The Reverend A.G. Fraser: his ecclesiastical, educational and political activities in Ceylon, 1904–1924

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THE REVEREND A.G. FRASER:

His ecclesiastical, educational and political activities in Ceylon 1904-1924.

by

The Reverend Brian Leathard M.A.

A Doctoral Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Loughborough University of Technology

Supervisor: Dr. A.A. Powell
Department of History

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To Ramani and Anusha
THE REVEREND A.G. FRASER: His ecclesiastical, educational and political activities in Ceylon 1904-1924

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INTRODUCTION

Purpose

Alek Fraser spent most of his adult life in the world of education in the British colonies. His tenure of office as Principal of Trinity College, Kandy, one of Ceylon's most prestigious schools for boys, ran from 1904 to 1924 and covered a period of immense educational, societal and political change. Fraser's own vision of his task was to create an environment in which indigenous Christianity would develop within the island. For Fraser the whole future of the colony depended upon the success of this venture, the creation of a truly Eastern nation rooted in an indigenous leadership committed to Christianity. In the last twenty years a number of academic journals have published articles which focus upon the phenomenon of nationalism in Ceylon. Among such articles it has become almost normative to point to the interaction between socio-political and economic factors. Such interaction is seen to have led to the growth of either the Buddhist revival in the last quarter of the nineteenth century or of twentieth century nationalism in Ceylon, especially from the mid 1920's. Articles concentrating upon the latter aspect frequently take as a starting point the deliberations leading to the Donoughmore Constitutional Commission of 1927.

Alongside such academic articles some non-academic,
narrative, biographical accounts of individual missionaries or institutions exist in a few cases, but such remain rare and, because of their partisan, laudatory or 'Boy's Own' style their value is limited.

There is therefore a major gap in regard to the middle period (between about 1890 and 1925) after the establishing of the missionary presence, that is during its period of co-existence with the Buddhist revival. This is particularly marked in the much disputed educational context, but also in broader political and ecclesiastical spheres. At the same time there is also a need to establish a more critical dimension. This is undertaken here by subjecting a variety of sources to academic scrutiny in an attempt to set a particular individual within the context of the colony's contemporary life.

In his biography of C.F. Andrews Hugh Tinker tantalisingly notes that

Fraser was in some ways another C.F. Andrews.

While Tinker's major biography of Andrews is perhaps indicative of the academic interest displayed in the Indian context, Ceylon never nurtured a Gandhi-like figure, nor a group of expatriates who, like C.F. Andrews, were prepared to devote the course of their lives, with sacrificial consequences, to the
cause of political and economic justice as they perceived it. That Fraser is therefore mentioned in precisely this manner has provoked this current study of linkages between him and the wider world of missionary ideas and involvement than the often constraining style of the Church Missionary Society or the inherent parochialism of the Diocese of Colombo.

This thesis therefore seeks to break new ground in concentrating upon one major figure in this underworked period of the colony's history and to identify through a figure within the ecclesiastical, educational and political establishment, the links which fostered the engagement in a series of disputed attitudes and activities in which, very often, Fraser seemed to stand alone in Ceylon and the consequences of which were only later absorbed into the wider life of the colony. To this end three areas have been selected which are representative of his involvement with and commitment to a wide variety of issues in the life of the colony.

First, while acknowledging Fraser's wide interests, nevertheless it was as Principal of a woefully run-down school that Fraser was recruited by the Church Missionary Society. His attention to curriculum, personnel and the ethos of the school was intense and perhaps in no matter was he more critical than in the question of language, English or the vernaculars, Sinhalese and Tamil. This issue was pivotal for the future of his work and for the life of the colony as he perceived it and
it is therefore the issue of language which is considered in this work as paramount in his educational activities.

Second, from the time of his arrival in Ceylon Fraser immersed himself in the colony's political life. By background he was clearly a man of the political establishment, and yet also acutely aware of his responsibilities both to those in his immediate care and to those outside it. A striking example of this occurred during the Sinhalese-Muslim riots of 1915 and in Fraser's demands for justice in the post-riot controversies.

Third, while considering all his activities included in the role of a Christian missionary, Fraser developed a style of theology and a spirituality based not upon any academic rigour but grounded in pastoral experience. In this work consideration is therefore given to Fraser's developing theology and ecclesiology experientially informed.

Previous Work

The single major piece of work on Fraser is a biography entitled Fraser of Trinity and Achimota by W.E.F. Ward and published in 1965, three years after Fraser's death. It surveys in purely biographical fashion, Fraser's whole life. Ward had himself worked with Fraser during the latter's tenure at Achimota College, Gold Coast and the tenor of the volume is
essentially that of a tribute by a friend. Ward himself asserts

In telling the story of his stormy life and setting forth his ideas, I have used Fraser's own words as far as possible. I have limited myself to his public life and career; it is too soon to discuss the family life of a man who died as recently as 1962.²

Unfortunately the many quotations in this work attributed both to Fraser and others are almost totally unsubstantiated. References are not available, although the preface to the work lists a variety of sources of material and individuals who have supplied such material. In addition the volume dedicates approximately only one third of its attention to the Ceylon years and does not attempt to set its comments critically against the broader context, for its purpose is primarily biographical rather than academic. Furthermore the volume, although stronger on the Achimota period, makes little use of the public records which would have been available for the Trinity College period, although the West Africa period would still have been embargoed. There is no evidence that the author of the work used any original sources in Ceylon. Thus while a useful volume in terms of overall structure, it is nevertheless of very restricted use for this study and it must be seen as something of a non-academic 'Festschrift' prompted by high regard for a colleague.
Trinity College itself has produced two major commemorative volumes. In 1922 V.L.O. Reimann published *A History of Trinity College, Kandy* to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the school. Again in 1972 the school's centenary prompted the publication, by the Principal, of a volume entitled *Trinity College, Kandy 1872-1972 Centenary Number* for which the preface nominates V. Jansze, the school's librarian, as the prime agent behind the venture. Both these volumes exist within a self-congratulatory framework and are primarily celebratory collections aimed at Old Boys. They are, however, useful in their comments upon the early development of the school and their not uncritical remarks regarding the major figures in the school's history. They also provide, sometimes indirectly, evidence of the atmosphere in the school, the growth of activities, the range of pupils, and, not least in the photographs, the way in which the school understood itself and sought to be perceived from outside.

A further study of one element of Fraser's career in Ceylon has been published under the title 'The Rev. A.G. Fraser and the Riots of 1915' by James T Rutnam in the *Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies*. While the article uses a variety of source material, including parliamentary and private records, its stated aim is to assess the degree of culpability exhibited by Fraser in the 1915 riots and the ongoing lack of resolution felt particularly keenly by Sinhalese leaders. Rutnam seeks to explore the argument, used
by some prominent contemporaries of Fraser, that his private correspondence inflamed the situation. In the somewhat dramatic style of the article Fraser is posited almost as a folk hero, haplessly drawn into a distorting controversy by malevolent rumour-mongers. Furthermore the article seeks to establish a clear causal link between Fraser's activities during and after the 1915 riots and the outcome of the episcopal elections in 1924. In that it seeks to raise questions regarding connections between Fraser's activities and wider social, political and indeed ecclesiastical factors, it is a useful piece of background work for the purposes of this present study, although clearly dated in style and restricted in scope. Rutnam reaches the conclusion that Fraser was not essentially anti-Sinhalese, a view with which this work would concur. However, it will be seen that other factors were of considerably greater significance in Fraser's departure from Ceylon than failure to be elected bishop and indeed that such direct links as Rutnam sees between the 1915 Riots and Fraser's unsuccessful candidature for episcopal election in 1924 must be questioned.

SOURCES

The largest single source of original material used in this thesis is the Church Missionary Society (CMS) Archives. This source completed its transfer from CMS headquarters in Waterloo, London SE1 to the Heslop Room of the University of
Birmingham Library during the compilation of this work. It is an extremely comprehensive collection with ready access through a series of well constructed handlists. Material used in this study is to be found under the general category of G2/CE/, suffixed by a relevant material-type letter. Material used from this collection is of three types.

First Individual Letter Books which are composite volumes emanating from the various officials of the parent missionary body of the CMS, based, at that time, in Salisbury Square, London. This material bears the suffix letter I. It is composed of instructions to missionaries first entering or returning to the mission field, formal communications relating to changes in structure or personnel affecting an individual missionary's work and official responses to specific requests, complaints or suggestions from missionaries.

Second, bearing the suffix letter L, the Letters Out Books. This category must be read in conjunction with the following category, for its contents are, on the whole, considered, and, very often, substantial responses to issues raised by missionaries in the field, both individually and corporately. Certainly there is considerable variation in the style of this material, even within the confines of this study, for Fraser's period of office embraced the tenure of at least three different postholders responsible for educational missions. In addition missionaries varied greatly in the manner
and style of their communications with London. Some, like Fraser, wrote frequently and at length, others wrote an annual report and little else. Some were clearly very guarded in their writings, both of themselves and of others, while Fraser appears to represent a particularly critical and forthright tradition. Much of the material pertaining to Fraser here is in regard to his plans for expansion and modernisation of the school, as well as his own personal career development.

The third type of material in this collection bears the suffix 0, being Original Correspondence, that is incoming to London from missionaries in the field. This has proved a particularly rich vein to mine in connection with this present study, as it produced an enormous variety of material. Much of the early material, before about 1910, is handwritten and preserved as single sheets. After this time most is typewritten and considerably easier to read than the earlier material which clearly suffered, both from the long sea journey home and from its early handling. Some material is identified by folio or piece number, some by date of writing and some by date of receipt. Within these boxes, organised in year groups, are letters from Fraser dealing with a wide variety of subjects; staff, student numbers, curriculum, the local ecclesiastical hierarchy, letters to prayer partners, speeches, pamphlets, advertising campaign material for fund raising and deeply personal letters which indicate a relationship with some figures in London which went far beyond the bounds of formal
communication. Material in this particular category emanates from a variety of locations, mostly from Kandy, but also correspondence undertaken while travelling, on furlough and during war service. Letters exist from throughout Fraser's period in Kandy, although considerably more material is to be found stemming from some particular years and considerably less from others.

The second major source is Rhodes House Library, Oxford. The collection here is entitled 'Papers of the Rev. A.G. Fraser MSS Brit Emp.s283' and is part of the Oxford Colonial Records Project. This collection covers the whole of Fraser's missionary and post-missionary life, beginning with his Uganda journals (1900) and continues to include letters written to his widow by colleagues and friends after his death in 1962. For the purposes of this study Boxes 1 and 2, dealing with the Ceylon years and with Trinity College, Kandy are particularly important. However, a considerable amount of the material in this source is also to be found in the Original Correspondence section of the CMS Archives, Birmingham. For this thesis the CMS Archives were consulted first and therefore it is to this source, in cases of duplication, that reference is made. Boxes 8 and 9 contain many personal letters from Fraser to his wife and throw considerable light upon their relationship, not least in the expression of the depth of isolation felt by Fraser when away from his wife, despite his, publicly at least, self-confident manner and the frequency of such journeyings.
throughout their married life. Box 11 contains a variety of correspondence to Fraser from a broad spectrum of Old Boys, other missionaries and friends, including C.F.Andrews as well as prestigious political figures such as D.S.Senanayake, the first Prime Minister of Ceylon. On the whole this material is largely laudatory and, in keeping with this style, perhaps attributes more to Fraser than can be established from other original or independent sources. It is of significance however that correspondents, even from the Ceylon era, sought to maintain links with Fraser by letter up to his death.

Fraser's own published works, where extant, are mainly to be found in the two collections already discussed. There are some exceptions. One important published letter to prayer partners, regarding the 1915 riots, cannot be traced. Other pamphlets, mainly published by Aberdeen University Press, are accessible through the British Library Lending Division.

In Sri Lanka the major source of archive material is the Department of National Archives, Colombo. Here the material used is primarily in Censuses and Sessional Papers of the Legislative Council and in particular those documents relating to the educational sector of government. Here is to be found some useful statistical material as well as evidence given during government enquiries, for example with regard to the introduction of the vernacular languages into English schools. The collection also contains evidence given by Fraser after the
1915 riots. Unfortunately there are some major gaps in the collection; on occasion this may be that a particular volume of Administrative Reports is missing, for example that for 1904, the year of Fraser's arrival in the colony, or more importantly, the total disappearance of the Department of Public Instruction/Department of Education registers of schools prior to 1925. The Department of National Archives also contains a useful collection of newspapers, both vernacular and English, covering the period in question.

The archives of the Diocese of Colombo are primarily concerned, as one might expect, with the internal affairs of the diocese. It should be noted that Fraser was not an employee of the diocese, but rather of the Church Missionary Society in London; indeed Trinity College, Kandy itself was not a diocesan institution and therefore this archive source contains little original material of direct applicability other than records of some Diocesan Conferences. However, it does contain a selection of secondary material regarding the state of the churches in Ceylon and in particular commemorative and synoptic volumes which provide useful and contemporary background analysis and to which reference is made, on several occasions, in this thesis.

The Library at Trinity College, Kandy was found to be of disappointing value for the purpose of this study. There is little original material, other than an incomplete set of
school magazines and many photographs. These certainly give some insight into the contemporary size, activities and functioning of the school without the heavy gloss of praise to be found in the commemorative volumes. They also contain records of speeches given to the school on various occasions, both by Fraser and by visiting dignitaries.

Two other sources have been consulted for original material and should be mentioned here. First, the Public Record Office, Kew contains all official documentation regarding the colony. Gaps found to exist in the Department of National Archives in Colombo, for example, have been substantially filled by this source and also, but less comprehensively by the parliamentary papers available in microfiche form at the Pilkington Library, Loughborough University of Technology. The Public Record Office has proved to be of particular value in securing access to official communications between the Colonial Office and Governors of the colony. Second, the International Missionary Council Archives, held in the library of the World Council of Churches, Geneva, Switzerland are both extremely comprehensive and most 'user-friendly' for the period under study here. There is a considerable amount of original material by Fraser, and many other missionaries which was sought and collated in preparation for the International Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910.
Beginnings of Missionary Activity

The colonial history of Ceylon bears witness to the chequered history of three European imperial powers, Portugal, the Netherlands and Great Britain. Like the passing of geological eras so the waxing and waning of each of these three empires deposited traces which in turn influenced later structures and events. As the domestic history, social, political, economic and ecclesiastical, of each of these powers differed, so too did the manner in which they permitted, encouraged or discouraged the church from operating in its overseas territories.

With the successful conquering of the maritime areas of Ceylon in 1505 the Portuguese thereby added another strategic possession to their expanding colonial interests in South and South East Asia. The parallel expansion of the Roman Catholic Church was however hindered by the fact that the Portuguese crown exercised the sole right to appoint bishops in India. With only four dioceses to cover all South Asia there existed no reasonable infrastructure for comprehensive evangelisation outside strongly Portuguese centres of influence until nineteenth century reforms took effect. Equally in Ceylon, military and political progress was slow in expanding the colonial possessions towards the interior. When, in 1639, the Dutch displaced the Portuguese from control of the maritime
areas they inherited a Christian presence which was almost coterminous with the area of Portuguese political and economic influence.

The replacement of Portugal by the Dutch East India Company necessarily involved the substitution of a protestant church for the Roman Catholic church and, furthermore, the Dutch Reformed Church rapidly became the established church of the island. The Dutch Reformed Church occupied a uniquely privileged position in Ceylon with all clergy stipends and the costs of proselytism being met by the Dutch government. For the colonial subjects however the situation was fraught with perplexity, not least because membership of the Dutch Reformed Church was vital for all Company employment and preferment. Furthermore, laws proscribing Roman Catholicism were vigorously implemented, with the result that many clergy and religious fled inland and took shelter in the Kandyan Kingdom, while many lay Catholics, as well as Buddhists, developed a public and reformed religious exterior while maintaining a quite different private spirituality.

In turn the British ousted the Dutch from the maritime areas in 1796, with these former Dutch possessions being formally ceded to Britain at the Peace of Amiens in 1802. At this time British territory in Ceylon was invested directly in the Crown and the brief and unstable intervening period of six years administration by the Madras Government of the East India
Company was terminated. The British, unlike the Portuguese and Dutch before them, slowly attempted to extend their power over the whole island, a process which took another 19 years to complete. However as De Silva remarks

In the early years of their rule the British had no real anxiety to round off total control over the island...On the contrary [they] had begun a policy of relaxing the rigid curbs on external trade of the Kandyans, which the Dutch had imposed, and permitted the Kandyans to develop trade across the seas in the hope of thus demonstrating that British control over the island's littoral was much less irksome to Kandyan interests than Dutch rule there had been.3

This liberalising of trade arrangements for the Kandyan kingdom was accompanied by a partial religious liberalisation. This was not solely the product of selfless philanthropy on the part of the British administration, but rather the concomitant measures in the social sphere to the economic liberalisation outlined above. By such measures the British administration clearly sought to woo the Kandyans into a situation in which co-operation with, and in turn domination by, the British seemed irresistibly attractive.

It was in 1815 that the British created a unitary entity for the first time in the island's political history, when the Kandyan kingdom was ceded to the British. This cession was not the result of military conquest, nor even primarily as a direct result of economic and social gains from such liberal policies as had been adopted, but initially, and overtly, it was due to the desire of members of the Kandyan aristocracy to rid
themselves of an unpopular ruler. In this matter De Silva comments:

There was no real decline of the Kandyan kingdom in the sense of a deep-rooted crisis of society, nor an economic breakdown which affected the people, but only a running down of the political machinery of the state in the face of a prolonged confrontation between the king and the chiefs in the ruling hierarchy. 4

Thus on 2 March 1815 the Kandyan kingdom, which represented the heartland of Buddhist culture and spirituality as well as the last bastion of pre-colonial Lanka, was signed into the possession of the British Crown by its religious and secular leaders. Clause 5 of the Kandyan Convention, the instrument of cession, is of particular importance both to this survey and to all governmental dealings with issues of religion in Ceylon, for it provides for the preservation of the powers and privileges of the chiefs, the laws, institutions and customs of the Kandyan kingdom and, above all, the maintenance of Buddhism thus:

The religion of Budhoo, its rites, ministers and places of worship are to be maintained and protected. 5

The importance of this uncharacteristically direct and emphatic clause can hardly be over-emphasised. From the signing of the Convention until independence in 1948 this clause was invoked on numerous occasions to defend the traditional role and place of Buddhism and the position of the monastic orders. To Christian missionaries in particular it appeared as a
stumbling block to proselytizing and conversion, indeed a betrayal of faith on the part of the colonial power, especially when later interpreted and extended in the Buddhist Temporalities Ordinance of 1907. Conversely for Hindus and Muslims this same clause later came both to represent and confirm their peripheral status. From the mid-nineteenth century until the end of colonial rule in 1948 the Ceylon administration adopted and implemented a policy of religious neutrality, without committing itself to any form of established religion or denomination, except in so far as it felt itself obliged by clause 5 of the Kandyan Convention. This approach, in contrast to the official stance of both Portuguese and Dutch colonial powers, is of considerable importance to this study, for while several families among the indigenous oligarchy adopted Anglicanism, nevertheless Buddhist, Hindu and Muslim faiths continued to flourish in both traditional and reforming fashions.

In the educational sphere each of the colonial powers implemented a variety of measures to meet their own requirements and to suit their own exchequers. Between 1543 and 1616 the Portuguese established more than one hundred Parish Schools in order to instruct converts in

religion, reading, writing, singing, Latin and good customs.
Each parish and mission station had its own integral school, often administered by members of religious orders, particularly Jesuits, in which the educational enterprise was twofold, first as an exercise in evangelisation, and second to create a literate class with whom trade could be expanded. Furthermore there is evidence of Christian literature being translated into and being made available both in Sinhalese and Tamil under the Portuguese. Indeed the vernacular languages were both taught and used in Parish Schools.

Under the Dutch, education was again in the hands of the church, now of the reformed tradition, although maintained and financed by the state. Seminaries were established in Colombo and Jaffna to train catechists, but Corea asserts that

The Dutch were more successful as educators than missionaries. Dutch policy in Ceylon was trade oriented.7

Despite this orientation Ames makes it clear that the Dutch educational enterprise was on a large scale, so much so that

By 1760 the Dutch listed 64,654 pupils in over 130 schools.8

Under British rule the policy of the colonial government in Ceylon, as in other colonies, throughout most of the nineteenth century, was to finance education only by revenue raised in the colony concerned. Fuelled by religious revival at home and the vacuum in educational endeavour in Ceylon, the
various missionary societies, reflecting the complexities of denominationalism and churchmanship in Britain, rallied to provide educational opportunities as part of their overall proselytizing strategy.

Largely with educational work in view the Baptist Missionary Society began its activities in 1812, the Wesleyan Missionary Society in 1814 and the low-church Anglican Church Missionary Society commenced operations in 1818. As early as 1810 the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions arrived in Ceylon after having been refused permission to operate in India, but its influence, which became very considerable, was confined to the Jaffna Peninsula, to which Governor Barnes admitted it on his own authority and without the approval of the Colonial Office. The American Mission's work, by being geographically constrained in this particular way, was therefore almost exclusively among the Tamil population.

In addition to protestant Christian schools and government schools, all of which at this date were of elementary standard, there also existed a small number of Buddhist, Hindu and Muslim schools as well as some surviving Roman Catholic institutions. Because of traditional rights and privileges, not least court patronage, Buddhist schools existed across the island, whereas other schools of a religious foundation tended to be more localised. Little is known of the standard or nature of
education in such schools during the early nineteenth century. Extant descriptions come mainly from the impressions gained by itinerant or district Christian missionaries who can hardly be considered disinterested observers. Thus the Reverend James Cordiner, Superintendent of Government Parish Schools remarks of (Buddhist) temple schools he has observed:

The greater part of the men can read and write; but these accomplishments are not communicated to the women. All their instruction is received, and their knowledge expressed viva voce.9

Again, the Wesleyan missionary Hardy, comments that while at most temples a few boys receive instruction in basic literacy, nevertheless

the numbers who attend at the temples to learn their religious books are proof of the great power they still possess over the general mind.10

As will be discussed at length in the body of this work, the situation which pertained in the middle of the nineteenth century continued until the effects of the Buddhist Revival and, with regard to education in particular, the effects of the Theosophical Movement, began to be felt in the last decade of the nineteenth century. The founding of Buddhist English schools, competing for the same clientele as their Christian counterparts, sharpened the tension between older and younger institutions. Trinity College, Kandy was founded in 1872 as the successor to the Kandy Collegiate School which had closed in 1863, although its roots lie in the educational work of the
first CMS missionaries to be active in the Kandyan region, as early as 1818. Indeed the first mission bungalow and schoolhouse are still in use on the current site of the school. The first principal, The Reverend Richard Collins, re-opened the school with a total of four staff and three buildings plus a church. Collins was himself a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin and it is assumed that it is for this reason that the name of the institution changed. The first four students were entered for the Calcutta University Entrance examination in 1873 and one student passed. Rapid progress followed with the building of dormitories and classroom accommodation and in 1889, the school's most prestigious achievement, a swimming pool. However staffing problems plagued the school and such progress as had been made seemed rapidly to vanish. Between 1900 and 1904 five different men were appointed to the post of Principal and several more served as Acting Principal, until in November 1904 A.G. Fraser arrived in the island to find a school barely able to remain open, so complex were its problems and so damaged its reputation.
References

1. Tinker H. The Ordeal of Love. C.F. Andrews and India Delhi 1979 p 119.


4. ibid p 230.

5. CEYLON Department of National Archives The Kandyan Convention 2.3.1815, Clause 5, signed by Robert Brownrigg Governor


9. Cordiner J. A Description of Ceylon Vol 1 London 1807 p 120.

When Fraser arrived in Ceylon in 1904 two educational traditions were clearly discernible. The older Buddhist tradition was based in and around the temple, while the younger tradition had been imported along with other elements of colonial infrastructure and reflected the interests and perceived needs of Portuguese, Dutch and British colonial life. After the creation of the unitary political entity of Ceylon and until the effects of the Buddhist revival were felt in education, the successes of the Christian missions were paramount in the field of education, aided by both government attitude and prescription. This led to the downgrading, and in a large number of cases the abandonment of traditional Buddhist temple schools. However, at the other end of the spectrum, established seats of Buddhist higher learning continued, largely unaffected by changes in secular and missionary elementary and secondary schools. Furthermore such seats of learning attracted the attention and interest of several Governors and high-ranking colonial officials. Ames describes a pyramidal structure for such seats of learning and argues that

The more advanced the level of education the more restricted the clientele and the more Buddhist in content it became. Ceylon actually achieved considerable eminence as a centre for higher Buddhist learning. Usually, however, only a few people, mostly monks and noblemen, advanced to more than the rudiments of reading and writing and training in crafts and trades.
With regard to higher learning an important step was taken in 1878 when the Ceylon government agreed to undertake some financial support for the Vidyodaya Pirivena, one such centre specialising in Pali, Sanskrit and Buddhism in a broad context. With such support this Pirivena continued to attract both local and overseas students, the latter primarily from Siam, Cambodia and Japan. However some dissatisfaction with such support would seem to have developed in government circles, for in 1898 the Lieutenant Governor agreed with a suggestion made by Ramanathan, the acting Attorney-General, that the University of London be encouraged to include Sinhala and Tamil among its examination subjects, as the government was not satisfied with the results from the grant to the Vidyodaya Pirivena².

Nevertheless in 1828 statistics reveal that the largest single group of schools in the colony were the so-called 'private' establishments, many extremely small and of varying standard. The survey of 1828, detailed below, excludes all Hindu and Muslim schools as well as comprehensive information regarding Buddhist schools. Nevertheless, even such omissions themselves form a useful statement regarding the officially perceived nature of a school or educational establishment. It should also be remembered that the number of protestant mission schools includes about 80 American Mission schools in Jaffna alone and that the Roman Catholic mission schools were primarily concentrated along the western littoral.
Ceylon Schools in 1828

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of School</th>
<th>Total Number of Schools</th>
<th>Number of Children</th>
<th>Average per school</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>1914</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prot.Miss.</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>9274</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cath.Miss.</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>1358</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>8424</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhist Temple</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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The Commission of Eastern Inquiry, commonly known as the Colebrooke-Cameron Commission, was appointed in 1831 at a time when the strategic and military importance of Ceylon was well established, with Britain the undisputed master of the Indian Ocean and Bay of Bengal. The Commissioners, with inherent inclinations towards a free market economy, found the contemporary pattern of mercantile activity, which had been largely inherited from the Dutch period, to be quite unacceptable. Equally alien and unsuitable were certain social and cultural mores which were seen to block the path towards a free economy. Perhaps chief among the latter was the practice of 'rajakariya' that is, 'king's service' which was effectively a form of indentured labour in certain areas of the colony. De Silva remarks of this

Colebrooke and Cameron objected to it on humanitarian grounds - they regarded it as an intolerable and oppressive relic of feudalism...Rajakariya was an obstacle to the free movement of labour and to the creation of a land-market, both of which were vitally important in the establishment of the laissez-faire state.
More importantly in the present context, the Commission regarded the development and spread of education as being an important stimulus in the breaking down of this system which reduced the mobility of labour not only geographically, but also socially. To this end the educational endeavours of the missionary societies gained high praise from the Commission thus

"to the labours of these societies...the natives are principally indebted for the opportunities of instruction afforded to them."

While at the same time it also found government schools to be extremely defective and inefficient.

Here it should be noted that the Commissioners were not necessarily making purely pedagogical judgements, but were primarily concerned with the maximising of scarce resources, including educated labour, and with the overall security and economic stability of the colony. To this end the Colombo Academy, later to become Royal College, was founded as a centre of excellence for the education in English of boys from a very small elite of Ceylon, principally Colombo, society. The bulk of educational activity, vernacular and English, was however, as before, left in the hands of the denominational missionary societies.

1834 saw the establishment of the School Commission which was charged with the recommendation of the Colebrooke-Cameron
Commission to reform government schools, indeed even disbanding government schools in localities where missionary society schools functioned. With the introduction of the Grant-in-Aid system the missionary schools became increasingly subject to the authority of the Central Schools Commission, which body administered these relatively meagre sums of cash for education made available from the public purse. Until 1841 the power and patronage of this commission was almost exclusively Anglican. The Archdeacon of Colombo was president of the Commission and the largest bloc of members was Anglican clergy. After 1841 Anglicans, now joined by Methodists, Presbyterians and Roman Catholics, lost their inbuilt majority and were only able to exert direct influence over their own denominational schools. Much rivalry and confessional squabbling marred the life of this body although, if one views the overall contribution of Grants-in-Aid under the Central School Commission and particularly under Governor Campbell (1841-1847) education does seem to have received a new priority in government spending. Corea notes that

The cost of education to the state rose from £2,999 in 1841 to £11,415 in 1847. The important principle was laid down that a child should be taught his own language before he was taught English. This forward movement was, however, shortly to be retarded by the financial recession of 1847 and the so-called Kandyan rebellion of 1848.

The chequered life of the Central School Commission was again brought under scrutiny in 1865 by the appointment of a sub-committee of the Legislative Council appointed to
inquire into and report upon the state and prospects of education in the island.  

The results of this inquiry, known as the Morgan Report, were implemented by 1869 and set the scene for the pattern of education which was to prevail in the colony until after independence. Its most important recommendation was the abolition of the Central Schools Commission and the creation of a Government Department of Public Instruction. The operating system became known as the Denominational system, for although the government was to take an increasing role in making grants, overseeing efficiency, curricula, examinations and policy matters through the Director of the Department, all religious denominations were given leave to establish schools for children of all ages in which there were to be no government restrictions on religious instruction. Peripatetic inspectors toured the island examining pupils and schools and thereby assessing Grant-in-Aid sums to each particular institution on a relatively objective and prescribed basis.

While in theory Buddhists, Hindus and Muslims were free to establish their own schools, a number of factors prevailed against this. First the Christian schools were already well established and, in an age and context in which British methods and values were primary in the minds of much of the social and economic elite for whom such schools primarily catered, the reputation of the missionary schools as springboards to social
and professional mobility was increasingly enhanced. In addition the missionary schools enjoyed the organisational support of well-oiled machines in their sponsoring societies as well as the patronage of the local establishment.

After 1870 with the strengthening of the denominational system English education became almost completely the concern of the missionary societies, while government elementary education was interpreted extremely narrowly and provided nothing more than the most rudimentary skills of numeracy and literacy in the vernacular. This attitude was given further expression in the revised education code of Charles Bruce and implemented in the 1888 code, which as De Silva remarks, directed that

government policy should be directed at the extension of primary education to equip the village child for the 'humble career which he ordinarily has before him'.

Thus by the last quarter of the nineteenth century a two-fold system of education was firmly established. On one level government vernacular schools served the rural areas as well as the majority of the urban populace. On a second level, and with little transfer from the former, the denominational English schools with their prohibitive linguistic and fee barrier, catered for an elite which was slowly expanding with economic prosperity through the development of a mercantile middle class.
The predominance of the Christian missions in the educational sector by 1880 by no means mirrored the pattern of religious affiliation across the colony. As one might expect the Christian Missions up to 1850 had made least headway in the Kandyan Kingdom, the traditional heartland of Ceylon's Buddhist devotion. Here there was undoubtedly a greater commitment to the inherited faith than in the Western Province. The maritime areas in particular had been exposed to Christianity not only under the British, but perhaps more importantly, both Portuguese and Dutch colonists had the more actively encouraged Christian Missionaries throughout the coastal areas. Until the 1840s at least there seems to have been very little open Buddhist antagonism to Christianity, although given the resources available to the missions and the length of time for which they had been operating, one can only assume that their appeal to conversion had met with a considerable degree of indifference and reluctance to abandon traditional religious practice.

Equally there do not appear to be any significant accounts of anti-Christian sentiment being harboured by the Buddhist clergy, or indeed any lasting feeling of considerable hurt having been done to Buddhists by the attacks made upon them by Christians, despite the extreme and often vitriolic form of missionary rhetoric. On occasions, when particularly offensive articles, speeches or actions were publicised certain Buddhists objected by making petitions to the Governor. Malagoda gives
evidence suggesting that such isolated petitions can be traced back to the 1820s, that is, to some of the earliest British missionary enterprises in the colony, however, the success of such petitioning seems to have been extremely limited. Perhaps the most dramatic of such interventions was in 1852 when the then Governor, Sir G.W. Anderson, took exception to a pamphlet issued by the Venerable Benjamin Barley, Archdeacon of Colombo and resident head of the established Church in the colony. The pamphlet entitled 'Six Letters of Vetus... on the Re-connexion of the British Government with the Buddhist Idolatory of Ceylon' was

...in language so violent and offensive as calculated to excite and exasperate the whole Buddhist population. and Governor Anderson's protest to the Colonial Office forced the Archdeacon to resign.

