1870-1885), Abner Bryant (Sangani 1872-1898), John Christmas (Chavakachcheri 1873-1880, Tellippalai 1880-1904) and H Hoisington (Uduvil 1875-1891, N Erilai 1895-1901).⁴⁵

In December 1867, the ABCFM in Boston decided to focus its activities on China and simply maintain its position in India which, they said, should be left mainly for English Christians. The Church in Jaffna had to become more self-reliant.

In 1868, 2 pastors were fully funded and 3 part-funded by their congregations; in 1878, 8 were fully funded locally; in 1882, 12 of 15 pastors were fully funded locally; in 1900 only 2 of 18 churches received any American support and some of the larger congregations were contributing to the smaller congregations.⁴⁶

Medical training/services

By the time of Dr Green's departure in 1857 for America on leave, he had trained 4 cohorts of 20 young men in medicine and surgery. 12 had graduated and were practicing medicine in Jaffna and beyond. 8 had commenced training under him and would continue under Tamils trained by him.

While in America, Dr Green collected medicines, books, apparatus, wood cuts of medical diagrams and the like to continue creating medical works in the Tamil language. His health improved, following treatment for his longstanding respiratory illness and he got married.

On his return to Jaffna with Mrs Green in 1862, he was asked by the Jaffna Friend in Need Society (FINS) to run its hospital in Jaffna town. Following consultation with the mission, Dr Green accepted the position on a part time basis and brought in substantial funds in fees and expenses from the colonial government. As the hospital served 8,000 – 10,000 patients annually, the appointment also enabled him to both expose his students and assistants to wider practical training and to employment opportunities.

The increasing financial independence of Dr Green's medical services enabled further medical texts in Tamil, prepared in collaboration with his students and assistants: Maunsell's Obstetrics, Druitt's Surgery, Gray's Anatomy, Well's Chemistry and Dalton's Physiology. These texts were not literal translations: 'Mere translations are comparatively useless. It is better to devise one's own plan, ... which may prove to be a compilation, translation and original work combined ... so as to adapt the book to the language of the people, avoiding a literal rendering and making it free and simple.' ⁴⁷

Jaffna College – beginnings

In November 1867, Tamil Christians from ten churches in Jaffna met at Vaddukkodai. The meeting was chaired by JW Barr, a graduate of the Seminary. Two ACM missionaries, Reverends Spaulding and Howland, attended. Most of the attendees were Seminary graduates. The meeting resolved:

- 'that there should be in the Province an educational institution of a high order to be called the Jaffna College, and that it should be conducted upon the principles of Protestant Christianity under the management of Christian instructors and trustees';
- to raise Rs50,000, the interest of which would pay the salaries of four teachers and to ask the ACM to provide and fund a Principal;

- to appoint NG Gould, R Breckinridge, JP Cooke and TP Hunt to solicit for funding and to work with the ACM for the establishment of the College; and
- that a Board of Trustees for the College would comprise the missionaries of the ACM and an equal number of Tamils. ⁴⁸

Jaffna College commenced in July 1872 under Principal Rev E Hastings (the last principal of Batticotta Seminary, who had returned from furlough in the US earlier that year). Twenty students enrolled, paying Rs10 entrance and Rs10 each term. Books, stationary and board would be at the student's expense. The course was to last four years, increasing to five in 1881.

The first Board of the College included government representatives (the government agent and a district judge), a planter, a merchant (both English), four missionaries led by Spaulding, and seven Tamils: B Rice, TP Hunt, CW Catheravelupillay, R Breckinridge, A Lyman, JR Arnold and JP Cooke.

Funding

The College's financial situation was often a problem. Unfortunately, the local endowment fund never raised nearly sufficient funds. In 1875 it remained only Rs10,715, sufficient to support only one teacher and far short of its target of Rs 50,000. As late as 1922, the local endowment fund was still only half its target. ⁴⁹

Scholarship funds were established to help poorer students, the first two being the Green and Breckinridge Scholarship Funds. In 1876, 21 students were receiving part or full fee support from these funds.

Fund raising in America was more successful, drawing in \$18,750 (Rs 37,500 ⁵⁰). This success was partly because Reverends Hastings and Sanders were home on furlough in 1868-9 and made direct appeals in churches throughout New England. While insisting that the ABCFM have no fiscal responsibility for the College, Dr Anderson strongly supported fundraising among American churches because he believed the College was an initiative that would assist the establishment of self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating churches in Jaffna.

The Jaffna College Trust Fund was established in Massachusetts in 1877 to obtain, hold and manage funds raised in the US. Some time after Dr Anderson's death in 1880, the American Board contributed a further \$10,000 (Rs 20,000) to the Trust Fund and agreed to provide separately for the support of the principal. ⁵¹

In 1904, Rev JL Barton, Secretary of the ABCFM in Boston visited Jaffna with a delegation and promised Rs 50,000 for buildings and equipment if Rs10,000 could be raised locally. Two years later only Rs 2,700 had been raised locally. TP Hudson was sent to Malaya and Singapore to raise funds from the growing Jaffna Tamil community there. Together with collections in Ceylon, Rs 11,826 was raised,



PRINCIPALS OF JAFFNA COLLEGE	
Rev. Dr. Daniel Poor	- 1823 - 1836
Rev. Dr. H.R. Holington	- 1836 - 1849
Rev. Dr. E.P. Hastings	- 1849 - 1872
Rev. Dr. S.W. Howland	- 1872 - 1897
Rev. W.E. Hitchcock	- 1897 - 1904
Rev. R.C. Hastings	- 1904 - 1908
Rev. G.G. Brown	- 1908 - 1915
Rev. John. Bicknell	- 1915 - 1936
Rev. Sydney K. Bunker	- 1936 - 1947
Mr. K.A. Sellah	- 1947 - 1966
Mr. S.V. Balasingam	- 1966 - 1968
Mr. A.R. Kadigamar	- 1968 - 1988
Rev. Dr. S. Jebanesan	- 1988 - 1993
Mr. G. Rajanayagam	- 1993 - 2000
Rev. Anthony A. Paul	- 2000 - 2003
Mr. Noel A. Vimalendran, J.P.	- 2003 -

exceeding the target. The American Board then provided Rs 60,000.

The new funds were used to repair Ottley Hall and expand the library. Further donations and increased earnings from the American Fund was used to fund three American teachers. The College was expanded in 1909 to take in non-boarders and again in 1915 when the Batticotta English School, founded by Cooke and Breckinridge in 1856, was amalgamated with the College, bringing the total number of students to 273.⁵²

Teachers

The college started with the principal Rev Hastings and two teachers, TP Hunt and R Asbury. As the number of students grew, more teachers were employed: Samuel Hensman (1873, until his death in 1903), and Edward Kingsbury (1876, until his retirement in 1901). The principal of Jaffna College remained ACM missionaries until 1947.

Two of the earliest graduates of the College, SG Lee and JP Cooke's son, Chelliah, joined the staff in July 1879. Edward Kingsbury's son, J Kingsbury Sinnatamby taught from 1895 to 1908 (when he resigned to become pastor at Pandatharippu and, later, Chavakachcheri). S M Thevathasan was appointed teacher in 1908, after obtaining a BA from Madras University the year before. Other early teachers include TP Hudson, LS Ponniah, GD Thomas and SR Rasaratnam.

Medical

It was in Dr Green's medical sphere that Tamils were perhaps most successful in becoming self-sufficient. Two Tamils trained and recommended by Dr Green, established and operated a dispensary at the FINS hospital. Tamils who helped Green translate medical texts were given full credit for their work: Danforth for translating Druitt's Surgery and Evarts for The Physician's Vade Mecum. Green was so impressed with Danforth's work that he obtained an honorary doctorate for him from the American College of Physicians and Surgeons and, on Green's resignation from FINS hospital in 1868, Danforth was appointed his successor. The FINS hospital, manned by Green's graduates, had more patients than all other hospitals in Ceylon. By his departure in 1873, 63 young men (c.f. 8 in 1847) were trained in medicine during his two terms, 33 in the vernacular.

Green's influence on Ceylon continued after

his return to the United States through his chosen successors, Dr Danforth at FINS and Dr Chapman Vaithilingam at Manipay. Many of the physicians he had trained in Jaffna were working as independent medical practitioners or Government doctors in villages around Ceylon and India.

