CEYLON Today

P. M. in Europe

P. M. visits London Buddhist Vihara

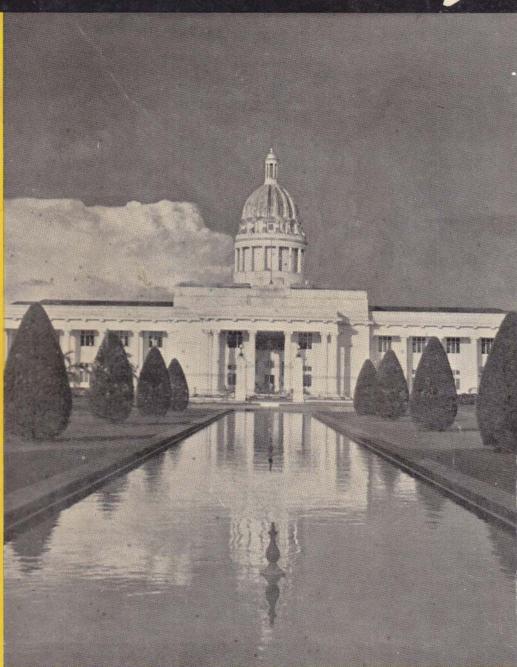
Foreign Policy

Church of St. Paul

The Parks of Colombo

Books about Ceylon LYN de FONSEKA

Colombo Town Hall



DECEMBER, 1954

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The Prime Minister in Europe

THE European part of the Prime Minister's tour ended on November 30, when he took plane for the United States. In all the Prime Minister was in Europe—on this occasion—for a little less than three weeks but it was sufficient time for him to make new friends for this country and to strengthen old ties. To the Statesmen of Europe he explained the part that resurgent Asia was playing in world affairs, how our people thought and felt. To industrialists and businessmen he explained our needs in the economic field and the firm guarantees we could give them if they decided to help us in our efforts to improve our standards of living. France and Italy bestowed their highest honours on him; the Head of the Commonwealth, Her Majesty Oueen Elizabeth II. received him in audience at a special ceremony at Buckingham Palace. No world tour undertaken to win friends for this country could have had a more auspicious beginning.

In a statement, on his arrival at Rome, Sir John said that he was more than happy that, after the lapse of several centuries it had been given him to come there as an envoy of goodwill from Ceylon. Ceylon's relations with Italy went back as far as 50 A.D., when one of Ceylon's ancient kings sent envoys to the court of Emperor Claudius. "That was a long time ago", said Sir john. "It was before St. Peter and St. Paul went to Rome; it was before the Colosseum was built".

The Italian Prime Minister said in reply that the friendship, ties and relations between Italy and Ceylon which the Ceylon Premier had recalled, dated back many centuries. Those ties still existed . . . Above all the spiritual links which, together with an increase in commercial exchanges, tended to strengthen and reinforce the fundamentals of a centuries-old friendship. Their meeting, had no other purpose than the strengthening of ties in the service of peace.

Italy Honours P. M.

ON the following day (November 12), at a ceremony at the Quirinal Palace in Rome, the Italian Prime Minister conferred on Sir John the honour of the Grand Cross of the Order of Merit, which is Italy's highest honour. Later Sir John placed a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

The Prime Minister, accompanied by Ceylon's Envoy in Italy, Mr. H. A. J. Hulugalle, next visited the Marama land reform project now in progress. Later the Premier was the guest of honour at a tea party given by Mr. Hulugalle.

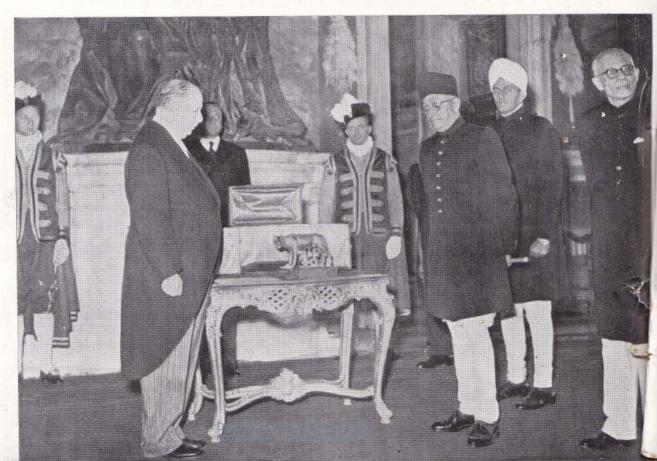
In France

ON November 13, Sir John arrived in Paris on a five-day visit. Here Sir John was awarded the highest honour of the French Union—



The Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. Sir John Kotelawala, reviewing a guard of honour soon after his arrival at Rome's Airport on the first lap of his goodwill mission

The P. M., Mr. H. A. J. Hulugalle, Ceylon's Envoy in Rome, and Mr. P. Nadesan, Secretary to the P. M., listening to an address of welcome in Rome





Sir John with the Italian Prime Minister and his wife and the Ceylon Envoy, Mr. H. A. J. Hulugalle, at the Reception at Villa Madama

The P. M. with Italian workers whilst out on a tour of inspection near Rome. On the left is Mr. G. de Soyza, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs



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The Prime Minister with Mr. H. A. J. Hulugalle, Ceylon's Envoy in Rome



Another picture of the P. M. in Rome

the Red Sash and Silver Star of the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour. The presentation was made in the Elysee Palace by M. Edgar Faure, Minister of Finance, in the absence, through sickness, of the President of the Republic, M. Rene Coty. Sir John later attended a State luncheon given in his honour.

On November 17 the Ceylon Premier was accorded a civic reception by the Paris Municipal Council. Later the Ceylon Premier and the Ceylon High Commissioner in the United Kingdom, Sir Claude Corea, were the guests of honour at a luncheon given in their honour by the Franco-Asian Chamber of Commerce.

Sir John, who was to have left for West Germany by air on November 18, was unable to

proceed on the journey on account of unfavourable weather conditions. Sir John is expected to visit Germany when he leaves for the U. K. to attend the Commonwealth Premiers' Conference in London towards the end of January.

Arrival in the U. K.