The style of attack adopted by the Christian missionaries at this early stage owed more to a near total ignorance of Buddhism (texts, spirituality and life-style) than revulsion at any supposedly abhorrent facet of that tradition. It was largely through the work of two Wesleyan missionaries, Hardy and Gogerly, that engagement with Buddhism began to replace attack on it by agents of Christianity. Gogerly's first work in Sinhalese Kristiyani Prajnapti was first published in 1849 and translated into English as The Evidence and Doctrines of the Christian Religion. Malagoda remarks
This was on the whole a new approach to Buddhism, an approach characterised by appeals to 'evidences and proofs - to reason rather than to emotion. The underlying assumption of this new approach... was the superiority of Christianity over other religions on the intellectual plain, on account of the soundness of its own principles and of the unsoundness of the principles of other religions.

The new approach was reflected in the style and tenor of Kristiyani Prajnapti: in it there were no violent outburst on the "sin and folly of idolatry and devil worship". In this respect it differed noticeably from the bulk of earlier publications as well as from the current English publications.12

Clearly with this significant change in tack involving both polemical publishing in Sinhalese and a new level of debate, Buddhist monks needed new ways of responding and as we shall see this response flourished throughout the remainder of the century.

Meanwhile in the 1840s isolated pockets of active resistance began to appear in Kandy. The traditional lifestyle of the Kandyan Kingdom was greatly challenged in the 1830s with the advent of the plantation sector, initially for coffee. Not only did this expose increasing numbers of Kandyans to western colonial practices but also posed a threat to the prevailing economic system. At the same time the Colebrooke-Cameron reforms recommended the termination of treating the Kandyan Province as a separate entity and sought to merge the administration of the whole island into one system and to
encourage social flux. Furthermore the road network in the Kandyan province had been significantly improved after 1818 for strategic military purposes allowing a much quicker response to be made to any likely threats to stability.

A scare of rebellion arose in 1842-43 with the appearance of a pretender to the Kandyan throne. The prime motive for such resistance would seem to be a desire for a return to traditional Kandyan life, a classic example of so-called negative nationalism. Scant regard was taken of this relatively small outbreak, indeed it would appear that so adamant was the desire to pursue the plantation economy that the opportunity was missed to convince the leaders of the indigenous population of the benefits of modernisation.

In July-August 1848 the colonial administration demonstrated that politically at least, it had been singularly slow to learn from the events of 1842-43, and the more widespread 'rebellion', was, in this instance, focussed against Torrington's new taxes. This new tax system sought to shift the balance away from import/export duties towards direct taxation. The most important element of the new system was the land tax. However, the effects of the 1846-48 economic depression were so severe in the colony, and in the plantation sector in particular, that the land tax was withdrawn and other taxes rapidly introduced in order to avoid a shortfall in government revenue. Whereas the greatest burden of the land
tax would have fallen upon the more affluent members of the local population and upon European landowners, the range of taxes eventually imposed in 1848 (shop tax, dog tax, gun tax, road ordinance) placed a considerable burden upon the peasant population. The resultant confrontation, came not from the Sinhalese elite or emerging middle-class, but from the peasant. Although the violence which occurred was spasmodic, nevertheless it was important in that it occurred both in the Kandyan region (Kandy, Matale and Kurunegala) and in Colombo and also that it focussed upon a return to a more traditional way of life, even to the extent of naming and recognising a King to succeed to the Kandyan throne. As de Silva remarks

The force that inspired these men was the traditionalist nationalism of the Kandyans, and a form of nationalism poles apart from that of the 20th century but still nationalism for that.13

These isolated and infrequent events undoubtedly contributed to the more articulate and confident attempts to assert a degree of resistance to the colonial government which began to occur during the 1860s and 1870s. If however, one looks at the reports made to the Colonial Office by different Governors during this period it is clear that there is little evidence of political or economic resistance. Thus Governor Gregory in reply to Lord Kimberley’s request to consider the necessity of maintaining the Ceylon Rifle Regiment makes clear that after a thorough investigation he can see no requirement for a European Regiment to remain in the colony. He writes
...I am happy to report that in all the Districts which I visited the inhabitants are thriving to a degree which surprised me; and they are consequently contented and thoroughly loyal to English rule.
...it must be borne in mind that in this island there is no warlike race, the people are unused to arms; and are as a rule, patient and timid. Above all the explosive element of religious fanaticism is wanting. 14

Ten years later while granting that a 'prophecy' of the approaching termination of the English domination is in circulation in some parts of Ceylon, Sir James Longden remarks that such rumouring is due primarily to the appearance of a 'magnificent comet' in the night sky. Furthermore, he writes to London in 1882

I do not attach any real importance to the reports in circulation. I am sensible that the gulf which separates the mind and sentiments of a native people from English feeling is so great that we may often be under a total misconception of native aims and feelings; but at present the native population is generally in the enjoyment of perfect freedom and of great material prosperity. Food is cheap and plentiful, and the causes which usually goad men into insurrection are wanting. 15

It is equally clear that during this same period there was a growing resistance to the Christian missions and in particular, to their educational activities. Wickremeratne argues that

...the revival reflected the uneasiness of the Buddhists at the success of the Protestant Missionaries. 16.

As already mentioned it was primarily in the maritime districts that the Christian missions had met with greatest 'success' both in terms of religious conversion and in terms of
introducing western educational methods, yet it was in these same districts that resistance began to flourish during the second half of the 19th century, while after 1848 Kandyan 'nationalism' seemed to subside.

In the Maritime Provinces, and in the major towns in particular, the years 1860-1900 saw a marked change in both the nature and pace of that renewal in Buddhism which in the twentieth century was translated into a more readily recognisable form of nationalism. In 1865, after a considerable period of internal religious controversy, a reform took place within the Buddhist Sangha with the establishing of the Ramanna nikaya, an offshoot of the Amarapura nikaya. This Ramanna nikaya laid considerable stress upon the vows of poverty and humility and sought to refine the Sangha, purging Buddhism of all taints of Hinduism. It should be noted that the Amarapura nikaya had little influence in the Kandyan areas, which remained under the predominant and wealthy Siamese sect and particularly within the sect, the Malvatte and Asgiriya Chapters remained in firm control. Thus the reformed Amarapura nikaya became, increasingly, the spiritual partner of the secular branches of the Buddhist revival in the maritime areas and almost exclusively amongst low-country Sinhalese.

From the controversies leading to the reform members of the Sangha acquired new skills and experimented with new patterns of protest which were soon applied to the Buddhist-
Christianity conflict. Equally a new and more general interest in Buddhist-Christian controversy was perceived and exploited. What had previously been almost the exclusive sphere of the Christian missionary now became the ground of both Christian and Buddhist rhetoricians.

An important step forward for the Buddhists was the purchase of a printing press in 1855. With more than a touch of irony this printing press was in fact bought second-hand from the CMS at Kotte and had, up to that point, been used exclusively for the publication of Christian missionary tracts. In retrospect the decision to part with the press was regretted.

It is a sad fact that this press, which had been so long instrumental in diffusing truth and knowledge was, soon after its transference to other hands, used in opposition to Christianity, and that from it came forth the first of the Buddhist tracts naturally filled with blasphemy.

The first printing press was quickly followed by another in 1862, the Lankapakara Press, located in Galle. This second press became increasingly important in the publication of pro-Buddhist material after it gained financial support both from the King of Siam, Mongkut (who was himself the first Siamese to establish a printing press) and from the Kandyan Chief Rahupola Heral Bandara of Uva.
The Colombo printing press, based at Kotahena, was under the control of Mohotivatte Gunananda, (1823-90) a member of the Sangha who rapidly became a cult hero of the pro-Buddhist cause. His printing press was, on the whole, used for populist tracts and pamphlets. This same monk in 1862 established the first "Society" to resist Christianity, entitled 'Sarvajna Sasanaabhivriddhidayaka Dharma Samagama' which was translated into English as 'Society for the Propagation of Buddhism'. This was clearly an imitation of 'The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel' already active in Ceylon for some twenty years at this stage. With the mechanical capacity and the financial resources of the Society at his disposal Mohotivatte advanced the pro-Buddhist cause both rapidly and skilfully. In June 1862 the first journal was published entitled Durlabdhi Vinodaniya and this, appearing monthly, was a reply to Gogerly's Kristiyani Prajnapti. Malalgoda remarks of Mohotivatte that

...once he had set his mind on the task he combatted them [the Christian Missionaries] with a zeal that equalled, if not exceeded, that of his opponents, coupled with verbal skills far superior to theirs.

Thus an increasingly active period of rival printed exchanges began, with journals mushrooming and often ceasing publication as abruptly as they had begun. Common to most of these publications was the theme of evidences and doctrines of Christianity and Buddhism, with a growing strain of attack as well as defence on both sides.
A further area of contact between Christian missionaries and Buddhist apologists were the formal debates which became predominant between 1864 and 1890. These events organised originally by Christian Missionaries, especially the Wesleyans, sought to prove the superiority of Christianity over Buddhism through the formal and somewhat stylised medium of rational debate and deliberation. Such debates took on a growing importance as foci of confrontation and popular appeal within the context of the late 19th century Buddhist revival, especially in the maritime areas. De Silva remarks that such debates in fact

...only succeeded in providing Buddhist spokesmen with a platform for a vigorous assertion of the virtues of their own faith.

The first such major debate took place at Baddegama. In November 1864 members of the Anglican Theological College, which had been transferred from Kotte to Baddegama, challenged the monks of the local temple to a debate. The challenge was duly accepted and the meeting convened for 8th February 1865.

Under the astute leadership of Bulatgama Sumana fifty Buddhist monks from throughout the South-West, from Colombo to Galle, gathered forces. Not only was this a new venture in terms of Christian-Buddhist encounter, but equally this was probably the first time that members of several different fraternities of the Sangha appeared together for a common cause. Furthermore records state the presence of some two
thousand interested Buddhist laymen. On the Christian Missionary side only some sixty or seventy people, including participants, could be mustered. The proposed debate did not in fact take place as planned, due to disagreements over procedure, but rather written questions, answers and statements were exchanged, which were subsequently published. In a real sense, the essence of the exchange is less important to us than the fact of its occurrence. The Revd. George Parsons, who was in overall charge of the CMS mission station at Baddegama wrote to London

The Spirit of controversy broke out in November last, and though I was partly prepared for it, I was slow to believe it would become such a serious matter until urged by our people to prepare for a fierce contest. The result fully justified their anxieties, for never before in Ceylon was there such a marshalling of the enemy against Christianity. The one aim of the fifty priests and their two thousand followers who assembled here on February 8 was not to defend Buddhism but to overthrow Christianity... Knowing the people we had to encounter, we felt that our victory would be more triumphant and complete by attacking Buddhism, while we defended Christianity. It was not, however, till we were somewhat advanced in the controversy, that we could fairly estimate the difficulties of our position, and day by day, we had to commend ourselves in prayer to God and confide in Him for wisdom and direction at every step.21

Here we have the reaction of a senior missionary clearly alarmed by the nature of the exercise in which he had become involved. Certainly the new nature and scope of the Buddhist-Christian encounter was shown in the Baddegama debate and both in their awareness and perception of the changed situation and
in their reaction to it, the Christian missionaries were, on the whole, found wanting.

Furthermore, given the degree of unpreparedness and the experience of considerable embarrassment engendered by the Baddegama incident one might have expected the Christian missionary societies to issue guidelines regarding such encounters, or to prohibit them, but such is lacking. The series of debates continued with several such unconvincing displays from the Christian side such as at Varagoda (1865) and then the first true public debate at Udanvita (1866) and then at Gampola (1871). Little seems to have been learned by the missionaries in all this, either with regard to technique or tactics.

The most famous such debate, however, occurred in 1873 at Panadura, a small town approximately fifteen miles south of Colombo. The Panadura debate does seem to have been influential in putting an end to this form of Buddhist-Christian encounter for at its most basic the Christian missionaries at least realised that they could not hope to win any advantage over the vastly superior challenge of the Buddhist participants.

The Panadura debate lasted for two days (26 and 28 August 1873) and was structured around four one hour speeches, for the Buddhists led by Mohotivatte Gunananda and for the Christians
by David de Silva of the Wesleyan Mission. De Silva, an intelligent and learned convert, was no great orator and therefore the Christian missionaries substituted F.S. Sirimane, a C.M.S. catechist, for one of the hour long speeches.

Unlike the more traditional picture of the serenity of the learned Buddhist monk instructing his hearers, Mohottivatte adopted an outgoing, rhetorical, even evangelical style, with de Silva describing him as 'a consummate master of public haranguing'.

On the first day some 5,000 people attended the debate, with the unprecedented presence on the second day of over 10,000. In his description of the atmosphere of the proceedings Capper (editor of the Ceylon Times) relies on John Perera, a Sinhalese Christian, who noted that

Scarceley had the last words [of Mohottivatte's concluding address] been uttered when cries of 'Sadhu' ascended from the thousands who were present. Endeavours were made by the handful of Police to keep order, but nothing induced them to cease their vociferous cries until at the request of the learned High Priest of Adam's Peak, the Priest Migettuwatte[sic] again rose, and with a wave of hand, beckoned to men to be quiet, when all was still.

Although the nature of the engagement was such that neither side could, or would, openly acknowledge defeat, nevertheless the outcome was clear. The Christian missions had singularly failed in their attempt to 'disprove' Buddhism in the eyes of the overwhelming majority of those attending the debate. They had been beaten at their own game. Such a defeat
as at Panadura, is however symptomatic of the wider lack of judgement of the Christian missionaries operating under the general illusion that Buddhism was all but finished and that the Sangha was held in scant regard by the laity. Furthermore the size of the crowds at the debates completely overwhelmed the Christian missionaries who laboured under the entirely false premise that their own activities, in education and preaching in particular, had broken the dependence of the laity on the monks. This series of debates served to underline the opposite, namely that by the attack on Buddhism from the Christian Missions, not only was the faith of the Sinhalese seen to be under attack, but also their entire culture and tradition, in defence of which more and more laymen turned to members of the Sangha. Ill judgement, unpreparedness and inability on the part of the Christian missionaries all contributed to the Panadura debate becoming a byword for the much changed situation pertaining to the Buddhist-Christian encounter in the late nineteenth century. Despite this however, Bishop Jermyn, Anglican Bishop of Colombo could still write in 1874, a year after Panadura

...by the testimony of all Buddhism is effete; its hold on the people is as slight as it is possible to be.24

Jermyn's successor, Reginald Copleston, while endeavouring to minimise the damage done by the Panadura debate which he saw as a certain ill-judged but 'insignificant public controversy' also sought to lay the blame for the re-awakening of Buddhism
at the feet of western Pali scholars and free-thinkers and thereby absolve both the missionary societies and the local Church from any culpability. Equally in his defence Copleston was perhaps the first Church leader in Ceylon to see realistically and to admit, albeit in veiled terms that the future of Buddhism was not necessarily one of impending demise, thus

Buddhism as a whole is not conquered, or near it. It remains in the fullest sense the religion of the mass of the Sinhalese. There is little doubt that Buddhism is far more rigorous in Ceylon than it was a hundred and fifty years ago.  

The acquisition and development of skills, equipment, experienced personnel and the potential level of awareness in the upwardly mobile audience all brought the Buddhist-Christian engagement to a new phase after Panadura. On this foundation rapid development was to take place throughout the remainder of the period under consideration here.

As already mentioned, the development of the Vidyodaya Pirivena as a centre of Buddhist intellectual excellence and the foundation of a sister institution, the Vidyalankara Pirivena in 1876, which were both destined to become prestigious seats of learning both within and without their own tradition, not only opened an avenue for Buddhist studies, but also grew to compete against Christian mission schools in terms of curriculum, examination success and constituency. Here it
became clear that the Buddhist revival was developing rapidly. Furthermore this was no mere spiritual revival, but we see that it in fact bears all the hallmarks of reaction against the Christian missionary process, mirroring, through developing its own educational institutions, publishing houses and presses and indeed its own missionary organisations, the activity of the Christian missionary presence. It can be contended that the phenomenon thus described both reflected and was instrumental in the burgeoning cultural and religious revivalism of the period throughout South Asia. Certainly parallels with the Indian experience abound, particularly in organisational infrastructures, skilled personnel and anti-missionary endeavour.

While much has been written elsewhere regarding the development of economic power, particularly among low-country Buddhist Sinhalese we must at this stage confine ourselves to recording that the economic and social fabric of the low-country Sinhalese caste system was, during this period, also undergoing something of a reform or at least a challenge. The traditional high-caste goyigama (farmer) had by this period come under considerable pressure regarding economic and social status from the lower, non-goyigama castes, most especially from the rising traders, the karawa (fisherman), salagama (cinnamon stripper) and durawa (potter) castes. The Buddhist revival in the maritime areas drew its principal support, at this stage, from the non-goyigama castes. The economic lot of
the non-goyigamas had improved considerably during the continuing pax Britannica and the religious revival linked predominantly to members of the karawa caste was regarded by them as a means to achieve a limited degree of social mobility in response to their increased economic status. Wickremeratne makes it plain thus

To these castes (Karawa, Durawa) religious zealotry was not only a platform for airing economic grievances but also a sphere in which they could acquire a new prestige. Implicit was a clear challenge to the traditionally prestigious status of the goyigama caste.  

Into this burgeoning revival stepped, in 1880, two figures who were of considerable significance for the period under consideration here, namely Colonel H.S. Olcott and Madame H.P. Blavatsky. In 1875 the charismatic leader Annie Besant began her public oratory in the cause of Freethought which was, in due course, to lead her to the Theosophical Society, itself being founded contemporaneously (November 1875) by Olcott and Blavatsky in the United States of America. News of the Buddhist revival in Ceylon, and particularly of the Panadura debate, had caught the attention of Olcott and the Theosophist movement in the USA and during the 1870s Olcott entered into a growing correspondence with, among others, Mohotivatte Gonananda. Pamphlets and tracts sent to Ceylon by Olcott were translated and widely circulated in Sinhalese through the new infrastructure of the Buddhists, including their own press and missionary organisation. Olcott and Blavatsky arrived in Galle
from Bombay in 1880 and were welcomed on the journey to Colombo with rapturous enthusiasm. They claimed that they had each embraced Buddhism before leaving New York and that their public accepting of Buddhism on their arrival in Ceylon was but a formal demonstration of their existing religious state. The particular attraction of Colonel Olcott and Madam Blavatsky, the Angarika Dharmapala later claimed, was not their profound knowledge of or sensitivity towards Buddhism as manifested in Ceylon, but rather the fact that

...never before had there been any such visit to Ceylon by European Buddhists, and every European who visited Ceylon knew only to attack Buddhism.  

Commentators point out that the presence of both Olcott and Blavatsky, while viewed with considerable suspicion, if not hostility by the Kandyan hierarchy and indifference among the goyigama caste was welcomed principally because it could contribute to the Buddhist revival in two particular ways, namely by the adoption of the most modern organisational and propagandist skills which the Theosophical movement could supply and also by the use, to devastating effect on the part of the Theosophists, of the growing western scientific critique against Christianity. Thus Olcott in particular did much to contribute to the Buddhist revival on an organisational level through his stimulus of the Buddhist educational movement and educational fund. He sought to popularise the cause of the Vesak festival and to instigate legislation that it be declared
a public holiday, as Christian festivals were. Olcott was also instrumental in persuading the Buddhist leadership to adopt a distinctive and readily recognisable flag, which could add a visual unity to the cause.

Furthermore Colonel Olcott was directly responsible for the founding of the journal *Sarasavi Sandaresa* (Learned Values) in 1880; which took unto itself the role of a national Buddhist journal, although it did not appear between November 1882 and August 1883 for lack of funds. Its prime purpose was to be an organ of sustained Buddhist opinion on matters ranging from trade to theology. It consistently put forward the views one might expect from low-country Karawa caste Sinhalese of the revival period and although it retained correspondents in all main towns of the Sinhalese areas it never achieved a high circulation. One must note that *Sarasavi Sandaresa* was not only antipathetic to western opinion and power, but also that strong Sinhalese chauvinist tendencies are to be found in its pages. For example Wickremeratne remarks that the journal repeatedly cites traders who drew attention to goods imported from India by Tamil or Moor traders. They complained bitterly that along the island's highways and in the recesses of the remotest villages the Moors profited at the expense of the Sinhalese. 20

But the tenor of the journal was also markedly anti-European and anti-Christian, with the publishing again and again of articles designed to point to Christianity losing
ground in the west\textsuperscript{31}, to crime in the west being the result of drunkenness and decadence\textsuperscript{32}; and it sought to highlight a fundamental inconsistency between Christianity and science\textsuperscript{33}, lining up such eminent persons as Charles Darwin, Matthew Arnold, and Aldous Huxley to clinch the argument. This provides another example of the dubious nature of the Theosophists' claim to be impartial between Christianity and Buddhism. The repeated claim that Theosophy was not anti-Christian does indeed ring somewhat hollow in the light of the sustained polemical attacks upon Christianity in this journal. So for instance, the Theosophist leadership in Ceylon provided Sarasvati Sandaresa with a picture of Christianity losing ground to current western scientific, philosophical and literary thought without ever questioning the relation between such contemporary western thinking and Buddhism, or indeed raising the questions of the interplay between Western contemporary science, philosophy and literature and the Buddhist revival in Ceylon. Perhaps even more importantly questions were not raised regarding the relation between Theosophy and Buddhism. For example it is clear that the Theosophists regarded the Buddha as a 'master' among several such, while for Theravada Buddhists in Ceylon, the Buddha is quite clearly a unique being. Such a journal was rarely read by those who were neither followers of, nor participants in, the Buddhist revival, but in the context of this study it remains significant as an indication of the changing climate in which the Christian missionaries had to work, although it would be
contentious in the extreme to suggest that more than a small handful of those engaged in Christian missionary work were aware of the opinions of the editors or indeed of underlying change in low-country Buddhist society of which the views expressed in Sarasavi Sandaresa were indicative.

Easter 1880 became a testing point for the ever-strengthening Buddhist revival, when an outbreak of violence occurred against Buddhists in a Colombo suburb. The area of Kotahena, site of Colombo's Roman Catholic cathedral, was also the location of Mohotivatte Gunananda's vihara. An almsgiving in honour of a recently completed figure of the Buddha became a focus of increasing hostility towards Christianity and this almsgiving in particular extended into the Holy Week and Easter period 1880. Thus the Government Agent writes that

...a large number of unoffending Buddhists were proceeding in procession to their temple when they were set upon by a mob of Roman Catholics, who killed one man, severely beat and injured others, slaughtered the bullocks, burnt the carts and their contents on the public high road and defied the police... For this serious riot, not a single person was even put upon his trial. 34

Indeed the colonial government's neutrality in religious affairs was greatly strained by the incident, most especially due to the lack of criminal proceedings. The government argued that they had no firm evidence upon which to proceed but this clearly did not satisfy Olcott among others, who resolved to
take the matter to London, returning to Ceylon in 1886 having achieved little at the Colonial office.

It was at this juncture that Olcott and others, including C.W. Leadbeater, extended their activities towards the promotion of Buddhist schools. Anagarika Dharmapala, at this time occupying a junior post in the Department of Education, joined Olcott and Leadbeater on a tour of the island seeking to create interest and financial backing sufficient for the establishing of schools which could compete, both academically and in terms of their social constituency, with the more prestigious missionary establishments and the secular Royal College. During the ten years from 1880, largely due to the efforts of the Buddhist Theosophical Society, 40 new Buddhist schools were founded, finally and convincingly breaking the near-monopoly on secondary education enjoyed for so long by the Christian missions. We should not underestimate the influence of these schools both to the Buddhist revival in the short term as well as the long term effects they were to achieve in terms of the development of the 20th century nationalism.

However much this may be seen as a convincing victory for the Buddhist revival on an institutional level, nevertheless pedagogically there was little to distinguish these schools, particularly the English schools, from their Christian mission rivals. Their academic performance was measured against the same criteria (Cambridge Junior, Cambridge Senior) their
syllabuses, as Grant-in-Aid schools, were largely controlled by the Department of Education on the same basis as any other English school. Furthermore such schools bore, and perhaps still bear, the ethos of the English Public School - an emphasis on mind and body, intellectual pursuits and sports, with competition in both spheres being encouraged. The 'House' system and 'colours' system, prefects, uniforms, ragging and attitudes to behaviour matched almost identically their Christian school cousins. Indeed the names of the Buddhist schools themselves mirror the pattern of the Christian schools by using the names of disciples of the religious leader, so that as well as St Thomas' College, or St Paul's School, there is also Ananda College and Mahinda College.

In terms of the numbers of institutions and pupils, it will be seen from the following table that during Fraser's tenure of office at Trinity the total number of Buddhist schools increased almost threefold and the number of pupils at such schools by more than this amount. The number of Buddhist English schools increased steadily throughout the period while the number of protestant mission English schools remained almost static, and the number of Roman Catholic Mission school pupils increased by approximately 20 percent. Pupils in Anglican schools in the same period increased by 80 percent while the total number of Grant-in-Aid institutions increased by approximately 20 percent. No figures are available across the period for Hindu (Sivite) Grant-in-Aid schools but it is
fair to assume that, as with the Muslim community, so the general increase in educational provision was reflected in the Hindu community.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>1904</th>
<th>1908</th>
<th>1915</th>
<th>1924</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C of E</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>29145</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eng.</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>12385</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eng.</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2168</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eng.</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.C.</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>50986</td>
<td>489</td>
<td>468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eng.</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meth.(Wes.)</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>27026</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eng.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhist</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>26662</td>
<td>351</td>
<td>379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eng.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohammedan</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>658</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eng.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

We have seen how in many respects, perhaps most particularly in education, the Theosophist movement added greatly to the pace of the Buddhist revival and through the adoption of contemporary techniques of organisation and propaganda was effective in channelling the same. It can in no way be assumed that the Theosophists were responsible for the revival, for we have seen that Buddhist activities indicative of a quickening revival were well under way before the arrival
of Olcott and Blavatsky. Malagoda makes a key point here, which is consistent with the Angarika Dharmapala's comments given above, namely that

...the Theosophists were enthusiastically welcomed and absorbed into the Buddhist movement precisely because the Buddhists were already active at the time of their arrival.36

This is further supported by Fraser's own views and indeed it is clear that Fraser responded to the general background of the Buddhist revival with a degree of concern most notably of course in the sphere of education. Writing to Baring-Gould, CMS Secretary in London, in an addendum to his Annual Letter, Fraser remarks in December 1909

...more than ever we require prayer. The Enemy attacks us fiercely. The Buddhist press by slander, abuse and even threat[sic] to damage our work and keep parents from sending boys to us.

While it is clear that Fraser and his fellow missionaries were indeed feeling under threat, nevertheless it may well seem that Fraser's articulation here was too extreme, at least in regard to Buddhist activists attempting to persuade parents not to send boys to Trinity, for only one month later, at the beginning of the the term (January 1910) Fraser again writes to Baring-Gould

The Buddhist press is making a fierce assault on us, as are the R.C.s. We are singled out for attack from all the other colleges. And financial resources are as yet not nearly equal to the demands our increased work makes upon us. Term begins today and we are inundated by would-be boarders and eager parents...it is a pity we have to turn away so
Fraser's complaint here is not the lack of pupils but rather the familiar plea regarding the lack of adequate financial provision to cope with the continued demand from parents; nowhere is there any suggestion that the Buddhist revival posed a serious threat to the viability of Trinity College on the grounds of reduced recruitment. Indeed if we consider the figures for the pupil population we see no sustained reduction, but a consolidation throughout the middle years of Fraser's tenure.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pupils on Trinity College Kandy Roll</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>September 1904</td>
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<tr>
<td>October 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1913</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Neither absolute figures nor the relative proportions of the constituent communities indicates a substantial change in the balance of the pupil population. Indeed the opposite can be argued, namely that there is a remarkably static situation pertaining here, with the number of Buddhists and Anglicans/Christians being noticeably constant in 1907, 1909 and 1913. If Fraser's fears had been well founded then one would have
expected a very different situation, with the number of Buddhist pupils declining rapidly across this period.

Against this however it is also necessary to bear in mind the regional bias of Trinity in Kandy, the heartland of the Buddhist establishment. Two factors are important here. First, as mentioned elsewhere the Malvatta and Asgiriya chapters remained at some distance from the low-country populist support engendered by Olcott and the Buddhist Theosophical Society and second, Trinity had, by this stage for at least two generations, traditionally admitted a substantial number of the sons of local chiefs and other influential figures in the Kandyan region and had in many ways been adopted as the region's prestige school. The connections between the school and the region were complex and for this reason, if for no other, a simple appeal to boycott Christian mission schools in the Kandyan region would have fallen largely on deaf ears, or at least ears primarily attuned to traditional and regional factors.

In thus tracing the historical background to which Fraser became heir on his appointment to Trinity College, Kandy, we have focussed upon the differing strands of church-state relationships which prevailed during Ceylon's diverse colonial past, particularly in the field of education. Furthermore we have noted how such strands reacted to the developing sense of Buddhist identity and its concomitant social and economic
changes. To this end we have drawn attention to the influence of the Theosophist movement, as a catalyst, in the long term relatively unimportant in its own right in Ceylon, but which enabled the articulation and galvanisation of Buddhist consciousness in new forms which, during Fraser's period of office, was to mature from this embryonic state into something much more akin to twentieth century nationalism.
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29. see *University of Ceylon History of Ceylon* Vol 3p. 200, *Sarasavi Sandaresa* 7.4.1882 and 3.8.1883
32. ibid 13.10.1882

33. ibid 4.9.1883

34. CEYLON Administration Reports for 1883. Reports of the Government Agent of the Western Province p. (?)


36. Malagoda K. op cit p.173


39. Extracted from letter of Fraser A.G. to Baring-Gould dated 30.10.1905 and from the following Reports of the Visiting Sub-Committee of the C.M.S. Ceylon Conference:
G2/CE/0/1906  f.48
G2/CE/0/1907  dated 22.11.1907
G2/CE/0/1910  received 14.2.1910

and

C.M.S. Ceylon Mission Annual Report for 1910 G2/CE/0/1911

and

Fraser A.G.  Letter to Prayer Partners dated 14.4.1913
G2/CE/0/1913
The piety of a middle-class Scottish family and the demands of the Indian Civil Service formed the twin foci around which so much of Alek Fraser's life revolved. The combination of service to church and state was already present in his grandfather and namesake, the Revd. Alexander Gordon Fraser, who spent virtually all his ordained life with the presbyterian mission in India. Alek's father, Sir Andrew Henderson Leith Fraser K.C.S.I. also spent his entire career in the Indian Civil Service, twenty seven years in the Central Provinces, before being transferred to Bengal where he became Lieutenant-Governor in 1903, and during which period he was also elected Moderator of the Presbyterian Church Assembly in India in 1907. Alek Fraser continued the long family connection with the Empire throughout his professional career, as did his son, Sandy. Thus four generations of Frasers contributed to a broad spectrum of activities in the Empire and Commonwealth; each generation in a different manner and style, but each was within the colonial establishment. The great conventionality of the careers of these four generations should not detract from or obscure the accomplishments of each, nor the personal traits to be discerned in each career of this closely inter-dependent family.

Alek Gordon Fraser was born on 6 October 1873 to Andrew and Agnes Fraser (nee Archibald) and in 1875 a second child,
Mary, was born. Mary was to marry J.H. Oldham who, as a friend and confidant of William Temple and George Bell, participated in and encouraged the development of both the World Missionary Conference and the World Council of Churches and who played an important role as a friend and trusted colleague to Alek Fraser. India was the environment in which Alek Fraser spent much of his infancy and early childhood, returning to his grandparents' home first in Clackmannanshire and then in Forres, during his mother's period of respite at home.