In a collaboration that was to last a decade, Vaithilingam sent translations of texts such as Dalton's Physiology, the Pharmacopia of India and Taylor's Medical Jurisprudence to Green, which he then amended/revised and returned to Vaithilingam for publication in Ceylon or India. A number of medical pamphlets, such as Hints for Cholera Times, were also produced in this way. Green also prepared several religious tracts in Tamil.

Medical services operated by Dr Green's students and successors continued so effectively in Jaffna that the colonial government continued their funding of this work, although at a reduced rate, for decades after Green's departure.

Evangelical

During Jaffna College's first 17 years, there were 350 students, 87 graduates plus 11 others who completed their course without graduating. 164 were Christian when admitted, 105 became Christian while at the college and only 81 remained non-Christian. Almost all ordained pastors in the ACM in 1922 were graduates of the college.

What is the ACM's legacy?

In Jaffna, the schools and churches seem to be a long way from being self-governing, self-sustaining and self-propagating. Indeed, they are financially more dependent on the Trust Fund now than they were in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries.

Since the establishment of the Jaffna College Trust Fund in Massachusetts in 1877, it has grown substantially with American economic growth. In 2018, the Trust Fund reported revenues just under US\$2 million and assets of US\$31 million.⁵³ The value of these funds in Jaffna is massive, given the relative economic decline in Ceylon/Sri Lanka reflected in exchange rates.

With the growth of the Trust Fund, Jaffna College became entirely dependent on the Trust Fund and the Trust Fund was used to fund other Christian educational institutions in Ceylon and India (e.g. Uduvil Girls School and a theological college in Bangalore). In 1964, the Trustees formalised this practice by amending the purpose of the Trust to 'obtaining, holding and managing funds for support of Jaffna College, an educational institution located at Vaddukoddai, Jaffna District, Island of Ceylon and for supporting other Christian educational institutions in Ceylon and India for training Christian workers in Ceylon and India.' (underlined words added in 1964).

The Fund is currently subject to a bitter dispute between the church in Jaffna and the Trustees in Boston. Perhaps the larger legacy of the ACM may lie outside Jaffna: in the Jaffna Tamil Christians – often



• The son of J.P. Cooke, Chelliah H. Cooke graduated from and became a teacher at Jaffna College.

well-educated professionals fluent in the English language— in a range of countries including India, Singapore, Malaysia and, more recently, in the UK, USA, Canada, New Zealand and Australia.

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- 13 Quoted in Anderson and Thompson (1856), footnote, p11
- 14 www.columbia.edu/itc/mealc/pritchett/00generallinks/macaulay/txt_minute_education_1835.html
- 15 Originally offered in November 1837. See The Missionary Herald (1838) Vol XXXIV, p284
- 16 Conversions based on measuringworth.com
- 17 The Missionary Herald (1835) Volume XLI, p24
- 18 Anderson and Thompson (1856), p79 This suggests that most of the 100 students were on part or full scholarships provided by the ACM, alumni and current and former missionaries.
- 19 Anderson and Thompson (1856), p80
- 20 Tennent (1850), p154
- 21 quoted in Anderson and Thompson (1856), p72
- 22 Anderson and Thompson (1856), p74. Ten years later, the numbers increased significantly. Helen Root said that in the first 40 years of Uduvil Girls School, 344 girls graduated, 'nearly all of whom' had married Christians and 550 of their children had been 'baptised and (were) under Christian care' (Root, 1916), p35
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Biographical note:

New member of the CSA, Des Alfreds is a retired public servant who lived his first 20 years in Singapore and the last 51 years in Australia. Over the past decade, he spent many hours in the National Library of Australia poring over many volumes of The Missionary Herald and whatever else he could find on the American Ceylon Mission. He visited Sri Lanka once, in 2012.

On his maternal side, Des is a great great grandson of one of the first batch of students at the Batticotta Seminary (1823) and great grandson of a teacher at that seminary (1875-1901). On his paternal side, he is a great grandson of one of the seventh batch of Dr Green's students (1867-70).

Not a likeable piece, no sir. Not at all

Harry Peebles was a Way and Works Inspector who was told before coming to Ceylon, that the sun never set on the British Empire. Ergo, as one of the red-nosed sons of the Empire, he was part of this grand celestial design. He was told in Horsham, Sussex, where he hailed from, that it was his duty to uphold the glory of the Empire. "Going to Ceylon? Land of Lipton, me boy. Show these savages what a Britisher is made of. Brook no nonsense. Dignity and poise. Horsewhip the first black heathen who raises his eye to you," his father had advised.

Peebles admired 'the pater' as he called him. And he was pleased to find that the savages were suitably humble and seemed to ooze when they spoke. Peculiar lot, always saying 'sah' for sir, but he enjoyed playing the Great White Spirit. As Coggins observed, it went to his head.

As long as he lorded it in his little Maradana office, he was tolerably obstreperous. "A whippersnapper, sir," said Transportation Superintendent Orville Gray. "Big for his boots. Struts, yes, Not a likeable piece of goods. Not at all"

The history and development of Medical Education in Sri Lanka

RAJA C. BANDARANAYAKE

It is befitting that this address is presented today, as the Colombo Medical College, the second oldest existing medical school in South Asia, celebrates its 150th Anniversary this year. I will deal with the following topics in this presentation: 1. Allopathic medical education; 2. Traditional medical education; 3. Acupuncture; 4. Future of medical education in Sri Lanka.

At the outset, I would like to define some terms I will use. The word medical in 'medical education' can be interpreted in different ways. 'Medicine' derived from the Latin word 'medicus' meaning 'physician', is defined as the science and practice of diagnosis, prognosis, treatment and prevention of disease, and is often narrowly confined to the practices adopted by allopathic or Western medicine. However, in this talk, the term medical is used to include other forms of medicine, known as alternative medicine.

The word medical is sometimes used to include all health professionals, such as nurses, physiotherapists etc. This talk, however, is confined to the education of the physician.

The term Medical education is also a source of confusion. With the rapid advance of the science and art of training, teachers in the health professions, a separate discipline of 'Medical Education' is now recognised world-wide. There are now many institutions spread across the globe which are offering postgraduate courses in this discipline. However, the term 'medical education' in this talk refers to the education of students, rather than teachers, at undergraduate, postgraduate and continuing education levels.

Allopathic medical education

Hippocrates (460-379 BC), the ancient Greek physician, who taught under the ancient plane tree on the island of Cos in the Aegean Sea, is known as the Father of Modern Medicine (**Figure 1**). Many of his teachings embodied in the ancient manuscripts of the Corpus Hippocraticum, include the Hippocratic Oath, which is the basis of the Code of Conduct to be followed by all physicians even today. Allopathic Medicine, and education for it, grew from those simple beginnings.



It is important to point out that the British system of medical education, which consisted of the sciences basic to Medicine followed by the practical application of those sciences in the hospital and community context, resulted in the graduation of a basic doctor with an undergraduate degree, the MBBS. The countries of the British Commonwealth, including Sri Lanka, naturally followed that system, as in many of those countries it was the British who set up the system of medical education. The duration of the medical school curriculum ranged from five to six years. This was followed by a period, usually one year, of internship in one of four main clinical disciplines before postgraduate study could be undertaken. Although certification was given at the end of university training, licensure to practice was given by the Medical Council only after completion of the internship.

The American system, however, required a basic degree in subjects other than those of medicine for entry into medical school. Thus the medical school was a graduate, rather than an undergraduate, school. This graduate school curriculum included two years of basic medical sciences and two years of clinical sciences. The degree which resulted was the MD, a graduate degree. As medical knowledge grew exponentially, particularly in the 20th Century, many US schools created opportunities for the graduate student to specialise in one of the branches of medicine while still in medical school. The product of these schools was a half-baked specialist who had to complete a period of residency training and examination to obtain full specialist status.

The Colombo Medical School, though the oldest existing medical school in Sri Lanka, was not the first medical school to be established, as quite rightly pointed out by Thiru Arumugam.¹ The first was established in 1847 by Dr. Samuel Green, an American missionary in Manipal, with seven students. The Colombo school was opened in 1870 by Governor Robinson and it was first situated within the General Hospital, Colombo. Its first Principal was James Loos, who was succeeded by E L Koch, in whose honour the Koch Memorial Clock Tower was built in 1881.