SIR JOHN arrived in the United Kingdom from Paris on November 19. Interviewed by pressmen shortly after his arrival, Sir John said that Ceylon did not believe in power blocs and she did not propose to join any. "Power blocs divide when our aim should be to unite", he said.

Sir John said that Ceylon, though small in size and population, occupied a position of great importance to the entire democratic world.



A Group of Ceylonese at the Reception at Villa Madama given by the Italian Prime Minister in honour of Sir John. In the centre is Mrs. H. A. J. Hulugalle, wife of the Ceylon's Envoy

From that position they would do all they could to help preserve and maintain world peace.

On the day following his arrival Sir John offered prayers at the Buddhist vihare in London.

During his stay in England Sir John was later the guest of Viscount Swinton, the British Commonwealth Relations Secretary, at the latter's country residence at Swinton in Yorkshire.

On November 22, the Ceylon Premier addressed the Ceylon Association in London. He prefaced his speech by saying that political freedom for a country meant nothing unless it brought its people a general improvement in the standard of living. Ceylon after seven years of independence, still had many problems confronting her. Some of these, Sir John said, were landlessness, unemployment, and acute shortage of housing, a very unsatisfactory dependence on other countries for the country's basic requirements of food and an inability to develop the natural resources to the optimum extent due to lack of capital.

Referring to Ceylonisation, the Prime Minister said that nationals of any country would expect the land of their birth to give them the first right to employment. He added that the process of Ceylonisation had been so slow that the people

Group photograph at the party given in honour of Sir John by the Mayor of Rome



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The Prime Minister arrives at No. 10, Downing Street, for his lunch with Sir Winston Churchill



The Prime Minister at the Ceylon Association's reception to him. Left to right: The P. M., Viscount Soulbury and Sir Claude Corea

expected that Ceylonisation would only become a fact if legislation was enacted. He said that if they co-operated, the problem would ease itself.

Foreign Capital Welcomed

REFERRING to foreign capital, Sir John said that in his address to the tenth session of the ECAFE, held in Ceylon in February this year, he had declared that his Government welcomed foreign capital and enterprise, so long as no political strings were attached. He said his Government would freely permit remittance abroad of all profits and dividends earned on such capital. They would not place any impediment on the repatriation of both the original amount of capital and any capital appreciation. Once an undertaking had been established with the assistance of foreign capital, there would be no discrimination against such foreign capital. Sir John added that they would



Sir John Kotelawala in conversation with Lady Corea at the reception in his honour given by the High Commissioner at 21, Addison Road, London



The Rt. Hon. H. F. C. Cruickshank, Lord Privy Seal and Leader of the House of Commons, representing the British Prime Minister, welcome the P. M. on behalf of the U. K. Government

The Prime Minister accompanied by Sir Claude Corea visits the studio of Mr. James Woodford, to inspect the scale model of the statue of the late Prime Minister



be glad to discuss even measures of fair protection of industrial and other development projects established in Ceylon with a view to encouraging the industrial and economic progress of this country.

The Prime Minister also declared that the proposed Imports and Exports (Control) Bill would be so administered as to be in keeping with the policy of the Government to encourage foreign investment in Ceylon.

On November 23, Sir John broadcast to Ceylon in Sinhalese. He said that his forthcoming visit to the United States was in no sense a begging tour. He said that Ceylon as a small country should have friends wherever possible. It was necessary to maintain friendships all over the world without jeopardising Ceylon's own way of life. He was therefore going on a goodwill mission to the United States and was full of hope that it would be a success.

Audience with the Queen

ON the following day (November 24) Sir John was received in audience by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II at Buckingham Palace. It was their first meeting since the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh visited Ceylon in April during their Commonwealth tour. The audience lasted 30 minutes and took place just before Her Majesty left the Palace for Victoria Station to receive the Queen Mother on her return from the U. S.

After his audience with the Queen, Sir John lunched with the British Premier, Sir Winston Churchill, at No. 10, Downing Street. Nine other British Ministers were present at the luncheon.

On November 23, Sir John had dinner with the First Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. J. P. L. Thomas. The other guests at the dinner included Sir Geoffrey Layton, Commander-in-Chief in Ceylon during the war years and the Ceylon High Commissioner in the U. K., Sir Claude Corea.

On November 25 the Prime Minister had talks with the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Anthony Eden. It was their first meeting since Sir John became Prime Minister in October 1953. Sir John was assisted in his talks by Sir Claude Corea.

SEATO not the Best Solution

AT a press conference the same day, Sir John said that the South East Asia Treaty Organisation certainly did not offer the best method of preserving peace in Asia. He explained that the machinery adopted by SEATO was very different from that needed for peaceful co-existence in Asia. He observed that non-aggression among Asian countries was what was needed.

It was Sir John's view that economic development brought about as rapidly as possible, was the only answer to Communism. What Asia needed most was a fair economic deal, consisting specially of fair markets to help her develop. It was true that the economic aspect had been taken note of in the SEATO Agreement but the emphasis it received was far from sufficient.

He expressed the view that SEATO was unfortunately organised in too great a hurry and without sufficient reflection. There were more non-Asian than Asian countries within it, and the other Asian countries concerned, jealous of their newly-won sovereignty, viewed it with certain suspicion.

On November 30, Sir John felicitated the British Premier, Sir Winston Churchill, on his eightieth birthday. In a message to Sir Winston, the Ceylon Premier said: "On this your eightieth birthday, I offer you, on my behalf and on behalf of the Government and people of Ceylon, sincere congratulations and felicitations. May you live long and enjoy good health to continue your great work, and crown your glorious life by bringing lasting peace on earth and goodwill to all men."

Sir John left Britain for New York the same night, after being a guest of the British Government for nearly ten days.

The Prime Minister Visits the London Buddhist Vihara

THE Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. Sir John Kote-lawala, began his programme during his visit to the United Kingdom by taking 'Pansil' and offering flowers to the Relics and Statue of the Buddha at the Buddhist Vihara at 10, Ovington Gardens, Knightsbridge, London, on Saturday, November 20, Pansil was administered by the English Buddhist monk, Bhikku Kapilawaddho, resident at the Vihara.