It was largely under the direction of their maternal grandparents that the Fraser children began their education and in 1877 Agnes Fraser once more re-joined her husband in India. At some time between October 1879 and February 1880 she died, leaving children aged 6 years old and 4 years old. Andrew Fraser re-married in 1883 and although there are few references to his step mother, Alek Fraser's respect for and dependency upon his father continued up to the latter's death. This second marriage produced three sons. In 1881 Alek began his formal education, aged 8, at Merchiston Castle School, Edinburgh and remained there until 1891, when he began his studies at the University of Edinburgh. However he completed only one year at Edinburgh before going up to Trinity College, Oxford to read history. Academically he emerged from Oxford after three years with a Second and also with a reasonable record in College sporting activities.
It was during his years at Oxford that Fraser came under the influence of men such as J.H. Oldham, Oliver Knight, Temple Gairdner, Paget Wilkes and Willie Holland, among many others. Men of whom Hastings writes:

The concern was with volunteering to go overseas as a missionary and with personal holiness, the basis a non-denominational commitment to 'A belief in Jesus Christ as God the Son and as Saviour of the World'. The watchword was 'the evangelization of the world in this generation'. In its start the SCM formed part, then, of that remarkable, if fairly brief, flowering of evangelical missionary zeal among British university graduates in the closing decades of the nineteenth century - in earlier years missionary candidates had been recruited from less elevated ranks. 1

After sustained contact with such men, three of whom, perhaps not insignificantly, were Scots, both in College and in the Oxford Inter-Collegiate Christian Union, a part of the S.C.M., Fraser dropped his original plans of a career at the Bar and began to think more of the possibility of missionary work, and after graduation became a travelling secretary of the Student Volunteer Missionary Union, which sought to encourage vocations to work in the missions overseas. In his study Oxford and Empire Symonds gives an indication of the moral tone and the expectations placed upon this Oxford style evangelical movement after the 1892 mission by the Americans Mott and Speer. He recounts that such groups could be found marching down High Street.
singing hymns and shouting 'hallelujah' [and that]. As an initiation they had to preach in the Open Air at the Martyrs Memorial.

Furthermore, with regard to personal behaviour Symonds alludes to Temple Gairdner, who felt obliged to give up his piano and cover the nude Greek statuettes in his rooms with dusters... Yet there was a happy intoxication, so that Gairdner would walk round the Trinity College gardens chanting 'O ye Delphiniums and Azaleas bless ye the Lord'... while Fraser had to renounce his gold waistcoat buttons for such was the puritanical ethos of the movement. It was this body which, as Hastings so cogently argues, was in many ways of formative influence in the development of the modern ecumenical movement and which, even in the late 19th century, operated in a deliberately non-denominational, or perhaps more accurately, supra-denominational manner.

Beatrice Glass, a member of the Cambridge Inter-Collegiate Christian Union, represented Newnham College, Cambridge at the Liverpool Student Christian Conference of 1896 after which she joined the committee of the Student Volunteer Missionary Union, on which body Alek Fraser also sat. Beatrice Glass had been accepted by the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.), the major Low Church Anglican mission agency, for service in Uganda, where it alone practised protestant missionary work. Fraser, who had been brought up in the tradition of the Church of Scotland, a presbyterian Church, but who had spent his undergraduate days in an early ecumenical environment saw here
not so much a stumbling-block in their deepening relationship, but rather a minor irritant. From his father's point of view the denominational allegiance was less of a reason for concern than Alek's own attitude to his career. Thus Sir Andrew Fraser writes to his son in February 1900 that he is

...rather concerned to hear your easy talk about going in for the Church of England instead of the Free Church, and your evident irresolution as to your career in life. Not that I have any objection to the Church of England: far from it. But I have a great horror and fear of indecision. 4

Thus Alek Fraser was confirmed in the Church of England and was also accepted by the C.M.S., albeit as a self-supporting missionary, for the Uganda mission and married Beatrice Glass on 10 January 1901 in Namirembe Cathedral, Uganda.

Both Alek and Beatrice Fraser were engaged in educational work with C.M.S. schools, mainly, although not entirely, at Mengo. As with all Anglican clergy before the 1860s, so too with all missionaries, any training given tended to be 'hands on' experience alongside men and women of considerable experience. While for the clergy during the last decades of the nineteenth century training patterns slowly became established, not least out of concern of the clergy themselves for their own status, and replaced the earlier view that

any well meaning educated man was adequately equipped for the parochial ministry or even the episcopal office. 5

Nevertheless the Church Missionary Society relied upon the older 'apprenticeship' coupled with intensive vernacular
language study in the field. Thus the Frasers served their separate probation under senior missionaries and were immediately set to learn the local language, Luganda, with Alek passing the first language examination, but without any distinction, in Autumn 1901 and Beatrice in Spring 1902. In June 1902 their first child, Alistair (Sandy) was born, but into a family without a permanent home, for being still junior within the hierarchically defined mission the Frasers were low on the housing priority list. Work continued in the schools and Alek with encouragement, developed plans for the extension and advancement of the mission's educational work. His plan envisaged the creation of both an intermediate and a secondary school. Ward comments of this scheme that it

...is unmistakably authentic Fraser. It is characteristic in insisting on a solid and leisurely laid foundation: on generous staffing: on close contact between staff and pupils: on an independent endowment: on character rather than cleverness. It is characteristic too in the faith it shows in the pupils capacity to learn.6

In May 1903 Fraser requested permission to return to England. Such a request would normally have been viewed with considerable displeasure, with only two full years having been served in the field. However Fraser was granted permission not only to return in order to begin to collect an endowment fund for the projected school, but also because of his father's presence in England after his appointment as Lieutenant Governor, and perhaps most importantly, because of Beatrice's
continued ill health. In October 1903 it was confirmed by Sir Patrick Manson, physician to C.M.S. that for health reasons Beatrice Fraser should never return to Uganda and that no other posting in a tropical country should be considered for at least two years. In November 1903 Alek Fraser resigned his position with the Uganda Mission and sought time to reconsider his future. His immediate step was to enrol on a one year theology course at New College Edinburgh, although the impecuniosity of the overseas mission of the Church of Scotland effectively ruled out any serious possibility of the Frasers continuing their work with that body.

It is unclear how Alek Fraser became aware of the vacancy which existed for a Principal at Trinity College, Kandy, but by summer 1904, having not yet completed his theological studies, he is in correspondence with C.M.S. over the possibility of the Kandy post. He is clearly concerned as to his suitability for a post in which, potentially at least, high intellectual standards are required. He writes

...I am not a real student, though studentish. By that I mean I have the taste for many intellectual studies, but have spent little time in real study...

Two weeks later he writes a much fuller letter to London regarding his background as a presbyterian and how this has influenced his perception, particularly of the roles of clergy and laity. He finds comfort in the fact that the Vice
Principal of Trinity College, Kandy, MacLulich, is a clergyman and can fulfil the role of Chaplain, for it was not until considerably later that Fraser himself considered ordination. Despite Alek Fraser's obvious and keen interest in the post, most particularly because Sir Patrick Manson, Beatrice's physician, had recommended the location as unusually suitable for all the family with regard to their health, nevertheless Fraser writes to C.M.S. on 6 July 1904:

But I cannot at once offer for the post as I must first consult my Father. I will write to him this mail and receive an answer by cable, and hope therefore to let you know my position in the fourth week of July. If he is agreeable and my Professors in Edinburgh consent to my breaking my course...then I will offer, and be ready, if accepted, to sail during the first week of October... I cannot say that my offer is either probable or improbable, as if my father is strongly against it I will bow to his will. I do not know and cannot forecast his opinion.

It should be remembered that Alek Fraser was 31 years old, a married man with children of his own, but still he not only sought the advice of his father, but was prepared to tell his prospective employer that his feelings about the wisdom of accepting the post depended upon his father's advice. Alek Fraser did indeed receive advice from his father to the effect that he should first complete his studies at New College, Edinburgh, for, in his opinion, many more possibilities for educational missionary work would arise. Although his father's advice did not rule out the possibility of applying for the Kandy post, nevertheless it was clearly the medical opinion of...
Sir Patrick Manson which in this case was crucial in encouraging Alek Fraser to apply. He was accepted by C.M.S. and sailed in October 1904, arriving in Ceylon in early November, to be followed in a matter of weeks by his wife and children.

In stark contrast to the dependence upon his father in his personal life, in the execution of his professional duties, the rate at which Fraser began to perceive the need for improvements within the school as well as the scope of such improvements, ranging from professional teaching staff to better drains, was unparalleled in the school's history since its foundation in 1857 as the Kandy Collegiate School. Perhaps because of both the speed and scope of his concerns Fraser's period in the Ceylon Mission was marked by a constant tussle with C.M.S. both in London and the Ceylon Conference.

An important part of the continued difficulties was over the issue of funding. Even as early on as December 1904 Fraser complains of the inadequate salary structure for the staff which, coupled with the lack of any pension provision, renders Trinity unable to attract high calibre staff away from the prestigious Colombo schools. Again, in presenting his report to the Ceylon Conference Fraser argues the urgency of proper resources for

The Government has ordered us to enter for the London Matriculation and Intermediate in common with other Ceylon Colleges. Where are we to obtain laboratories and chemicals from:
where is the cash, where is the land? 10

While to C.M.S. London he can plead with reference to money for laboratories and salaries

I believe I can, under God, re-organise our work to compete with any work in Ceylon and yet to work for the Kingdom of God, but not on these impossible lines. 11

Yet this is not so much a desperate plea but a carefully timed and skilfully placed request as his letter of 10 January 1905 to London makes clear.

If we could have our man by May or June we would be able to greatly increase our Government Grant for the present year. 12

For if C.M.S. show a commitment to the school in terms of staffing in the immediate future then as a Grant-in-Aid school, the Government grant for the next academic year would be substantially increased and the money for chemicals and laboratories would appear. The practicalities of funding and the need to balance one source against another may indeed have caused considerable frustration, but in the early years of his principalship Fraser managed to procure, from a variety of private and public sources in Ceylon and England, the resources to correct the deficiencies and introduce many of the improvements he sought.

In 1906 Fraser fell prey to sleeping sickness and was invalided home. During his period of convalescence and after his return to Ceylon in 1908, having fully recovered, a grander plan began to develop in Fraser's mind influenced, both by his
understanding of extending the educational missionary work and of the need to resist dumping upon a country of the East, the petty strifes, as Fraser saw them, which had divided Christianity in the West. For it was, for Fraser, vital to show Christ as a man of the East in the East. His own experience, both in his family background and spirituality as well as his work with the Oxford Inter-Collegiate Christian Union and the Student Volunteer Missionary Union had exposed him to the possibilities of working constructively outside the confines of any one particular denomination, while remaining a faithful and committed member of a particular Church and upon this experience he now sought to build.

Educationally Fraser saw that the work of C.M.S. in Trinity College and similar institutions was dangerously isolated and that such institutions in fact excluded the possibility of ever helping to realise the potential of the mass of the population and this for a variety of reasons, including fees and language instruction. To overcome this problem Alek Fraser argued that

The village vernacular school and the highest college we have should be closely linked together. A promising boy from the district may be tested in such a local school and if good enough, sent up free to the College. Again the central college must have a training school for teachers.13

The idea of the establishment of a training colony progressed quickly through several stages in Fraser's mind and
was connected with the acquisition of a new site for the College. Thus in 1907, while in England, Fraser writes to Dibben (C.M.S. Secretary, Ceylon Conference)

If I can get all I hope for and shall work and pray for we shall be able to make the present Trinity College Buildings into a Training College for Singahalese and Tamil and Anglo-Vernacular teachers for our village schools, whilst the College goes to a new site. Then the district missionaries will find Buddhist competition less deadly and teachers trained in Bible Study and teaching should be good evangelists. 14

Again here, with a wry diplomatic sense, Fraser alludes to one of the problems felt most keenly by the missionaries in non-educational work, namely the effects of the Buddhist revival upon their endeavours and Dibben, as Ceylon Secretary, represented their interests particularly. Fraser ties together both the educational and district work of the whole mission in seeking support, for the one can be greatly helped by the other, he argues. Indeed his claim is that the one cannot hope to flourish without the other, as current events were proving.

This desire to engage in the work without delay and the seeming unwillingness of Fraser to move more patiently along the procedural paths defined by the mission results in an outburst against the London Parent Committee. Fraser states in November 1907

I would like if possible some definite action to be taken by the committee. There is little use in further delay because I cannot stay at home indefinitely to further my plans... I would almost rather have the committee tell me
to drop the whole thing than have another long delay and visiting a long chain of committees. I would like a decision before the end of the month.13

The new and exciting development for Fraser was that, having put his plans to representatives of other Churches active in missionary work in Ceylon, he saw the possibility of presenting truly 'one Christ' (carefully ignoring the numerically much greater Roman Catholic presence in the island) and also gaining, at no extra cost to C.M.S. an increase in staff for the work of Trinity while strengthening the hand of all the Protestant educational missions.

I have often recognised that there was so much Christian educational work in Ceylon that could it but unite, no government could attempt to play cat and mouse with it...yesterday I heard that the Baptists and the Friends both intend to put their village school work as in Trinity, Kandy, giving us in exchange for the extra work a whole European missionary each and possibly land and buildings.16

In 1909 the Ceylon Conference of the C.M.S. entrusted Fraser, still a relatively junior member of their body and still a layman, to prepare a major policy paper on the Mission in Ceylon. His report and conclusions presented in January 1910 were hard-hitting and, no doubt, risked offending many faithful missionaries of long standing. It was however all too clear to Fraser that the lack of trained teachers and catechists was leading to a continued over-dependence upon European missionaries, which was the major failure in the
Mission's strategy. Furthermore, this opportunity presented Fraser with a means of bringing together his own work at Trinity and the work for the entire Mission. In his pamphlet *The Key of the Missionary Campaign, the Training of Catechists and Teachers* we find well-developed ideas which are seen as the means to combat and overcome this dependence and to enable the growth of a truly Ceylonese Church.

To implement these ideas would require considerable effort and expense on the part of both the local Conference and the Parent Committee. It was in this regard that early in 1911 the Standing Committee of the Ceylon Conference wrote to London requesting, in characteristic Fraser style, that, subject to a suitable replacement for Mr Fraser being found, he should be allowed to proceed to England and America to collect money for the Training Colony Fund. Furthermore, under the Chairmanship of the Bishop of Colombo, definite Proposals for the basis of co-operation with other communions desiring to enter into the Training Colony were established. These other communions included the Wesleyans, Baptists and the Society of Friends. In effect these proposals laid the framework for the contributions of each communion, their separate and corporate responsibilities as well as estimating a total annual cost of Rs 438,300 or £29,220 to run the Training Colony. The Parent Committee was split in its thinking on the practicalities of the scheme and was particularly distressed at the thought of a separate endowment fund which, they feared, would possibly harm
giving to more general funds which they could adapt as might be seen fit.

Fraser reacts angrily to these delays and prevarications, as he sees them, on the part of the Parent Committee and clearly indicates his displeasure to Theodore Lunt, the Secretary to the Educational Committee in London. Lunt, in response, writes twice to Fraser in three days in June 1911. At first his tone is reassuring and seeks to be calm.

I do sympathise most intensely with you in the disappointment you must feel in having your keen and living plans picked at and stunted, as it must seem to you.

...You have often, naturally enough, complained that C.M.S. won't co-operate in these schemes and help the missionaries with them. Now this time we are planning to help and back and support you and with you see this through. But you must help us all you can.

Within days Fraser's continued anger and dissatisfaction clearly proves too much for Lunt to bear.

To be frank, Alek, I think you are too much apt to regard yourself - and want your scheme regarded - as exceptional and forget that to the ordinary Committee man you and your schemes and demands for money are an ordinary occurrence, one of several that cometh upon us yearly...I have to take account of not less urgent needs though often they have but a poor spokesman.

One month later and after the direct manner adopted by Lunt, he again attempts to assuage Fraser's scornful letters by yet another means.

My dear old Alek,

Your letters have a distinctly humorous side to them...one would naturally imagine from your last batch that they were addressed to someone who was standing on your way,
opposing and trying to thwart your plans... Honestly to anyone who knows the facts it is a bit laughable that you should write to me as though I were the enemy (even the friendly enemy) of all your wishes. Two things in your budget of letters are past a joke, I am bound to say. [Lunt relates two particular cases] Well now I have done my grousing...it will be ripping to see you both again. Ever your affectionate brother, Theo.

Clearly Fraser's continued insistence upon the correctness of his own plans and his desire to proceed rapidly, in this as in other areas, such as the introduction of the vernacular languages, caused considerable distress and alienation among some members of the Parent Committee as well as other local missionaries. Fraser was indeed fortunate that through the good offices of old friends at court, such as Theo Lunt, his pleas and demands were presented in a manner which at least saved them from exclusion from consideration, purely upon the grounds of their repetition and intemperance. Such intemperance is well illustrated in the following extract from a letter to Baring-Gould.

We in the mission field are asked to trust the Parent Committee very largely, but I think we are given comparatively little trust in return... All is rigid and inelastic and controlled from England. Again our conference may pass an absolutely unanimous vote in regard to any matter and may receive not only a refusal to allow such a vote to take place, but may not even receive an answer as to why their decision has been thus rejected.

...I write like this because it is perhaps better that one should say to Headquarters exactly what one feels...
Very few missionaries, particularly those still relatively junior in the mission felt willing to express their feelings with quite this degree of openness, with the majority of male and female missionaries acquiescing to the clear and hierarchical authority structure of the C.M.S. Not so Alek Fraser.

Despite the long and tortuous path which Fraser had trodden with schemes for the Training Colony, the C.M.S. Parent Committee only decided to support the scheme when the Bishop of Colombo happened to call at C.M.S. Headquarters and required the Parent Committee either to fund the Training Colony as requested or to drop the scheme totally. Furthermore Fraser's sabbatical year was also approved for the purpose of raising donations. Alek Fraser sailed for England in September 1911 and in three months raised £8,000, but with a most disappointing contribution from his American tour.

With the end almost in sight, the Anglican contribution almost secured, with C.M.S. backing and the support of the Bishop of Colombo, Fraser remarks en passant to Baring-Gould in July 1913 that a constitution for the Training Colony will soon be finalised. However the ecumenical venture was to collapse within the next six months, partly due to the inability of the other communions to find the capital or personnel. Nevertheless plans for an Anglican Training Colony proceeded, primarily for training of catechists and teachers for the work of the Anglican Church
in Ceylon [but]...should any communion doing missionary work in the colony, it will be possible for such participation to take place.41

In July 1914 Dibben writes to Waller (Barring-Gould's successor as London secretary) that

You will be glad to hear that before leaving for England Mr Fraser agreed to purchase a very desirable property at Peradeniya, about 5 miles from Kandy and close to a railway station, with a large and spacious house already erected on it.42

Thus the work of the Training Colony began, some eight years after it had first been mooted as an idea by Fraser. During those eight years the ideas had been galvanised and changed, criticised and defended, had taken on an exacting ecumenical dimension yet in the end had materialised within a single denominational tradition. Fraser had clearly spent enormous time and energy in his planning and been resolute in his determination to achieve his aim, yet, at the same time, we cannot forget the criticisms levelled by C.M.S. in London, nor had Fraser ensured that the other communions were in a position to travel at the same speed or to allocate the same level of resources as his own church.

Fraser had indeed sought to defend his own plans almost beyond reasonable limits within the structural bounds of both church and mission. Ultimately while the establishment of the Training Colony was a move forward in the life of the mission, nevertheless it was also something of a lost opportunity.
Two further examples serve well in illustrating the way in which Fraser's conviction of his own position could so easily injure those around him without the slightest degree of malice being present in Fraser's thinking, yet, if people were hurt in the process then so be it, the end in all things justified the means. The first concerns his relations with staff, and in particular an incident with Mr N.P. Campbell and the second example concerns relations with the local Anglican parish church.

Campbell arrived together with Fraser on the latter's return to Ceylon in November 1908. Fraser had clearly pulled off something of a coup in inspiring and selecting this intellectually talented man with a First in Natural Sciences and a Demonstrator at Balliol and Trinity, Oxford. Furthermore he had arranged increased funding for his appointment through the Parent Committee. But it was not only for his academic prowess that Campbell became popular and respected in the school community, for, as was Fraser's vision, it was to the whole person that the educational mission's work was aimed. Thus Campbell formed a squad of 'scouts' and spent large amounts of time training them and leading them in expeditions. In 1910 he planned and instituted one of Trinity College's most lasting and highly respected ventures, the Social Service Union. It existed to bridge the gap between the life of the College, with all its advantages, and the poor and destitute in the town of Kandy. From humble origins it developed a wide
network of pastoral and practical care for the sick, the elderly, the orphaned and poor and, much to Fraser's delight, those involved in the voluntary work came from every caste, social and religious grouping in the school. That Campbell relished his work is clear from a reply by Baring-Could to Campbell's annual letter, which was itself an important C.M.S. tradition and was required to be written to London by all missionaries. Baring-Could writes

I do heartily rejoice that you are able to speak in such glowing terms of your enjoyment of work at TCK.

However, while on leave in early 1913 Campbell writes to Baring-Gould with regard to his relations with Fraser in a manner which indicates that something is awry, although Campbell himself is quite unaware of the problem. Thus

I understand that what Mr Fraser said was practically this: that formally I have tried to influence my colleagues to go directly against his own policy, and he wishes to make sure that such a thing will not happen in future.

The London Secretary sent a copy of Campbell's letter to Fraser, clearly in an attempt to resolve the misunderstanding. Unfortunately this seems to have muddled the waters even further. Fraser replies curtly to Baring-Gould

As to Campbell's instructions...if he is perverse this time and quarrels with the staff and me he will go. If not we shall all be glad together for he is a great worker.
There are no other indications from any other sources that Campbell had sought to influence staff or to lead them in any way which might be seen to clash with Fraser's intentions or plans, yet an unclear and petty issue could take on proportions of this nature, in which Fraser was prepared to consider the sacking of an esteemed colleague and a man whose qualities he himself much admired because he felt, for whatever reason, that due to some difference of opinion his position as Principal had been compromised. Campbell continued to work at Trinity until December 1914 when C.M.S. London agreed to antedate his furlough in order that he might enlist. He was killed in action on 3rd May 1917.

This internal row is matched by a series of very public quarrels with the congregation of the local parish church of Holy Trinity. The Church (Holy Trinity), built in 1855, two years before the foundation of Kandy Collegiate School, was situated in the grounds of Trinity College, although it did not belong to the College. It was used for regular worship by the college, although it was much too small and, in Fraser's view, quite unsuitable. Elsewhere is detailed Fraser's clash with the Bishop of Colombo over who should have control over those allowed to preach in Holy Trinity, but the more public clash concerned Fraser's desire, in the extension of school buildings, to pull down Holy Trinity - clearly in itself a contentious issue, but one handled in a characteristically clumsy way.
In 1915 Fraser, after years of concern over the condition and size of the College's place of worship, wrote to the incumbent of Holy Trinity, the Reverend G.S. Amarasekara, himself an old-boy of Trinity, suggesting that the Church be pulled down and replaced by a large and more appropriate school chapel, in which the Holy Trinity congregation would continue to enjoy the same rights of worship. This new building would be held in trust, with members of both church and school represented in the membership of trustees. To this the incumbent, churchwardens and congregation agreed. Fraser omitted however to mention that the College proposed to build the new chapel in a different location, away from the street front site of the present church. Furthermore, after securing an agreement without actually revealing all his plans, Fraser wrote an amazingly crass letter to London;

I doubt very much if there is any possibility of joint work between the congregation and ourselves. I doubt it very much. The church at present is the dirtiest, meanest building in our compound... We have no control over it at all and may not even clean it... We do a lot of the paying and we have none of the control. The congregation ought not to have their church inside our compound as things now are. No doubt it was there first, but the College is now probably the most important bit of missionary work in the island and we have not got any Church for the suitable expression of our religious life.26

Not surprisingly, the incumbent, when shown a copy of Fraser's letter, was extremely hurt and secured the assistance of Dibben, the Secretary of the C.M.S. Ceylon Conference, in
appealing to the Parent Committee to have Fraser rescind his comments. Fraser felt betrayed by Dibben, with whom he had worked. Amarasekera records, remarkably charitably, in a letter to Canon Wigram, Secretary C.M.S.

In regard to some of the remarks and statements made by Mr Fraser in a letter addressed by him to Canon Waller... some of Mr Fraser's remarks are very sweeping and evidently made in a fit of excitement without any regard to what they mean or what effect they will have on the minds of those who read them.

One might well have expected that Fraser, realising the anguish he had caused, would apologise for the excesses of his style, but not so. In his next letter to Waller he writes assertively

"Dibben has shown my letter about Trinity Church to the Revd. the Incumbent thereof, who, I believe, is deeply grieved. However, I am not worried...."

In addition Fraser seeks to prove to C.M.S. in London that they alone bear the responsibility for the bitterness between College and Congregation, isolating the Parent Committee from all others. Referring to his plans to replace the Church he admonishes

"When I brought up this matter in Conference the Bishop and almost all the missionaries have seen the disadvantage under which the college labours and have sympathised... But that does us no good. You at Salisbury Square are far distant and it is a matter of little importance to you whether we have to front the street or not, or whether we have a chapel able to hold all our boarders or not...

The opposition I am up against is a CMS opposition. The land in question belongs to the CMS Trust Association, the congregation is..."
called a CMS congregation and the local secretary is the CMS local secretary.29

The clear inference from this is that Fraser feels himself to be without blame and it is C.M.S. London who should act decisively, in accordance with his wishes to see a suitable outcome to his request. Wigram, on the other hand, replies curtly to Fraser that while the Parent Committee agrees with him in the need to have a suitable spiritual home nevertheless

It is sometimes a great nuisance to do things constitutionally, but it really does get things through in the end more safely than trying to carry them with a high hand.30

The matter continued to be a considerable source of contention for several years to come. In 1922 the incumbent of Holy Trinity signed over the site and building to Trinity College, only to receive upon the transfer, a request that the congregation consider moving to another site. Throughout the whole saga Fraser had not revealed the full extent of his plans, namely to demolish the Church and thereby create suitable access to the College compound from the street and to build the new Chapel further up the hill in a traditional Buddhist style. When this full explanation became clear Amarasekera withdrew his acceptance of the proposition. Fraser, in high dudgeon, wrote to London that if such was the attitude of the incumbent and congregation, then they were considerably better off to go it alone and build a new school chapel without them. Thus the foundation stone was laid by the
Archbishop of Calcutta in 1923 and an admittedly elegant chapel was not completed until 1935.

Again the matter of the Chapel throws light upon the manner in which Fraser perceived his role and office of Principal and his relationship to others engaged in the missionary enterprise. The central position of Trinity College Kandy to the work of the C.M.S. in Ceylon is perceived by Fraser and indeed, as stated by him, encouraged him to develop an uncontestable assumption that his was the only possible view to hold or line of action to follow.

Such an assumption held sway not only in Fraser's dealings with regard to others, either inside or outside his area of authority as Principal of the College, nor indeed only over his educational ideas or policies in general (viz. the issue of curriculum development) but even in matters of personal conduct, as an employee of the C.M.S., Fraser appears, successfully, to have established a position whereby he dictates the terms.

It was an important and standard requirement of all missionaries employed by C.M.S. that they learn the language spoken in the place in which they served immediately upon their arrival in station. Further, new missionaries were tested in their newly acquired spoken and written language skills before their appointments in station were confirmed. Records show the
standard test procedure and record of results which were communicated to London. From these records it is clear that it was by no means uncommon that missionaries were removed from their posts if they were unable to meet the prescribed language requirements. Thus in Uganda Fraser sat and passed the Luganda language examination but on his arrival in Ceylon, uniquely, the language requirement was mysteriously waived. Thus in the proceedings of the 16th session of the Ceylon C.M.S. Conference meeting in Christ Church, Colombo, from 3rd-7th July, 1906, by which time Fraser should have completed his first language examination, it is most unusually noted

Minute 12: It was resolved that as Mr A.G. Fraser does not find it possible to give much time to the study of Sinhalese this conference recommend that Mr Senior be asked to learn the language.

All other C.M.S. mission staff, including those who served at Trinity were required to learn a language, usually Sinhalese, and of course, ironically by the time of the Conference in which the above mentioned decision was taken, Fraser had already begun to develop plans to introduce the teaching of the vernaculars and teaching in the vernaculars into all levels of Trinity College, for the most sound of pedagogical reasons, yet there are no extant records which mention Fraser's acquisition of any vernacular language skills during his 20 years tenure in Ceylon.
Again, with regard to furlough arrangements Fraser believed the C.M.S. rules to be particularly inappropriate to his position and he argued this case from an early date. Indeed, even in Uganda, Fraser sought special leave arrangements which would not normally have been granted to junior staff, had it not been for Mrs Fraser's continued illness, although this is only one of the reasons Fraser cites in his application to London for furlough to be considered. His career in Ceylon was also marked by relatively frequent and long absences from his post; absences which were unusual in their nature. Having arrived in November 1904 he left for England in August 1906, having been invalided home with sleeping sickness. On this occasion Fraser spent over two years in England, including an initial period of convalescence as well as deputation and fund-raising work. Again in 1911, after special consideration the Parent Committee, as outlined above, approved a sabbatical year in which to raise contributions for the Training Colony, including his visit to the USA and addressing the C.M.S. summer school in June 1912 in Llandudno. Also in June 1912 he writes to Dr Hill, the C.M.S. physician suggesting that C.M.S. ought, in his case, to reconsider its rules regarding furlough arrangements, and this not on medical grounds. He argues that

1. My college is in a transition stage and to leave it for a year inevitably leads to confusion and decay in the working of it.

2. I am leaving my boys at home and it would do more good to them and to me, were we to meet more frequently.
I am entitled to 18 months at the end of 5 years but most of that 18 months is on deputations - all but six of it.

I would suggest that I be not away from the college more than three months at a time during term time. 92

While one can well see that Fraser's arguments make good sense both for personal and professional reasons it is nevertheless intriguing that he should seek to reorganise the rules which, in this case, were generally applicable throughout the Ceylon mission and only vary substantially in extreme circumstances.

Yet Fraser's periods of presence at Trinity continued in a somewhat sporadic manner. He returned to the island in November 1912 and after a six week tour of India in early 1914 returned to England for a short leave between June and October. It is seemingly characteristic that while Fraser had indeed voiced his opinion over the furlough situation, no records exist of the matter having been dealt with, or permission ever having been sought or given, but despite this Fraser simply put his plan into practice.

It was while in England on his sabbatical year that Alek Fraser entered into conversation with Randall Davidson, Archbishop of Canterbury, over the question of taking orders. Unfortunately as the matter was not aired until July, and Fraser had to return by October, it was not possible for the
Archbishop to ordain him, as at that time ordinations were most usual on Trinity Sunday and the Feast of St Thomas in December. However, once again, special circumstances prevailed and not just with regard to the date or place of his being ordained deacon. He writes of the Archbishop:

But he has no ordination before I sail, as he will be abroad. He therefore has recommended me to write Gore [Bishop of Oxford] who has one in September. He himself will issue a commissary letter allowing rules re. examinations etc, to be broken in my case.33

Alek Fraser was, as agreed, ordained deacon in September 1912 in Reading by the Bishop of Oxford and, again, somewhat unusually Fraser did not proceed to ordination to the priesthood for another three years. Dibben communicates this briefly to the Lay Secretary, C.M.S. London, and with regard to the location it is noteworthy that the ordination did not occur in Holy Trinity Church, used as Trinity College, Kandy's Chapel.

I write to inform you of the following Ordination viz. by the Bishop of Colombo at St Paul's Church, Kandy on September 19th The Revd. A.G. Fraser to Priest Orders.34

Two factors should perhaps be noted in regard to the lapse of time between his deaconing and priesting other than the sheer amount of work Fraser undertook during this period. Firstly, even before accepting the position at Trinity College Kandy, Fraser had noted that there was already at least one priest on the staff who could act as chaplain and this remained
true throughout the early and middle years of Fraser's tenure of office. Secondly, as hinted at elsewhere, Fraser's presbyterian upbringing and his low-church Anglican environment in the C.M.S. rendered the ordination to the priesthood a step of less significance than for Anglo-Catholics with their concomitant stress upon the priestly role and vocation in the celebration of the Eucharist, in confession, absolution and blessing. As a clergyman in deacon's orders Fraser was, like all deacons, required to undertake pastoral care and to preach the Word, perhaps the element in the clergyman's role most dear to Alek Fraser.

It is not being suggested here that Fraser knowingly regarded himself as in a superior position with regard to his employment with C.M.S. or with regard to those around him, but rather, it seems undeniable that once he had arrived at a conclusion or made a decision, his own ideas prevailed.