At first there were only three teachers and 25 students, who were all male students. The course was of three years' duration, and was extended to four years in 1873. The School was raised to the level of a College in 1880 and the course extended to five years. In 1887 it awarded its first diploma, Licentiate of Medicine & Surgery, with General Medical Council

(UK) recognition.

The first two female medical students were admitted in 1892. This was indeed creditable for Ceylon as, even in the UK there had been a reluctance to admit women into the profession of Medicine. Dr. James Barry, who treated Maha Nilame Ehelapola on his death bed in Mauritius, was probably a woman named Margaret Bulkley masquerading as a man to enter the University of Edinburgh and graduate as a doctor in 1812.² In the UK, even as late as the 1870s women studying Medicine were frowned upon by such institutions as the Royal College of Surgeons. By the middle of the 20th Century, the proportion of women entering medical school in Sri Lanka had reached 20%, and by the turn of the century it was almost 40%,³ 47% in 2008, and 60% in 2015 in the Peradeniya Medical School.

An inevitable consequence of the explosion of knowledge and skills in Medicine was the increase in the number of departments in the medical school. In the Colombo Medical School, there were only six departments at first (Anatomy, Physiology, Pathology, Medicine, Surgery and Obstetrics & Gynaecology). Public Health was added in 1949 and Forensic Medicine in 1951. Physiology split into Physiology, Biochemistry and Pharmacology, Pathology into Pathology, Microbiology and Parasitology, and Medicine into Medicine, Paediatrics and Psychiatry. A department of Medical Education & Humanities was the last department to be added in 2016, bringing the total to 15.

As expected, the increasing volume of knowledge and skills created a major problem for undergraduate medical students the world over. The growth of the specialities and sub-specialities resulted in each being taught as a discipline in its own right, with scant respect for the purpose for which it was being taught to the medical student. The cry for relevance began to be heard in the corridors of medical education. The roots of the integrated medical curriculum, beginning with the changes effected at Case Western Reserve Medical School in Cleveland, Ohio, may be traced to these problems faced by the student⁵. Here, courses were not taught by individual departments, but by interdisciplinary committees, based on the organ systems of the body. This concept was further enhanced by the pioneering changes at McMaster University School of Medicine in Hamilton, Canada in 1968. In this curriculum teaching took place by requiring students in small groups to solve health-related problems, guided by a tutor, in order to derive the knowledge required for practice as a generalist.

These changes in medical education were slow to be copied by schools in different parts of the world. However, by the turn of the last century, there was a sudden increase in the number of schools adopting an integrated curriculum, with or without

problem-based learning. In Australia, for instance, three medical schools (University of Sydney, University of Queensland and Flinders University), not only became graduate schools but also used the strategy of problem-based learning, which had been first introduced, in this country, in the Medical School, University of Newcastle.

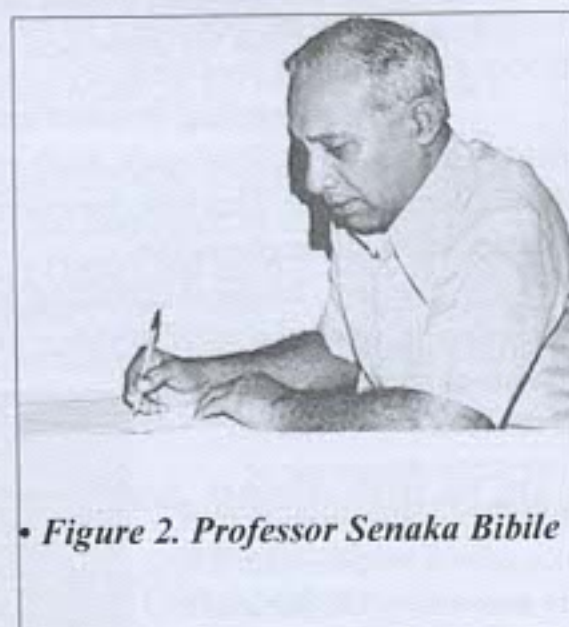
In the Colombo Medical School, the medical curriculum changed in 1995 into an integrated curriculum with the judicious use of problems. The curriculum was arranged in four streams: basic sciences, clinical sciences, behavioural sciences and community medicine.

The next medical school to be established in the country was the Peradeniya Medical School in 1962 started as a branch of the Colombo Medical School with three sub-departments – Anatomy, Physiology & Biochemistry. Two or three faculty members from the existing departments in Colombo were assigned to the respective departments at Peradeniya. The three sub-heads of these departments came under the purview of the Head of the corresponding department in Colombo. I was one of the two staff members from Colombo who went to the Anatomy Sub-department.

The decision by the Government to establish this school was quite sudden. Four “semi-permanent” buildings were erected to house the new school. The intention

was to construct more buildings as the students progressed in the curriculum. The staff assigned to Peradeniya were relatively young, and there was a good relationship between staff and students. Major plans were afoot for the construction of a teaching hospital on the site of the former golf links. A team of architects from Texas A & M came to Peradeniya and made an elaborate, futuristic plan, but the hospital did not come to fruition for many years. The Kandy General Hospital continued to be used as the teaching hospital for Peradeniya, until the current hospital was built several decades later.

Under the leadership of Professor Senaka Bibile (**Figure 2**), who was the first Dean after the school became independent from Colombo, many developments took place, not the least of which was the emphasis on the discipline of Medical Education. This resulted in the school becoming the WHO Regional Centre for Teacher Training in the Health



• **Figure 2. Professor Senaka Bibile**

Professions for the Western Pacific Region, thereby gaining an international reputation in this field. In fact, long before the Colombo Medical School changed its curriculum to an integrated one, the Peradeniya School initiated an experiment in integration in the basic science part of the curriculum under my leadership. It also developed the Hindagala Project under Professor Malcolm Fernando, where a rural community was adopted by the school for the rural development of health care and as a training site for medical students in rural health care. Unfortunately, the pre-eminent international position Peradeniya Medical School held in the field of Medical Education gradually waned, partly because many staff trained in the discipline left the country.

Two medical schools to be next opened were in Jaffna and in Ruhuna in 1978. Amarasena,⁶ who gave the CWW Kannangara Oration in 2017, made an interesting analysis of the stimuli which led to the opening of the more recent medical schools. According to him, the former came about as a consequence of the abolition of the practice of standardisation by district of GCE (A level) scores for admission to state universities, resulting in a preponderance of medical entrants in the Tamil medium.

Ruhuna University College had no power to grant degrees. Different courses were affiliated to either Colombo or Peradeniya University, and the medical course was affiliated to Colombo University, while students were divided into two batches and assigned to Colombo or Peradeniya for the first two years. They were to return to Ruhuna for the third year onwards. However, probably due to the lack of adequate clinical facilities for teaching, the staff agitated for the school to be moved to Galle, where the Mahamodara Hospital could be used. A decision had been made to shift the hospital to Karapitiya and the school itself was later moved to Karapitiya in 1984.

The next two medical schools to be established were in Kelaniya and in Sri Jayawardenapura in 1990. The opening of the Kelaniya Medical School was brought about by an entirely different set of circumstances, a reaction to the protests raised by some section of the public and students to the creation of a private medical school, the North Colombo Medical School (NCMC). As a result of the protests, the Government decided to nationalise the school and affiliate it to the University of Kelaniya. Many students were left in limbo and were at a loss as to how to continue their education. Those who could afford gained entry to schools in other countries, including Australia. The Faculty of Medical Sciences, Sri Jayawardenapura came about in an attempt to expand opportunities for degree courses in the allied health sciences.⁶

The Rajarata University Faculty of Medicine and the Eastern Faculty of Health Sciences were

opened in 2005 because of a computer error in the Department of Examinations resulting in a skewed selection from some districts.⁶ The issue was brought up in Parliament and the error rectified, resulting in many students previously selected losing their opportunity to enter medical school. As there were inadequate places for increased admission to existing schools, the Government decided to open these two new schools.

Private Medical Education

I would now like to refer to an issue of topical interest in Sri Lanka, that of private medical education. Over the past few decades there has been a significant increase in the number of private medical schools globally. If one studied the history of private medical education, one lesson to be learnt is that no medical school worth its salt can survive and live up to the standards of an institution for the training of doctors unless it has both strong basic science and clinical departments, with the latter working either in collaboration or as part of a teaching hospital. Sri Lanka experienced this once before with the NCMC, Ragama.