After offering flowers, the Prime Minister addressed the gathering. He said—

"Venerable Sir, I am very happy to be here, the first Buddhist Vihara in this great and big city, the centre of the Commonwealth, to which we have the honour to belong. This Vihara is at the moment a small institution but its significance is great, for it is the symbol of our great desire to make a contribution to the national life of the British people to whom we owe so much for their contributions to us in political, social and economic affairs.

"What can we give in return? Of gold and silver we have none, but what we have, we will give. We will give things spiritual—ultimate truths—the doctrine of our Master—Lord Buddha.

"To us 'Sabba danam dhamma danam jinati' the gift of truth excels all other gifts.

"May this little spark kindle a great fire of desire in this great land for spiritual things as seen in their ultimate reality."

The Prime Minister who was accompanied by His Excellency Sir Claude Corea, High Commissioner for Ceylon, was received by the Secretary of the Vihara Society, Mr. P. N. Meddegoda, and conducted to the meeting hall where the President of the Society, U. Maung Maung Ji welcomed him. Among the large gathering present were Sao Boonwatt, Charge d'Affaires for Burma, Mr. Luang Chamnong Dithakar, Charge d'Affaires

for Thailand and Mr. Christmas Humphreys, Q.C., Senior Treasury Counsel and President of the Buddhist Society of England.

U. Maung Maung Ji, in greeting Sir John said that it was a privilege to welcome the Prime Minister of the 'Dhamma Dvipa' to the Buddhist Vihara.

Sir John, in reply, thanked the Society for the opportunity given to him to pay his obeisance to the 'Master' and congratulated the Trustees of the Vihara for establishing the institution which was a long-felt need from the time he was a student in England over thirty years ago. He appealed to the Buddhists in England to celebrate the Buddha Jayanthi in a manner that would bring about an awakening of spiritual values in the Western hemisphere.

Sir John's visit to the Vihara was highlighted in the British Press, and was seen by millions of viewers on the television newsreel.

The London Buddhist Vihare was ceremonially opened in May this year, the day coinciding with the Buddhist festival of Vesak. The observance of "ata-sil" by 30 devotees among whom were 16 British Buddhists, the hoisting of the Buddhist Flag and an evening meeting attended by over 200 Buddhists and others of many nationalities marked the day's celebrations.

On that occasion, Mr. Christmas Humphreys, Q.C., President of the London Buddhist Society, referred to the history of Buddhism in the U. K., and paid a tribute to the late Anagarika Dharmapala and the Maha Bodhi Society for their pioneer efforts to bring the message of the Buddha to the West. Mr. Humphreys recalled the good work done by the Ven. Dr. Parawahera Vajiranana Maha Thero and the Ven. Dr. Dehigaspe Pannasara Nayaka Thero during the time they were associated with the Buddhist Mission in the United Kingdom over 25 years ago.



The P. M. offered a tray of flowers to the relics and statue of the Buddha when he visited the Buddhist Vihara in London on Saturday, November 20

Ceylon's Foreign Policy

AN Address delivered to the International Law Association (Ceylon Branch) on Wednesday, December 15, 1954, by The Hon. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, Minister of Agriculture and Food and Leader of the House of Representatives.

IT is now seven years since we attained Freedom. Since prior to that we were a colony and unable to frame and practise an independent foreign policy, one may say that the principles of our foreign policy have been accepted and declared during this period.

Seven years is a sufficiently long period of time to permit of well-defined policies to be accepted and certain fundamental principles of such policies to appear. I am dealing purely with the policies accepted by the Government since Independence. Prior to Ceylon 's complete subjugation to the British in 1815, it had a foreign policy of its own. Particularly since the advent of the Western Powers to the East, the Kings of Ceylon had their own views on the relationship that should exist between Ceylon, her neighbours and the Western Powers. I do not intend to discuss Ceylon's foreign policy prior to 1815, but it would not be out of place to mention the reply of King Wimaladharmasuriya to the Dutch General who visited him at Kandy—"If it is war let it be war; if it is peace, peace." It would be interesting to study the foreign policy of Ceylon prior to 1815, but it would require very detailed examination of papers now in the Archives. My address confines itself purely to facts within my own knowledge while I have been a Minister of State just prior to Independence, and from Independence continuously up to date, and I have been therefore in a position to know as well as to help in the formulation of Ceylon's foreign policy since February, 1948, when we attained once again the status of a free country.

Western Powers

DURING the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century the whole of South-East Asia was controlled by Western Powers and had no means of following a foreign policy of its own. It was during this period that man's economic environment changed from feudalism to capitalism; that the great discoveries which gave man greater control over the forces of nature were made: and the industrial revolution was ushered in. The foreign policies of the Western Powers, which alone counted, had their beginning during this period, and the theories of balance of power commenced then. During this formative period in the history of mankind Ceylon, together with so many of her neighbours, was tied to the chariot wheels of the British Empire, and her foreign policy was the foreign policy of the United Kingdom.

When Independence came in 1948, we were able not only to govern our country but also to direct its foreign policy. It is fortunate that at this important stage in our recent history we had a man of wisdom and balance, such as the late Mr. D. S. Senanayake, to direct us.

I may say at the outset that it seems to me that Ceylon's foreign policy has grown out of the idealism which a small nation like ours can afford to preach and practise. But there has never been absent also the realism which arises from our geographical and strategic position in the Indian Ocean. This idealism has inspired us to speak of friendship with all nations and to recognise the Government of the Republic of China and to sell her rubber when no other nation in the world is doing so, as well as to avoid committing ourselves to adherence to any power blocs. A realistic appreciation of our position in South-East Asia has made us enter into a military alliance with the United Kingdom and to permit ships



The Hon. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, Minister of Food and Agriculture

and aircraft carrying troops of the Western Powers to refuel in Ceylon on their way to the battlefronts of Korea and Indo-China.