Pastorally it is clear that both Alek Fraser and Beatrice exercised rather formal, but very genuine warmth and friendship. Boys and masters, were systematically and frequently invited to meals in the Frasers' home and visitors were welcomed with simple but generously warm hospitality. Equally Alek Fraser on many occasions undertook expeditions, camping weeks and sports fixtures with members from all elements in the school. On such occasions Fraser would seem to delight in pranks and practical jokes.
Caste and social exclusiveness was anathema to Fraser and had been faced up to in his earliest days as Principal. He had deliberately admitted boys of inferior caste and outcaste into the school, the sole yardstick being their inherent ability coupled with a desire to learn. When, as on occasions, Kandyan chiefs complained at the presence of outcastes at the same dining tables or in the same dormitories as their sons they were made aware of the college's policy, and if resistance should remain amongst parents then boys were, only rarely, lodged with masters in the compound until the matter was forgotten and the boy re-introduced into the dormitory or dining table. No member of the school was expected to commit himself to an activity or enterprise in which the Principal himself was not prepared to commit his own efforts.

Perhaps the most widely known example of this relates to the desire of both boys and masters to volunteer for military service after the outbreak of the first World War. With patriotic feelings running high throughout Ceylon, Trinity could not expect to remain immune. At least four masters and three old boys enlisted in the first month of the war and there was abroad a hope that Ceylon, like India, would be allowed to send a contingent to the Western Front. An unattributably tactless remark seems to have fired Fraser's resolve, for it came to his attention that a certain British General had poured scorn upon the physical stature and ability of the Ceylonese,
such that they could not possibly form a fighting unit. In response some 43 senior boys and masters began training in earnest in order to march the 72 miles separating Kandy from Colombo. Thus after a medical examination 23 boys, four masters and the Principal set out on 26th November 1914 in monsoonal rains to demonstrate to the military authorities the true grit of the Ceylonese and his ability to form part of a fighting contingent. The route march was completed on Saturday 28th November and the marchers were received and inspected by the General resident in Colombo. Despite the noble gesture, Government policy remained unchanged and those who sought to enlist did so individually with British units.

Given Fraser's constant awareness of the need to 'lead from the front' it is not surprising that the matter of his own war service should have surfaced over a period of time in which both masters and boys had volunteered. With college and colony geared up to play a part in the war Fraser also sought active service for himself. He writes to Wigram at C.M.S. London seeking permission to return to England in summer 1916 ostensibly, and no doubt in part quite genuinely, to organise the continuing education of his sons. Wigram, however, perceives that this may not be the whole truth and though in agreement replies indicating that on no account should Fraser proceed to England on leave and then seek a War Chaplaincy. Fraser argued that if he were truly to stand with those from Trinity and Ceylon who had volunteered to fight, and indeed if
he were to be able, after the war, to reach as potential teachers young men who had enlisted in the armed forces, then his own credentials also had to be impeccable. Fraser replies in inimitable style

...with all due respect I am one of your 1st XI for getting men. Won't it pay to let me go with them to the Front. It is not the meeting them there that will count, but to have been there with them will give the appeal. ...of course the war might be long yet: so much the more chance for service. Of course I might never get back from the Front. Better fellows have stayed there and that's all in the day's run.

I am going to ask the Chaplain-General if I am safe to get to the Front if I come home. Then will you let me go if he says "Yes"? I'll be hard to bind, I think, unless you can show me it is sheer duty not to go.

Wigram's reply is again cool and contains a warning which betrays his clear perception of Fraser's true intention. In July 1916 Wigram writes

I quite see your point about getting to the Front and the influence that it will give you later on. But don't come home to ask for a longer leave of absence than the Ceylon Committee has ungrudgingly recommended for you before you start... That would almost certainly lead to ructions.

Here the point is that war chaplaincies were normally of at least one year's duration. Such a period of absence for Fraser would most certainly not have been countenanced either in Ceylon or London. Despite Wigram's clear desire that Fraser should not volunteer, nevertheless he does refer Fraser to the Y.M.C.A. Chaplaincy scheme, whereby he may be accepted for a period of six months or as little as three months.
Predictably Fraser returned to England, applied to and was accepted by the Y.M.C.A. for War Chaplaincy work and spent several months at base in Rouen undertaking anything required of him. Equally predictably this failed to satisfy his zeal to be present at the front. Thus in July 1917 Fraser writes to Wigram, while on active service with the British expeditionary Force, regarding his immediate future:

You will remember that the Parent Committee in sanctioning my return from Ceylon for short service in the Front said I must not overstay my short leave and laid that down strongly. Here I have seen the wounded and the agony of war. Whilst these men are dying and are being killed for us and for our salvation I cannot leave them... That means I must resign, I fear, my position as one of your missionaries. I have no right to ask the Committee to waive their strict command as to my return... But whilst I thus send in my resignation do not think I lightly value the work of C.M.S. and of T.C.K.

There appears no extant reply to this letter and consequently we do not know whether his resignation was ever accepted. Certainly there must be some doubt here because at no stage was a new Principal appointed to replace Fraser, nor are there any records of early moves towards such. All that is known in this regard is that Mr Gaster continued as Acting Principal throughout the period of Fraser's absence. In September 1917 Fraser achieved his goal and was appointed an Army Chaplain serving with two regiments on the Western Front. After a motor accident and two gassings he was invalided out of the Army in March 1918. Although this was a relatively short
period of service, nevertheless it provided Fraser with a means of reconciling his conscience even if it had meant another extended period of absence from Trinity. This latter fact had exercised the concern of the Masters Guild who, shortly after Fraser's departure from England in October 1916, petitioned the Parent Committee and the Ceylon Conference. The petition is particularly important in that, once again, it sees a broader range of issues than Fraser was able to see for himself and it alludes to other possibilities of service and attempts to strike a balance of needs. The Guild resolved that it

...place on record its sincere hope that the Rev. A.G. Fraser, Principal of Trinity College, may be persuaded to return to Ceylon and not to proceed to the Front as there is a likelihood of his doing. It was unanimously felt that at a critical period in the life of Trinity College, such as the present, when new schemes are on the verge of materialising and the new chapel is practically a fait accompli, and also when new education projects are afoot with a new Director of Education at the head of affairs, Mr Fraser's absence from Ceylon, either prolonged or permanent, will be a very real calamity, not only to the College of which he is Principal, but to the island as a whole. The Guild was strongly of the opinion that A.G. Fraser could much more effectively serve his King and the Empire at this time by returning to Ceylon than by ministering to the spiritual needs of the soldiers of His Majesty at the Front...  

This understanding of the situation met with little warmth in Fraser for his mind was clear and his actions corresponded to his decision. Yet despite this singleness of purpose throughout much of his time at Trinity other ventures and other avenues of service in the missionary field in particular had
continually presented themselves and clearly occupied his thoughts.

Many of the men with whom Alek had developed lasting friendships while at Oxford had volunteered for missionary service and continued, through for example, the Student Christian Movement, to be in close contact despite their geographical distance from one another. The years around the turn of the century witnessed the peak of the great Christian missionary conferences. At the Liverpool Conference of 1908 Fraser spoke of his work at Trinity College and, as a result of that meeting, Campbell volunteered for Trinity. In 1910 Edinburgh hosted the World Missionary Conference, a meeting of enormous consequence for the subsequent ecumenical scene. J.H. Oldham, Alek Fraser's friend and brother-in-law, was appointed to administer the continuation of the conference and it was this body which, according to Fraser, laid before him another task, namely the Layman's movement.

To Baring-Gould, Fraser writes a 'sounding out' letter, stressing once again the importance of his own perceptions:

I have received a letter from men leading the World Conference to say my name is likely to be suggested for work in England next winter with a view to starting the layman's movement. That would probably mean not six month's work only, but would lead to more I expect. I am willing to do it if it is the most urgent work required of me for the extension of the kingdom... But it should not be asked without due and careful consideration of the probable effects on Trinity... But the layman's

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movement, I admit, is possibly of paramount importance today. 39

At the time of this letter Fraser had only been in the Ceylon Mission for 5½ years and for two of these years he had been in England. As we have seen at this stage the Training Colony idea was growing, and indeed other ideas were also forming in Fraser's mind for Trinity College, Kandy including building plans, curriculum development, vernacular languages and pastoral care. Despite this, however, Fraser contemplates the possibility of a move.

Oldham, on the other hand, is clearly puzzled by Fraser's correspondence to London and in unusually strong terms he also communicates his feelings to Baring-Gould:

I only heard last night from my wife [Fraser's sister] of the suggestion that Mr Fraser should come home to work for the Layman's Movement. I seriously contemplated calling today that in my judgement the proposal was sheer madness. I do not know who is responsible for the suggestion. It has certainly not come up so far as I am aware in any responsible quarter in this country. I shall be writing to Mr Fraser by this mail to tell him that in my personal judgement it would be suicidal for him to leave Trinity College just now. 40

If Oldham, of the continuation committee knew nothing of the suggestion, then where could Fraser have received such an idea, and who had written to him? Was this perhaps a whim, a fanciful suggestion made in a friendly letter, which had lodged
itself in Fraser's mind and thereby become a fixed reality? Was it a card played to ensure that he got the full backing and resources he required for his plans? Or indeed, was this purely Fraser's own assumption that he would like to be so involved? He writes to J.H. Oldham:

I believe I might be useful in the Layman's work because I can organise and speak, and from that point of view I am, humanly speaking, fairly useful. Also my Church position is a useful one. At the same time remember that my first work at present is Trinity College.41

Here then is no reference to any communication suggesting that he consider a move. On the contrary, this passage almost has the ring of a statement on a curriculum vitae, as if Fraser himself were canvassing for an approach by the Layman's Movement. Certainly C.M.S. Parent Committee knew nothing of the suggestion and were equally appalled by Fraser's consideration of a move to a post with the Layman's Movement. Baring-Gould replies to Fraser making a crucial point:

Your letters...have fallen like a bolt from the blue upon me. I have been able to talk over the matter with my colleagues and we all agree that the position of Trinity College, Kandy is tied up for the present in your personality. The scheme [the training colony] would never have been called in existence but for you, and we cannot but feel that at the present time it would require a very clear and unmistakable call from God to justify abandoning your present post... Pray, dear friend, abandon all thoughts of undertaking work connected with the Layman's Movement at the present time.42
The close identification then between Fraser and his plans was of prime importance. The plans were seen as profound and requiring enormous energy for them to be achieved, and Fraser was seen as the only man to hand who could initiate and see to completion such projects.

The answer to the dilemma is surely to be found in a further letter written by Fraser to London after receipt of Baring-Gould's correspondence of 3rd June. Fraser writes most tellingly:

I may say that I have no desire to leave Trinity College and as far as I can I will stay here. Of course the call for the Layman's Movement is a very strong and urgent one, but I would never dream of taking it were I satisfied that the work here was more important. I believe the work here could be more important, but do not know that it will be... We can make it important, but will we be allowed to? Is it worthwhile giving up work which would help all missionary work, such as the Layman's Movement, should a call come from there, for the sake of a work which may at any time be crippled by the action of a Committee at home whose acts one can in no way foretell.43

The crux of the matter lies then with Fraser's ongoing tussle with the Parent Committee and with his desire to see his plans, the worth of which is acknowledged by all, seemingly jeopardised by administrative and bureaucratic uncertainties of little relevance to the plans themselves. The point at issue is clear: how can work be seen as vital to the whole missionary enterprise and then stifled by inadequate resourcing? Such
behaviour, for Fraser, shows above all a lack of commitment to the work to which he feels himself and the whole church called.

Although Fraser remained in post at Trinity College and did not move over to the Layman's Movement it was only a matter of time before other possibilities were to open out before him. He turned down the offer of the principalship of Merchiston College School, Edinburgh, his alma mater, when it was offered to him, but when in 1916 the situation of almost universal illiteracy in parts of the Indian Christian Community was raised by the Bishop of Madras, the World Missionary Conference took on board the idea of a commission to investigate the impact of this fact on the future evangelization of India.

Several factors had combined to make such a commission important, not least the census revelation that 83 percent of Christians in India were illiterate despite a situation in which, until contemporary constitutional reforms, the Christian missionary organisations had been allowed considerable sway over education. With education being made a responsibility of provincial governments with an overwhelming non-Christian composition, it was paramount for the churches to review educational needs and possibilities.

The original, but abortive, plan, promulgated by the World Missionary Council, envisaged that, with C.M.S. permission, Fraser, an Indian member and an American member would spend one
year in India beginning in 1917. However, before Fraser was invalided out of the army J.H. Oldham wrote, in March 1917, seeking permission from C.M.S. that Fraser be allowed to undertake this task.

I have been waiting in the hope that I might get from Fraser some definite indication of his own mind regarding the proposal [to begin in 1917]... I have also got from Fraser a definite expression of his personal willingness to act as leader of the deputation... The uncertainties of the war may upset any plans that may be made... It would be a very great contribution if the CMS could see its way to return Fraser on its staff of missionaries and set him aside temporarily for this special work. He could hardly devote his time to any work which opens up larger possibilities.

It would appear from this letter that Oldham understood Fraser, his own brother-in-law, to have resigned already from his position with C.M.S., whereas as we have seen, this was not the case. The need for the potential outcome of the envisaged commission was so great that C.M.S. was hardly in a position to attempt to persuade Fraser not to join its membership. Indeed, in Summer 1919, after having spent only two months back in Kandy, Fraser once again sailed for England and thence to America to commence his work as Chairman of the Village Education Commission. Accompanied by Miss M.M. Allan, Principal of Homerton College, Cambridge and Professor D.J. Fleming of Union Theological Seminary, New York, Fraser visited educational institutions in U.S.A., Japan, the Philippines and Ceylon before reaching India in October 1919 where the
Commission spent five months. Over 300 schools were visited, 53 Conferences held and the sub-continent traversed before the report of over 200 pages was published in Summer 1920. As one might expect with Fraser in the chair the report revolves around the deeply held belief that

Directive and administrative work should now be placed in the hands of the Indians even where it is feared there may be a considerable loss in efficiency.\(^{49}\)

Alek Fraser returned to Kandy in late 1920 after an absence of four years, yet even now it was not to prove a settled existence, as he took on more responsibilities, most notably to become Educational Advisor for C.M.S. throughout South India and Ceylon. Correspondence between Fraser and London makes it clear that at this time Fraser was also considering a move to North India in order to set up a school along similar lines to Trinity College. He writes, with characteristic frankness

I do think North India badly needs a school of this type and my going there seems at the present moment to be almost the only chance of their getting it.\(^{46}\)

To raise up Christian leaders for Ceylon had been Fraser's rallying call from his earliest days in the island. In education it meant developing the skills of the Ceylonese to take on responsibility in the schools, hence the need for the Training Colony, but Fraser also applied this same principle to the church. Even in 1909 Fraser had complained of the over-
dependence of the Church on Europeans and to combat this it was necessary to present a truly indigenous Christ. In politics and commerce too Fraser saw the role of Trinity College, Kandy as a place where leaders were produced, not servants of the colonial administration who could, by merit, rise so far and no further. While his life story reveals a great loyalty to Britain and the Empire, nevertheless he also saw a future for Ceylon other than in the role of colony.

It was not surprising therefore that Fraser developed a certain sympathy for those seeking some degree of constitutional reform in India and Ceylon. The Amritsar massacre had shocked Fraser very deeply and on his travels throughout India Fraser met, through C.F. Andrews, among others, Congress leaders with whom he felt the best hope for the future of India must lie. In Ceylon too, Fraser lost much sympathy among some Europeans when less than two weeks after Amritsar he argued in April 1919, before any public figure, that the next step in constitutional reform must be male suffrage.

The first essential then seems to me to have a broad-based franchise. Personally I would like to see manhood suffrage... And there is no means of education so rapid as the giving of the vote. The mere possession of the vote educates a man, for it is in the interests of the many that he should be educated and they see to it that he is.\textsuperscript{47}
In 1923-4 only four percent of the population were enfranchised and the Donoughmore Commission on the future constitutional status of Ceylon saw here a serious gap between power and responsibility. Arguing on lines very similar to Fraser, although 10 years after him, that power and responsibility must be reunited in a widened franchise if some form of responsible government were to have any chance of success, the commission sought to introduce the right to vote to all males over 21 and women over 30 without restriction. The Colonial Office however amended this, and in 1931 Ceylon became the first part of the British Empire to operate constitutionally with universal suffrage over 21 years of age.

With a degree of irony, it was at this stage in his career, when he was strongly advocating and widely implementing a policy which, much later would be called 'indigenization', that it appeared Alek Fraser might well achieve ecclesiastical leadership in Ceylon as Bishop of Colombo. Fraser confirms to London that he has been asked to consider the possibility of standing for election to the see, yet seems genuinely undecided when he writes

There is also a good deal of pressure being put on me to consider the Bishopric here as the Bishop is going, but my experience has been in school work and it seems to me it would be more valuable to go to North India than to be Bishop in Ceylon. I do not know what you people think.43

The Parent Committee, however, does not share Fraser's indecision. Wigram replies forcefully
I personally am absolutely convinced that if the call comes to you you ought to accept the Bishopric of Colombo. Trinity College, Kandy had done, and is going to do yet more, for the building up in faith and character of the younger leadership of Ceylon. It is now of the very first importance that this younger leadership should have a chance to lead, and particularly this is so in the organised work of the church... I can quite understand you not desiring to be a bishop... You certainly would be rather a new thing in bishops, but because you would be a new thing does not necessarily mean that you would be a bad thing.49

Doubtless this advice represents the genuine feeling of the Parent Committee, and of Wigram in particular, but it is equally true that, should Fraser be successful in the election, his success would be a considerable trophy for C.M.S. both in the island and as a whole. With the retirement of The Rt. Revd. E.A. Copleston the See of Colombo became vacant, and, in accordance with the constitution of the Church of England's province of India and Ceylon, an election was held in which members of the clergy and representatives of the laity were required to vote in separate houses, the successful candidate emerging when a two-thirds majority had been procured. Thus on 12th February 1924 an election was duly held in which two candidates were proposed, the Revd Alek Fraser and the Revd Mark Carpenter-Garnier, a theologian and Anglo-Catholic, who at that time was Librarian of Pusey House, Oxford. Votes were cast as follows:50

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<th>House of Clergy:</th>
<th>Carpenter-Garnier</th>
<th>Fraser</th>
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<td></td>
<td>55</td>
<td>30</td>
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<tr>
<td>House of Laity:</td>
<td>Carpenter-Garnier</td>
<td>129</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Fraser</td>
<td>43</td>
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While a clear result was achieved in the Ceylonese dominated House of Laity, the House of Clergy was compelled to proceed to a second round in which the following votes were recorded:

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<th>House of Clergy: Carpenter-Garnier</th>
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<td>Fraser</td>
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Thus Carpenter-Garnier was duly elected Bishop of Colombo in clear preference to Fraser. A variety of factors contributed to this result, not least the tradition of the occupant of the See of Colombo being a High Churchman, while Fraser who had been an ordained priest for only eight years, represented the Low Church tradition within Anglicanism. This major factor however cannot be the only reason, for while Carpenter-Garnier was a distinguished divine, he was unknown in Ceylon. Fraser, on the other hand, was personally acquainted with most of those entitled to vote, certainly in the House of Clergy, yet even at the first ballot he polled only slightly more than one third of the votes cast.

Rutnam argues that while the High Church/Low Church issue may have been a factor at the time of the election nonetheless a much weightier consideration, particularly for the laity was the legend that Fraser had been anti-national during the riots.

Clearly this factor received renewed impetus due to letters in the press, immediately prior to the election, in which the issue of Fraser's participating in the 1915 riots was once again raised and remained unresolved. For example 'An Honest
Churchman when writing to one of the major English language dailies on the day before the election asserted, against Fraser, that

The accusation brought against him in connection with the Riots of 1915 and his failure to clear himself will be remembered not only by many Christians but by a very large percentage of non-Christians in the island. Rightly or wrongly many people of this island look upon him with suspicion.

A further factor must surely have been closely connected to the reasons for Fraser questioning his own suitability. Although well known in the island it was primarily in the educational context that his name was known. His relations with other clergy and members of the laity had not always been easy, as in the case of Trinity College Chapel and Holy Trinity Church, Kandy. Equally, within the narrower confines of the educational missions Fraser's frequent absences can hardly have endeared him to those who wished to find in their bishop either constancy or ready availability. Added to which his theological position, worked out in the school arena, was in many ways unacceptable. If Fraser was able to write thus, it was perhaps not too surprising that many, especially converts among the laity, felt unable to cast their vote in favour...

I have sometimes said that I would rather see a school on any religious foundation than see it secular. Now I would not say that. I would still rather have a school keenly Hindu or Buddhist than secular, if the Hinduism and Buddhism were positive and taught in an atmosphere of love and service. And I have seen that done in a Hindu College. But where religion is taught in an atmosphere of hate, where it is full of negatives and is
unscrupulous in its use of facts when desirous of backing up its own case or destroying its opponent's then it is far worse than a secular college... To have religious teaching, Christian or otherwise, is not enough. There is no secular college or school so bad as some religious ones can be. There must be love and service. 54

While such an opinion may today seem representative of liberal, centrist theology, when expressed to an ecclesiastical delegate in 1924 it must have raised profound questions as to Fraser's theological orthodoxy. Conservative throughout its history, the Anglican Church in Ceylon could not be expected to seek to elect as its chief pastor someone who would open dialogue and questioning with members of faiths from which most members of his community had, for a variety of reasons, only recently sought release.

Thus Alek Fraser's career in Ceylon ended a few weeks after his failure to be elected Bishop. A career which publicly had found both praise and scorn and privately had undergone periods of searching and dissatisfaction as well as moments of enormous joy.

During Alek Fraser's 20 year sojourn Trinity College had advanced enormously in its educational and corporate repute, from a stagnant backwater to a leading national seat of learning. It had forged ahead in implementing a radical revision of curriculum and conditions, repeatedly in the
absence of the one who had originated the changes. Fraser himself had been ordained both deacon and priest and had been nominated for episcopal office during his tenure in Kandy. His ready contacts with the religious and political establishment had brought visitors to the school from the upper echelons of society, the Governor on numerous occasions, his father, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, men of letters and international repute such as Rabindranath Tagore, Prelates and Missionaries as well as men suspected of dubious nationalist sentiments like C.F. Andrews. Yet at the same time Fraser also saw the pride of the school in work such as that of boys and masters with the Social Service Union in the slums of Kandy and the multiple deprivation of the villages. He had shown indefatigable resolution when necessary and great compassion in sensitive situations, but had also demonstrated a continued and underlying unease with his position and exhibited impulsive and crass behaviour which had given offence to many.

In all this lay the conviction that his activities were not for his own aggrandisement, nor merely for the sake of educational excellence, but rather that this was the missionary calling
to raise the whole tone of the country in the political and social realm as much as in the educational and ecclesiastical. These convictions and practices which had taken root in Ceylon accompanied Alek Fraser in his immediate career in the Gold Coast as well as his further public
involvement with educational issues in Britain and Jamaica, while his private spirituality appears to have developed perhaps disappointingly little from that of his zealous Oxford undergraduate days, under the slogan of 'The evangelisation of the world in this generation'. 
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   Letter to Oldham, J.H. 12 or  
   13.5.1910 vide B-G to AGF  
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THE LANGUAGE QUESTION

Alek Fraser arrived in Kandy on November 6th 1904 to find an educational institution in the grip of despair. During the previous four years, since the retirement of Napier-Clavering there had been six principals at Trinity College, Kandy, whose tenure of office had never exceeded two academic sessions. Indeed in 1904 alone the College experienced three principals. Academic standards had fallen to an all time low. Absenteeism was rampant with attendance averaging between 61 per cent\(^1\) and 76 per cent\(^2\). There was severe overcrowding in class - the College hall and verandah alone housed seven classes and each classroom was split into two sections. Reimann\(^3\) mentions that one class had been presented for the Cambridge Local Examination on three occasions, each time the same boys sat and failed. In the Fourth Standard, where one might expect the age of students to be ten or eleven years, Fraser inherited some students of 20 years old. During this academic session, as a result of previous warnings and inspections, the total government grant to the school amounted to only Rs. 3000 and indeed the school was to be placed on the Department of Education's 'inefficient list'.

Fraser was clearly determined to arrest this decline with immediacy and to create an establishment where modern methods of teaching, a more structured and closely tailored curriculum and an increased sense of community were prevalent. Thus barely
one month after his arrival in the colony Fraser wrote to Napier-Clavering

In the College itself I have found the 3rd, 4th and 5th standards a terrible mess. Here and there there is a glimmer of light...But I feel that this part of the school is the most important. Bad methods learnt there send ruined boys to the upper forms.
I have called at the Training College, the Royal, St. Thomas' and Moratuwa...the methods of teaching are quite modern, ours quite prehistoric. I hope still more that CMS will keep their promises to send out a National school teacher to us this year.
We must have a laboratory in which experiments can be done by the pupils and we must have that National School teacher to do the same. Towards the securing of accuracy in the lower school I hope to institute here what has been done at the Royal... to introduce the Cambridge Examinations for the whole school in December.
You will hardly believe it but in several classes I have found exercise books that have been used since September and have never seen the master's genial eye.
For too long lessons have been set as a rule. The result is that the work is very inaccurate, the writing throughout is scandalous and the composition is very weak.
Latin is by far the weakest subject. I hope you will not be sick at my new broom.

In January 1905 Fraser presented a report to the Ceylon Conference of the CMS in which he makes clear both the manner in which he intends to restore the College's academic standing and also spells out his own thoughts on the nature of educational missions.

Since Moses...God has used the instrumentality of educated men to do great things for
him...Uneducated Christian leaders are much talked of, but the very fact that they are so dwelt on is evidence of their vanity....And if we are to have strong native leaders, or a strong native clergy, we must have men educated to the level and above the level of their heathen or sacerdotal opponents.

...And to train such men is, I take it, the aim of TCK. We desire to train up stalwart leaders in the work of Christianity in this island, men who know why they believe and are not carried about by every wind of doctrine...Now TCK in the past failed in this aim....

...Now if we are to be righted at all we must have out a trained National School teacher. Both Mr. Harward, the Director of Public Instruction and Mr. Strickland, the Inspector of Schools, have urged Mr. Napier-Clavering and myself to get this man. So serious is the present state of things that they, I believe, are contemplating starting a Government school in Kandy if we do not make this move. If they do thus start an efficient college beside our inefficient one, they will, I believe, practically close our doors.

...However useful our work of creating moral men is, it falls far short of what we should aim at, the creation of Christian leaders—missionaries. And this latter, I believe, TCK has failed to do, not so much because faith and prayer are lacking, as because under present conditions she is bound to fail."

This overall strategy for the total life of the college, as a corporate institution and as it affects each boy and master, was for Fraser but a public statement of his deeply held belief in the Christian educational mission enterprise of producing indigenous Christian leadership, ecclesiastical as well as secular, through both sound and competitive pedagogy and total Christian evangelism.
It is of no surprise therefore that at the same time as Fraser is to be found extremely concerned for the educational future of Trinity, in terms of its academic performance, he is also to be found struggling to develop an atmosphere and community, a worthy college identity, throughout the college. The specific religious activities of the institution are constantly mentioned in correspondence, as is the need to foster an implicit spirituality based not upon party practice or custom, but upon a sense of common enterprise and care.

In June 1905 Fraser writes to Baring-Gould asking for the presence at Trinity of Willie Holland, an old Oxford friend and evangelist, in order to make some very specific evangelistic input into the life of the college.

"I am very anxious that Willie Holland should come out to Kandy on his way to Allahabad. We have at present in College a considerable number of boys both Buddhist and Hindu who are on the verge of a decision in favour of baptism. They are as you know many of the coming leaders of Ceylon... if you can see your way to let us have Willie Holland for a week of personal work and speaking we will be delighted to have him and it may mean more for the coming of Christ's kingdom in Ceylon."

This desire on the part of Fraser to use personal contacts, such as Willie Holland, in a formal evangelistic way, while well within the bounds of acceptability both in terms of Fraser's own spirituality and that of CMS, nevertheless added to the difficulties already existing between Fraser and the Bishop of Colombo. Later in the
same year, 1905, we find Fraser in open conflict with the Bishop. Although C.M.S. had always had a higher profile in Ceylon than the high-church 'Society for the Propogation of the Gospel', the See of Colombo had, since its creation, traditionally been occupied by a High Churchman.

The particular issue at stake on this occasion was with regard to the use of the chapel at Trinity College. More specifically the issue centred upon who had ultimate authority to decide upon its usage and who may or may not preach there. Fraser, still a layman, informed the Bishop that as Principal he should have the right to determine such matters, but this is disputed by the Bishop on the grounds that technically the college chapel, which was also a parish church, fell under his direct jurisdiction. This debacle clearly served to reinforce each party in the righteousness of his own cause and the supposed arrogance of the other. To this end Fraser writes in high dudgeon clearly seeking support from the CMS Parent Committee in London that

"You sent me here to preach Christ and then to educate" while a "High Church Bishop [is] causing schism."

However such concerns did most certainly not preclude attention to detail over practical matters; building repairs, debts, pension funds and the like, nor
did Fraser ever relent in his attempts to persuade others either in Ceylon or in England of the needs of Trinity. Fraser had accepted the post on condition that a trained National School teacher be found to assist in the re-
structurin~ of the academic work of the school. To this end he placed constant pressure upon CMS Headquarters to provide such a teacher, thus he writes

If we could have our man by May or June he would be able to greatly increase our Government grant for the present year. 5.

By mid 1905 the Vice-Principal, Maclulich, sought a transfer to another appointment. This however was not to detract the Parent Committe from their original plan to supply an extra master, and to this end Fraser informs London of Maclulich's intended move but at the same time also wishes to make the point that now two masters are needed, one Vice-Principal and one National School teacher. He quickly adds that it is not more money, but trained personnel, which is required. He argues that

Our methods and our subjects are those greatly relished by our grand-mothers aunts and they have all died a natural death in England along with those deeply lamented relatives. But the task of introducing new methods and teaching them to the masters and watching them use them is more than I single handed can attempt. I will have no difficulty in doing it if the Training College man comes up. Remember the Colombo Colleges are up to it.

Such directness, seemingly boundless energy and forcefulness of character is almost by its very nature set

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to produce casualties. Thus even in these early days of Fraser's principalship it is clear that the Vice-Principal's desire to move elsewhere is, in part at least, due to a clash over Fraser's approach. Writing in a general letter to Baring-Gould about the condition of the school, Fraser also comments that Maclulich wishes to leave;

He is very sore about my policy of going round inspecting teachers in their classes and thinks in a mission college each one should be left to his honour to teach as he best can. This I cannot see... But Maclulich has never been to a Public School and cannot understand it. More he feels below the rising requirement of the higher classes and work is severer than it was. Maclulich is a loving, kindly, gentle man, at College always called 'Loo Loo' because of his lady like gentle do-little disposition. He is not a shirker... but cannot do a thing at the time. In a masters' committee he smiles and dreams and never speaks. [10].

However Maclulich, in proposing to the CMS Parent Committee that they should consider his request for a transfer to Colombo, makes this telling comment.

I love Kandy - that is, the people who make this place and our boys but on the whole I think it would be better to be moved... The school is in splendid condition now and steadily improving, everything is tight and in working order. There is no trouble; but I doubt if it is or can be as missionary as before. [11].

Clearly this divergence of opinion reveals not merely a personal difference, a clash of characters, between Fraser and Maclulich, but also raises the more significant matter
of the purpose of the missionary enterprise and the means employed in the implementing of such a purpose.

In 1904 at the time of Fraser’s arrival at Trinity College, in keeping with the overall policy of Church and Government schools, other than village elementary schools, the medium of instruction throughout was English. Indeed Fraser remarked:

Any boy who spoke in his native tongue was thrashed for it; that seemed to me to be an absurd rule and hindered the formation of friendships too, for they know little English. So that was abolished. Again, all teaching was in English, but the lowest classes knew none and the teachers who taught them knew very little.\(^{12}\)

This was not to imply however that students were well versed in Sinhalese or Tamil. On the contrary, when examining Sinhalese students in Scripture even in 1910, the Reverend Gregory Amarasekera, himself an old-boy of Trinity, noted that

I was not a little amused to find in some cases Sinhalese Christian boys unable to repeat the Lord’s Prayer in their mother tongue, or to read Sinhalese at all. In reading through the written papers I came across one with the answers written in English. Others there were who had struggled hard to convey their ideas in Sinhalese and miserably failed to do so; though they could give the answers in English they did not know the Sinhalese words to express the same.\(^{13}\)

Immediately upon his arrival therefore Fraser was put in an invidious position with regard to the medium of
instruction. In 1904, there were indeed some nationalist awakenings in the political and economic arena, particularly among Buddhists in the Maritime provinces, but these were, on the whole, either amongst Buddhist educated clergy and laity or among that liberal elite who sought a degree of constitutional reform within the colonial framework. However in any ordered or co-ordinated sense the nationalist cause was barely beyond conception in terms of revival of language or culture in Ceylon. However, in the ensuing twenty years expressions of nationalism were to burgeon. At this stage such diverse and diffuse awakenings had yet to be organised and publicly proclaimed in the context of language and the use of the vernaculars.