I was invited by the Forum for Sri Lankan Medical Educationists, in 2012, to give its inaugural lecture on "Private Medical Education: An Educationist's Perspective."⁷ At the time there were major concerns among medical educationists about the impending opening of the South Asian Institute for Technology and Medicine (SAITM). Having examined the pros and cons of private medical education, I provided some guidelines to ensure success in establishing such schools. One of these was that adequate facilities must be in place for both basic and clinical sciences teaching before the school was allowed to open. By the time this talk was given, however, an Act of Parliament had already been passed granting provisional authorisation for SAITM to be opened with the proviso that clinical facilities would be in place before the students reached the clinical stage. This, as we know, did not happen in time, and as a result, students were again left in the lurch.

I am of the firm opinion that the licensing body, which in the case of Sri Lanka is the Sri Lanka Medical Council (SLMC), should follow the system adopted by the Australian Medical Council (AMC), where no medical school is allowed to open without having been subjected to pre-accreditation by the Council, to ensure that facilities are adequate for standards to be maintained.

While the system of postgraduate medical education in Sri Lanka is excellent, with the creation of the Post-Graduate Institute of Medicine (PGIM) and its Boards of Study, that of continuing medical education of the practitioners is not. Once again, I believe it is the responsibility of the SLMC and specialist bodies to ensure that practitioners maintain

their competence through continuing education activities if their licence to practise is to be continued. This is of particular importance in the face of rapidly advancing knowledge and skills in Medicine.

Traditional Medicine

Traditional medicine in Sri Lanka is over 3000 years old. It has its roots in three systems: Ayurveda (based on ancient Sanskrit scripts), Siddha (based on South Indian Tamil scripts) and Unani (of Greco-Islamic origin). Sushruta (7-6 Century BC), who specialised in surgical techniques, wrote one of the three great books of Ayurveda Medicine, which is amongst the oldest medical systems in the world, having come down from the Vedic Period (5000 BC). Folios on Ayurvedic Medicine were passed on from generation to generation through ola manuscripts or word of mouth.

Much of what I state below is taken from the writings of others, particularly from the chapter on Ayurveda – Traditional Medicines by Kularatne & Karalliedde⁸ in a recent publication entitled History of Medicine in Sri Lanka.

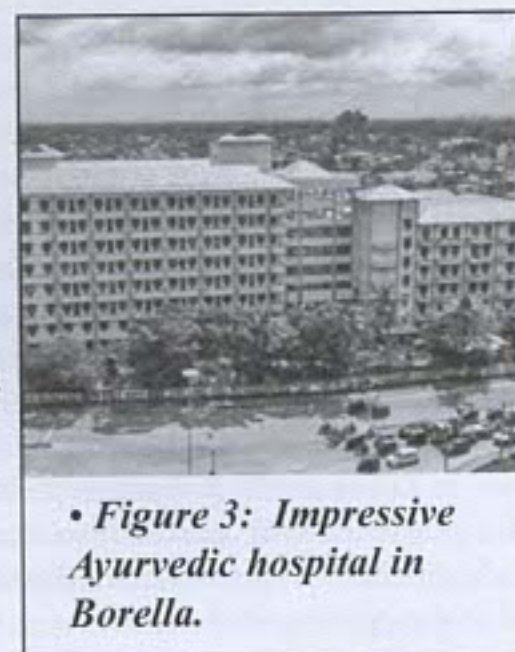
The Dutch, who ruled the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon at the time, promoted Traditional Medicine in the island. The Dutch Hospital, now a popular tourist destination in Colombo, appears to have played a major role in its development. A compendium of medicinal plants in Ceylon and their uses was compiled by Grimm, a physician attached to the Dutch Hospital, and published in 1679. That same year, Herman, another physician in the Dutch Hospital in Colombo, compiled a 120-word glossary of Sinhala medical terms. Almost a hundred years later, the Dutch Governor, Falck, assigned a native physician to accompany a botanist, Thunberg, who was on a visit to Ceylon to study medicinal plants in the island. By 1793, a native physician had been appointed to each of the Dutch hospitals.⁸

The Kandyan Kingdom also played a role in the development of Traditional Medicine. King Narendrasinghe ruled from 1707-1739. Under his direction, the scholar, Venerable Welivita Saranankara translated the Bhesajjamanjusa, "The Casket of Medicine", written in Pali. Medicine began to be taught in pirivenas. The king's personal physician experimented with medicinal preparations and wrote the Vattoru Veda Potha. Vedaralas were well established in the Kandyan Kingdom, but unfortunately many of them refused to share their knowledge and carried their prescriptions to the grave.

It was left to the Historical Manuscripts Commission appointed in 1933 to collect as many manuscripts as available in personal collections and temples in the Kandyan districts and produce the *Udarata Beheth Potha*.⁸

It is evident that, until the 20th Century, there was no established system of training in Traditional

Medicine in Ceylon. In spite of funds being raised in 1905 by the Ceylon Social Reform Society for training ayurvedic practitioners, and a site donated in 1919 to establish an Ayurvedic College and Hospital in Colombo, the project was abandoned due to lack of funds. This was ultimately achieved in Borella only in 1929. In 1935 the Ayurvedic Medical Council was established for examination and registration of practitioners and for developing a code of conduct. Thus far, courses have only been conducted



• **Figure 3: Impressive Ayurvedic hospital in Borella.**

in Sinhala. The emphasis being placed on the development of Ayurvedic Medicine practice and training is evident from the impressive structural developments in Borella (**Figure 3**).

At present, there are three ayurvedic teaching institutions, and one ayurvedic research institute in Sri Lanka: The Ayurvedic Teaching Hospital in Borella, The Kaithady Ayurveda Hospital in Jaffna, The Wickramaarachchi Ayurvedic Hospital in Gampaha and the Bandaranaike Memorial Ayurvedic Research Institute in Navinna, Maharagama. Siddha Medicine units have been established in Jaffna and Eastern Universities, and Unani Medicine Unit in The Institute of Ayurveda.⁸

As far as I am aware, there has been no attempt to integrate the teaching of Ayurvedic Medicine with that of Allopathic Medicine. There were a few attempts to conduct joint research projects between the two systems during the time of Senaka Bibile as Head of Pharmacology, when Dr Lenora was the Head of the Ayurvedic Institute. I am not aware of further developments on this front.

Acupuncture

Training in Acupuncture has been of recent origin in Sri Lanka. The institute of Acupuncture was established in 1982 in Nugegoda by Dr Jayaweera, who was a graduate of the Colombo Medical School. Courses were offered in basic acupuncture, advanced acupuncture, auriculo-therapy and scalp acupuncture. In addition students were required to do clerkships.

The best known individual for Acupuncture in Sri Lanka was, however, Dr Anton Jayasuriya, or, to give him his complete form of address, "Lord Pandit Prof. Dr. Lord Pandit Raja-Guru Professor Dr. Sir Tibetan Lama Healer Sir Anton Jayasuriya, M.B.B.S.(Cey.), B.Sc.(Tor.), D.Phys.Med., R.C.P. (Lond.) & R.C.S. (Eng.), M.Ac.F. (Sri Lanka)".

At a conference in Austria, he was introduced to the audience as “having more degrees than a thermometer.”! He was a medical graduate from Colombo, who worked as a Rheumatologist at the Colombo South Hospital in Kalubowila. He started practising acupuncture in the premises of the hospital, but subsequently moved to the Open International University for Complementary Medicine (OIUCM), which was established in 1988. Many foreigners visited Sri Lanka annually seeking treatment from him. The Alternative Medicine World Congress was held annually in Sri Lanka, where a large number of renowned acupuncturists participated, and many were honoured with titles.

The Devi Clinic and Faculty of Integrated Medicine in Colombo, founded by Dr. Selvakumar Selvathurai, was established in 1996. It now offers courses in Acupuncture and Alternative Medicine for students both in Sri Lanka and overseas. Selvathurai is a graduate of the OIUCM. He was trained directly under the supervision and guidance of Anton Jayasuriya.

Anton Jayasuriya and Medicina Alternativa founded the Royal College of Practitioners, in honour of King Buddhadasa. Professor Keith Scott-Mumby once stated: “I am immensely more proud to be a Fellow of the Sri Lankan Royal College of Practitioners, descended from King Buddhadasa, than I would ever be of the much vaunted English certification”.