Let me go back for a moment to the situation as it was when Ceylon attained her freedom. The legislation conferring freedom was passed in the House of Commons and that Independence Bill was preceded by two documents signed by the then Prime Minister, Mr. D. S. Senanayake, on behalf of Ceylon, and the Governor, Sir Henry Monck-Mason Moore, on behalf of the United Kingdom Government. One dealt with the position of public servants and the other dealt with the military relationship that should exist between Ceylon and the United Kingdom. The latter agreement was a purely mutual one, and under the terms of that agreement the two Governments agreed to give each other such military assistance as was necessary for the security of their territories. The United Kingdom forces could be maintained in Ceylon for the defence of Ceylon as may be mutually agreed upon.

This agreement is still operative. The purpose of this agreement was defence and it was not aggressive. Ceylon had no army, navy nor air force. Freedom meant that the British forces could be asked to leave. This agreement was therefore entered into in order to protect our recently-won freedom. Mr. D. S. Senanayake, as Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, quite openly stated in Parliament-"I cannot accept the responsibility of being Minister of Defence unless I am provided with the means of defence." Unlike India and Pakistan whose forces had fought with credit in several wars, we had only a few volunteers. During the war we relied on the British to defend us and to maintain our food supplies. We occupied a strategic position militarily in the Indian Ocean and may have been sought after by any nation which wished to dominate this part of the world. Apart from purely military considerations, the sea and air routes to Ceylon had to be kept unobstructed in order to bring in the food imports upon which we rely so much. If therefore we could not

defend ourselves, the next best thing was to seek the assistance of some one who could.

At that time we could not think of any one better than our old friends with whom we had been associated for almost a century and a half, who had very substantial financial and trade interests in Ceylon, whose own interests required the keeping of the Indian Ocean free for traffic for the East-West trade of the world, and so this military agreement was entered into voluntarily. This defence agreement in no way whittles down our independence, for there are military agreements entered into by all the independent nations of the world. But while it lasts it must necessarily colour our foreign policy. It was entered into in our own interests as much as in the interests of the United Kingdom. This gives the clue to the way in which Ceylon's foreign policy has evolved since then. One may say that the Government thought as follows: "The British people helped us to become a free nation once again. They can keep us free even from the intrusion of the Russian menace. If we come to an agreement with them to defend us at our request, and we to help them if they seek our assistance, it is in our common interests, We need not now consider the policy the British people pursued in the past or whatever good or bad they may have done to us." It is on this very realistic foundation that our foreign policy had been built.

The Commonwealth

FROM the Defence Agreement with the United Kingdom, it is an easy transition to consider our relationship with the Commonwealth. Ceylon decided to remain an independent member of the Commonwealth. All the democratic political parties in Ceylon, the Government supporters of the Government as well as the Opposition, wished to remain in the Commonwealth. Some, of course, are anxious that Ceylon should be a Republic. But still, like India, they wish Ceylon to continue its membership of the Commonwealth. Marxist parties, of course, proclaim that their



A revised standard basic agreement replacing the present agreements with the various U. N. bodies was signed on December 16, by Sir Richard Aluwihare, Acting Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Defence and External Affairs, and Mr. J. R. Symonds of the United Nations Technical Assistance Board in Ceylon

Miss S. L. C. Lourensz of Ceylon being presented with the diploma of post-graduate nursing by the New Zealand Minister of Health, Mr. J. R. Marshall. Nurse Lourensz, who studied under a WHO Scholarship was one of ourteen Asian nurses to train this year at the School of Nursing in Wellington, New Zealand



goal is to sever all connections with the Common-wealth, and of these parties the Communist Party would wish us to join the Soviet group of nations. Membership of the Commonwealth also pre-supposes other considerations, such as an acceptance of the democratic way of life, for we know that the Commonwealth stands for this ideal.

The present Government, which has been in power since Independence, is definitely pledged to maintain a democratic Government in Ceylon, and this policy has been endorsed by two General Elections. While not seeking to interfere with the forms of government adopted by other countries, and seeking friendship with all, Ceylon wishes to entertain the closest relationship with all peace-loving nations and especially with other Governments of the Commonwealth. This view has been repeatedly emphasised in the Speeches from the Throne. For example, one Speech stated-" My Government reiterates its firm faith in the democratic way of life in which the rule of the moral law holds sway. and in which, instead of force as the arbiter of international disputes, mutual confidence and co-operation arise as a pre-requisite to peace." And in another Speech-" My Government is keenly aware of the significance and unity of purpose of the Commonwealth in the effort to preserve peace in the post-war world, and will use its utmost endeavour to cherish and safeguard these valuable associations." We are convinced that the Commonwealth has no expansionist ideas; we are convinced that the Commonwealth seeks to preserve peace in the world; and since we seek peace in Ceylon and outside it, we have thrown in our full weight as a member of the Commonwealth.

Another reason which makes our membership of the Commonwealth necessary is the fact that our trade, both import and export, is largely with the nations of the Commonwealth. It is therefore politically wise to be in the Commonwealth, and financially helpful to be members of the Sterling Area. Membership of the Commonwealth also gives strength to a small nation like

Ceylon. She is an equal partner of a large Federation; her representatives take part in Commonwealth Conferences on an equal footing with representatives of other nations, and they have acquitted themselves so well that Ceylon has been able to play an important role in world affairs, far beyond the influence which her size warrants. The decision of India and Pakistan to remain in the Commonwealth adds weight to the other arguments which I have adduced above. We are now seeing more clearly, with the peace that prevails both in Korea and Indo-China, that the influence of the Commonwealth, as far as Asia is concerned, is to give the Asian peoples freedom and democratic institutions. Membership of the Commonwealth therefore has become an important aspect of our foreign policy.

While our main friendship has been with members of the Commonwealth, we have sought to build up friendship with countries outside the Commonwealth too. There are countries with whom we have had age-long friendships, such as Burma, which is not a member of the Commonwealth, and countries with whom we are tied by bonds of religion, such as Japan, and at one time China. These ties have been renewed since we obtained freedom; we are seeking to strengthen them. Recently the Prime Minister of Ceylon summoned a Conference of Asian powers, now known as the Colombo Powers, at which, in addition to the members of the Commonwealth, Burma and Indonesia were represented. They decided upon common policies in various matters, and it was their attitude to the Indo-China conflict which helped to bring peace. They have reiterated their faith in democracy and have agreed to combat all international forces which seek to interfere with their internal sovereignty.