Fraser therefore encountered both considerable incredulity as well as opposition to his thinking when informally discussing the need for the introduction of the vernaculars into the school. He made his case clear as early as 1905 when writing in the College Magazine:

A provision for teaching them [Sinhalese and Tamil] is a timely and thoughtful measure. It is discreditable that a large percentage of the boys who intend to enter college should not know how to read and write their own languages and should express themselves in it so badly. This is the case with the Sinhalese lads in particular... To them of course the prose and verse of Sinhalese literature are entirely unknown. The demise of the study of Sinhalese Literature is now and again lamented but few serious steps are taken to promote such study. Classical Sinhalese is no less a means of mental culture than the means of mental gymnastics said to be

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undertaken by an English student.... For this and other reasons we are glad to be able to announce that in future the boy who passes through the college will not carry the sin of reproach that he is ignorant in his own tongue. 14.

Such a statement made after barely a year in office indicates a perceptive grasp of one of the central issues of educational life in Ceylon at this time. In English schools students, while being insufficiently grounded in their own language and cultural heritage were compelled to adopt a totally alien medium of instruction and communication without sufficient resources or nurture. The staff themselves, in the lower school at least, were found to be "amateurish" "teaching in a manner dead some twenty years ago in England" 15. A morbidity confounded by linguistic perversity.

During his first year in Kandy Fraser had been plagued by worsening physical health. In July 1906 he was ordered to rest after over-exertion in a cycling expedition. In mid-August he consulted a Colombo specialist who diagnosed sleeping-sickness. At this stage sleeping-sickness was still regarded as a fatal disease and Fraser clearly took the news in a manner which seems to indicate a rather passive acceptance of his supposed terminal nature of his condition. He comments to the London Secretary Baring-Gould.

I write to tell you that I have been invalided home. My illness has puzzled the doctors for some time but this afternoon they found without doubt the trypanosome of sleeping-sickness in my
blood. I have not told my wife yet. May I ask your prayers for her and for my children and for Mr. Senior. As for me I have been no saint...I believe He who loved me and gave Himself for me will see that I awake satisfied in His likeness. Poor old Trinity, changes again for it... P.S. Do not please consider my proposed new College dropped. A man dying of sleeping-sickness should be able to collect money if only God gives me strength. As it is I am very tired just now.16.

As was to be the case on many occasions, Fraser used the handwritten postscript to a typewritten letter to convey the essential purpose of the communication. In this particular instance Fraser was resolved to carry out his fundraising campaign, which he had already set in motion in Ceylon, in order to relocate and totally redevelop the College. He set sail for England on August 24th 1906.

He had already tackled the parent committee in London on the subject of re-development and even after only one week's voyage he writes from the SS Marmara in the Red Sea

The voyage has already done me immense good. From being almost unable to walk 100 yards I can now run up and down everywhere with the children.... But I have to go under Sir Patrick Manson's treatment and probably will have to go to hospital. I would like to know when I could see you and if possible the Committee. I will try to get Manson to postpone the treatment.17.

The re-development work so eagerly sought by Fraser was on a massive scale. He has outlined this work earlier in the year both to the Ceylon Conference of the CMS and
to Baring-Gould in London. Baring-Gould responds to Fraser's assurance that the re-development work will be at no increased cost to CMS underlining the Parent Committee's condition that money should first be sought in Ceylon itself.

I have just received your kind letter of 20 July.... I am glad the Committee have answered in the affirmative with the condition that the money should first be raised in the island.... Since May our task has been rendered more difficult by my breakdown. Our average attendance for the last twelve months has been 98.5% and for the Government year 98.89% or 368 out of a roll of 372. This is a record for Ceylon. The nearest thing to it being our last year's figures and after that the Royal College this year with 92%.

The scheme envisaged by Fraser was based both upon a clear grasp of contemporary educational methodology and his personal perception of the missionary endeavour in the educational context. In addition certain specific stimuli must also be enumerated, stimuli which seem to point towards a keen sense of competition in the educational enterprise as well as a narrow confessionalism, each without doubt, quite acceptable in their day.

The government in February voted Rs. 503,000 and 25 acres of best land in Colombo for Royal College.... The Kandyans will be greatly attracted by it as it is a Government institution. The Wesleyans in Colombo have built just now a boarding college whilst the R.C.'s have put Rs. 750,000 (£50,000) in theirs. Now this means we must either advance or go back. Situated in the Kandyan capital our aim has always been to reach the Kandyan Chiefs and we are considered by them to be their special college. Of our 120 boarders more than half are sons of Kandyan nobles...these boys are becoming Christians or Christianised.

These Kandyans have an unique position and
influence. They not only stand at the heart of Buddhism, owning its shrines, but in their lands lies the real government of their peoples. These...Kandyans have this immense power and very frequently abuse it...but I hear from missionaries and officials that our old boys are in many cases using their power well. I believe a high toned Christian boarding school would rapidly be the means of raising the whole tone of the country.

...We should build a large boarding college for boarders only on a hill 300 feet above Kandy and only 1½ miles from it. I think we should build for 250 to 300 boarders. For a complete and full establishment I require £22,000. You will ask perhaps why we should build the new one elsewhere. First because our site cannot be increased. Second a boarding school requires water. You know we turn boys away almost daily because we have not the room in our compound. We could, if we threw the boarders premises into the dayschool, easily keep 600 boys as day scholars.

Now my plan for raising the money. The leading officials strongly approve the scheme and will give first. Secondly the Kandyan Chiefs...hope to raise a levy from each man of from Rs. 100-1000. Then I hope the members of the Burgher community will give. I intend cycling round their houses and those of other residents in quest of funds. Then in September 1907 I mean to ask leave to come and collect. I wish to go throughout the Oxford colleges in October before undergraduates have spent their term's cash, and work Cambridge similarly in January. I have had also a tentative invitation to America, but I hope I shall not require to spend time there.

P.S. The RC's are founding a college in Kandy to oppose us, so the need is urgent. They have more money than we have, but not our prestige.

Thus during the autumn, winter and spring of 1906-7 Fraser, while officially convalescing, was also active in his planning of the fund-raising campaign for the redevelopment of Trinity College. Baring-Gould records the contents of a meeting held with Fraser regarding his plans. It is clear from this memo that Fraser's thoughts
have taken concrete form and are even at this stage moving in the direction which was to become accepted by mission schools in Ceylon only at a much later date. Thus Baring-Gould notes

The aim that A.G. Fraser sets before himself in the College is to raise up a class of christian leaders and teachers, rather than deal with individuals with a view to their individualism.20.

Such a comment brings back into mind the comment made by Maclulich that the school is no longer as missionary as it might be. This divergence of opinion is further highlighted by Fraser's comments to Baring-Gould on the matter of St. John's School, Jaffna. Fraser's argument here is important to us, not primarily for what it has to say about St. John's but for the clear implications and understandings of the enterprise of educational missions at Trinity College. Thus Fraser writes from hospital

My theoretical objections to a work like that of St. John's are strong. To begin with I do not believe that a Christian college in the East should be a strong Europeanising influence. I think a college teaching as far as possible only Western Knowledge and aiming as far as possible at English Education ultimately damages our work for the Kingdom of God. The men turned out are denationalised and of little influence compared with what they might be, but far worse is the popular association of Christian Education and the Gospel of Christianity with a certain style of dress, boots and snobbish contempt for local customs. My second point is that educational work in the cases of Colleges or of Secondary education be conducted on the boarding principle. Latin and Greek matter very little; the personal touch and the moral tone are almost everything.

...Most missionary principals have been pastors at home first and have greater pastoral than educational ideals and this is fatal to College
work if indulged. College work in the East should be much more exacting than in the West. They [Government secular schools] aim at manufacturing anglicised departmental servants. We aim at training responsible Christian leaders to lead natives, not to serve Europeans. We should be a staff corps, we are fighting minds. 21.

This fundamental shift in educational work where extolling and imitating western methods and values are seen not only as inappropriate, much more forcefully, as being agents of denationalisation and damaging to the Kingdom of God is of enormous significance. It is here that Fraser must be seen as an innovator, a man before his time, and it is in precisely these areas of policy that his work takes on both more controversy and more significance.

These views were expanded upon by Fraser in a letter to Baring-Gould written in November 1906 after receiving hospital treatment for the remaining elements of his sleeping-sickness. These views are of such fundamental importance that we should not underestimate their effect in separating Fraser from many missionaries in the field (particularly in the Low Church CMS) and from those at home who see the missionary enterprise as being primarily concerned with personal commitment and salvation, while corporate implications were of minor importance.

As you know Ceylon is far in advance of India in general education and in assimilation to western methods and habits. What Ceylon is today it is
more than likely India will be tomorrow. Well this westernising of Ceylon has neither helped Christianity nor the Empire. Ceylon is increasingly disloyal and today seems farther from Christ than at any period during the last 30 years...today Buddhism is increasing quite as fast as we are...
The two main arguments representing powerful feelings which are used in the interests of the Buddhist revival are these:
1. Christianity is purely western and Christ the western Buddha,
2. Buddhism is the national glory of Ceylon and with its existence is bound up the individuality of the Sinhalese race.
There is far more national and political feeling than religious behind this revival. The leaders of this revival are men educated as a rule in the English colleges of Ceylon, some coming from TCK.
...Government has largely modelled the Educational code on the requirements of its offices. It aims at turning out efficient anglicised clerks to do cheap European work.
I believe that the difficulty experienced by all missionary societies in meeting the demands upon their purses rises largely from the fallacy that it is necessary to increase the European workers as the work grows abroad....The opposite view has almost more truth; as work succeeds abroad the European workers and expense should decrease. Natives should be ready to take our places. Our mode...is not the Government College and the English Board School, but much more that of the early Christian Church and our aim that of our Lord's when he trained his 12 and made them Christian leaders ... Christ is presented to Ceylon in his English garments - not as the Son of Man....Yet the thought of our Christian pastors as of our missionaries is formed not in relation to the struggle with Buddhism and Buddhistic ideas, but in relation to home problems; and the best native theology in India has thus far come from non-Christians.

Consistently Fraser argues that his prime purpose is to educate Ceylonese Christian leaders both in the religious and the secular field. Perhaps one could accuse him of naivety in assuming that Ceylon could be won for
Christ en bloc or indeed we might question his approach to Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam as by definition alien to the Gospel, but that would be to obscure his prime conviction of the importance of the work of the educational missionary.

In regard to his constructive points firstly it is clear that on a very basic level Fraser was appalled by the separation engendered by both the medium of instruction and the curriculum at Trinity, separating as it did the boys not only from those over whom they would eventually have charge, but also separating them from their families, their environment and their heritage. Many times in his letters Fraser expresses incredulity at such a situation and is determined to bring an end to such a system.

Secondly his insistence upon the placing of responsibility more and more upon the Ceylonese clergy and the subsequent decrease in the numbers of European missionaries seems largely to have fallen upon deaf ears, or perhaps one should say closed ears, with neither the CMS Parent Committee nor the Ceylon Conference being anywhere close to accepting such a view. Indeed at this stage male and female European Missionaries still had their separate conferences, so that there was no inking of a shared forum for European and Native clergy.
Thirdly, village and English schools had never had a close or effective linking and had thereby essentially negated any possibility of children from outlying areas being taught, maintained in and fed into the English school system. Fraser saw here not only a huge pedagogical gap but also an enormous waste of human potential. Trinity developed and encouraged such links after Fraser's return, but their effectiveness remained a source of concern for many years to come, not least in the economic gulf separating those who could afford a place in an English school and those villagers who could not. The grants and bursaries to individual students were never sufficient to enable anything other than a handful of such village school pupils to be admitted.

Many of these views found further consolidation in the text of an address proposing a resolution which Fraser moved at the CMS summer school in Cromer in 1907. The resolution itself bears the Fraser hallmark and is worth noting as a declaration of the state of the art.

That this Summer School affirms its conviction of the extreme value of Educational Missions as an evangelistic agency, and believes that in the careful and deliberate development of schools and colleges lies the main hope of efficient and truly indigenous churches.

Here we see the twin buttresses of educational work leading to indigenous leadership and also the evangelism achieved both in the context of and within that
educational work per se. His argument as to the extreme value of such work rests primarily upon prima facie evidence.

...in view of what they [educational missions] have already done or are doing. 24.

He further cites testimony from opponents, from the Arya Patrika, the Lahore organ of the Arya Samaj, which claimed that it is through the prestigious educational provision of the Christian missions and thus by access to young minds, that Christian proselytizing had achieved such conversions and such an anglicisation of society as had occurred. In order to counter the effect of the Christian Missions the Arya Samaj, like the Buddhist Revival movement in Sri Lanka, established schools, particularly in the Punjab, for both boys and girls successfully gaining converts from Islam and challenging Protestant missionary progress in education.

He then turns to the evidence from the proponents of educational missions citing evidence from remarks made by a Hindu judge and government officials (including his father) as well as missionaries themselves. Such a predominance of evidence obviously raises many questions about the expectations and purposes of educational missions, which Fraser avoids. One cannot simply assume that government officials, native Christians and evangelistic missionaries all assented to the prime
position of mission schools for the same reasons; the matter is considerably more complex and must be seen as a whole in terms of the personal and corporate, the religious and secular, and of being both supportive of and antagonistic towards the colonial power. Fraser endeavours to use such evidence in a manner which must remain at least contentious, but as evidence of his methodology it is most illuminating.

The second half of his address relates to the 'hope of efficient and truly indigenous churches'. Here it is fascinating to see the way in which Fraser turns the argument away from the predominant view used against indigenous leadership, namely that it is not yet ready to bear such responsibility, and asserts rather that indigenous leadership is still far away because of the way in which European missionaries are forced to act. He attacks the Home Church for not resourcing the mission field sufficiently, both with regard to personnel and money, and further, he questions the way in which such scant resources as do exist, are actually used and thus is to be heard making statements such as

...we must aim in education at creating national leaders, men in touch with the thought-life and the noblest aspirations of their people, men thoughtful and independent, loyal and true. The Government codes, on the other hand, aim largely at supplying candidates for official positions, clerks and civilians. To succeed they must anglicize, and the same policy and the same code is not suitable for both policies.
Or again, with regard to India he argues that

...our work as Christian educators will be to draw out and reveal our own highest character. We will be dominated by the desire to bring light to all that is beautiful and pure in her own national life and aspiration, and to remove all that is gross; to make her take her place in the temple of God, not as a replica of our West, but as a beautiful yet different part of the one great mosaic He planned. To-day national feeling which is rapidly growing, is against Christ. It is not against Him because He is holy, because He is the Saviour; it is against Him because He is Western.

Such a very public statement of his educational policy must of course have brought questioning not only as to how it should be achieved but also whether or not such a policy was acceptable in itself. In terms of the CMS the resolution proposed and passed does not seem to have made a particularly marked impact upon any other educational missions in the sub-continent, except perhaps at Trinity College, a fact which Fraser himself is forced to accept many years later in his work with the Village Education Commission. In this sense Fraser and Trinity are clearly marked - leaders, blazing a trail which in Ceylon and India at least was to be followed only at a considerable distance.

Upon his return to Ceylon in 1908 Fraser used the occasion of the Annual Prize Day (December 7 1908) to unveil his plans for the development of the college. In his speech on that occasion Fraser reminded his hearers
When I came here four years ago I was astonished to find that senior students who were about to leave to become R.M.'s (Rata Mahatyas - Village headmen) or teachers could neither read nor write their own tongue, be it Sinhalese or Tamil. The teaching throughout was given in the medium of English to boys who when they went to school knew only how to speak their mother tongue, though they could neither read nor write it. 27.

However, as we have seen it was not merely the question of the medium of instruction which occupied so much of Fraser's attention, but as we have seen, the subjects themselves as contained in the curriculum, were directly exported, several decades earlier, from the curriculum of any English public school and designed to lead ultimately to the Senior Cambridge examination. He goes on to remark:

This memory work occupied of necessity far too long a place in their education and teaching became unintelligent and dull. When in addition to subjects outside their daily life like English, History and English Readers, Latin was added and possibly Greek the situation became Gilbertian. These conditions are still largely unchanged but we intend to change them gradually. 28.

Fraser makes clear his determined policy to combine a thorough revision of the curriculum with the introduction of the vernaculars. By this means Fraser deflected the criticism made by some that standards of English would suffer as a result of these changes. Thus:

Latin becomes an optional subject in future... and will be taught only to those who desire it, or are candidates in examinations for
which it is compulsory. Instead of it and hours
given to Greek, the English hours will be
increased, book-keeping and shorthand will be
taught and the vernaculars will be gradually
made compulsory for all. By next year we hope
to have large and well equipped science
laboratories erected, chemical, physical and
biological and to introduce these subjects into
the curriculum whilst keeping them related to
and founded on the vernaculars. 27.

In the same speech Fraser went on to justify these
changes not only on direct pedagogical grounds but also on
grounds which might appeal to his adult hearers
representing the colonial and ecclesiastical
establishment. Thus

We have seen in India and Ceylon in past days
that invariably the best students and speakers
of English were first men with a cultural and
literary knowledge of their own tongue. A
thorough knowledge of the mother tongue is
indispensable to true culture and real thinking
power. More a college fails if it is not
producing true citizens and men who are isolated
from the masses of their own people by ignorance
of their language and thought, and can never
fulfil the part of educated citizens or indeed
be true leaders of their race. For these
reasons and on these grounds we are continuing
in our altered policy and curriculum. 30.

As mentioned earlier such a revision of policy was
without precedent in Ceylon and was viewed by many with
considerable suspicion. Indeed the wholesale and
structured introduction of the vernaculars in the island's
most prestigious schools and colleges was not introduced
on any comprehensive basis until the mid 1920's, although
even in 1908, immediately after the Fraser speech, the
Director of Public Instruction in commenting on the Principal's Report said

Our schools have become too much occupied with English to have any thought left for the vernaculars... Mr. Fraser is tackling a problem not before tackled in Ceylon and he has secured in his effort the sympathy of the Department over which I preside.

In 1911 the Education Committee was appointed to report on what provision there should be for instruction in national languages. The committee found a considerable division of opinion. Premaratne recounts

A large majority of European principals of schools and leaders in social and political spheres strongly supported the introduction of the national languages as subjects of study at all levels of education. However there were also local leaders and managers of schools who openly declared that if it was meant that the national languages should be the medium of imparting knowledge to the classes they thought they would be of no value except in rural areas. Some Ceylonese principals argued that in the English schools the value of the national language was practically nil except for the illustration of differences in idiom or the elucidation of English words and phrases.

In 1912 the 'Final Report of the Committee to make a general survey of the system of Education now prevailing in Ceylon and to investigate in particular the present provision for Secondary and Higher Education' was published in full. It makes clear that basic educational provision had increased since 1881, with a steady upward movement of overall literacy from 15.7 per cent in 1881 to 26.4 per cent in 1911 (obscuring a severely distorted
male/female literacy ratio - 37.7 per cent of male population and 10.2 per cent of female population).

The following figures also serve to illustrate the scope of the educational enterprise in Ceylon at this time and the relatively small proportion of English education carried out, in both Government and Grant-in-aid schools.

1910 Total Schools and School Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>759</td>
<td>76,785</td>
<td>19,815</td>
<td>96,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grant-in-Aid</td>
<td>1,910</td>
<td>136,685</td>
<td>66,335</td>
<td>203,020</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of this total figure of 299,620 pupils 211,516 (87.2%) were in vernacular schools, 28,988 (9.6%) were in English schools and 9,116 (3.2%) in Anglo-vernacular schools. Of this last figure it should be noted that the report estimates that 4,000 of those children in Anglo-vernacular schools knew no English. Further, as the report remarks...

...the distinction between vernacular and English schools in Ceylon is what really corresponds to the difference between elementary and secondary education in other countries.

The Committee sought evidence from a wide variety of
people in Ceylon, including teachers, principals, prospective employers and senior government servants.

Regarding the place of the vernacular languages the committee asked respondents four questions viz.

(a) What do you consider to be the value of the vernacular languages in the education of the classes which attend English schools, elementary and secondary?

(b) Up to what point in a pupil's education do you think the study of the vernacular languages should be continued?

(c) To what extent do you consider that (i) Latin (ii) Greek (iii) French (iv) German should be part of the curriculum of secondary schools?

(d) Do you consider that the vernaculars should be substituted either optionally or compulsorily for the classical and modern languages of Europe in the higher parts of the curriculum of secondary schools?

A.G. Fraser provided one of the most comprehensive written answers to these questions, which was further extended by a considerable amount of oral evidence given to the committee at a later meeting. He argued that

...when a small boy eight to ten years old comes to school, knowing little or no English, and speaking fluently only in his own vernacular, it is destructive to his vigorous mental growth to teach him through the medium of English, a foreign tongue, it inevitably tends to make the mind concentrate on the medium of expression rather than the idea expressed.... Truth becomes little valued.... The critical habit of mind and the sober judgement are left undeveloped.

Subjects having an educational value of their own and intended to develop the reasoning power of the pupils should be taught through the medium which presents least difficulty to the pupil.... Of course in Ceylon the medium would have to be English in the upper classes, even if the vernacular was employed in teaching many in
the lower classes, for English must be the first thing in his [a pupil's] curriculum. I hope soon in TC to use the vernacular as the medium of instruction in each and every subject taught in the lower school, whilst teaching English thoroughly at the same time. We now teach Scripture through the medium of the vernacular up to the 7th standard and have done so for 2 years. The results so far are very encouraging.

Such vernacular teaching should in no way affect for ill the teaching of English, as feared by many.... The introduction of the vernacular does, however, affect some other subjects at first, as an extra subject it must curtail time spent on some others. But I believe it repays with interest very soon by the effect on the general intelligence.

Again, unless the vernaculars are taught well in the lower and middle classes of the 'colleges' an educated class is created, which knows little of the lower ranks largely dependent on them.

...The teaching of the vernaculars makes it simple also to interest boys in the social and economic welfare of their people. The exclusion of the vernaculars favours the tendency to think all local knowledge and local problems are unworthy of respect. If we desire knowledge to filter through quickly to the vernacular speaking masses, it seems to me necessary, that we should give the vernaculars to the most educated classes.

...But real thought is created best in boys by the application of ideas to their known environment and conditions. Without this thinking becomes unattractive and a mere caricature of the real thing. 37

Many of the points Fraser makes are taken up by other respondents but it is perhaps nevertheless not of little importance to note that Fraser's advocacy of the introduction of the vernaculars is multi-dimensional. Thus not only does Fraser claim that the educational process must begin where the student is, if that person is to be encouraged and stretched rather than ridiculed, but he also asserts what, from other written evidence was
still a contentious issue, namely that Sinhalese and Tamil have an educational value per se.

Furthermore Fraser's own experience in introducing the vernaculars up to this point gives considerable force not only to his argumentation over the short-term disruption caused, but also to the long-term benefits. It is indicative of the importance attached to the vernaculars by Fraser that he should have begun to introduce the same in the teaching of Scripture up to the 7th standard. Such a bold experiment with a subject regarded as paramount in this missionary school underlines Fraser's conviction that the medium of instruction must unite and increase the bonds between the student and his family and environment rather than alienate the two. The greater missionary enterprise could only spread effectively in the vernaculars and therefore it was vital to the success of that enterprise that boys should be well grounded in Scripture in their own tongue, in order that Christianity might be the more effectively propogated. Again, as is asserted elsewhere, Fraser saw the purpose of TCX not only in the education of individuals, nor solely in the preparing of 'domestic' missionaries, but at a deeper level, he saw his task as providing indigenous leadership — for church and national life and to that end a thorough grasp of the vernaculars was vital, although so paradoxical in one who himself never mastered Sinhalese
or Tamil, indeed there is no evidence even of any serious attempt to endeavour to learn either language.

This desire for the introduction of the vernaculars must not obscure Fraser's remarks regarding the paramount place to be given to English in the upper school. Those who charge Fraser with extremism clearly overlook this factor and in so doing seriously misrepresent the truth of his position, for in all his industrious support for the place of Sinhalese and Tamil, their role is always seen by Fraser as having a supportive pedagogical dimension and a factor connecting TCK students with the world outside, not as the means of creating the 'wholeness' he saw at the heart of his endeavours at Trinity.

Fraser's position found considerable support among other protestant missionary school principals as well as some other sources, but rarely was the conviction or degree of commitment as totally held or positively elucidated. The Rev. W.J.T. Small, Principal of Richmond College, Galle thought it

...a great advantage both to the boys themselves and to the community at large that all boys should be taught to read and write in their own language [because]...it should tend to lessen the barrier between those who have secured an English education and those who have not. 38.

Others favoured the teaching of the vernaculars for very pragmatic reasons, such as the Rev. J.S. Strother, Manager

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Church of England Schools, Galle

For the Sinhalese and Tamil pupils it is important that they should be able to read and write their own language...to serve them in ordinary affairs of business. 39.

The Rev. Jacob Thompson M.A., Manager and Principal of St. John’s College, Jaffna argued that

The chief value of the vernacular languages consists in the fact that these are the languages of the home and the heart. For the head of the house to be educated in a foreign language and to be practically uneducated in the means of intercourse with his wife and children is manifestly bad. 40.

This dimension of the argument in particular was taken up by evidence from several prestigious English girls schools. For example Miss L.A. Chapman, Manager, Hillwood Girls School, Kandy in her evidence claimed that

The vernacular is good in as far as it is the only language in which the children in the majority of cases can converse with or write to their grandparents or parents.... Moreover I have proved that if English supercedes the vernacular, and the latter be not taught, the children imagine that it is a language to be ashamed of, and look down upon their relatives who do not happen to know English. 41.

Fraser’s position also found support, as one would expect, among educationalists in some of the other English schools administered by both Hindu and Muslim authorities. Mr. G. Shiva Rau B.A., Principal, Hindu College Jaffna, wrote in evidence that

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...in common with other languages having a literature of their own, Tamil provides an excellent mental discipline.... It is only a study of the vernacular that will create a taste for the vernacular... A study of the vernaculars can alone produce a class of writer who will add to and enrich vernacular literature.... A study of the vernacular will better enable the educated classes to reach the masses and interpret the West to the East. 42.

From A.M. Wapchi Marikar, Manager, Muslim Zahira College, Colombo the Committee received as evidence a short but spirited plea for the inclusion of the vernacular.

I consider that the study of the vernacular languages in elementary English schools is indispensably necessary. 43.

The evidence thus far reviewed left no doubt as to the desirability, on pedagogical, social, economic and missionary grounds for the inclusion of the vernaculars both as subjects of study and as a medium of instruction, there being a general finding that such subjects and media should continue to at least sometime between the 5th standard and 7th standard, in other words to a reasonable degree of fluency in reading, writing and speaking, with the option to continue such study where possible or perceived as desirable.

The opposite opinion was laid before the Committee almost exclusively by members of two groups namely Roman Catholic educationalists and Sinhalese Buddhist laymen. The Roman Catholic Church, as we have seen had many schools, principally in the maritime areas and invested a
very great amount of personnel and money in education. Thus Father L.E. Bouvier O.M.I., Manager of Catholic Schools, Colombo asserted that

The introduction of the vernacular languages into English schools as prescribed by the new Code for 1912 can be of no educational value whatever. 44.

and again a senior priest with long experience of educational work throughout the island, The Very Rev. Fr. C.H. Lytton, O.M.I., Rector St. Joseph's College, Colombo wrote

...I am convinced that the study of the vernacular languages is not only of no value in the education of the classes which attend English schools but is a real obstacle to the learning of English. During the time I was in St. Patrick's College [Jaffna] we were unable to present a single under-age candidate owing to Tamil being taught along with English.... I would therefore exclude the vernaculars from all English schools. 45.

One may well ask here what the underlying problem with the vernaculars was in this case. Was it that it slowed down learning or cluttered the timetable? Perhaps in light of the comment regarding 'under-age candidates', the system adopted in this particular college was geared only to pushing students further on within the existing system, rather than seeing an alternative, and, in Fraser's opinion, equally sound alternative, of waiting until candidates reached the required age before entering them for public examinations.
Bearing in mind comments made with regard to family and social advantages to a study of the vernacular made by some educationalists working in Girls schools, one might have expected the (female) Principal of Holy Family Convent, Bambalapitiya (Colombo) to take a positive view but she also felt that

The introduction of the vernacular languages into English schools can but prevent the pupils from acquiring a proper knowledge of English. 48.

As has already been alluded to, Buddhist English schools (among others) sprang up at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century as part of the continuing Buddhist revival. Such colleges quickly gained in academic and social status and by 1911 were posing a significant degree of competition to the well established Christian mission schools. With the renaissance in Buddhist culture and learning one might have expected a rather different response to the questions with regard to the value of the vernacular. Mr. R.A. Mirendo, Manager of Buddhist schools submitted evidence that

There is no value of the vernacular languages, in the education of classics in English schools. 47.

Furthermore, in answer to the question (a) as posed above, the Principal of Ananda College, Colombo, (probably the most prestigious Buddhist English school) answered curtly 'Nil'. 48.
While such a response may at first appear strange one must also bear in mind two factors in particular, firstly that at this stage those most involved in the Buddhist revival were of lower caste than Colombo Buddhists who could afford to send their sons to Ananda College, among others. The authorities at Ananda College clearly perceived a threat to their success in public examinations and the constituency from which they drew their students if they should accept the introduction of the vernaculars.

The Inspector of Schools in the colony, Mr. R.B. Strickland M.A. had already offered support to Fraser in his attempt to introduce well taught vernacular lessons into the curriculum of English schools and to this end his evidence to the committee would seem to be clear - his concern was to change the 'negative' use of the vernaculars into a more positive, pedagogically soundly based usage thus:

At present the main value [of the vernaculars] would seem to be to prevent Sinhalese and Tamil children from growing up without being able to do more than speak their own language colloquially.... I should prefer to see the vernacular and English language dealt with altogether differently and teachers trained specially for the purpose. 49.

This opinion and concern is echoed in a report made by Mr. J.J.R. Bridge, H.M. Inspector of Secondary Schools in England and Wales after a visit to Ceylon from June-August 1911; indeed we could here be reading Fraser in one
of his many written pieces on the subject.

To make provision for the teaching of the vernacular languages is not the same thing as making the vernacular the medium of instruction, and the arrangements now made seem only to bear on the first.

...the methods usually adopted do not seem to be very satisfactory; they appear to follow the line of memory work and make little appeal to any other faculty of the mind. 53.

Despite the evidence of both the senior educationalists in the colony and in England and Wales the evidence as weighted by the Committee seemed to favour 'no change' in the situation regarding the use of the vernaculars. The committee claimed that

The evidence of those whom we have consulted shows that a majority are adverse to any change which would make the teaching of Sinhalese and Tamil a prominent part of the curriculum of secondary schools. The majority of the Sinhalese and a few even of the Tamils feel strongly that the education, regarded as education, would suffer by such a change.... On the whole we do not think that the study of Sinhalese can be regarded as educationally equivalent to the study of the other languages now taught, and as it is clearly desirable that Sinhalese and Tamil should receive similar treatment, we think that for the present both should be excluded from the list of subjects for the examinations for secondary school certificates. 51.

Such seeming conviction is then rather diluted by the compromise offered in the very same paragraph that

At the same time we would allow full freedom of action to any institution which desires to provide higher teaching in the vernaculars. 52.

Thus the findings and recommendations of the Education
Committee neither furthered nor prevented the introduction of the vernacular languages into English schools, some, like Trinity College, Kandy, took heart in the freedom granted in the report to teach the vernaculars throughout the school, while others, such as St. Joseph's, found justification in the report to fulfil the obligation to teach only to Standard IV and then to ignore the issue of Sinhalese and Tamil as they had prior to the Education Committee's investigation.

Such a division of opinion is, as one might perhaps expect, indicative of the difference in opinion over the aims and objectives of education, both missionary and Government. The protestant European respondents seem to adopt a view consistent with a more liberal view of education being a means of connecting the child to his heritage and environment, while among the Ceylonese respondents to the committee there was clearly vociferous opposition. One is forced to ask here whether such opposition was because of the experienced and widely perceived notion that such western education as was available at least created possibilities of social mobility and career advancement for the middle classes, which they feared might now be threatened by the introduction of the vernacular, allowing, as it would, a much wider access to the educational process?
Despite this, Fraser continued to re-state his views with regard to the value of Sinhala and Tamil, both on their own merits, and for the stretching of the mind which comes with it, as well as stressing the cultural and social value of a knowledge of the mother tongue. To continue solely with English as the medium of instruction was, to Fraser, as we have already seen, quite abhorrent, for it

...fostered a shallowness of mind which was ready to accept any pleasing statement without enquiry. In the classroom boys were trained to accept statements without understanding, truth became little valued. The critical habit of mind and the sober judgement were left undeveloped. 53.