According to Scott-Mumby, acupuncture almost certainly originated in Sri Lanka.⁹ Small pointed bones and needles of flint, quartz, chert and other hard substances have been found among cave artefacts, going back over 30,000 years. Swiss archaeologists Sarasin and Sarasin (1908) report these being used for acupuncture, as well as for tattooing and stitching. Moreover, ancient Sri Lankan manuscripts depict acupuncture points mapped on the human body. Acupuncture was also used on animals. This fact has been given as the probable reason for the Indian (Sri Lankan) elephant being successfully tamed while its African counterpart was not. Acupuncture points were worked out which helped calm the beasts, enabling communication with them before training. If these facts can be verified, the practice would pre-date by 500 years what has been described by the Chinese with regard to the practice of acupuncture.

The Future

Graduate schools of Medicine are becoming more frequent, even in the countries of the former British Commonwealth. In Australia, for instance, three of the then eleven medical schools switched to graduate medical education, and they also embraced the system of problem-based learning, in 1995. While these changes had merit, and Sri Lankan medical schools may decide in the future to become graduate ones, they must learn the lessons from previous experiences

and not ignore or de-emphasize the basic medical sciences, which are fundamental to the study of Medicine, in the face of the exponential increase in medical knowledge and skills.

Given the increasing population of Sri Lanka, it will not be possible for the State by itself to train adequate doctors for the country, according to the standards laid down by the World Federation for Medical Education (WFME). As such, I see no reason why private medical schools should not be allowed to open in the country. However, steps must be taken to ensure that adequate facilities are in place for both phases of training, basic and clinical, before permission is granted to open any school in the country.

The SLMC has a critical role to play in ensuring that standards are met in the training of doctors. It must take responsibility, not only for accreditation of medical schools in line with the standards proposed by the WFME, but also pre-accreditation of new medical schools to ensure the pre-requisites for such training are met before students are admitted.

Conclusion

It is well known that Sri Lankan doctors are of a standard which compares favourably with doctors elsewhere. Medical schools, postgraduate bodies and the SLMC must ensure that these standards are maintained, and not allowed to deteriorate with the growing trend of private practice, which undoubtedly takes time away from the sacred duty of all physicians, which is to “pass on the torch of learning” to future generations.

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New book by Sri Lankan academics

Three Sri Lankan academics, Niro Kandasamy, Nirukshi Perera and Charishma Ratnam have published the first edited collection on Sri Lankan



Tamil diaspora in Australia.

The new book *A Sense of Viidu - The (Re)creation of Home by the Sri Lankan Tamil Diaspora in Australia* is the first compilation of research on Sri Lankan Tamils in Australia. The book presents different perspectives and voices on the topic of "home" for Sri Lankan

Tamils - what it means to leave, or flee, one's homeland and what is brought to the new land as part of building a new home.

Different scholars, mostly Sri Lankan migrants themselves, cover topics such as trauma from the war; engaging in homeland and local politics; the experiences of women; passing on language and culture to future generations; and what can be a perilous journey to a new country. Contributions by outstanding Sri Lankans to the historical, political and social conditions that impact on migrants' lives. Writers and artists living in Australia have also been included to provide more personal and reflective accounts of migration. Australia have also been included to provide more personal and reflective accounts of migration.

The collection draws Australia's attention to the historical, political and social conditions that impact on migrants' lives.

CSA President feted in Colombo



On a recent visit to Sri Lanka, CSA President Pauline Gunewardene was hosted to dinner by the Colombo Chapter committee at the newly refurbished Green Cabin at Visaka Road, Bambalapitiya. Those who attended the dinner on 13 February 2020 were; from L to R - Dayadari and Somasiri Devendra, Fred Medis (in tie), Asoka de Silva, Tissa Devendra. Opposite: from R to L - Kamanee and Chandra de Silva (daughter and wife of Asoka), Pauline Gunewardene and Tony Saldin (President of the Colombo Chapter).

Quotes are nice

The nice thing about quotes is that it gives us a nodding acquaintancwe with with the originator which is socially impressive.

— Kenneth Williams 1980.

Cartoon by Max Gerreyn



APPRECIATIONS

Navaranjini Olegesakaram

15/11/1946 – 18/2/2020

To all the dear family, relatives and friends we have gathered here to mourn and farewell the loss of a dearly loving Navaranjini, my darling beloved wife of 54 years, greatly loved and adored mother, mother-in-law, grand-mother, relative and friend to so many. While we mourn our irreparable loss, more importantly, we thank our God for her wonderful life filled with love and service to God and to all others she encountered. This is why this service is called a Celebration. With her undoubted and super musical talents, intelligence, friendly, helpful and giving nature she gave so much of pleasure to so many during her life on this earth. She was indeed a quality wife, a quality mother, a quality grand-mother, a quality relative, a quality associate and friend.

As both of us are closely related to each other, I have known Navaranjini for a long time in Sri Lanka. I recall at the tender age of 2, at a family Christmas party at the home of our elder Uncle she was awarded the honour of giving away the Christmas presents standing on a stool and with the assistance of my aunt. She completely enjoyed her task and on



• Celebrating 50 years of marriage.

reflection I felt that a great performer was born. She grew up to be a very good looking, attractive person with a captivating giggle and laughter. I had the good fortune to be a close neighbour during the period I was articled to do my Chartered Accountancy course. She was only sixteen when a romantic relationship commenced between us which ultimately led to our wedding. You may say that I was a "cradle snatcher" and what a good cradle it was. As remarked by our former neighbour in Sri Lanka, who was also one of her bridesmaids, Navaranjini was both beautiful and talented which is very true.

At an early age her GOD-Given Musical talents began to show up winning the school vocal competitions and later becoming a well-qualified musician (Fellow of the Trinity College of Music and Licentiate of the London School of Music in singing and piano). She became the leading vocalist in Sri Lanka, performing solos, duets at public functions and invited to sing at several functions of relatives and friends. She always obliged them and did not hold back. She also trained choirs and as remarked by one her students, although strict to achieve a

high standard, she made it enjoyable, a fantastic and supportive teacher. She was chosen to play the lead role of Lawrie in the musical Oklahoma, which was a tremendous success. She also won the Sri Lanka

Broadcasting Corporation competitions for English classical singing "back to back" a few years prior to migrating to Sydney. On arrival in Sydney in January, 1978, within a month she won the City of Sydney Eisteddfod competition in Dramatic Aria. She was invited to sing in the Ryde-Eastwood musical society



• The versatile musician.

events. She sung solo parts in the productions of Sydney Philharmonia. Although she succeeded in the auditions to join the Sydney Australian Opera Chorus (starting point), she could not pursue as the contract required travel to other parts of Australia and also overseas, as this was not possible with a young family at that time. However, she joined a well-regarded amateur opera company (North Sydney Opera Company), which produced many operas and she played the lead soprano roles in 14 Operas, including Madam Butterfly, Marriage of Figaro, Tosca etc. A well-known critic at that time Fred Blanks reviewed one of the operas and mentioned that her performance was of a high quality and "professional". I attended and supported all her performances (two of which included our daughter Nirusha). Although my musical talent was zero and could not distinguish between a Musical note and a ten-dollar currency note she would always take serious note of any comments I made and called me her best critic.

Navaranjini was an outstanding Vocal and Piano teacher both in SL and Australia, and within a few years in Australia was invited to be an examiner in Piano by the Australian Music Board. It was a rare honour at that time as I believe she was the first "non-white" Australian to be made an examiner in Piano.

Navaranjini extended her musical career into Music Therapy, becoming the music therapist at the Montefiore Jewish home in Hunter's Hill. She made a unique contribution there, forming the Monte Choir comprising of the residents (most of them over 80) and also producing memorable concerts. In addition to her contribution through music, her bubbly and friendly nature brought so much of joy to all at Montefiore. (Following is an appreciation from the Rabbi of the Montefiore Jewish home)

"It is with much sadness that I write these few words of eulogy in honour of a longstanding colleague and friend Jini Olegesakaram.

Jini served with distinction the Sir Moses Montefiore Jewish Home for 37 years as our music

therapist. She loved this work and excelled at it. Blessed with a beautiful voice and great musical talent she trained many of our aged residents and brought out their hidden talents in song and acting.

Who will ever forget the beautiful Purim and Chanukah concerts (Jewish festivals). She prepared and conducted often with the accompaniment of her talented grandchildren.