Prime Minister's Visit

THERE is no doubt that the Asian countries represented at the Colombo Conference all seek peace and a long period of stability in

which they can develop their resources and plan the future progress of their countries in accordance with the conceptions and desires of their people. Apart from the countries just around us we have stretched out a hand of friendship to Japan in the East, and in the West to several countries on the Continent, as well as to that great power, the United States of America. The recent visit of the Prime Minister to all these countries and the welcome he received have shown that they are true friends of Ceylon. Ceylon's attitude to foreign countries therefore is one based on friendship. We have no desire to expand or to interfere with other people. We wish to be left alone and are concerned primarily with our own development. If any nation does not wish to be friendly with us, we will leave them severely alone.

One cannot talk of foreign policy today without knowing our attitude to countries which have adopted Communism as distinguished from Democracy. Ceylon has followed the principles laid down by the late Mr. D. S. Senanayake in her attitude to Communist countries. He several times expressed the view that even at his advanced age he was in politics to protect Ceylon from Communism, that he believed in rebirth, and felt that he would be born over and over again to help in the fight against Communism. His attitude to International Communism was governed by the knowledge that he felt that International Communism did not seek peace, but sought to bring about trouble in other countries. This, he thought, tended to war. He openly stated that he did not approve of these methods. He identified International Communism with the policy of the Soviet Union. He said :-

"Enslavement of the world is what we believe to be their attitude We will never be with Russia until she gives up her policy."

He did not believe in the "Russian method of penetrating into other countries and disturbing the good relations that exist in those countries and trying by force or insidious methods to bring trouble to those countries." Ceylon has followed these ideals since then. We are not concerned with the internal governments of Communist countries. We will recognise them and be friendly with them and trade with them though we do not agree with their internal policies and even disapprove of their foreign policies. But this does not prevent us from saying that we do not agree with their policies and that we feel that their ways would be the enslavement of the world under the banner of a dictatorship.

U. S. A.

THE Prime Minister's recent visit to the United States of America has, I think, laid at rest many bogeys that our opponents sought to raise. We have been, and intend to be, on the terms of the greatest friendship with the U.S.A. We can adopt no other course if we are true to the ideals of political freedom and democracy. The United States of America today is the most powerful country in the democratic world, and has been called "the Arsenal of Democracy". If she is laid down, Communism will sweep throughout the world. The late Mr. D. S. Senanayake, the founder of our foreign policy, realised this. In July, 1950, he told the House of Representatives—

"As far as the United States is concerned, there is not the slightest doubt that she holds the view that we hold. That is, they are for democracy. As long as they are for democracy, and as long as it becomes necessary for us to associate ourselves with either the United States or with anyone else, we will join that side."

And again-

"I do not agree that it is only through America that the living standards of the Asian peoples could be raised. But, at the same time, I feel that if it is only with the assistance of America that the standard of living of the peoples of Asia could be improved, there is nothing wrong in obtaining that assistance."

In the light of these remarks, which shows his attitude to both the Commonwealth and America, he refused to accede to the request of the Opposition to deny harbour facilities to an American flotilla on its way to the Korean war. While Mr. Senanayake thought he should take no part in the Korean war as it was a UNO matter and Ceylon was not a member of the UNO, he saw no reason why facilities which were available to the Americans in the past should not be made available now. He drew a distinction between this incident and the refusal to grant facilities to the Dutch to use our aerodromes in their military action against the Indonesians. The distinction was that in one case the Dutch were opposing a movement for freedom and in the other the UNO was opposing aggression by International Communism.

India and Pakistan

OUR attitude to India and Pakistan is also important as they are our closest neighbours. The recent Agreements with India have settled for some time the problems of Indian settlers in Ceylon. In foreign policy, of course, we are all members of the Commonwealth and we are all pledged to democracy. They are also members of the Colombo Powers and on many matters we agree. The disputes that have arisen have been with regard to the question of the status of Indians who have settled in Ceylon. We have now passed our own Citizenship laws enabling Indian and Pakistani residents to acquire citizenship by registration. Whether after some years of the working of the recent agreement there will be a class who are neither Indians nor Ceylonese remains to be seen, and the problem will have to be reconsidered if that is so. Our attachment to India, our close association with India, whether it be cultural or otherwise, makes us feel that it is very necessary for us to be in close friedship with that country. We consider India to be one of the greatest nations in the world, but we do not expect India to play the role of trying to establish rights where they have no rights, or

privileges where they have no privileges, or of trying to deprive other countries of their rights.

UNO and International Organisations

CEYLON applied for membership of the United Nations Organisation. Her application was vetoed by the Soviet Union on the ground that Ceylon was not free. A few years after our first application, Commonwealth countries pressed very strongly that Ceylon should be admitted as a member. This time Russia did not raise the plea that Ceylon was not free, but bargained for the admission of some of her satellite countries as members of the UNO if her objection to Ceylon's admission was to be withdrawn. This made the Government rather bitter about Ceylon's admission into the UNO, and we did not renew our application nor press for admission. The Government, however, took full advantage of the organisations set up by the United Nations dealing with Health, Food, Education, etc., and Ceylon continued to play an important part in the activities of these international organisations. Delegates were sent to their meetings and some of the meetings were held in Ceylon at which representatives from many countries of the world attended. One of the chief organisations which the Government was keen that Ceylon should join was the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, better known as the World Bank. We became members of these organisations in 1950 and since then have attended the annual meetings held in Paris, Washington and Mexico. Here, too, Ceylon played an important part in the proceedings and gave her decision on all matters that needed a decision, independent of all countries and guided by her own views. The World Bank was of considerable help both in sending out an Economic Mission and in granting us a substantial loan towards the completion of the second stage of the Laxapana Hydro-Electric Scheme. It was Ceylon's inability to join the UNO that enabled us to enter into a trade

pact with China. Ceylon therefore enjoyed a dual advantage, namely, the advantages that the UNO gave to its members, as well as any advantages that she derived from her not being a member.