With regard to the effect of his altered policy in making a submission to the Education committee, Fraser is quoted in 1912 as saying

I have found a need for the knowledge of the vernacular readily recognised in Trinity College. No boys left on account of it, on the contrary many have come because of it. 54.

At the time of Fraser's very public utterances on the subject there was also a hidden agenda. We perhaps gain an insight into this by a letter written to England, at the same time as his change in policy was announced. Reimann includes this in her history of Trinity College and Fraser states

The growth of the National Movement has compelled during the last few years the
attention of all serious students of India and Ceylon, whether this interest be missionary or political. That this movement is a mighty and growing force few can doubt. Is it with all its abundant life to be for or against Christ? The Arya Samaj are making a strong and considered effort through educational work based on Indian thought and experience to create leaders who shall guide the movement against Christ. In the belief that the Christian Church needs Christian leaders and ought to win this movement, we propose a similar education policy in Trinity College, Kandy, adapted to the new conditions. In Ceylon we have almost all the problems of India, religious, racial and political. In the island they can be grasped, and the effect of any experiment can be noted at once.... We intend to make a serious effort - first, to train Christians in Ceylon so to preach Christ that their hearers may realise He is no foreigner, but the real and true fulfilment of all that is highest in their aspirations and past. Second to make our pupils good citizens of their own land -
a) by carefully relating all that is taught them to the needs, problems and language of their own people;
b) by deliberately striving to foster and encourage their sense of responsibility and readiness to act, and so work for leaders. 55.

This reveals much in Fraser's pattern of thought, for throughout his life as an educationalist his pattern of policy development is influenced by his understanding of his role as primarily a Christian missionary. This Fraser states quite clearly

The boy has not only a body and mind, he has a spirit himself and through school, college and sports we get to know him, with one object in view, so to present Jesus Christ to him, that he may see in Him the truest type of manhood.... Many too are realising that they are to be the messengers of his true love to their own people, that the hope of India and Ceylon is Jesus Christ. 56.
Thus we can see that the medium of instruction in English schools was transformed, during Fraser's tenure of principalship. When Trinity adopted a policy of instruction in the vernaculars the college made a deliberate and distinctive stand, both on pedagogical and socio-religious grounds, albeit with a fairly overt proselytising bias. By the mid 1920's the use of the vernacular in schools had become, if not standard, then at least accepted in principle. In this field, as in the field of curriculum development, as has been briefly observed, Fraser made a bold step forward, convinced in the correctness of his own opinion despite opposition from other interested parties. Indeed, a seemingly characteristic act.
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THE CIVIL DISTURBANCES OF 1915

Tucked into the details of a Command Paper presented to both Houses of Parliament in 1916 is the statement that in Ceylon

The most remarkable event of the year and the most deplorable took place on the last days of May and the first days of June when Sinhalese rioters attacked the Moorish traders. Certainly it is true that towards the end of May 1915 events occurred in the religious and political history of Ceylon which, since the establishment of British unitary rule over the whole island, were quite unknown and which were to prove crucially important factors in the passage from the Buddhist revival to the development of an organised and well-articulated nationalist movement. Fraser, present in Kandy during the period of rioting, in a seemingly characteristic manner, involved himself and the college in the issue both during and after the events of late May and it is this particular involvement which is analysed here. The 1915 riots focussed upon the acrimony which had developed between the Buddhist Sinhalese and the Coast Moors, a section of the Muslim community.

While this period of rioting is commonly known as the Sinhala-Muslim riots, when writing to the Secretary of State, Bonar Law, on July 1st 1915, Governor Robert Chalmers alludes to the violence as the 'anti-Moslem riots'. This inaccurate
nomenclature both ignores the historical particularities of the situation and also distorts the consequences of the disorder in the short and the long term. For Fraser, and in the wider political sphere, it is not only the riots themselves which are of great consequence, but also the manner in which the colony's government sought to control and subdue the violence, as well as to identify and punish the supposed offenders.

In the census of 1911 the Muslim community in Ceylon is shown as including Gujeratis, Borah and Meman merchants as well as the so-called Ceylon Moors, a community resident in the colony for several hundred years and so named during the Portuguese period. Within this group of 233,901 Ceylon Moors a much smaller sub-group of 32,724 people is identified as constituting the Coast Moor community. Unlike the Ceylon Moors, the Coast Moors had arrived in Ceylon only during the 19th century and were, principally, traders based in South India now seeking to exploit the potential of the Ceylon market.

The dubious reputation of this section of the Muslim population was not merely due to an outbreak of xenophobia in an otherwise well-settled and highly-esteemed community, but was rather based upon the rapid accumulation of wealth through commodity trading, which was the particular skill of the Coast Moor. Since the development of the tea plantation economy the Ceylon economy had experienced considerable growth. Moreover,
after the outbreak of war in 1914 basic imported commodity prices had risen sharply and the Coast Moors became easy scapegoats for the accusation of unreasonable profiteering practices. The increasing wealth of the Coast Moor community was visible in their large increase in land holdings throughout the colony and was also manifested in the building and restoring of their own mosques on a most lavish scale.

One such mosque was located in Gampola, a provincial town near Kandy, important not only as a trading centre, but also as an erstwhile capital of an up-country Sinhalese kingdom and the site of the ancient temple, the Walahagoda Devale, a place of popular pilgrimage. During the 1890s the mosque underwent considerable expansion, partly on land which was adjacent to the route taken by the annual Asala Perahera from the Walahagoda Devale. In order to minimise any possible offence which might be caused to the members of the Coast Moor community who worshipped here, the Government Agent and Superintendent of Police suggested that the members of the procession cease to play music within earshot of the mosque or, alternatively, take another route. The larger Ceylon Moor community at no stage made any formal objection to Buddhist processions passing their mosques, indeed the leaders of the Ceylon Moors are even known to have re-scheduled prayer times in order to lessen any potential disturbance.
In Gampola at the turn of the century one such annual Asala Perahera was abandoned by the Buddhist trustees rather than process within the constraints laid down by the secular authorities. Again in 1912 further representations were made to have all restrictions on the Perahera lifted. In order to aid the achieving of a compromise the Perahera trustees offered to re-schedule the procession so that it might pass the mosque at a time when few worshippers would be inside and no prayers were being offered. However, the Government Agent rejected this potential compromise and the aggrieved trustees filed a petition with the District court in order to press their claim. In the ensuing litigation it was argued that such restrictions on an ancient religious rite were contrary to the spirit of Article 5 of the Kandyan Convention, by which the Kandyan Kingdom had been ceded to Britain in 1815. It will be recalled that the article in question clearly states

The Religion of Budhoo, its rites, ministers and places of worship are to be maintained and protected.4

The District Court judge, Paul Pieris, himself a Sinhala scholar of some repute, found in favour of the trustees. However on a subsequent appeal to the Supreme Court his judgement was overturned.

In addition to this brief historical sketch it is also important to take cognizance of the contemporary situation in which the rioting was set. In this regard the initial location
of the disturbances is of considerable significance. Although Reimann adopts a seemingly partial and generalist position in her description of the causes of the outbreak of violence, nevertheless she well illustrates the importance both of the Kandyan location and occasion thus

The Sinhalese Buddhists had been embittered by a long series of grievances, against the Mohammedans, and it culminated in an attempt on behalf of the Mohammedans to interfere with the erection of a dansala opposite the mosque on the Buddha's birthday. The trouble began in Kandy on the night of May 28 when the Sinhalese broke into a number of Moor shops, carried their contents into the street and made a bonfire of them.\(^5\)

Kandy was and indeed remains the most sacred centre of Buddhism in Ceylon and the Temple of the Sacred Tooth stands in the very heart of the town. As Reimann makes clear the specific occasion here was one of the most important dates in the Buddhist year, the feast of Wesak, Lord Buddha's birthday and assumption. At such a time the town would have been overflowing with pilgrims from throughout the island and beyond. Furthermore the year 1915 marked the centenary of the signing of the Kandyan Convention, by which the Kandyan kingdom was ceded to Britain, rendering, for the first time, the whole island the possession of a colonial power. Thus with religious sensibilities heightened at this time and the background of the centenary year celebrations in March, followed by National Day festivities in April, it is clear that a potentially explosive
position might well have arisen, without necessarily involving any premeditation.

A few months after the riots, in November 1915, Fraser appeared before the Police Inquiry Commission, established to consider the conduct of the police force during the period of violence and martial law. In his evidence to that inquiry it is clear that Fraser did not consider it to be the case that there had been any planning of the riots which could in any way amount to a charge of conspiracy. The transcript of that inquiry reads

THE CHAIRMAN: From what you say, did you form any opinion on the question whether the riots in Kandy had been pre-arranged to any extent?

WITNESS: It depends on what you mean by pre-arrangement. If you mean was there any definite pre-organisation I don't think so. That the riots were expected to break out I firmly believe...

...We shall return to Fraser's views on the causes of the riots later in this chapter, but it is clear even here that to assume any carefully planned outbreak of violence, at least in the first instance, is indeed dubious. Equally to ascribe any sole or direct religious causality is to go beyond the reasonable bounds of credibility particularly in light of the rapid spread of the violence to other parts of the island and in light of the nature and targets of the violence.
Other scholars, particularly Jayawardena, have argued that specific economic and political factors can be identified as having led to the outbreak of rioting in Kandy and, indeed, throughout the colony. In national terms the restrictions necessarily placed upon the island's economy by the onset of war in 1914 were most severe in their effects upon the colony's poor, both urban and rural. As already mentioned, the cost of shipping rice and other basic commodities had risen dramatically, a fact which, in an economy which, with some success, had changed its emphasis from self-sufficiency to plantation and cash-crop agriculture, was of considerable disadvantage. In addition the slump in the coconut, cinnamon, plumbago and, to a lesser extent, tea market led to wholesale lay-offs and long-term unemployment both in the rural and urban sectors in which (apart from the tea plantations) the majority of manual workers were Buddhist Sinhalese. The already powerful Coast Moor traders were therefore in a position to advance their money-lending activities in particular amassing further considerable land holdings and other capital at the expense of the rural peasantry and the urban poor. This strengthening of the position of the Coast Moor clearly did little to enhance his already doubtful public standing. As R.W. Byrde, Chairman of Colombo Municipal Council, was to remark of the Coast Moor

In the ordinary course of events, the Coast Moor is unpopular in the villages. He is thrifty and prosperous. He is a money-lender and a land grabber. His behaviour to the
Sinhalese womenfolk is coarse. His religion is exclusive.  

While one can indeed appreciate the economic strains placed upon the poorer sections of the population in particular, nevertheless the argument suggesting a clear link between economic factors and the Kandyan rioting surely fails in that if such were a prime factor, one would expect rioting to have occurred across the whole colony, for all would be adversely affected by such economic factors. This was not the case. The predominantly Tamil provinces of the North and East were totally unaffected by the rioting and no damage was recorded in these areas.

In a previous chapter attention was drawn to the matrix of factors which combined towards the development of Buddhist consciousness during the nineteenth century. Perhaps most notable was the engagement with the Christian mission, culminating in the Panadura debate, the establishing of both vernacular and prestigious English Buddhist schools and the self-confidence, infra-structure and communications expertise gained from the influence of and co-operation with the Theosophists which had created a new dimension in the influence of Buddhist Sinhalese life in the colony which, although perhaps at this stage not worthy of the title of nationalism, was certainly consistent with progress towards that goal.
During the early years of the twentieth century the Sinhalese vernacular press increasingly and more widely adopted a more exclusivist stance towards other racial groups in the island and its antagonism toward the Coast Moor community in particular became very pronounced. By 1909 overt nationalist and indeed racist sentiment was espoused by, for example, Piyadasa Sirisena who urged the Sinhalese to refrain from having transactions with the Coast Moor, the Cochin and the foreigner. 9

A more explicit connection between the demise of the Sinhalese and the arrival of the colonial powers was made in 1912 in the journal Sinhala Bauddhaya, which further identified the positions of both the Tamil and Coast Moor communities as being disproportionately and unacceptably influential. Thus

From the day the foreign white man stepped in this country, the industries, habits and customs of the Sinhalese began to disappear and now the Sinhalese are obliged to fall at the feet of the Coast Moors and Tamils. 10

Such chauvinist tendencies, however real the economic and social aggravation may indeed have been, appear to reach something of a peak in 1915, shortly before the riots under consideration here, with the Sinhalese newspaper Lakmini crusading for repatriation. It urged that

A suitable plan should be adopted to send this damnable lot out of the country. 11
As part of the Buddhist revival the rapid spread of temperance societies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was observed by some in the colonial administration with particular displeasure. That the temperance movement and the Buddhist revival were inter-connected there can be no doubt. D.B. Jayatilaka, President of the Young Men's Buddhist Association, when addressing The Temperance Reformers of the United Kingdom in 1916, remarks

So when the temperance movement was inaugurated in 1912, it naturally and rightly allied itself with the national faith. Often the temperance societies are established in temples, and the meetings are held in the preaching halls. Every meeting is attended by the Bhikhus and a religious exhortation by one of them invariably forms part of the programme.12

To a limited extent then the attitude, or perhaps suspicion, of some of the colonial administration can be explained on grounds of the opportunity such temperance rallies and societies delivered to those who wished to criticise any aspect of the island's government, especially in the combined context of religious awareness and popular cause. Because of this incipient suspicion the government introduced measures to prevent village headmen and public servants joining temperance societies, measures which attracted widespread and consistent criticism both in Ceylon and in Britain. Embarrassingly the Ceylon government was therefore left with no alternative other than a total volte-face. The rescinding of the measures was of course, hailed as a major victory by the temperance movement.
After the formation of the Total Abstinence Central Union and the abortive Excise Ordinance of 1912 the temperance movement also attracted increasing support from the growing and articulate middle class, amongst which there was considerable dissatisfaction with the very limited nature of the latest constitutional reforms. Whereas the government may well have felt competent to withstand the demands of a relatively small agitation for constitutional reform, the prospect of mass agitation through the temperance movement was one which could by no means be so easily withstood. As we shall see, those who could be implicated by association with the temperance movement were immediately arrested after the rioting had spread and Jayawardena would go so far as to claim that

Leadership in the temperance organisations became synonymous with political leadership.13

Kannangara14 attempts however to assert that it was only in the minds of colonial administrators that any synonymity was in fact to be found. He notes a quite unreasonable determination on the part of the government to claim any links between the temperance movement activists and the ring leaders or instigators of the 1915 rioting. For Kannangara the riots were, in the eyes of the government, a deliberate act of political disobedience, a testing of the strength of the nationalist movement, despite the paucity of evidence to support this view. He comments

...neither the lack of a close connection between the procession dispute and the Temperance Movement, nor the loyalist and law-
abiding attitudes of its leaders, could save them from official displeasure and suspicion.

In his report for 1915 the Government Agent, Central Province, provides a specific account of the outbreak of violence, which is both detailed and largely substantiated by other sources, including Fraser himself. Thus

On the night of May 28, which was a holiday for the Buddhist Full Moon Festival of Wesak, anti-Moorish riots broke out in Kandy in connection with two Wesak carol parties. About 1.15a.m. [May 29] the two carol parties combined and came down Castle Hill Street from the direction of Hill Street. The carol parties were followed by a large crowd... As the attitude of the crowd became threatening the Inspector [of Police] ordered the crowd to disperse but the order was not obeyed... The Inspector turned the front cart half round. The Moors who were on the steps of the mosque then jeered at the Sinhalese. The second cart then dashed past the first cart, followed by the crowd and the second cart. The crowd then attacked the mosque and the moorish boutiques. The Superintendent of Police came up with more police and the crowd dispersed after 30 Sinhalese had been arrested...

Judging from the size of the stones found strewn on the floor of the mosque, and which could not have been picked up close by it, it is evident that the attack on the mosque was premeditated.

Both the details of the Government Agent's report and his final remark suggest that Fraser was indeed correct in his assumption that while there was probably no sufficiently discernible preparation for the rioting which might be considered tantamount to conspiracy, nevertheless those who engaged in violence, particularly the crowds following the
Wesak carts, were expecting to enter into an affray of some sort. Furthermore the evening of May 29 witnessed only sporadic and localised violence in Kandy, with a minor outbreak in Colombo Street and the presence on the roads of a few gangs lurking purposelessly, which the extra police brought up from Colombo were in a position to disperse without any serious situation developing. Thus here too there is little ground to assume a sustained or organised plan of action on the part of the rioters. On Sunday May 30, after the arrival of half a company of Punjabi troops, rioting occurred during the afternoon and evening in which deaths and many arrests ensued. In his report the Government Agent, Central Province, continues

From May 31 there was no more rioting in Kandy... Of the nine (9) mosques in Kandy seven (7) were attacked.

Martial Law was proclaimed in the Central Province on June 3 1915... Martial Law was withdrawn at midnight on August 30 1916 [sic].

Once again, this description is consistent with most other accounts of the violence and is certainly in keeping with the communications of the Governor with the Colonial Secretary, which lay emphasis upon the object of the violence, namely Muslim property. In particular Governor Chalmers, who was an esteemed Pali scholar and noted for his sympathy and kindnesses to a variety of Buddhist causes, comments that

The fact that the rioters attacked boutiques of Moslems and did not commit serious theft confirms my belief that the present outbreak is the direct outcome on the part of the Buddhists to retaliate on the Moslems for the
defeat of the Buddhist claims in the Gampola Perahera case...

Both the place and the timing of the rioting point to religious and economic or commercial sensibilities being acute. Indeed that inference is surely to be discerned in Governor Chalmers' official correspondence with London. He states, for example, that

About 10 p.m. [May 29] I received information by telephone that there was also some disturbance in Colombo. My conclusions are that the spread of the rioting is due to the dispersal of the crowds assembled in Kandy for the Wesak festival.

There is a vague feeling that as Turkey is at war with the United Kingdom the local Moslems are enemies of the government; but deeper than this there is the resentment against (slightly) higher prices charged for foodstuffs...by the Moslems who monopolize nearly the whole retail trade and this has been sedulously inflamed by low-country Singalese traders, who see their opportunity of ruining their trade rivals.

The 'vague feeling' regarding Muslims as potential enemies of the crown because of the Turkish issue in the First World War is as unsubstantiated in the Ceylon context as the notion, espoused by some colonial settlers in the island that German agents provocateurs were present in the colony, seeking to break the stability of the government and thereby cause damage to the British predominance in South Asia, beginning with this strategically important island.
It was above all the rapid geographical spread of the violence, which in late twentieth century parlance has come to be known as 'copy cat' violence, that most worried the colonial authorities. With a relatively small police force, 2,600 men in 1915, scattered throughout the whole island and little chance of any reinforcements from any other non-military sources, the Governor was encouraged to declare martial law with considerable haste. An act which, as we shall realise, was to prove extremely costly.

Lest one assume that the rioting was the overriding issue of the day in Ceylon it is interesting to consider that at no stage did the riots appear as the paramount item of news in the mass circulation English press in the colony. The events of the war in Europe continued to occupy the columns of the dailies almost without exception. However in a leader comment on June 2 the Ceylon Morning Leader describes in very detached terms the events of the preceding days in Kandy and Colombo, almost to the point of negating their importance. For the English press in the colony the riots were clearly an unfortunate series of incidents concerning indigenous factions, but which were of little significance or interest to their readers. Of the violence in Kandy the Ceylon Morning Leader opines

Regrettable at all times, such an experience is chiefly regrettable now because it is so inopportune. The educated section of the permanent population will deplore a tendency towards unsettlement at a time when the British Empire is at war, and it is now our
primary anxiety to maintain peace within... Those who have had the advantage of personally observing some of the disturbances perpetrated by the mobs in the town realise that there is really little vice in the people thus assembled... There was no malevolence visible anywhere and it is perfectly safe for a stranger clad in European costume to stand by unmolested. But stones hurled by and presently a little half-clad street Arab, with a grin broader than worn by his neighbours, crept up to the door of a house with an iron bar and tried to prise the shutters open. The rain of bottles from above thickened.

Such a detached view as this, espoused by one of the major English language dailies, surely calls in to question Kannangara's assertion that the colonial administration, indeed the European population, saw in the rioting a deliberate act of conspiracy or a well-planned assertion of nationalist tendencies. Here Kannangara surely confuses the colonial administration's initial thinking with regard to the violence with the measures by which they sought to deal with the same. If Kannangara's position had been the case, then surely the prestigious English press would at least have alluded to this or more probably reported, or even reflected, the colonial government's concern in this matter. The evidence, in fact, seems to point in the opposite direction, namely it underlines Fraser's position, which Governor Chalmers also maintains, that the causality of the riots is connected to both religious and commercial sensibilities. This understanding is further borne out by the analysis of damage done to property, the communities
to which the injured belonged, as well as the financial extent
and geographical location of the damage.

From the official figures submitted to the Colonial Office
it would appear that no Sinhalese were injured, fatally or
otherwise. We know, however, even from the evidence of the
Government Agent, Central Province, merely with regard to the
first two nights of violence in Kandy, that this is not the
case. Nevertheless no figures of injuries to any persons other
than Muslims are officially recorded. Extant statistics show:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Injuries to Persons</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25 Muslims killed</td>
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<tr>
<td>189 Muslims injured</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 Reported cases of rape</td>
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<tr>
<th><strong>Damage to Property</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>86 Mosques damaged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Mosques burned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,075 Boutiques sacked [small retail shops]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>350 Boutiques burned</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is no record of damage to European or Sinhalese
property. Even public utilities, for example the Government
Railway, suffered only minor and, for the most part, incidental
damage and no public buildings are recorded as having been
attacked.

The geographical extent of the violence, of which we can
gain an impression from the submissions of the Special
Commissioners with regard to compensation, again lends support
to Governor Chalmers' opinion that the rioting was primarily spread by those returning from the Wesak festivities and in those areas in which aggrieved Low Country Buddhist Sinhalese were in a clear majority. Thus the financial estimates in regard to compensation for damage done illustrate the geographical extent of the violence as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kandy Town</td>
<td>Rs 449,910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombo</td>
<td>Rs 750,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Province (excl. Colombo)</td>
<td>Rs 3,195,271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabaragamuwa Province</td>
<td>Rs 552,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Province (exc. Kandy Town)</td>
<td>Rs 86,295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Province</td>
<td>Rs 341,021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North West Province</td>
<td>Rs 152,646</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaffna</td>
<td>NIL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Province</td>
<td>NIL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>Rs 5,527,743</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fraser was present at Trinity College, Kandy throughout the period of violence in the town and came to be associated, in a highly controversial manner, with both the course of the riots and the aftermath. At this stage it is perhaps important to consider his own eye witness comments on the violence and the part played by both Fraser and the College. His descriptions certainly lend a lively and idiosyncratic element to the accounts of the period of unrest in Kandy and its environs. Furthermore Fraser's remarks tally well with accounts gleaned from other sources both official and
unofficial. In a letter of 1 June 1915 Fraser gives a brief background to the events which he believes to have been influential in bringing about the situation in which rioting occurs. He then continues to describe the rioting and the part he played in attempting to quell the disturbances and distract the crowds.

A Muslim jewellery shop had been smashed in and the English police superintendent, Major Tranchell, had been assaulted. I had had little time to realize this when I saw the crowd make an ugly rush for Colombo Street, where Ceylon Muslims live. I rushed off to see if I could do anything. I found them attacking a big Muslim shop, smashing the shutters with beams of wood and huge stones. One man leapt high as I came up and tore down the gutter or piping round the tiled roof, amidst great cheers. I ran on to the steps of the shop and faced the crowd, and held up my hand. I was in evening dress. I then started to light a cigar to divert their attention—and a native cigar at that, for I smoke that kind. They had never seen a European smoke one before, I expect...

This brief description is in itself revealing, for it not only alludes to Fraser's involvement in the rioting but also it allows a glimpse into his peculiar mixture of moral authority, formality and identification with indigenous life. There is little reference to Europeans who were not members of either the police or colonial administration becoming involved in the fracas, yet Fraser with his commitment to social order and justice, firmly rooted in the scriptural tradition, saw it as his duty to respond in order to bring about peaceable community existence. Secondly Fraser was a missionary, an employee of
the Church Missionary Society, and yet was to be found in the
centre of town in evening dress, for here was a missionary who
appreciated and enjoyed involvement with many strands of
secular colonial life which may well have perturbed other
missionaries and, in itself, makes an interesting contrast to
his puritanical Oxford days. Thirdly here is Fraser, the well-
connected missionary and pillar of society smoking native
cigars with ease and delight at the reaction of the crowd, for
whom such a sight, on Fraser's own account must have seemed
highly unusual.

Ward cites another of Fraser's accounts of this incident
which further emphasise the skill of the man in capturing the
moment and using such to dramatic effect. It appears
incredible that Fraser could attract the attention of a crowd
bordering on the riotous and hold a conversation as outlined
here, yet such is part of the fascination of this not entirely
modest missionary.

As I faced the crowd a stone got me on the
forehead and blood flowed down over my face.
I knew it was a case of 'speak now or forever
hold your tongue'. So I held up my hand and
said, 'I wish to speak to you all for a
minute, but before I speak I would like to
smoke, and I see a friend here who has some
wet Jaffnas, and I ask him to give me one. He
knows I would give him one if I had a cigar on
me and he wanted it.' The 'wet Jaffna' is a
small cigar steeped in an acrid juice and no
European smokes them. The interest of the
crowd was caught by the unexpected suggestion.
The owner of the cigars said, 'I cannot give
you one of these. No European can smoke
them.' I said 'I can', for I had once smoked
one to see if I could. The owner said, 'No!
it would be a miracle'. I said, 'Well, you
will see a miracle'. He gave me one and the crowd watched to see me light the damp thing. It took two matches and I took a few puffs at it. Then I turned to the silent crowd...

Later, during the night of 29 to 30 May Fraser returned to the College and sought help from a group of masters armed only with walking sticks. Again from Fraser's own account the almost boyish spirit of adventure seems hardly below the surface as the TCK bank of masters sought to protect one suburb of Kandy, Katukelle, and especially its mosque. Fraser writes

For three hours we kept it [Katukelle], turning back some armed bands of 20 or thereabouts. Then we saw some of these bands combined, reinforced and drunk, over 300 of them. They swept past us, so as we could not hold them we walked with them. Part of the time we kept in front and made the pace slow, at other times we got up a discussion which wasted time. Meantime I sent Asche back for the police... They [the gangs] started bonfires, and for half an hour we could only watch. Meantime however I got close to the leaders and saw their faces and learnt their names, and told them if the riot spread or if anyone was killed I would get them hanged. One fellow told me I would be killed if I interfered, but the others mostly slunk away. Then up came the police and all fled, and a few prisoners were taken... Then we walked home nearly four miles and between 4 and 5 a.m. got to bed.26

Here we have Fraser attempting to use his position and authority to persuade the rioters to desist from their purpose, yet without provoking them to react violently to Fraser and his colleagues, apart from verbal threats. Yet we also hear Fraser attempting to assert his ability to dictate punishment towards the rioters unless they obey his orders.
These spontaneous attempts to assist the restoration of order were soon followed by Fraser bringing the full weight of the school into play and thereby risking the reputation of Trinity College amongst those who felt aggrieved. Reimann writes that

Mr Fraser called for volunteers from the school to serve as special constables, and so far as possible to preserve life and property. Thirty-six boys responded and were marched down to the police station to be sworn in. On their way back just outside the college gate, they came upon a crowd of rioters battering down doors and windows with clubs and iron bars; and some Moors had already been stabbed. The boys were quite unarmed but without any hesitation they rushed into the midst of the rioters, and their determination and discipline told. But now the College had incurred great hostility by the stand they had taken; and this was aggravated by the protection they were affording to the Moors on the compound. By evening there were eighty-five men, women and children sheltered on the College premises. That meant guarding the compound against the attack, as it was quickly reported everywhere that there were Moorish refugees in the College. The older boys were divided into four patrols with a master in charge of each. Their duty was to march the streets for three hours in turn, to guard the College and cricket field, and to do cyclist patrol work round Kandy. The boy scouts were posted as pickets round the compound. School work was done only in the mornings; then there was rest and after that daily drill and exercise with patrol work at night. After a few days Martial Law was proclaimed in Kandy and the boys were given rifles with ball cartridges and bayonets instead of their clubs.

It is clear then that these actions were not merely taken as the personal whims of Alek Fraser, but rather that the whole
school was involved to a significant extent. On June 2 the
Ceylon Morning Leader reported under the heading 'The Kandy
riots: Large Numbers of Refugees' that

There has been an exodus of Moors, the
greater part leaving for Colombo. The Rev.
A.G. Fraser has given shelter to a large
number of refugees, chiefly women and
children, who are being housed in Trinity
College, while others are being accommodated
in the Town Hall. 28

Thus it was public knowledge throughout the island that Trinity
College was deeply involved in the situation, not only in their
duties as special constables keeping the peace, but in
voluntarily, indeed willingly, opening their doors to shelter
threatened Muslims and to accommodate in the college grounds
those rendered homeless by the violence. This deliberate stand
was taken in full knowledge of the likely consequences, and
Fraser himself had been warned with regard to his personal
safety. Again he notes that

The senior boys will not let me leave the
compound alone now, as they have information
from many sources that my life is sought.
People believe that I have taken up cudgels
for the Muslims, stiffened the back of the
Governor and generally made things hard for
the Sinhalese. 29

Without denying the presence in these attitudes and
actions of a certain gung-ho spirit of adventure, nevertheless
the desire for the school to be involved in a corporate sense,
rather than simply a personal involvement by certain members of
staff, is indicative of the role Fraser saw for the school as a
place of Christian Education in the broadest sense. Such
education embraced not only academic and physical achievement and spiritual growth but also a commitment to the society in which such education took place. Furthermore it reveals Fraser's theological understanding of obligation to the governing authorities as well as a clear commitment to the dominical command to love one's neighbour as oneself, however great the personal cost.

During the initial period of rioting the Governor had been resident out of Colombo, at first in Nuwara Eliya and then in Kandy. His chief source of detailed information with regard to the events occurring throughout the island, and more particularly in Colombo and the Western Provinces, was Stubbs, the Colonial Secretary. It was Stubbs who was able to convince Governor Chalmers of the seriousness of the situation and the inability of the overstretched police force to cope with the demands placed upon them. Stubbs regarded the situation as being extremely grave, sufficiently so to warrant not merely drafting in the assistance of the military in regaining a situation where law and order might prevail, but rather a situation requiring the declaration of Martial Law. Chalmers' decision to allow Martial Law to be declared was not met with approval in all quarters, although it was clearly being pursued by Stubbs and others as the only course of action open to the Government. Others have been openly critical of the decision. F. Booth Tucker of Salvation Army Headquarters in Simla and of very great experience in India, was adamant that in declaring
Martial Law Chalmers was merely manifesting another example of his lack of judgement and skilled management. Booth Tucker wrote to Earl Grey that in this decision to implement Martial Law:

sides have been distinctly and unfairly taken...we are in danger of converting the sporadic and occasional disloyalty of a mere handful into the permanent and anti-British hatred of a whole nation.30

Furthermore Booth Tucker regarded Chalmers as

a strange mixture of arrogance and stupidity who absolutely lacks any tact or administrative ability.31

In reply Earl Grey remarks of Chalmers that his

only qualification for the post [of Governor of Ceylon] was the fact that Lloyd George could not tolerate him at the Treasury.32

Given these comments from highly respected sources and, indeed, Chalmers' absence from Colombo, the decision to accept the Colonial Secretary's advice to take the drastic step of declaring Martial Law, is perhaps to be seen more as weakness than perverse malvolence or indeed the application of wise advice received from the Colonial Secretary. Further 'The Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society' interviewed Chalmers privately in March 1916, by which time he had relinquished his post as Governor. The Society made a scathing attack upon Chalmers' incompetence and wrote confidentially to the Bishop of Winchester, in connection with their proposed appeal to Bonar Law, Secretary of State for the Colonies

The ex-Governor made the most deplorable impression upon all of us. The lack of
dignity at the interview, the light-hearted manner in which he admitted having allowed to be shot a large number of innocent people, his ridicule of the religious sentiments of the people of Ceylon, left us no alternative but to take some private action in this matter.33

Martial Law was declared for most provinces on 2 June 1915 by the Governor in Kandy and remained in force until the end of August 1915, during which time at least 63 people were killed by the military, the militia and the police in suppressing further riots.