Jini immersed herself in our Jewish culture and traditions and sang Jewish and Hebrew songs as if they were her native language. A truly remarkable lady.

Residents eagerly looked forward to her choir rehearsals which were the highlight of their week. Jini was loved and highly respected by all the residents, staff and many visitors to the Montefiore Home.

Above all she was a model wife, mother and grandmother who supported her in her work. Rex was so kind and understanding. He would regularly come to the Home to assist in preparing the concerts. He remained ever supportive of all her work. Jini was blessed with beautiful and talented children and grandchildren.

There was so much love and mutual respect. Her family and friends and her beloved Montefiore Home will keep her memory alive through following her model pattern of living.

We extend our deepest sympathy to Rex, the children and grandchildren and extended family.

May Her Dear Spirit Rest In Peace."

Her bubbly, positive and vibrant personality was self-evident to all. Nearly every person who contacted me soon after her passing away remarked of her very vibrant and charming personality. Indeed she was all that.

As far as the family was concerned, she not only passed on her talents to my two children (though despite me) but nurtured and developed them, Nirusha is an outstanding vocalist and Suresh an accomplished Violinist and singer. This was extended to her grand-children developing their musical talents, preparing them for music exams, as well as training and presenting them for eisteddfod competitions. Both of us were completely devoted to the grandchildren, who she referred to us as "our therapy". She not only prepared them for music and speech and drama events, but insisted on attending all their sports and other events, even when she was slowing down in the latter years.

In all her musical career, she gave her service to God. She was a chorister and pianist at St. Luke's Church, Borella in SL. She participated in the Anglican Cathedral, Sydney lunch time services as a soloist in the late 1970's. She was a chorister in earlier years and now a pianist in this wonderful Anglican Church of St. Annes for many years for the

band led by our own Senior Minister Greg Burke. She has also filled in on the Organ on occasions if the regular organist was not available. She trained senior and youth choirs in schools and churches in Sydney, including the Sydney Tamil Christian Fellowship. She must be now singing and dancing with the Angels in heaven.

With her very helpful nature, Navaranjini was of great assistance to our extended families of my brothers and her sister, whom we sponsored to migrate to this beautiful country of Australia. The families of my brothers in turn have been of great assistance to us, especially during the difficult period of her recent illness.

Navaranjini was a very multi-talented person, excelling in sports (Netball and athletics) and would produce some novel and exquisite dishes. She loved travel, cruises and holidays which coincided with my interest and since my retirement in 2002 we have gone on several lovely holidays within Australia and Overseas and made lasting friendships. As my niece from Sri Lanka said in her floral tribute, Navaranjini Maami lived her life like a flower in full bloom. Although we were an ordinary couple with two different personalities and not always agreed on every issue she was a source of great strength to me in our 54 years of married life. She is the love of my life. Darling Nava, we will miss you dearly, you will meet our dear ones who have gone before and I will join you someday on that beautiful shore.

I like to thank you all for taking your time off to attend this Service on a weekday to honour us with your presence. Thank you to the St Thomas's College Sydney OBA Choir for the special item and other special singers. I wish to thank the Vascular Surgeons, the other Doctors the nurses and supporting staff at North Shore Private Hospital for their expertise and dedicated care they provided during her recent illness. I would like to thank all the other Doctors for their dedicated care in the past 12 years. A very big thank you to our genial Senior Minister of this Church Rev. Greg Bourke and also Rev. Janine Steel, for their support and frequent visitations to the hospitals which was greatly appreciated by Navaranjini. Greg has also contributed immensely to the organisation of this service of celebration.

Navaranjini had complete trust in God and I like to quote one of her favourite Bible verses from Psalm 103-" Bless the Lord O my soul and all that is within me bless His holy name. Bless the Lord O my soul and forget not all his benefits" which concluded our prayers at home and when setting out for special events or journeys.

Navaranjini, although you are out of our sights, you will always remain forever in our hearts. I love you Nava.

- Rex Olegesakaram

Mohan Rajasingham (20.7.1932 – 29.1.2020) **Gentle Giant** **of the Colombo Chapter**

Even as I stepped into the Navy, he stepped out: so, though I had met him briefly, I never 'knew' him as a naval officer. All I can talk of his Navy days



is from the Record. Born on 20th. July, 1932, he was educated at Trinity College, St. John's College, Jaffna – and 14 other schools while following his Surveyor father around the country. He joined the Navy in 1952 in the second intake of Officer Cadets to the RCyN and was trained at Dartmouth and Greenwich

Naval Colleges where his training involved flying Vampire jet planes. On completion of training he was awarded the degree of B.Sc. (Naval Science) by British Educational Authorities, underwent training with the Indian Navy and earned his sea-time with the Pakistan Navy. On the Sports field, he has played Rugby, Tennis, Cricket and Hockey in Sri Lanka, England and Cyprus.

I had to ask Raneer for details of his life thereafter: their life, that is, as she was there along with him all the way. Starting all over again, ten years after Dartmouth, was no cake-walk but he did what had to be done. He sailed for the US, and enrolled himself in the University of Massachusetts Amherst Campus to earn his Diploma in Business Administration.. Then began the search for jobs: applications, applications, applications. Someone suggested that he visit the UN and see what openings there may be for someone like him and this led to his joining the U.S. Peacekeeping Service in 1971, as Finance and Administration Officer, serving in Jerusalem, Syria and Cyprus. This was followed by a stint with the UNHCR as Finance and Project Control Officer. Besides serving in Pakistan, he was deeply involved in the process of setting up the newly independent state of Angola. UN service exposed him to many dangers: his house in Damascus was bombed by Israel in 1973 and again, in Cyprus, by the Turks the next year. In Teheran, too, his neighbourhood came under missile attack, although he did not sustain a direct hit. His family, however, had to seek refuge on several occasions: in Cyprus, Beirut, England and the U.S.

Listening to Raneer talk was like taking a trip down 20th century history. Mohan, himself, never told us anything and Raneer, herself, did so only because I asked her: she only said "Keep it short. A paragraph would do". So typical of the modesty in which their life was moulded.

I had only to mention a figure, or place from those days, and she had a story to tell. "Archbishop Makarios", or "Namibia", or "Palestine" or the "Iran-Iraq conflict". One morning she opened the drapes to see parachutes dreamily wafting down the skies of Cyprus: the Turks were invading! And they had not even a foe worthy of their steel. The family was always in the eye of the storm. Many were the times they had to be taken to Safe Houses while the men stayed back to do their work. They had, at times, been driven through areas that fighting was still going on, to the safety of the British Embassy and the Gurkha guards. "Thank God for the Gurkhas!". It was hard and heart-breaking work for Mohan and she remembers how he felt for the displaced Namibians being flown back home after two generations in exile in Angola: they only had a bundle on their heads to start life all over again. It was around this time when he was struck down with Malaria: how they really thought he would not pull through and how Mohan planned for the worst. They were in Israel, too, and they saw the differences between the Arabs and the Israelites, and they knew where their hearts lay.

Perhaps he was justly proud of having been a member of a UNHCR which was awarded a Nobel Prize for Peace in 1981. He was in Pakistan, at the start of the Afghan wars, when over two million refugees streamed in from Afghanistan overnight. "... in Asia a new overwhelming refugee problem has arisen as a result of the war in Afghanistan. Well over two million Afghans have sought refuge in Pakistan – a developing country which, without the assistance of international organisations, is not in a position to tackle the problem involved in caring for these refugees." (From the Award Ceremony Speech). The small UN team did a great job, and everyone, Mohan included, was given a replica with his/her name engraved. He was proud, not of himself but of being part of the team. At the Award Ceremony it was noted that "... this year is one of the very few occasions on which one and the same organisation will be receiving the Nobel Peace Prize for the second time.... We thank the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for all it has done for countless refugees." Finally, in 1992, he retired from U.N. service, after 20 years, very satisfied with the work he has done for Humanity.

But it was after retirement that Mohan and I met again, through the CSA. We were setting up the Colombo Chapter and we rounded up the members in Sri Lanka and behold! Mohan's name led all the rest. A very early member, he was very fond of the

CSA and particularly of the Journal which he read cover-to-cover, collected and bound in volumes. The Colombo Chapter went through a trying period, once, and he put up his hand to be Vice President so that we had "old hands" on deck again. He was a regular at our quarterly meetings as long as he was fit and later he decreed that his house would be where we held our committee meetings. He played the perfect host, looking after the logistics of the event, sitting in and participating in his quiet way. It was a pleasure to be in that well-appointed Apartment, with its many treasures and works of art collected from around the world. It is for his quietness and the strength of personality that he projected that we will always remember him.