Foreign Trade

WITH regard to foreign trade, our view was that we should trade with foreign countries, irrespective of their political views and ideologies. When questioned in Parliament whether we had refused to have anything to do with Russia in regard to the sale of rubber, the reply was—

"If Russia wants our rubber let her become another competitor and compete with these people . . . The Russian representatives can come here and buy in the open market. When it is a question of money, I do not mind taking even from my enemies. I have no scruples about that so long as I do not cheat anybody."

With this idea we permitted the private sale of rubber to China even after the United Nations Organisation had decided that its members should not sell strategic materials, such as rubber, to China which was held to be an aggressor in the Korean conflict. Though America was anxious that we should not permit the private trade to sell rubber to China, we did not impose an embargo on such sales. We were, however, negotiating with America with regard to the sale of our rubber in bulk to America. There were difficulties about agreement on the question of price, and while the discussions were proceeding Mr. Senanayake died. It was after his death that the Rubber-Rice Pact with China was entered into.

Commonwealth Conferences

WE availed ourselves of every opportunity of participating in Commonwealth Conferences. Our Prime Minister always attended conferences of Prime Ministers and sent his Ministers to Ministerial Conferences. We went further and invited

Commonwealth Foreign Ministers to meet in Ceylon. This was the first occasion on which a Commonwealth Conference at Ministerial level had met outside the United Kingdom. It was a compliment to Ceylon and a compliment to Mr. D. S. Senanayake that not only was such a Conference held in Colombo in 1950, but that he was chosen to preside over a Conference attended by such world figures as Pundit Nehru and Mr. Bevin. In replying to a vote of no confidence soon after the Colombo Conference, Mr. Senanayake outlined his views on Commonwealth Conferences as follows:—

"Ceylon", he said, "is now a member of the Commonwealth and she has to take her place at these Conferences . . . These are held periodically, primarily for the benefit of the members of the Commonwealth The recent Commonwealth Conference was of great importance. We discussed things that concern all the Commonwealth countries and not plans, as some people say, to overthrow Governments and countries and unite them all under one banner".

He went on to defend these Conferences by saying that there was nothing sacred in these meetings nor were they summoned for any particular purpose or to achieve any sinister design. The Commonwealth countries had a common interest and they met from time to time to see how their common interests could be furthered, and that common interest was to achieve the well-being of the Commonwealth countries and thereby to see that the peace of the world was assured.

Japan

THE question of freedom for Japan was mooted at the Colombo Conference of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers. There was some hesitation among some of the countries before agreeing to freedom for Japan. We were very strongly on the side of complete freedom. It was our view that a nation of 80 million people could not



Hindu Temple, Kataragama

be kept in subjection without danger to the peace of the world, and the Conference decided that steps should be taken to make Japan free. On Mr. Senanayake's instructions, his representative in London pressed the same point of view at a Conference of Commonwealth Ambassadors, and ultimately America took the same view and steps were taken to draw up the Japanese Peace Treaty. This Treaty came up for consideration at San Francisco in September, 1951, and Mr. Senanayake instructed me to represent Ceylon to support freedom for Japan and not to ask for reparations. He said in the House of Representatives that he had taken a step towards peace with Japan and to make Japan a sovereign state.

Conclusion

THE foreign policy that we have sought to build up has therefore been based on certain fundamentals—

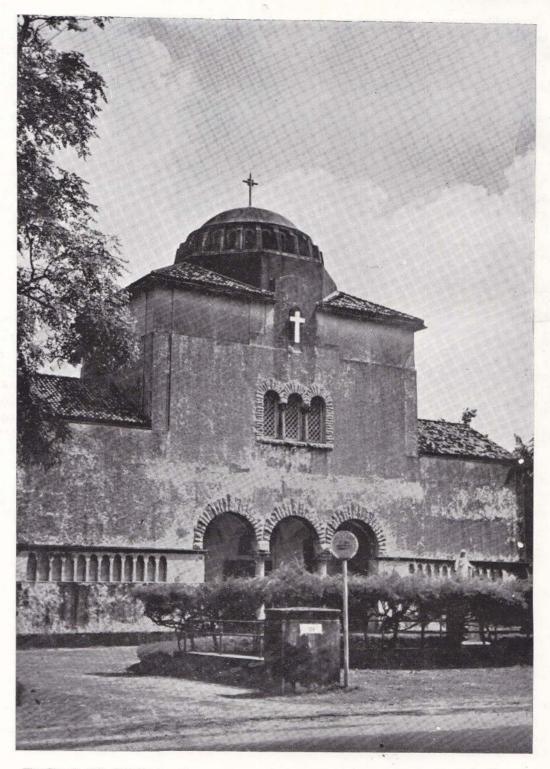
- The defence of Ceylon's recently regained freedom; and
- (2) Membership of the Commonwealth of Nations as a sovereign State.

We are not concerned about favouring this bloc or that bloc. We are concerned about maintaining peace in this world. Any little action that we can take, however small that may be, we shall take as far as Ceylon is concerned. Ceylon feels that peace cannot be established in

this world by hatred or revenge or by suspicion or by keeping nations under subjection. That would only develop into greater wars and greater misery. We support these views because they mean peace for Ceylon, peace for Asia and for the world. On these foundations has been built the superstructure of our foreign policy, and that superstructure contains the following further principles:—

- (a) Friendship with foreign countries, particularly those that believe in peace;
- (b) Ceylon throws in her weight on the side of those who wish to preserve peace;
- (c) We are opposed to those countries that wish to enslave the world and seek to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries.

Ceylon has not considered the question of joining any power blocs because peace in the world cannot be established by abusing each other or by building up hatred or revenge against our opponents. These are the main principles of our foreign policy. They appear now quite clearly and are known to the nations of the world. They have been proclaimed at International Conferences and emphasised and underlined by our Prime Minister on his recent world tour. Ceylon seeks to preserve her freedom, to strengthen democracy to pursue peace, to refrain from aligning herself with power blocs and to contribute to the peace, progress and welfare of humanity.