It is perhaps this post-riot period of approximately 100 days during the operation of Martial Law which, it is argued, is both the most disputed and also the most formative experience on the road towards the development of nationalism in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Our concern is with the part played by Fraser and TCK during this period, a concern which necessarily involves a note of the background situation, in order to place Fraser's activities in context.

Upon the declaration of Martial Law the Officer commanding the troops, Brigadier General H.H.L. Malcolm, immediately instituted a variety of actions to quell any further disturbances. In addition to such actions, special Commissioners were appointed to tour all the areas of the island where any violence had occurred in order both to assess claims for compensation from Muslim citizens and to recover

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compensation from Sinhalese citizens as well as to punish those who might be found guilty of public order offences. Here again we note the clear assumption in the minds of the colonial administration that the violence had been entirely against the Muslims. All attempts to establish an enquiry into the course of events or to establish any causality were met with blank refusals, despite the comprehensive powers assumed by the military administration during the period. In its submission to Bonar Law of March 1916, 'The Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society' included some of the instructions issued by the Inspector General of Police and signed by H.L. Dowbiggin, Director of Bases, on 5 June 1915. The absolute powers herein adopted enraged the Society and were cited by them as the cause of widespread mistrust of the colonial power and as an abrogation of the rule of natural justice. The Society cited for example

9. The Base Officer will send out parties at his discretion and will not wait till information is received, as it is almost invariably too late. The orders to the parties are to fire on any crowd with dangerous weapons, whatever they may be doing; no warning is necessary. By 'dangerous' is included guns, swords, iron bars, katties, knives and clubs. Also shoot any person engaged in looting or burning, and any person seen running away with loot or running away from looted premises...
10. No inquest is necessary, and no steps need to be taken to report on casualties nor to see to the wounded. Such steps waste time. The great point to be aimed at is quick movement.
This attitude and the alleged excesses and malpractices during the period of Martial Law prompted two men, later to become prominent in the struggle towards independence, E.W. Perera and D.B. Jayatilaka, to pursue in England their claim for an enquiry, through the lobbying of parliament and through contacts with, among others, C.P. Scott, editor of the Manchester Guardian. Their sojourn, of almost five years, in London brought little solace, for no commission or enquiry was ever ordered by the Colonial Office and Perera and Jayatilaka were forced to return to Ceylon bearing little, except skill and experience in the workings of the British government, which was to stand them in good stead in the ensuing decades.

The Special Commissioners appointed by Malcolm were, on the whole, British members of the Ceylon Civil Service (although there were also some Tamil members) vested with the powers of Police Magistrates and District Judges. The Special Commissioners were empowered, under Martial Law, to mete out summary justice for minor offenders and to commit more serious offenders for trial by court-martial.

The following figures illustrate the findings of the Field General Court Martial Trials during 1915.\textsuperscript{35}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Persons Charged</td>
<td>412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Persons Sentenced</td>
<td>388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of which executed</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death Sentence commuted to Penal Servitude/Rigorous Imprisonment</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penal Servitude</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hard Labour</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imprisonment</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Persons Acquitted</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This rather large figure of 388 convictions out of 412 persons charged (a conviction rate of 94%) compares with 4,908 persons convicted out of a total of approximately 9,600 persons (a conviction rate of 51%) in the police and district courts charged with minor offences.36

A further grievance which surfaced during this period as a direct result of the imposition of Martial Law was the behaviour of the so-called 'English Volunteers' who were almost exclusively planters and who held economic as well as legal power over those with whom they most often had to do. Regarding the behaviour of these volunteers P.T.M. Fernando notes that

Many persons were harassed and flogged without being tried at all, and accusations were rampant that many were also executed by these volunteers without trial.37

In addition many prominent Ceylonese, particularly those who had been active in the temperance movement and the Ceylon National Association, and who were for the most part wealthy and/or educated, middle-class Sinhalese, were placed under house arrest and thereby implicated, however indirectly, in some sort of collusion with the rioters. This decision to place under house arrest among others, F.R. Senanayake, D.C. Senanayake and D.S. Senanayake (later to become Ceylon's first
prime minister after independence) and Edmund and C.A., Hewavitharane (brothers of the Anagarika Dharmapala, who was himself debarred from returning from Bengal to Ceylon) fuelled the assumption that the government was determined to seek and find in the riots, an act of political disobedience, whatever the evidence may in fact be. Even at a later date - August 6 1915, Governor Chalmers, in a speech made to the Legislative Council, makes no mention or allusion to any conspiracy or attempted sedition which might justify such arrests but rather re-iterates his earliest convictions, namely

The essential fact, which nothing can obscure, is that one section of His Majesty's subjects has attacked another section. The assailants were Buddhist Sinhalese; the victims were peaceable Muslims.

...what has befallen the Muslims at Sinhalese hands in the five provinces is that their property has been looted, their houses and shops have been wrecked, their mosques have been desecrated and destroyed, and they have themselves been wounded, outraged and murdered. This is the essential fact, known to all, which we have to keep clearly before our minds, unobscured by details which are for the present subsidiary. The immediate steps demanded by the situation were to punish the guilty and to compensate the victims. To that task Government at once set its hands, and with that task we shall proceed till it is carried out for the full vindication of law and order and for the righting of wrongs suffered by Muslim subjects of His Majesty in this Island.

P.T.M. Fernando remarks further that the decision to place prominent men under house arrest

indicated that the government was subscribing to a theory of an attempted rebellion organised by Western educated Ceylonese. By its attitude the government re-inforced the
unity and solidarity of the Ceylonese leaders.39

It is perhaps in the area of compensation that grievances were most widespread. The Riot Damages Ordinance gave the government, through the Special Commissioners, the right to make restitution and compensation to Coast Moors whose property was damaged or destroyed. The Ordinance introduced the categorical notion of 'direct responsibility' for damages caused in the rioting and understood thereby that all Sinhalese in each community, village or town had to pay the costs of compensation as assessed by the Special Commissioners, irrespective of any involvement in local rioting being established.

In the light of the island's most recent period of violence it is salutary to note that one of the Sinhalese people's greatest defenders on the Legislative Council was a Tamil, Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan who frequently and powerfully petitioned the Governor and the Legislative Council to establish a select committee to enquire into grievances, even if on limited terms, such as where petitions pleaded

(a) that assessment of damages caused by rioters was far in excess of actual damages suffered
(b) that the apportionment of the damages to headmans division was made without regard to any rule of law
(c) that the allotment of the apportioned amount among the residents and landowners of each village was grievously unjust
(d) that though disturbances did not take place in villages and though their inhabitants
did not take part in the riots, yet compensation was imposed on them all (e) that the compensation imposed on innocent persons...is utterly beyond their power to pay...
(f) that while the Special Commissioners called for claims for damages from the Muhammedans, and readily awarded compensation to them, no notice whatever, was taken of the damages suffered by the Sinhalese (Buddhists and Christians) at the hands of the rioters and looters...

This particular attempt on 14 October 1915, Ramanathan's fourth attempt in the Council proper, was defeated by 13 votes to 6. Of the 13 voting against the attempt to initiate an enquiry, all eleven official members so voted and of the 6 voting for, all except two unofficial members so voted.40

Over the wider issue of compensation per se, as opposed to the manner of extracting the same, the Anglican Church in Ceylon, as represented by the Bishop of Colombo in correspondence with the Governor, seems to have taken a position which in many ways, was most alien to that of Fraser. The Bishop writes

I do not see how the Christians could be excepted from contributing towards the damages. I do hold that in the recent riots sedition and treason have been so entangled with the rioting that it has become extremely difficult to ascertain where there has been treason in the mind and intention of those involved in the riots and where the treason has been, so to say, technical, through association with rioting.42

This fine distinction was clearly overlooked by the Governor for summary justice, courts martial and executions continued after the date of this letter, although in fairness the
Bishop's letter was to the Governor, while actual administration of the period of Martial Law was the responsibility of the military commander, Malcolm.

Conversely the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Colombo, while seeming to assert that widespread sedition was afoot during the rioting, nevertheless seeks to exempt his flock from suspicion. He writes:

The Buddhists have been weaving a plot against the Muslims or against the Government. I can assure your Excellency that our Catholics had no knowledge of any such movement...if a few nominal Christians be found guilty of any charge let them be taxed and punished as they deserve. But I find strange and unjust a policy which taxes and punishes thousands of Catholics who not only refused to join the Buddhists but who throughout the disturbances played the part of loyal subjects.43

Immediately one is forced to ask how the Archbishop can be so sure that his flock had no part in rioting and furthermore how he can be so sure that a plot was being woven while at the same time being equally sure that 'our catholics' had no knowledge of it. This is indeed to stretch the case too far, but more importantly it illustrates an important division within the Christian population. Anglicans were widely spread geographically and were a small proportion of the Christian community in comparison with the Roman Catholic Church, which was concentrated along the coastal strip, many villages and areas being almost exclusively Roman Catholic. Such geographical exclusivity may also be indicative of social
exclusivity, which is clearly the case being argued by the Roman Catholic Archbishop, although with no evidence to prove his case, while in the case of the Anglican Bishop no such claim could be made.

But what of Fraser himself? As stated earlier it was public knowledge that Trinity College, Kandy had been involved both in an active and passive way during the period of rioting; actively in patrol duties and passively in providing shelter and food for the destitute. Fraser himself mentions threats against his life and it is clear that the post-riot phase brought many conflicts for Fraser and for Trinity. Yet despite this Fraser, in correspondence with C.M.S. London, paints a picture of a most distressing state of siege at Trinity not among those who seek him harm now, but among those who seek his assistance. In late July 1915 he writes

...Our work is going on still in regard to the riots. Now-a-days the Moors are in the ascendant and are bringing lots of cases on false evidence against Buddhists, and my bungalow now is thronged by Buddhists. Yesterday, I was the means of bailing out thirty, I believe. It is a riot in a different form. This time instead of throwing brickbars they are using false evidence...but Sinhalese also give false evidence against Sinhalese. It is a time for paying off private grudges. But I hope that the thing is nearly over now; I believe it is. I still get a few letters telling me that I am about to depart this life in fear if not in faith, and that there are many who are interested in helping me that way."
Fraser then goes on to make a fascinating remark with regard to
his personal standing in the community and, by implication the
position of partiality in which he is regarded by some as
having adopted during the rioting. He writes that

...Government has got a whole stock of
petitions against me pointing out that I had
been bribed by Moors and also that I had
bribed Moors to give false evidence as I do
not like the Buddhists. However, I believe I
am not going to be put on trial. 45

Indeed Fraser was never indicted but continued to attempt
to seek justice for all those who brought petitions before him.
The fact that both Sinhalese and Muslim appealed to him points
both to his assumed influential position amongst the European
community and, indeed, to his popularity among both Buddhist
and Muslim elements in Kandyan society. Indeed we learn from
the diary of the Reverend J. Simon de Silva that during this
period Fraser attempted to persuade the highest authorities as
to the injustices being perpetrated. Thus on the 19th July
1915 we read in de Silva's diary

Had the valuable advantage of the presence of
Mr Fraser of Kandy who is using his great
influence with the Government on behalf of the
people. 46

And almost a year later, on 12 May 1916 de Silva writes

Went with F.R. Senanayake to see Mr Fraser in
order to seek his help in approaching the
Governor in connection with riot prisoners
still in incarceration. 47

Elsewhere Fraser argues that he has attempted to be fair in all
his dealings even to the extent that
I had some of the Muslim leaders up and persuaded them to bring pressure on their riff-raff to cease bringing up purely vexatious and false cases into court. Yet the riddle as to Fraser's true position during and after the riots has continued to reverberate so much so that in 1962, after Fraser's death, passions could still be roused over this issue and articles written regarding Fraser's intentions and behaviour almost 50 years earlier. In an article entitled 'Fraser of Trinity', published in the English language Ceylon Observer, J.A.W. Perera argues that

In 1915 during the Sinhalese-Muslim riots Fraser was the only British clergyman who worked against the Buddhists of Ceylon, all others pleaded for and secured the release of interned Buddhist leaders like F.R. and D.S. Senanayake, who lobbied parliament in order to gain redress for Ceylon. Fraser of Trinity then went out to England to thwart their endeavours, not content with the mischief he had done in Ceylon.

This broadside attack is countered some days later in a letter by a Mr Bandaranayake in the same newspaper, who argues that Perera has published a warped version far removed from fact.

This dispute has been fuelled by an unfortunate altercation which came to light when, in 1917, questions were raised in the House of Commons regarding the Colonial Office estimates and more particularly over the Ceylon riots of 1915. Here the lobbying which had been undertaken by J.B. Jayatilaka and E.W. Perera came to fruition for Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland answering Joseph King, Liberal Member for North Somerset, remarked.
There is as far as I know, perfectly clear evidence that the matter was not some accidental fire that set alight because it was largely a matter of design. I assure the Hon. Member I am not only speaking with information from official sources, but I have also gathered information from some of the best non-official sources in Ceylon. I remember having long conversations with unofficial persons who came back from Ceylon, and certainly that was the opinion of a perfectly unbiased man like Mr Fraser.51

That Fraser was regarded by the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies as 'perfectly unbiased' was a veritable red rag to Perera who conducted a long and tortuous campaign to prove the wrongfulness of this judgement. The details of this campaign are contained in an article by J.T. Rutnam regarding Fraser's behaviour and it is at once clear from this and all other sources quoted here that Fraser's position was consistent throughout and that Fraser's position is encapsulated in a reply to Jayatilaka, Perera's colleague in London thus

I received your letter this morning and with it the first intimation I had had of the discussion in the House of Commons. I do not know exactly now [2 years later] what I said to Sir A. Steel-Maitland. But it must have been this in effect. That the mass of the rioters were out against Mohammedans pure and simple and on economic and religious grounds, and without any design against British rule... But on the other hand, there was in my opinion no doubt that the riots were organised in violence, that there was a small clique of men hostile to Government [and]...that this clique exploited the hatred of the Mohammedans by directing the attention to them and probably in organising and starting the first chief riot outbreaks. But they were not typical of the people as a whole or of the nation.52
What had given rise to Perera's low estimate of Fraser appears to have been an article regarding the riots written and published by Fraser for private circulation only. Fraser was in the habit of issuing such articles and distributing them to prayer partners, friends and sponsors of Trinity College as well as to personal friends and colleagues. C.M.S. London received a copy of this account of the riots, which was included within a private pamphlet relating to the raising of funds for Trinity. Unfortunately no extant copy of the private pamphlet is to be found, although the letter accompanying it states, in characteristic Fraser style,

P.S. I enclose an account of the riots. Don't put any criticisms into print of course. But you can use most, as long as you don't put my name to it.53

Equally we learn little of the contents of the private pamphlet from the reply sent by Waller, London Secretary of C.M.S. to Fraser other than a seeming acceptance of Fraser's remarks as both measured and careful, not supportive of any claims of the conspiracy theory, for Waller writes

Thank you for the exceedingly interesting account of the riots. It has been very useful, as all sorts of very exaggerated accounts of the intentions of the rioters, than what actually occurred are current in England, and I have been able to give authoritative informations.34

Fascinating though this gap and indeed Fraser's postscript and Waller's reply may be, one cannot perhaps assume that the account, no doubt hard-hitting and direct towards government as

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well as the rival factions of the population, was anything other than consistent with the steady line taken by Fraser throughout regarding the causes of the riots. Perera, on the other hand, sought to invest this account with sinister overtones of secrecy and collusion with the colonial government. The matter was raised further when in December 1919, at which time Fraser was out of the island because of his work with the Village Education Commission, Perera sought, through the auspices of the English language Ceylon Daily News, to bring Fraser to publish his pamphlet, but to no avail. And so this bitter feud continued even beyond Fraser's tenure of office at Trinity.

A vitally important counter to Perera's case can be established from the documents of the 'Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society' for 1916. As already mentioned, the Society's appeal to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, relied in its preparation upon the eye-witness accounts of both official and unofficial observers. The proposed appeal cites 'excesses of the gravest character' committed by those sworn in to administer justice immediately after the rioting. They include assertions that

- hundreds of people were severely flogged
- hundreds of equally innocent people were, without any trial, or cause being assigned, thrown into prison...
- most of these operations were carried out under special orders which were signed after the riots had ceased...
- women and children were captured and held as hostages for their male relatives.
- intimidation was applied by the police...and
that confession of guilt was extorted by threats people were forced to purchase immunity from trial for large sums. The Special Commissioners conducted the cases heard before them in a hurried and arbitrary manner. Counsel was not allowed for the defence.55

Further correspondence between the Society and the Bishop of Winchester, who describes Fraser as a dear friend of mine56, not only praises Fraser in that he had some part in stilling the riots in Kandy and that what he did was done in a 'very christian spirit'57, but also makes it plain that J.H. Oldham acted as an informant to the Society of Fraser's views, upon which, among others this appeal was made.58 That is, Fraser in fact indirectly contributed to pressure for an enquiry into the events and this would further seem to indicate that the missing evidence, which Oldham, both as Fraser's brother-in-law and prayer-partner would have received, in fact highlighted excesses committed against the Sinhalese community.

Rutnam, himself a Tamil Christian who as a boy had lived through the period of the riots, appends to his article extracts found amongst Perera's papers which he claims form at least part of the private pamphlet, while at the same time declaring that until a full copy of the said pamphlet is procured there can be no final certainty in the matter. Despite that he remarks

On reading this material one is compelled to note that Perera's attacks on Fraser were unwarranted. Leaving aside hard words and
strictures...one must regretfully conclude that all this trouble had come through the clash of two dominant personalities... In the present case the initial fault lies fairly and squarely with E.W. Perera.

In addition many factors weigh heavily in favour of Fraser's positive role, even without the benefit of consulting the private pamphlet, not least the fact that Fraser was prepared to face personal danger in order to quell early violence. That his services should be sought by both Buddhist and Muslim alike in the period of Martial Law and long after, reveals at very least, his willingness to be fair and his desire to see the law implemented impartially. Such 'fair play' was certainly very much part of the ethos of the English educator, but here it was tested in complex and trying circumstances. Equally, that a man such as F.R. Senanayake, an acknowledged leader of the aggrieved Buddhist Sinhalese oligarchy which, at this time was developing its credentials as the intellectual and political core of the burgeoning nationalist movement, and who was himself subject to house arrest without charge, should seek to enlist the aid of Fraser in approaching the Governor, speaks eloquently of Fraser's public image.

However, it is perhaps the action of D.S. Senanayake, the first Prime Minister of independent Ceylon, in offering to Alek Fraser the highest honour of becoming a 'Distinguished Citizen of Ceylon' that speaks most significantly of the regard in
which Fraser was held, a regard consistent with the record of one who worked not against the Sinhalese, but who sought, from his earliest years at Trinity onwards, to create an atmosphere in which Christian leaders for Ceylon could grow. Certainly the island's western educated elite, formed in the mould of Trinity College, Kandy and other prestigious establishments, gained in their reputation and resolve from the 1915 riots and perhaps most particularly in the post-riot conditions and the dubious behaviour of the colonial administration they passed through a baptism of fire. That such a baptism should also involve much anguish for Alek Fraser is wholly consistent with his self-understanding and his perception of the true missionary endeavour. Ironically, the very members of the social groups who fell under Fraser's influence as pupils at Trinity College, Kandy, and who were regarded by him as potential leaders, whose Christian faith he sought to kindle, achieved pre-eminence as Buddhist leaders of Ceylon.
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The Royal Commission on the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge noted in 1852-3 that

Oxford still educates a large proportion of the clergy; but learned theologians are very rare in the University, and in consequence, they are still rarer elsewhere.

Fraser, as has already been made clear, was fired by the desire to serve overseas as a missionary, but he, like so many other such men and women of his generation, half a century after the Royal Commission's remark, had little, if any, formal training in theology. In this chapter it will become clear that despite the lack of any academic preparation, except an uncompleted shortened course at Edinburgh, Fraser sought to marry theological thinking to his daily experience and, in so doing, his considered opinions and public utterances were at least an attempt to develop a contextualised theology, which was formed not only within the environment in which he worked, but which also reflected his personal and spiritual journey. It may not be the stuff of Oxford's 'learned theology', but it illustrates well the beginnings of twentieth century pastoral theology in missionary thought.

Despite the garlanding in Galle which accompanied the arrival of Colonel Olcott and Madame Blavatsky and the assurance given to the assembled throng that they had embraced
Buddhism, nevertheless their journey up the coast to Colombo witnessed a cooling of the initial enthusiasm for the stance taken by these two representatives of the Theosophical movement. The Buddhist establishment remained aloof and regarded the whole enterprise, now being undertaken by Olcott and Blavatsky, with considerable suspicion, a suspicion not only of these most recent and publicly professed converts to Buddhism, but also of those low-country Buddhists, who so readily accepted them. The Buddhist revival thus far was overtly sectarian, dominated by laymen of non-goyigama castes and concentrated particularly in the south-western part of the country. The securely established and influential Siamese sect, even in the low-country, regarded the Amarapura nidadha, in which much of the revival was rooted, with considerable disdain. In addition the Kandyan Buddhist leadership, having traditionally distanced itself, showed little sympathy and exercised even less enthusiasm for the widespread revival so favoured by the consensus of other Buddhist and Theosophical leaders. However, perhaps the most telling factor in the seemingly easy alliance between Theosophy and the Buddhist revival is negative rather than positive. It is as Wickremeratne points out the fact that the Theosophists were anti-Christian. Of this there could be no doubt. Despite the oft repeated claims of non-sectarianism made by the Theosophists in India and Ceylon their antagonism was really directed against Christian missionaries.

Certainly to European contemporaries able to witness the arrival
of the Theosophists and their growing liaison with Buddhism it is clear that there was little sympathy for their cause and very little credibility to be discerned in the Theosophists' expression of religious impartiality. Conleston, Bishop of Colombo, commenting retrospectively claims that

Theosophism[sic] is virtually an anti-Christian mission from the scepticism of the West... Its dogmas are chiefly negative in the denial of Christian truths.

However, in Ceylon, it was neither Olcott nor Blavatsky who sought to engage the Christian missions, or indeed Buddhism, in dialogue or even confrontation, but rather it was Annie Besant who, first in 1893 and then with greater impact in 1907, visited Ceylon and who, with considerable effect, sought to address the question of the place of Theosophy vis-à-vis other religious traditions. Unfortunately for this study, 1907 was the year in which Fraser was absent from Ceylon due to his convalescence after sleeping sickness and therefore he did not meet Annie Besant while she toured the colony, including a visit to Kandy for public speaking engagements. Even with a leading Theosophist in their midst the Kandyan hierarchy would appear to have remained aloof from the general debate. Equally, the Anglican church, perhaps with the memory of Panadura still too painful amid the burgeoning Buddhist consciousness, remained silent.

In the foreword to her collection of speeches made in Ceylon in 1907, Annie Besant articulates a common claim of the
Theosophists, namely that

To the Theosophical Society is due the revival of Buddhism in Ceylon, and its President-Founder started and guided the great educational movement which has brought the island back to Buddhism. 4

Clearly, and indeed as we have seen, this is a gross exaggeration on the part of the Theosophists, akin to the extravagant claims of some Christian missionaries that Buddhism had lost all control over its supposed adherents. Throughout these speeches, delivered in schools, colleges and public meetings in Galle, Kandy and Colombo two consistent threads are discernible. The first one might describe as ethical admonition and is particularly dominant in addresses to schools expressly assembled for the purpose. Thus when lecturing at Dharmarajah College, Kandy she asserts that

The Buddhist boy who eats no meat and takes no liquor will grow up chaste, free from all unchaste passions. 5

This is the very stuff of school prize-givings and can hardly be described as a unique Theosophist stand. Perhaps slightly more overt is her claim in the same speech that

Nothing which you learn in books or anywhere else is of any real value in making life precious without the knowledge of your faith. That is the highest wisdom of all.... The teaching of the Lord Buddha is of all lessons the most precious for you. Of old it made your nation great among the nations. It is for you to make it great again, for in you lies the future of your country. 6

Here again one can well imagine Fraser making a similar
speech to Trinity College, Kandy, having substituted 'the teaching of Jesus Christ' for 'the teaching of the Lord Buddha'. The appeal to take seriously the religious and cultural heritage is indeed common, as is the suggestion that the audience, as representatives of a younger generation, bear a great responsibility for the future of the nation. On this occasion Besant was speaking to an almost exclusively Buddhist audience and yet even here she is careful to say that 'for you' the teaching of the Lord Buddha is most precious. In so doing she affirms both that she is not a Buddhist and equally refrains from making any general claim to the universality of Buddhism. Equally she makes no great proselytizing call, but rather urges her hearers to take seriously their commitment within their own tradition.

The second major thread in her speeches concerns the role of education in the atmosphere of increasing confrontation between East and West. Besant sees the implementation of western education, both content and methodology, as substantially inappropriate in the context of the Indian subcontinent. In this again, Besant and Fraser have much in common. It is in taking the next step that the two would differ fundamentally. Fraser would assert that it is necessary to introduce a form of education based upon a thoroughly indigenous Christianity, while Besant would argue for a re-
appraisal of traditional education within the Hindu or Buddhist context.

To this end the school with which Annie Besant was much involved in Benares was a clear example. Her argument here is by no means straightforward flag-waving, a call for conversion to Theosophy, but is considerably more refined. Three brief examples from a speech made in the Public Hall, Galle, make this clear. Besant argues that

Theosophy is not a new thing, but the oldest of all old things.... All its teaching may be found in the great religions of the world, living and dead. In the great religions of the world are certain common teachings, certain fundamental truths ever asserted, certain ethical rules ever maintained. In this they are all alike.7

Developing this further she argues that

...in the essence of all is the same, and its source is Divine Wisdom. That is the first part of the message of Theosophy to the religions of the world. Cease your striving! You are quarrelling about the non-essential while the essential is being attacked.8

and furthermore that

every religion having the same truths, what is the gain of changing from one to another. What Christ is to the Christian, that the Buddha is to the Buddhist, that Shri Krishna is to the Hindu.9
Here then is not a simple extolling of Theosophy as another member of the family of religions, but rather a claim that Theosophy alone reveals the commonality of religious existence, for it is itself that very commonality. This is indeed a very subtle form of proselytizing, without recourse to polemics, vitriolics or organised disputation. For Besant therefore Christian missionaries were simply engaged in a pointless task. Their role should be to deepen the faith and understanding of Christians, not to attempt to seek for conversions among Buddhists, Hindus or Muslims, for such, according to Theosophy is both futile and wrong. The Christian mission schools were fine places for children to be educated providing that, very much on the Trinity College model, they received an education that deepened them in their culture, rather than alienated them from it. The responsibility for allowing children to become distanced from their background is not, according to Besant, to be borne by the missionaries, but rather it is the parents of such children who are deemed culpable. Thus

If your children have their religious feelings injured, if your children are robbed of the faith which is their birth-right, if they are being taught to despise that which is most sacred and precious to their fathers and mothers, it is not the fault of the people who guide these schools it is the fault of the Hindu, the Buddhist, the Mussulman, the Zoroastrian, who sends his child to these schools knowing the risk of apostasy from his faith.
Within the Kandyan context we have already noted that Trinity College had developed a regional reputation and a sense of identification with the local community, as expressed, for example, in the highly regarded Social Service Union. Trinity College, Kandy, while avowedly an Anglican mission school was clearly a school with a defined geographical and social catchment as well, not simply an eclectic establishment for the sons of like-minded Christians. In this regard Besant takes a very narrow, almost confessional view of the educational enterprise, which allows for little cross-fertilization between adherents of different faiths, even if from the same cultural background or social class. For if all religious endeavour is, as in the Theosophical model she advocates, fundamentally similar, one is compelled to ask why she should take such exception to the common schooling of children of common backgrounds. To seek after conversions may indeed be futile, but one cannot so simplistically negate the educational experience of those schooled in educational institutions of other faiths or the secular educational establishments of the state.

Although Fraser may well have been able to identify much common ground with Besant regarding certain pedagogical norms and techniques, nevertheless there are clearly vast areas of disagreement. Most particularly Fraser disputed the
Theosophists' reductionist claim regarding Divine Wisdom. Christianity, for Fraser, is based upon the unique revelation of Jesus Christ as the Son of God, and that very uniqueness precluded any commonality of religious experience. Fraser remarks:

Mrs Besant states that Theosophy "is making the Christianity of its believers stronger and more spiritual, and there is nothing in it that will make them renegades from the Church of their baptism". On that point it depends whether they understand what Theosophy is or not. If they are intelligent Theosophists, then their Theosophy is incompatible with Christianity.

In a lecture entitled *A Comparison between Christianity and Theosophy* delivered in London in 1912 Fraser sought to answer the charges made by the Theosophists against Christianity and most particularly against Christian mission schools. The lecture is no rigorous piece of analysis, partly perhaps because it was delivered to like-minded Christians engaged in or sympathetic to missionary work, and partly because Fraser was no great original teacher of the faith. However, Fraser does restate the orthodox Christian position, thereby seeking to distance Theosophy from Christianity and in so doing deny the validity of Besant's assertion as outlined above. It is interesting that in Fraser's argumentation he also seems to re-affirm the Buddhist establishment's position of considerable scepticism of the ready and easy partnership established between Olcott and some supporters of the Buddhist
revival in the low-country. Fraser is adamant that Christianity and Theosophy are totally incompatible, and furthermore seeks to counter the barely credible claims of Olcott, Besant and other Theosophists to non-sectarianism. To this end Fraser identifies three areas where, for him, the uniqueness of Christianity is to be located.

(a) The Doctrine of God

Fraser argues that Annie Besant and the Theosophists rest upon a nineteenth century re-working of neo-platonism. To this and Theosophy is seen to affirm "Divine Wisdom", "the other" and "the real" as being non-material and alone objective. This is in clear confrontation with an orthodox Christian understanding of both incarnation and revelation. Christianity's credal affirmation of Jesus Christ as 'God from God...incarnate of the Virgin Mary and made man' seeks to unite the objective and the personal, the divine and the human, claiming the unique fusion of such in Jesus Christ. Fraser states that

Mrs Besant says "The word 'personal' brings an element we must necessarily exclude in our thought".

However the personal element of individual redemption is an essential part of orthodox Christianity and, furthermore, an element which one would have expected to be strongly emphasised by an Evangelical of Fraser's tradition and background. To this
end the personal decision to follow Christ and the knowledge of personal salvation are crucial to his spirituality and are themes regularly mentioned by Fraser, for example in his letters to prayer partners and in his general correspondence. For Fraser to deny the personal nature of God's revelation, either in Jesus Christ or in the life of the Christian, is to negate the validity of Christianity. Thus in this area of theology Theosophy and Christianity are, for Fraser, totally incompatible.

(b). The Doctrine of Karma

Fraser states quite categorically that

the fundamental difference between Christianity and Theosophy is the doctrine of Karma.13

Here his argumentation places him firmly within the mould of the Christian missionary unschooled in anything but a superficial understanding of the nature and the complexity of Karma. He claims in his 1912 lecture that

The law of Karma turns the whole world into a sort of vast prison house....You will find that no nation that believes in Karma has ever produced any science or philosophy of history because Karma cuts at the root of human growth.14

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At one level it is surprising indeed to find Fraser expressing himself in such a manner. Clearly this argument cannot be sustained either in the case of India or Ceylon and one can quote numerous examples of Fraser extolling the achievements of both Indian and Ceylonese science and philosophical thought, thereby rendering the extreme nature of his present argument invalid. For example Fraser writes elsewhere of the role of the Christian educator, that it is his task to draw out and reveal her [the East’s] own highest character. We will be dominated by the desire to bring to light all that is beautiful and pure in her own national life and aspiration... and to enable her to take her place in the temple of God, not as a replica of our West, but as a beautiful yet different part of the one great mosaic He planned.13

Clearly one needs to bear in mind the audience being addressed in this lecture and the fact that Fraser never received any formal instruction in either Buddhism or Hinduism. The only exception to the grey and static picture of Karma ever mentioned by Fraser, is a brief reference to the Bhakti tradition in India and its particular understanding of the striving after release from Karma through worship. To reinforce his own argument here, Fraser seeks to enlist the help of A.G. Hogg, a fellow Scot, Principal of Christian College, Madras with regard to the question of Karma and quotes him at some considerable length. Unfortunately Frasers’s technique here is academically somewhat dubious, for he simply imports
Hogg into his argumentation as a man who is probably the most profound authority on the subject while he fails to make any reference to the methodology by which Hogg came to make such assertions. Indeed Hogg's own publication *Karma and Redemption* was a most important contribution to the development of Commission IV at the 1910 Edinburgh Conference. Despite this, speaking in 1912 Fraser chose to quote a section of Hogg's argument which perhaps does not do justice either to the latter's undoubted sympathy towards Hinduism, nor indeed his substantial knowledge of Hinduism, but rather appears dismissive. For Hogg it was vital to distinguish between faith and beliefs, the former being concerned with basic trust and the fact of one's own humanity, while the latter were intellectual expressions of that human trust, and it was in this latter area that, for Hogg, most conflicts between Christians and Hindus appear to exist. However, Hogg's prime concern was to establish fundamental areas of contrast between Hinduism and Christianity and within this endeavour he identified Karma and redemption as one such area. Hogg asserted that this particular contrast

...so fundamental ... that by its aid many of the other outstanding differences can be explained...
was a difference between man dwelling in a judicial framework and a framework of grace. For Hogg, as for Fraser, the sufficiency of grace was a distinctively Christian feature, if not the distinctively Christian feature and therefore a matter of faith and not belief as in Hogg's analysis. Fraser's rhetoric however omits such critical analysis.