And for his feeling for the CSA as an institution that he was proud to belong to and to which he was proud to be doing something for.

Sometimes we would stay back after the meeting, my wife Dayadari and I, to talk a bit to him. I never asked him about the Navy, but did talk about his younger brothers whom I had met, and liked, in the Navy. Alas! both gone now. Once, at my suggestion, the Retired Naval Officers' Club invited him for a

get-together at a place where he did not have to climb steps, but the date, unfortunately, did not suit him.

I will keep this as short as Ranee wished me to. Thank you, Mohan, "Gentle Giant of the Colombo Chapter" for the gift of your presence. God will certainly bless you but, as a Buddhist, may I wish that your Journey through samsara will be short.

—SD

Obituary notices published in *The Ceylankan*

All Obituary notices and Appreciations of Life recorded on these pages are restricted to deceased CSA members only. In keeping with that policy all notices are accompanied with a note indicating such membership status. Occasionally, we may inadvertently fail to indicate this important fact, as in the case of the Late Dr R.K.(Rajpal) de Silva (see page 30 of J88 - November 2019) who was a Member since 2002. We trust readers will accept our apologies for these omissions.



MEMBERSHIP RATES

- **General Subscriptions for Australia:** \$35 per year;
- **Pensioners' subscriptions:** \$25 per year (to be reviewed in 2020)
- **Overseas members from USA/UK/Canada/Israel/Thailand:** \$45 per year.
- **Sri Lanka:** Rs.3000 per year.

Please arrange payment of Membership subscriptions for 2019 if still due, together with any arrears where applicable. Payments could be made by an Australian dollar cheque in favour of "Ceylon Society of Australia" posted to Deepak Pritamdas, Treasurer CSA, P O Box 489, Blacktown, NSW 2148, Australia. Alternatively, a direct bank transfer could be made to the CSA Bank Account in Commonwealth Bank: BSB 062308, Account No. 1003 8725. Please do not fail to include your name as payee, otherwise we will have no way of identifying the payee. We have had payments recently without the payee's name and we are unable to identify who the senders were.

For payments from overseas, if you have difficulty in sending the payment in Australian dollars, you could please send a bank draft or bank transfer in US dollars or Pounds Sterling. We regret that personal cheques in foreign currencies are not acceptable. Since our Bank charges us \$10 Australian dollars for converting a foreign currency payment to Australian dollars, please add \$10 Australian dollars to the amount due and convert to US dollars by multiplying by 0.80, or if sending in Pounds Sterling, multiply

by 0.60. These multipliers reflect approximately the current rates of exchange used by our Bank. For overseas bank transfers our Commonwealth Bank Swift Code is: CTBAU2S

If you need any clarification please contact our Treasurer, Deepak Pritamdas, by email to: deepakpsl@yahoo.com. Also please send him an email when you send direct bank transfers.

CSA General Meetings for 2020

As members are aware, our May 2020 General Meeting was cancelled due to the prevalent Coronavirus pandemic. The safety of our Members and guests is paramount at all times. However, the following dates have been tentatively scheduled for CSA meetings to take place if current Covid-19 social distance restrictions are eased by the Government. Members will be kept updated on future developments.

General Meetings:

- Sunday 31 May 6.30 PM to 11.00 PM
- Sunday 30 August 6.30 PM to 11.00 PM

AGM, DINNER & SOCIAL

- Saturday 28 November 6.00 PM AGM (for members only). 6.30 PM Dinner, Sing-along & Dancing.

Human zoo

Clearly, then, the city is not a concrete jungle. It is a human zoo.

—Desmond Morris, 1969



*Congratulations and a
Warm Welcome to our
New Members*

DESMOND MAHENDRA ALFREDS, Farrer ACT 2607;
MERRIL RUSSELL ALUWIHARE, Mount Lavinia, Sri Lanka.
LESLEY & CHELVI MANICKAM, Colyton, NSW 2760

GIFT SUBSCRIPTIONS

KEVIN GALLAGHER, Bowral, NSW (from **Marlene Gunasinghe, East Goford NSW 2250**)
SEGGY SEGARAN, North Yorkshire, YO24 2JE U.K. (from, **Thiru Arumugam, Castle Hill NSW 2154**)
VEN VAJIRARAMAVASI NANASIHA, Colombo 4, Sri Lanka (from **Hugh Karunanayake, Blackburn North, VIC 3131**).
UDITHA GUNAWARDENE, Bethania, QLD 4206 (from **Shirley Rigg, Eagleby, QLD 4207**.
SAVITHRIE RAMASUNDARA, Nicholls, ACT 2917 (from **Upali Dharmakirti, South Turramurra, NSW 2074**).
DR SHEVANTHI RATNASINGHAM, Issacs ACT 2607 (from **Upali Dharmakirti, South Turramurra, NSW 2074**).
SHAMIL PEIRIS, Kandy, Sri Lanka. (from **Hugh Karunanayake, Blackburn North, VIC 3131**.
MALAKA TALWATTE, Etul Kotte, Sri Lanka. (from **Lance Fernando, Camberwell, VIC 3124**)
MAHINDA WIJESINGHE, Talangama South, Sri Lanka. (from **Hugh Karunanayake, Blackburn North, VIC 3131**).



WE NEED SPEAKERS

The CSA welcomes professionals and others interested in speaking at our public meetings on a subject of their choice. Meetings are held in Sydney, Melbourne and Colombo and take place quarterly in February, May, August and November of each year.

If you have anyone in mind, please contact CSA President Pauline Gunewardene on (Mob) +61 419 447 665 (email: paulineg@ozemail.com.au) or Melbourne Chapter Convenor Hemal Gurusinghe (Mob) + 61 427 725 740 (email: hemguru@hotmail.com.) or Colombo Chapter Secretary Anandalal Nanayakkara 077 327 2989 (email: anandalal10@gmail.com.)

Good news

A good newspaper, I suppose, is a nation talking to itself.

— Arthur Miller, *Observer* 1961

Advertising in *The Ceylankan*

For some time, CSA members and others have indicated an interest in advertising to promote their goods and services in the Journal. However, we have been maintaining the ideal of the founders of the CSA, that the Journal must not be made a means for commercial profit, but only as a vehicle for research, study and promotion of the rich heritage and culture of Ceylon/Sri Lanka.

Now, with the constant rise in costs of delivery of the Journal to members worldwide, we need to look at additional sources of revenue. Accordingly, the Committee has decided to accommodate advertising and promotional matter in the form of loose-leaf flyers, but not as part of the body content of the Journal.

Suitable material, in keeping with the non-political, non-partisan aims and ideals of the CSA, will be considered. All such copy is to be submitted to the Editor for consideration.

Once accepted, the advertiser will need to supply the printed flyers in sufficient numbers for inclusion in that particular issue of the Journal.

The cost of inserting such flyers is \$500 per issue of the Journal, paid in advance.

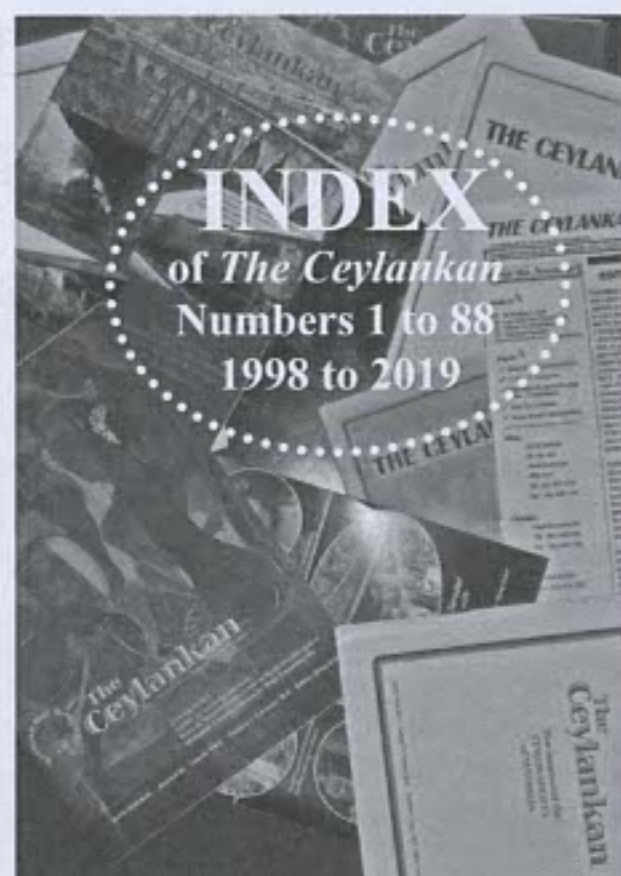
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Your nominee will have four quarterly issues
mailed to his/her home. Please contact the
Treasurer, Deepak Pritamdas
on 0434 860 188

R E V I E W



by Thiru Arumugam

The Ceylon Society of Australia was founded in 1997 and one of the first decisions that was made by the Society was to have a quarterly publication. It was also decided that it would be a serious Journal, not a magazine, and therefore it would not carry any advertisements, a policy that has been maintained to this day.