The Church of St. Paul the Apostle



The Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament

The Church of St. Paul the Apostle, Kynsey Road

THE REV. BASIL JAYAWARDENA

THIS Church is well-said to be the finest with the possible exception of the Ascension in New Delhi, East of Suez. It was removed from the Pettah, where the noise rendered the holding of services impossible, to its present position in 1925. The old church on the first site was built there in 1816, though the Church Registers have existed for four years earlier. The first vicar was the Revd. Andrew-Armour 1816–1828, who was converted from Methodism to the Catholic Faith and was indeed a great acquisition. Armour Street takes its name from him. He is buried in the old

cemetery next door to the Dutch Church, and this burial ground is still a possession of St. Paul's. The transfer of the church was made in the incumbency of the Revd. F. P. Harton, now Dean of Wells. The present Vicar is the Revd. Basil Jayawardena, who has held the incumbency since 1930.

The "new" Church is an imposing edifice in Byzantine Style, and worthy of the Mother of all the Anglican Churches in Ceylon, with her history of 140 years. The orientation is only 3° out so the church lies almost exactly East and



The High Altar

West. At the west end is a fine Narthex extended on either side by two western transepts, that to the south being the Children's Chapel of the Holy Child, and the other the Baptistry having an immersion tank as well as the usual font. From the west doors the first view of the interior is really breath-taking. The central nave is divided from the two aisles by an arcade of four arches built on six pillars on either side, the exterior walls having openings in their whole extent which throws the interior almost into the open air. The pillars are of the new material Terrazzo round and some angled, with elaborate capitols painted in colours. The Organ and Singing Loft are erected over the entrance narthex. The gallery rail should be noticed.

The High Altar dominates the whole, being on a chancel elevated on three levels, the altar itself standing on three more steps under an imposing baldachino supported on eight honey coloured columns of marble with decorated caps. The High Altar is a solid block of stone and enshrines a relique of St. Thomas of Canterbury. All the Altars in the church are blocks of marble or stone and each has its reliques entombed with the exception of the "Bambino" Altar in the demi-apse behind the great Altar. This is the old wooden one from the Old Church. The Chancel is under an interior Dome of fine proportions lighted invisibly, as is also the Bambino Chapel behind.

•In the Transept to the north is the Blessed Sacrament Chapel when Reservation has been established from the first. The scheme is yellow and gold stone, and there is a modern statue of Christ the King. The south transept contains the altar of our Lady, the demi-apse and surroundings being in blue stone.

Between this Altar and the Sanctuary is the Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham, established recently as the first in Ceylon, a branch of the world-famous ancient but restored Shrine at Walsingham in Norfolk.

The Holy Mother sits on a Throne of the traditional form with flowers upon her Altar, and lights perpetually burn before her.

Behind the semi-circular Bambino Chapel are found the Choir and Altar-Servers Vestries, and behind them again the Clergy Sacristy. On approaching the west end of the Church the squat Eastern Dome on its flat tower will have been admired, and the Church grounds are beautifully wooded and contain a tennis-court.

The Church possesses some beautiful vestments of Benares gold-cloth, gold altar frontals and others hand-painted, and the pictures hanging on the walls are well worthy of inspection. The Stations of the Cross are wrought in stone in relief, as are the beautiful stone panels in the Chapel of the Holy Child, showing scenes in the life of the boy Jesus and of his Mother. The Rood hanging at the entrance of the Chancel is carved from Ceylon timber and has paintings of the Four Evangelists in the finials. The Communion Rails are unique, the supports of the rails being angels painted in gold and silver.

The Church stands definitely for the full Catholic Faith. Since the day it was opened. not a single day has passed without the celebration of a Mass. Among the notable events which have taken place here was the consecration of the first Sinhalese bishop, and Requiem Masses on the demise of some of our kings. One of the notable features is the High Mass of Midnight at Christmas to which large crowds flock. St. Paul's caters for all nationalities in the Island, and is well known for its ministrations among the poor in the slums of Colombo. The Syrian Orthodox Church of India uses the church frequently for their services whenever any of their Bishops visit Ceylon. Soon it is hoped to erect a Campanile for the bells, and a Holy House after the model of the great Shrine at Walsingham. This will constitute a central power-house for the diffusion of the Faith in Ceylon, and a focus much needed by faithful Anglicans who practise the Faith in its fullness.

The Church possesses an atmosphere of prayer, and is worthy of St. Paul's traditions and every Christian in Ceylon should make a point of a visit.



The Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham. The Cross on the Altar is a replica of the Cross found carved on a rock at Anuradhapura, reputed to belong to the 5th century A. D.



The entrance to Victoria Park, Colombo

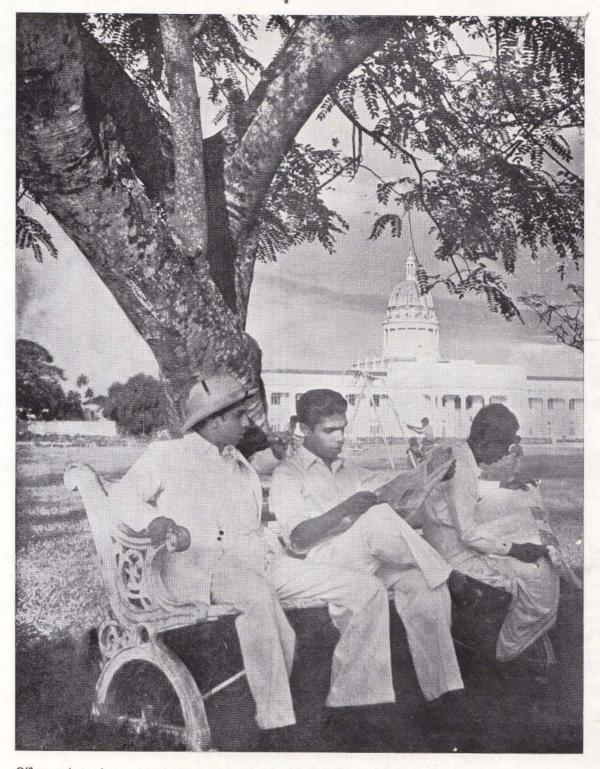
The Parks of Colombo

THE city of Colombo is dotted with a number of parks and playgrounds where children, and even adults, can take the air of an evening. Perhaps the best known of these parks is the Victoria Park where the Colombo Exhibition was held some years ago.

Before the war, the Victoria Park was laid out with gardens, band stand and promenade, golf links, tennis courts, a galloping course for riders and a circular carriage drive. Today, however, it is only an ornamental and recreational ground

laid out with gardens, and it has an open-air theatre which is sometimes used.

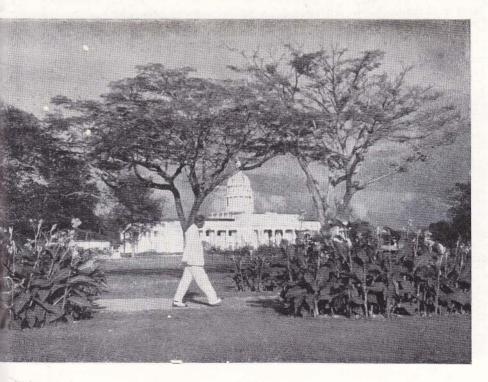
The Victoria Park is situated in the Cinnamon Gardens, so called from the circumstance that, during the time of the Dutch occupation of Colombo, it was one of the chief reserves under cultivation of that precious spice. During the last century, however, the cinnamon bushes have disappeared, giving place to rows of modern buildings and bungalows which now skirt the Park.



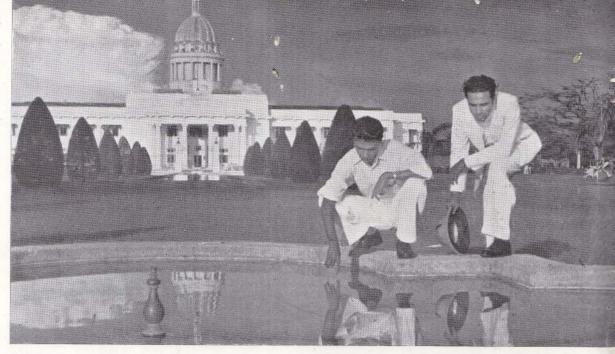
Office workers, during their lunch interval, relax in the shade of a tree in Victoria Park



Swing-time in the park. The swing is a great favourite amongst children of all ages. It is only one of the many amenities afforded at the park to children



A section of Victoria Park. In the background is the Colombo Town Hall

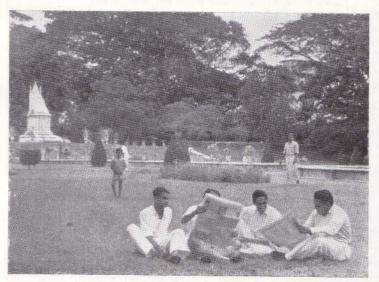


A view of the pond which runs almost the entire length of Victoria Park

There are several convenient entrances to the Park, of which Henry W. Cave wrote in 1908:

"Here we may wander under the shade of palms and figs or rest beneath clumps of graceful bamboo surrounded by blossoms and perfumes of the most enchanting kind. The huge purple bells of the thunbergia creep over

A view of Gordon Gardens, Colombo. On the left is a statue of Queen Victoria $\,$



the archways, and gorgeous pasion-flowers, orchids, pitcher plants, bright-leaved caladiums and multitudes of other tropical plants everywhere flourish and abound."

The Gordon Gardens in Colombo adjoin Queen's House, the residence of the Governor-General of Ceylon. During Dutch times, a church stood on the site of the Gardens. The Dutch church was destroyed during the British siege and the site was used as a parade ground by the military. The site was also used by the High Court for carrying out executions and for meeting out corporal punishment. Today, the Gordon Gardens are mainly used by office workers who spend their lunch interval there, reading a newspaper or enjoying a siesta.

Elie House Park in Mutwal, Colombo, is so called after Elie House, a mansion built by Mr. Anstruther, Colonial Secretary, who was predecessor to Sir Emerson Tennent. The mansion, Tennent writes, stood "in the midst of a garden containing the rarest and most beautiful trees of the tropics; tamarinds, jambus, nutmegs, guavas, mangoes and oranges, the graceful casuarinas of Australia, and the beautiful traveller's palm of Madagascar."

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LYN de FONSEKA

Ferguson, John

[Editor and Co-proprietor of the "Ceylon Observer"; one of the makers of modern journalism in Ceylon. A native of Ross-shire; born in 1843, and educated at the Tain Academy; came out to Ceylon on November 7, 1861, to join his famous uncle, A. M. Ferguson, as Assistant Editor of the "Ceylon Observer". He infused new life into it, becoming its Editor in 1870, and in 1875, partner in the firm of A. M. & J. Ferguson.

In 1881, Ferguson launched the "Tropical Agriculturist", which still flourishes as the official organ of the Department of Agriculture, Ceylon. For 36 years he acted as the Ceylon Correspondent to the "London Times".

Ferguson was one of the greatest British Colonists ever to come to Ceylon. During his residence of over 40 years in the Island he was indissolubly linked up with Ceylon's progress, and he knew more about the Island than any other person of the day.

To make Ceylon better known to the outside world, he published a series of *Handbooks*, which are mines of information concerning Ceylon. His *Directory* was described by Sir Arthur Gordon as "about the most wonderful Colonial publication" he ever came across.

A strong advocate of Temperance and one of the earliest social workers in Ceylon, he was very much liked by the Ceylonese for whose cause he worked, and was often referred to as "Honest John of Baillie Street."

For his services to the country he was made a Member of the Legislative Council in 1903, and the C. M. G. awarded to him the following year.

Ferguson was also President of the Royal Asiatic Society, thus taking a keen interest in matters relating to the history and antiquities of the Island. He represented Ceylon at the St. Louis World's Fair in 1904. He died at Chilworth, Surrey, on October 17, 1913, at the age of 70].

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(To be continued)

PASSAGES FROM THE PAST (17)

"THE ancient history of Ceylon is involved in much obscurity; but nevertheless we have sufficient data in the existing traces of its former population to form our opinions of the position and power which Ceylon occupied in the Eastern Hemisphere, when England was in a state of barbarism. The wonderful remains of ancient cities, tanks, and water-courses throughout the island all prove that the now desolate regions were tenanted by a multitude—not of savages, but of a race long since passed away, full of industry and intelligence."

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