David Goodrich was appointed as the first Editor of the Journal and the first issue came out in February 1998. David thought up the Journal's name as "*The Ceylankan*", neatly combining the colonial name Ceylon with the subsequent indigenous name of Sri Lanka. In an editorial in the inaugural issue, David stated that he hoped that the Journal would "get on with the more interesting aspects of learning and enjoying more about Lanka-Sri Lanka-Taprobana-Serendip-Ceylon-Ceilan". This is reflected in the Object of the Society which is enshrined in its Constitution as "... to bring together people who share common interests relating to the historical heritage of Ceylon/Sri Lanka. This includes collecting items, undertaking research, publishing information and celebrating the achievements of people with links to Ceylon/Sri Lanka".

David Goodrich continued as the first editor and compiled the first 16 issues of the Journal until January 2001, when he stepped down due to failing health and passed away a few months later. Sumane Iyer then took over the reins and edited the next 29 issues until February 2009 when he called it a day and handed over to the current Editor, Doug Jones. This issue is the 45th edition of the Journal compiled by Doug. Long may he continue in this role. In recognition of his efforts he was unanimously elected a Life Member of CSA at the Society's 2019 Annual General Meeting. By any standards, it is a remarkable

performance for a band of volunteers to produce 91 consecutive issues of a quarterly Journal without missing a single issue.

... this significant work will no doubt be a great resource to writers, researchers and scholars of the future".

— HUGH KARUNANAYAKE

The Ceylankan has been variously described as the standard bearer and the flagship of the Society. There is, however, one thing that has so far been missing and that is a comprehensive Index of the Journal. Hugh Karunanayake took it on himself to arrange to fill this void. He located a Certified Indexer, Chitra Karunanayake, and she graciously agreed to prepare an Index free of charge. She is a History Graduate and holds a Masters degree in Library Science from Monash University and has qualified as an Indexer with the Institute of Certified Indexing. She is the Library Manager at the Concord Repatriation General Hospital in Sydney. Her email contact details are chitrai.karu@gmail.com and her mobile phone number is 0407 414 874.

Chitra laboured intensively for several months in her spare time over the first 88 issues of *The Ceylankan* (up to November 2019) and meticulously compiled a comprehensive Subject Index which included not only Articles in the Journal but also Appreciations, Book Reviews, News, Letters to the Editor and Presentations. She also compiled a separate Author Index for Articles in the Journal. Glancing over the list of items in the Index, one finds the wide variety of subjects covered in the Journal over the past twenty odd years truly amazing. CSA is very grateful to Chitra for completing this monumental task at no cost to the Society.

Hugh Karunanayake has taken it upon himself to have the two Indexes printed in a combined A4 size volume of 64 pages. It is neatly printed in a large font with an appropriately designed cover. The subject Index takes up 39 pages and the Author Index has 20 pages. The composite work will be very useful for anybody who wishes to track down an article in a past issue of *The Ceylankan* and as Hugh says "... this significant work will no doubt be a great resource to writers, researchers and scholars of the future".

Hugh has about 10 extra copies of the Index which he has generously offered FREE (including postage) to CSA members in Australia on a first-come-first-served basis. Those interested may contact Hugh on karu@internode.net.au.

SAMPLE ENTRIES IN THE CEYLANKAN AUTHOR INDEX AND SUBJECT INDEX

Author Index to The Ceylankan 1998-2019
Entries are for articles only

Abeywickrema, Kenneth

Disc out discade: no nonsense, it said either learn or depart, 2014, August vol.17(3):8-9

Amerasinghe, Udeni et.al

Anniawatte Tunnel-Kandy, 2002, February vol.5(1): 11-12

Anderiesz, Mervyn

Intensive prawn farming in Sri Lanka, 2015, November vol.18(4): 7-8

My adventure into seafood industry in Sri Lanka, 2018, February vol.21(1): 27-28

Arnold, Samuel.Thevabalan

Batticotta Seminary: Jaffna College, 2011, August vol.14(3):5-8, photos.

Educational advancement in Jaffna, 2016, February vol.19(1): 13-17

First English school in Sri Lanka (1814), 2014, February vol.17(1): 18-21

Jaffna-Batticaloa revisited after 20 years, 2012, August vol.15(3): 29-32

Manipay Memorial English school, Jaffna: 180 years, 2017, February vol.20(1): 29-31

Outstanding Christian leaders from Sri Lanka, 2016, August vol.19(3): 19-21

Reminiscences of fifty years as a pedagogue, 18, 2009, August vol.12(3): 10-14

Unique education of girls in Batticaloa 1820: Vincent Girls High School, 2014, May vol.17(2): 27-29

Reminiscences of fifty years as a pedagogue, 18, 2009, August vol.12(3): 10-14

Unique education of girls in Batticaloa 1820: Vincent Girls High School, 2014, May vol.17(2): 27-29

The Ceylankan 1998 –2019 Subject Index

Entries for Articles, Appreciations, Book reviews, News, Letters, Presentations are indicated by the use of symbols (AR), (AP), (BR), (L), (N), (P) respectively.

Migrants

[Migrant experience: ties between Sri Lanka and Australia] (P)/Abey, Arun, Resume: Jones, Doug, 2019, November vol.22(4): 26-27, photos

Sri Lankan children in Australia: challenges and mechanisms in negotiating the bicultural world(P)/Gamage, Siri, 2001, November vol.4(4): 2

Monaragala

Return to Monaragala (AR)/Sedgwick, Wendy, 2011, May vol.14(2): 5-10, photos.

Motoring

Adler addendum [Early years of motoring in Ceylon] (L)/Thiedman, Roger, 2013, May vol.16(2): 4-5, photos

Early years of motoring in Sri Lanka (AR)/Karunanayake, Hugh, 2012, November vol.15(4): 9-11, photos.

Early years of motoring in Sri Lanka (L)/Devendra, Somasiri, 2013, February vol.16(1): 4

Early years of motoring in Sri Lanka(L)/Thiedman, Roger, 2013, May vol.16(2): 4-5

Geoffrey Bawa: the "Rolls Royce Maharaja" of Ceylon (AR)/Thiedman, Roger, 2008, May vol.11(2): 18-20, photos

Golden age of motoring in Ceylon (AR)/Karunanayake, Hugh, 2013, May vol.16(2): 16-18, illus.

Golden age of motoring in Ceylon (L)/Peries, Tony, 2013, August vol.16(3): 4

Motoring in Sri Lanka: the early years(AR)/Karunanayake, Hugh, 2000, February vol.3(1): 18-19, photos

PICTURESQUE CEYLON

This rare book *Picturesque Ceylon* issued in three volumes in 1895 by H W Cave & Co consists of three parts bound together; Colombo and the Kelani Valley (1893), Kandy and Peradeniya and Nuwara Eliya and Adam's Peak (1895). For more details of the book pictured (top left here see page 8.

Cave employed an English bookbinder who produced a few classic bindings for select copies of "Picturesque Ceylon" which were given as presentation copies to dignitaries. Featured on the left is one such unique binding in crocodile skin, possibly the first and only book in the world with a cover made entirely of crocodile skin.

When not running his business, armed with his camera Cave spent time travelling around the country recording so beautiful pictures to illustrate the book for posterity. *Palm Tree* is one example of his work behind the lens,