Such a preoccupation with Karma can perhaps be partly explained by Fraser's own understanding of Christianity, for he stood within the Scottish protestant reformed tradition, which, as we have already mentioned, laid great emphasis upon personal salvation. The death of Christ, in particular, within that tradition is seen as the atoning act for all human sinfulness. On the other hand, Karma in its almost mechanical immutability clearly contradicts for Hogg and Fraser such hopes of personal salvation through the redemptive death of Jesus Christ. Again, it is disturbing that Fraser does not appear to have articulated his own understanding of fundamental contrasts between Christianity, Buddhism or Hinduism, but here reacts with a lack of intellectual perception and vigour, relying upon, without appreciating, the relatively sophisticated analysis of another educational missionary of not dissimilar
background. One cannot condone Fraser's lack of understanding of Karma, but one can nevertheless, in light of his own understanding of salvation and redemption history, perhaps see why Fraser should react with such vehemence to the doctrine of Karma.

(c) The Doctrine of Forgiveness

Clearly this subject is closely connected with Fraser's disputation with the Theosophists, among others, regarding Karma. He states that

Mrs Besant declares that forgiveness is neither possible nor ethical.[5]

But for Fraser

Forgiveness is the divinest thing in man, and forgiveness comes from the heart of God.[9]

Here we find Fraser, the orthodox missionary, asserting the Christian doctrine of forgiveness as being not merely the removal of wrong, but rather forgiveness being indicative of, or indeed being, the very presence of God within relationships, personal or corporate. He argues from common human experience for the reality of forgiveness between human beings and, as evidence of the reality of such forgiveness, cites examples of its cost. He remarks that Annie Besant sees no room within Theosophy for forgiveness, indeed to allow for forgiveness is to deny the reality of Karma. Thus the Christian understanding
of forgiveness combines, for Fraser, both the incarnate God and the possibility of man restored, within the present reality of human experience.

It would therefore appear that while Fraser sought to distance himself from Annie Besant's arguments regarding the centrality and purpose of Theosophy, particularly in a limited theological sense, nevertheless there were, as we have seen, areas of overlap in, among other things, values upon which to educate the young. Such value systems were by no means peculiar to the Theosophical movement, nor indeed were they entirely alien to Christian missions other than in Fraser, but rather they formed an important area in a developing consensus between certain intellectuals of East and West. To this end Fraser represented and developed a wider tradition and it is perhaps in this light that we see him extolling ideas not as the fruit of his own ingenuity or intellectual creativity, but rather as the considered application of a wider currency of ideas prevalent at the time. In saying this, one should not appear to despise Fraser's contribution, but rather to admire the courage and wisdom with which he was prepared to be, almost singlehandedly, the only exponent of such views within Ceylon's colonial educational and ecclesiastical elite at such an early date.

Alek Fraser's career, while in many ways outwardly different from that of his father, was nevertheless clearly
much influenced by his father's opinions and values, with his father's opinion and advice being sought on matters well into Fraser's adult and professional life. While addressing a united meeting of missionary societies with missions in India in 1909, Sir Andrew Fraser upbraids those societies and individuals who seek to implant western educational norms and values in the Indian context. The sentiment, and words, could well have been those of Fraser Junior rather than Fraser Senior in asserting that

"You [missionary societies] are destroying that which is the basis of righteous life among these people, but you give them nothing in its place. By your education you destroy their faith in their own religion and at the same time you give them no religion. ... Do you believe that God has handed over India to this country for the sake of raising India? I believe we have got it for the sake of the people themselves, to love them and to raise them. As a nation the responsibility lies with us to give them religion. We cannot do it as a government. We must do it as a church."  

Aleks Fraser would concur totally, even if the exigencies of his contemporary position as an employee of one such missionary society were to temper his blanket criticism. Indeed this extract even appears to contain an Aleks Fraser-like nonsequitur in its assertion that real faith in India or Ceylon has to be achieved, indeed can only be achieved within and from Indian or Ceylonese culture, nevertheless it still appears to assume that it is the prime task of missionaries, the vast majority of whom were alien Europeans, to give indigenous Indians and Ceylonese religion, albeit with diverse cultural clothing. There is
little argumentation here in favour of encouraging Indian Christians to develop their own contextualised Christianity.

At a deeper level this argumentation rests upon an acceptance of the virtue and correctness of what one might call the 'universalist' school of awakening in Indian and Ceylonese life. By this it is understood that the considerable extent and the great diversity of religious, political, literary, economic and social questioning which was current, and developing a much more sophisticated and deeply rooted dimension during this period, was a breaking forth, through a variety of media, of a common but divergent indigenous life. The media through which such strivings were channelled are not to be seen as isolated from each other but as closely connected and mutually dependent. This point may well be illustrated through the example of Rabindranath Tagore. Tagore was perhaps one of the brightest stars of India's intellectual and artistic elite during this period and moreover was from Bengal, the same province in which Sir Andrew Fraser served as Lieutenant-Governor, and who visited Trinity College, Kandy on several occasions. Indeed, Tagore's publication Nationalism, a collection of essays on the subject, was dedicated to C.F. Andrews, Gandhi's close friend and associate, and who was also a close friend of Alek Fraser and a visitor to Trinity College, as well as being a man who shared so much of Alek Fraser's ecclesiastical provenance. In this wider context it is possible to see that while perhaps in Ceylon, Alek Fraser may, so often,
have appeared a lone voice, nevertheless he thus fulfilled the role of Ceylon's protagonist of a particular ideology: an ideology based upon the fusion of orthodox Christianity and the stirrings of indigenous revivalism. While most centrally a student, interpreter and author of Bengali literature, Rabindranath Tagore can by no means simply be slotted into any one such category. In his political essay *Nationalism in India* Tagore states categorically

> Our real problem in India is not political. It is social.

In this bold statement it is clear that Tagore seeks to distance himself from an easy and partisan political plea or a naive nationalism, and to address himself more to a loftier, but less well defined ideal of the fulfilment of role. He states this argument with regard to European influences thus

> And therefore I believe that it does India no good to compete with Western Civilization in its own field. But we shall be more than compensated if, in spite of the insults heaped upon us, we follow our own destiny.

He continues to argue against the unspoken assumption of many contemporary Indian nationalists that a certain finality in India's social and spiritual life has already been achieved and insists upon an openness to constant mutations in social and economic life which appear to create movement towards a nation in which the spiritual welfare of all takes precedence. This is indeed the familiar charismatic theme which fired C.F. Andrews to work alongside M. K. Gandhi. In turn, Fraser seeks to sow
this same seed at Trinity College, Kandy, with intellectual, physical and spiritual faculties being developed and trained to their maximum ability and all this tightly bound to the social and cultural mores of each boy's heritage. It is perhaps therefore not surprising that Tinker, the biographer of C.F. Andrews, should state so openly

Fraser was in some ways another C.F. Andrews. Then he arrived in Ceylon in 1904 he announced that his task would be to train leaders of a self-governing Ceylon - which he did! But nobody else in 1904 would believe it."

Fraser himself quotes C.F. Andrews' writings on several occasions and in several areas where their thoughts were particularly close. While never achieving the exposure, or indeed fame, of C.F. Andrews, Fraser shared much with him in terms of his perception of the intellectual climate of South Asia and the particularities of the Christian mission's response to that intellectual and political climate. Indeed, although Fraser was never so closely identified with nationalism in Ceylon as was Andrews in India, not least because Ceylon had no Gandhi, nevertheless in his writings and actions Fraser echoed the life of Andrews, and indeed the thoughts of Tagore. Thus Fraser writes in 1909

The National Movement is not primarily political, nor does it involve any hostility to British rule. It is rooted in the very depths of Eastern religious patriotic feeling: that which is deeper than anything we usually associate with patriotism, for it involves reverent worship and yet it is not what we call religion, for it does not look on to God, but has its roots in the phenomenal world. The National Movement is the
expression of the growing self-consciousness of the peoples.24

Here is a direct assertion, for consumption by the English ecclesiastical community, that it should enlarge and the more critically inform its vision of what was currently happening in South Asia. Alek Fraser, Andrews, Tagore and Sir Andrew Fraser sought in all their endeavours to engage people in seeing the contemporary struggles in India and Ceylon as birth pangs, an awakening, not in narrow political terms, but as somehow boding the possibility of a new beginning for Asia. This notion of a complex combination of issues and developments was crucial to those, like Fraser, who sought to distance themselves from a simplistic and easy identification of increasing political consciousness with nationalist protest.

In the preparation for the 1910 Edinburgh Conference the replies from experienced observers make it clear that the political unrest is seen by many as only one aspect of a great internal movement bursting here and there into notice. We read

"The national movement" says a writer from Ceylon "is the strongest factor in the present Buddhist revival... The political agitation must not be confused with the national movement. They are merely related as the part to the whole.25

The view quoted may, or may not, have been that of Alek Fraser, the document concerned does not indicate more decisively, but certainly such a view is thoroughly consistent with Fraser's other replies to the preparation committee for the 1910
conference. Furthermore this argument is echoed by comment on
the larger Indian scene. J.N. Farquhar, an earlier eminent
Scottish educational missionary, comments regarding renaissance
Hinduism and Indian nationalism

The two act and re-act on each other, as is
inevitable. The Nationalist Movement tends to be
Hindu, the Hindu revival stirs the fires of
patrotism.26

What was crucial for this new beginning was the combination of
the most positive advances brought by western influences with
the highest indigenous ideals. From the Church hierarchy this
sentiment was indeed expressed by the Bishop of Madras writing
in 1911

Undoubtedly this demand that Christianity should
be national, clothed in national dress and giving
free play to specific gifts and characteristics of
each nation and race, is to a certain extent right
and true...
It is a real evil that Christianity should be
presented to the peoples of India, China and Japan
as a foreign religion.27

However, the said bishop continued in his writing that

it must be confessed that this doctrine of
National Christianity is one which is extremely
difficult to find anywhere in the New Testament.28

Here is precisely the type of misunderstanding which Fraser,
among others, sought to counter. For Fraser, and those who
thought along similar lines, needed to convey their belief that
the development of diverse forms of expression of Christian
faith did not deny the universality of that faith, and most
assuredly did not seek to replace that universality with a
plethora of nationally based Christian patterns. Rather, in their view, Christianity must seek to engage and deepen faith, and so to proselytize, by means of showing itself as relevant to and applicable in any social or cultural context and as being capable of finding roots in and expression through that context.

When writing of education in view of nascent nationalism Fraser quotes C.F. Andrews' article in an earlier volume of the same journal in which he is currently writing to the effect that

Though Christ is venerated by them [Hindus], the Church appears the Church of the foreigner. To become a member of the Christian Church is to become denationalised and semi-European.

Indeed Fraser himself, in the preparatory material to Commission III of the 1910 Edinburgh Conference, submitted the opinion that

I believe that in the Anglican Church there are two serious obstacles to our winning the national feeling for Christ; (i) We are the Sahib's Church, cater for the Sahib caste. (ii) Our enormous bishoprics with, as a result, their almost regal Diocesans. If we had small sees and many bishops, like the early church, the advantage to young missionary churches like these here would be incalculable. Many Indian bishops would be created, and flexibility and continuity of policy would be made possible.

Despite this rather critical observation there remains a naive optimism on Fraser's part, for there could exist no evidence to support the latter remark. Such reformist, and indeed
inclusivist hopes as these seem to stand in a form of isolation, for noticeable by its absence from Fraser's writing and public addresses at this time, and indeed even at a later stage, on this particular subject, is any awareness of the methodology of contemporary debate and analysis in India between men such as J.N. Farquhar in Calcutta and A.G. Hogg in Madras. Fraser and Farquhar stood in the well developed liberal tradition of the 'fulfilment' school of missionary endeavour. This attitude required sympathy and understanding for indigenous religion, for Farquhar primarily Hinduism, by Christian missionaries, who, having gained the trust of these among whom they served would be able to convey to them that their goal, the fulfilment of their religious quest could only occur in the adoption of Christianity. Thus Fraser writes

Christ came not to destroy but to complete all that is best and truest in their [Buddhists'] ancient learning and faith, and we have the privilege of proving it. The ethic of Buddha can be fulfilled by one of his disciples except in the power of the risen Christ...Our duty is to preach the simple Gospel. But that means the Gospel made simple not only in the lip language of the people, but in their thought language. 31

To this end educational missions were a vital præparatio evangelica. Hogg on the other hand, rejected Farquhar's dismissal of contrasting Hinduism and Christianity and, while by no means unsympathetic to Hinduism sought to inquire whether, amid the very obvious contrasts between Hinduism and Christianity, it is possible to light upon one that is fundamental. 32

Furthermore Farquhar and Hogg's difference of opinion was a
major issue in the 1910 Edinburgh Conference, most notably in
the work of Commission IV _The Christian message in relation to
non-Christian religions_. It is therefore both lamentable and
surprising that none of Fraser's published works addresses this
major and very public difference of opinion regarding the
manner in which it is possible or desirable to develop
Christian apologetics in an Asian situation, particularly in
light of Fraser's own oft repeated conviction of the similarity
between the missionary position in India and Ceylon. In
addition Fraser had himself both travelled in India and
received visits from educational missionaries and others
working in and familiar with India, providing occasion, one
might presume, for a discussion of such differing points of
view. However, as has already been noted in this chapter,
Fraser here seems less concerned with the intellectual
methodology and analysis than he does with the applicability of
the argument and does not seem to find any inconsistency in
using Hogg's writing to defend his own somewhat insufficiently
coherent position on Karma, while, on the other hand, failing
to take account of Hogg's critique and remaining firmly within
the fold of Farquhars's 'fulfilment' school.

In his 1909 paper on CMS policy in Ceylon Fraser addresses
the question of Apologetic work and states categorically

In Ceylon there has been practically no attempt so
far to create an indigenous apologetic....
Roughly, one may say our Ceylonese clergy are only
English clergy a little more meagrely educated and
a little less experienced....

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failure to teach the ethnic faith seriously in our Christian colleges seems to me a great error.\textsuperscript{33}

It is perhaps in the desire to re-model apologetic work that we see Fraser's particular contribution to the area of mission philosophy, for here his thoughts received both publication and practical implementation. As we have already seen with regard to the language used in school, Fraser, from the earliest date, sought to introduce the vernacular languages throughout the school not simply because he felt them more appropriate media of instruction in the given cultural context, which is itself true, but at a deeper level because of the need for a relevant apologetic technique. On numerous occasions Fraser, among many others, put forward the view that the most significant single reason for the failure of Christian protestant missions in India and Ceylon was its portrayal as a 'foreign' religion, an adjunct to the imperial powers. Thus

...we represent nothing historically connected with the social or religious life of the people...Our Christian workers are either foreigners or men who have as yet no place in the scheme of things....\textsuperscript{34}

It was therefore at a deeper level, to create a more sympathetic and appropriate apologetic that was Fraser's prime concern. Fraser certainly saw this as a long term venture, with little immediately traceable return, indeed in the short term it is clear that he foresaw the possibility of a deterioration of standards in the traditional curriculum while the new practice took root. That risk he was prepared to take.
for the greater benefits which would eventually accrue. Indeed Fraser described as one of the four main purposes of educational missions both in his policy paper to the CMS in Ceylon and in a submission to Commission III of the 1910 Edinburgh Conference

The Creation of an Apologetic and a Presentation of the Gospel suited to the Environment - We change our apology from age to age in the West to meet an ever changing attack, so do we change too our expression of theological truths. Here, in a completely new environment before an attack of unrealised power and extraordinary subtlety, we need still more to think out our advance and defence. But that means we must have groups of men with leisure time to study and think. 35

To this end he was prepared to second, from his limited resources, three members of staff to travel widely in India to observe the Arya Samaj, to consult with church colleges and other interested parties. That Fraser should feel able to describe to the conservative CMS Ceylon Conference such an attempt to produce an appropriate Christian apology as a main purpose of educational missions is indeed a brave step and clearly represents a matter which he felt particularly keenly. Certainly the CMS Ceylon Conference was not accustomed to this line of argument, nor is there any record of the conference accepting Fraser's thinking in a manner or to a degree which might alter the mission's style of operations. Again, in preparatory material submitted to Commission III of the Edinburgh 1910 Conference, charged with 'Education in relation to the Christianisation of national life', Fraser asserts that

Educated Buddhism today in Ceylon is unlike the
Buddhism of the sacred books, and is largely the outcome of the defence against Christianity. Thus he attributes much in the contemporary state of Buddhism to its struggles with the Christian missions during the later nineteenth century and its dependence upon and influence by the Theosophical Movement in particular. For Fraser therefore Christianity must adapt itself to the particular situation in which it seeks to be engaged. Yet he finds that, on the contrary,

...our Ceylon clergy are trained in every mission as if for English work. Our Church clergy prepare for a Bishop's examination little different from a similar one in London...Our Ceylonese clergy could give a clear account of why they eschew the Higher Criticism and all its works, and believe billiards to be evil. But they very rarely could in any way show where Christianity and Buddhism meet in great problems, or where the vital differences lie.

In spite of the recognition of the long term implications of the denial of adopting such a locally specific strategy it is, however, still clear that Fraser held a firm belief in the possibility, and more than that, in the actuality of 'winning' India and Ceylon for Christianity. Furthermore, this fervent tenet seems to have remained real for Fraser throughout his period of activity in Ceylon, and indeed beyond. Within this framework one can perhaps see Fraser both as a true man of his day, yet, at the same time a man clearly looking to the future, fired by the slogan 'the evangelization of the world in this generation'.
For Fraser such a slogan also included within its orbit its practical outworkings, in terms of the development of an appropriate individual and corporate Christian ethic. A most public pronouncement of this firmly and passionately held conviction came at the end of Fraser's tenure of office as Principal of Trinity College, Kandy and, as such, serves as a useful summation of many areas of his activity and policy over the previous twenty years. Fraser was in London while awaiting full confirmation of his appointment to Achimota College, Gold Coast (Ghana). Characteristically he was also lobbying for the staffing and financing he deemed necessary. This new appointment removed Fraser from work in the mission field as an educationalist in the employ of a missionary society and placed him in a new role as principal of a Christian school within government education. For the first time therefore he was to be a civil servant.

In early April 1924 Fraser preached in Westminster Abbey, in itself a token of Fraser's standing within some ecclesiastical circles. As a text he combined the eschatological vision in Zechariah Ch.9, vv9-10, which, in the Christian era was to be seen by many as a direct reference to Christ's entry into Jerusalem, with Christ's words of invitation as recorded in Matthew Ch.11, vv28-29. By combining these two elements Fraser explicitly sought to hold together the corporate and the individual dimension, in which

He offered not domination, but service.
The sermon offered a far-reaching and devastating criticism, based upon this syncretistic basis of individual and corporate service, of the failure of imperial power to take seriously the corporate dimension of Christian ethics. Fraser builds further upon what he sees as the Jewish rejection of the Johannine assertion (John 17 passim)

One is your Father and all ye are brethren to claim that this continues to be denied and rejected throughout the empire, both at home and abroad. He asks rhetorically

What of our Empire today? Is it based on service and a recognition of 'One is your Father and all ye are brethren'? Think of the race prejudice and colour-laws that have increased in recent years. The very question sounds ridiculous to many. No, there is war in our Empire today between two great lords, Christ and Mammon.

Fraser goes on to cite very specific examples of the way in which he perceives injustice, economic, social and political, to be institutionalised within the Empire, while he at all times remains a firm believer in the concept of Empire per se. He deplores the attitude that only in those countries of the Empire in which Anglo-Saxon kindred is settled in large proportion should self-government be considered. He is total in his condemnation of plans to introduce limited self-government in Kenya which, he claims, is nothing other than crude deception for it is

a self-government from which Indians shall be practically excluded, and in which Africans can take no share. It is to be a government by a ring of employers of labour, a ring who have already
shown by cruel labour-laws how little they can be trusted. 41

While of the prevailing state of affairs in England too he is also critical of the lack of an expressed and implemented Christian corporate ethic. He asserts

Here in England our shield is far from stainless. Are the drunken and the fallen and the squalid of our slums alone responsible for the condition? Is there no guilt in the sordid conditions of labour, the greed of the drink trade, the horrible conditions of housing. Can anyone go there and be confident...that the struggle to be rich should always be without limit? 42

In a shrewd homiletic ploy Fraser then goes on to quote a poem of Rabindranath Tagore, dedicated to C.F. Andrews, 'The Peacemaker', and quoted by Andrews in his book Christ and Labour. In so doing Fraser underscores, albeit implicitly, his own commonality of outlook with these two supposed 'nationalists', the former who, after Amritsar, returned the honours so recently heaped upon him by Empire and the latter who later, being so alienated by imperial and ecclesiastical policy, renounced his priestly orders. Fraser alone of the three remained and wished to remain within the establishment, sacred and secular, and to provide a critique and a vision of hope from within. Thus

The wealth of India is Indians, of Africa Africans. But neither they nor we have yet risen to our destiny, the great things God hath prepared for those who love Him. Both they and we live in the fetters of mammonism or superstition. But the day of our freedom is dawning...But what will Britain's place in it be? I am eager that in that day when they bring the honour and glory of the
nations to Him, our gift should not be slided over by the lusts of our possessions.43

The honesty and conviction, without mentioning the blustery forthrightness, which compelled Fraser to preach such a sermon, almost cost him his Achimota appointment. Reaction was highly critical. The Kenya Legislature adjourned in protest and other colonial officials felt this 'politicisation' of the pulpit singularly inopportune. Fraser, characteristically, remained unabashed and returned to Ceylon to bring his affairs there to a conclusion and to bid farewell to Trinity College, Kandy. His prime loyalty in all this was to represent to his hearers, be they schoolboys, missionaries, a church committee or colonial civil servants, his perception of the gospel, rooted in his contemporary experience.

Of modern, critical scholarship Fraser was clearly not in the vanguard, but whatever interpretation one may place upon his espousal and defence of orthodox Christianity, it is at least indicative of the fact that Fraser was both engaged in certain crucial theological and ecclesiastical issues of the day, not merely in the abstract, but characteristically, primarily concerned for their pastoral implications. Furthermore while clearly no academic theologian he was nevertheless interested in and, to some degree, capable of sustaining an encounter with representatives of other traditions. Although here seen defending orthodox Christian theology, Fraser was, in the Ceylon context, to stand in an
isolated position, regarding the creation of an appropriate apologetic, and can never be accused of having retreated into an eclectic missionary ghetto, quite unaware of contemporary controversies or indeed fearful of the Buddhist revival. In the same way that he distanced orthodox Christianity from the all-embracing claims of Theosophy so too he was also well able to understand the Kandyan leaders, among whom he moved, in their reluctance to fall prey to any easy alliance between Buddhism and Theosophy. For Fraser above all the role of the Christian educator in the Indian and Ceylonese religious context must be to

\[\text{win these vast and increasing national hopes and aspirations for Christ and through them as His messengers see the people of India crown Him Lord of All.}\]

For the representatives of the Theosophist movement however, Fraser showed little respect. Of such, Fraser is curt and dismissive in remarking scornfully that

\[\text{Beginning with a charlatan it is continued by adventurers.}\]
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CONCLUSION
The School
It is perhaps not totally surprising that the man chosen by Fraser to be his successor as Principal of Trinity College, Kandy in many ways bore resemblances to Fraser himself. The Reverend J. Mcleod Campbell was of minor Scottish aristocracy and, after schooling at Marlborough, read History at Balliol before continuing to read Theology. He was ordained priest in 1909, before Fraser, and was considerably older than Fraser had been at the time of his appointment to Trinity College. Like Fraser he had served as an Army chaplain during the First World War and had been decorated with the Military Cross. At the end of the war he was elected Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford and after only a short period there returned to Scotland in 1919 to manage the family estate in Dunbartonshire. Physically too there were many similarities; both men were tall and broad, both were often spoken of as having a twinkle in the eye and a radiant smile.
Both men had considerable oratorical skills, heightened by a similar, refined Scottish accent. Of Campbell it is recorded that
His prize day addresses were all masterpieces of the art and people came from all over the country chiefly to listen to him.
While no doubt written from a somewhat partisan position such comments are nevertheless fascinating in that they indicate attributes for which he was held in high repute. Other records indicate that Campbell's pastoral skills were strong while his
pedagogical and political skills were less readily identifiable.³

Campbell was in a very different position to Fraser with regard to the appointment of staff. First, this was now a quite different age. The idealistic, perhaps naive, assumptions of the turn of the century evangelical student movement, with its easy internationalism and great moral fervour had been sorely tried by the First World War, both in terms of the number of its recruits and, more fundamentally, in its whole ethos. Despite the League of Nations and 'the war to end all wars' mentality it is of considerable import that the slogan of the Student Christian Movement had now changed from 'The evangelization of the world in this generation' to 'unless the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it' (Psalm 127, v1), indicating a less optimistic, more long term and piecemeal approach to their mission strategy. In addition, Campbell was not a 'high-profile' recruitment agent, as Fraser had been. Equally, against a general background of fewer young, qualified and experienced men at home and a worsening economic situation, with its implications for all charitable agencies, including CMS, Trinity had to rely upon a considerably reduced pool of resources. Those who did take up positions did so increasingly on short service contracts which were not renewed. Very few such recruits came through involvement with the missionary societies and none except the Chaplain was in Holy Orders.
It is of more than superficial interest to note that staff photographs of the period immediately prior to Fraser's departure and after Campbell's arrival cast a different light upon the nature of the institution. The formal photograph for 1923 shows men and women in full academic dress, with arms tightly folded across the chest and looking rather formidable. The photographs from 1926 onwards give a different impression - no academic costume, an increasing number of indigenous staff and, among indigenous staff, an increasing number of both men and women in traditional dress. The mood is more relaxed and this is clearly not simply the photographer's skill but rather, it represents a real change in the nature of the establishment. This is borne out by comments made in the 'Trinity College Centenary' Issue which refers to several members of staff at this period being 'a great friend of the pupils' or male and female staff who had a 'rare insight into human nature'. While one might indeed expect such laudatory comments in the said publication, it is worth noting how heavily they are concentrated in the immediate post-Fraser era.

The number of boys registered on the school roll continued to grow as did academic success. Under Campbell the all important sport activities flourished and other areas of extra-curricular activities were also encouraged; literary, debating, oratorical, dramatic and musical life developed apace, not least because of the considerable emphasis placed
upon increased access to and engagement with a rapidly expanding school library.

Mcleod Campbell was followed as Principal by R.W. Stopford, another Oxford man in Holy Orders, but who had already established himself in the English public school system as a House Master at Oundle. He remained in Kandy from 1935 until 1941 when he followed in Fraser's footsteps by becoming Principal of Achimota College, Gold Coast (Ghana). Stopford, because of his position at Trinity, became heavily involved with the Commission on Education which sat during the mid 1930's and which considered, among other things, both the overhaul of the English education system in Ceylon and the viability of a University College. A major feature of this period was the removal of control of the college from CMS London and the vesting of control in a local Board of Governors, chaired by the Bishop of Colombo. The Board consisted of twelve members, of whom seven were Ceylonese. In the area of language, Trinity once again in this period, in advance of governmental direction, blazed the trail by introducing Sinhalese and Tamil as media of instruction in the Primary School, with English as the second language. Stopford commented

One of my objectives was that Trinity should be so sensitive to educational developments that it is anticipated by voluntary action what might subsequently become government policy.

C.E. Simitraaratchy, a layman, was appointed Principal in
1943, although he had fulfilled the duties of the job in a temporary capacity from 1941. He was himself an Old Boy of Trinity, having joined the school in 1904, the year of Fraser's arrival. He remained in office until 1951. This particular decade, perhaps more than any other, except the current, was particularly traumatic for the school.

First, the Second World War depleted further both European staff recruitment and financial support. Land and buildings were requisitioned for military purposes, particularly during the removal of Mountbatten's headquarters to Kandy.

Second, Ceylon achieved independence from Britain during Simitraaratchy's tenure of office and the immediate post-war period was clearly one of strained relationships, with considerable idealism and nationalist sentiment in certain quarters and resentment, or at least ungracious acceptance in others, particularly among the European planters.

Third, the most important educational reform of the century was the decision of the Board of Ministers placed before the State Council in August 1945 to accept the recommendations of the Free Education Scheme, providing the possibility of education from kindergarten to university without fees. Prior to this schools providing vernacular education alone had been free of charge, but English and
bilingual schools, which alone provided advanced education, were fee-paying. In 1939, of the former 4701 government and government grant-receiving schools with a total roll of 675,281 pupils only 410 such schools were fee-levying, with a school population of 98,398 pupils. The breakdown of the destination of government grant for 1939 by religious grouping exposes the predominance of the mission schools. Thus

<table>
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<tr>
<td>Christian Schools</td>
<td>75.3%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Buddhist Schools</td>
<td>18.2%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hindu Schools</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Muslim Schools</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
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This contrasts with the Census figures at 31 December 1941 indicating the religious breakdown of the population as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious Group</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christians</td>
<td>9.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhists</td>
<td>61.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindus</td>
<td>21.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
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Clearly this major discrepancy in favour of government aid to Christian schools could no longer, in the immediately pre-independence period, be justified and an overhaul of the system was required. These figures, it should be remembered, disguise the fact that most non-Roman Catholic Christian
schools had a majority of non-Christian pupils. Nevertheless a considerable inequity existed.

With the provision of free education for all, the system of Grant-in-Aid came to an end after a century. At Trinity College a decision was made not to register with the Ministry of Education as a participant in the Free Education Scheme, with its concomitant factor of full government funding, but rather to face the future as a fully independent institution. The primary stated reason for this was the desire to maintain the school's distinctive Christian presence and atmosphere, which, it was felt, would dwindle if absorbed into the state system. Since that decision was made Trinity College, like other English Anglican mission schools, has remained independent and has continued to attract boys of middle and advantaged classes, particularly from the central area of the island. Thus its catchment, both geographical and socio-economic, has remained remarkably consistent since its foundation. It has steadily increased in size, scope of curriculum and in its range of activities. Since 1983, like all schools, Trinity has experienced considerable extended periods of disruption, originally connected with the ethnic violence of that year, but, more recently, since the signing of the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord of 1987, it has been required to remain closed during periods of great civil commotion. At the time of writing (November 1989) all schools are currently closed and have been since February 1989. Nominally the school
currently has approximately 95 professional staff and 1600 boys aged 3-19 years.

The Man

Fraser was 50 years old when he left Trinity College in 1924. He had been Principal for twenty years and had, without doubt, transformed the school in many ways. His tenure of office had seen enormous societal, political and educational changes. Through all these Trinity College, under Fraser's guidance, not only continued to develop its potential, but came to be regarded with the highest respect by church, political and educational leaders, most profoundly because of the changes introduced and worked through by Fraser. Since his war service however, Fraser had spent more time out of Ceylon than in the colony and while on the one hand he expressed his desire to return to Kandy, nevertheless, even after the stress of the Village Education Commission, he continued to accept speaking engagements, such as the SCM Glasgow Quadrennial Conference.

Ward, who heard Fraser speak at Glasgow and subsequently worked in the Colonial Education Service, lured to Achimota by Fraser's charisma, cites two initial stimuli in the awakening of interest in education in the Gold Coast. First, in 1919 the
Governor, Sir Hugh Clifford, deplored the pitiful state of education and was alarmed at the paltry sum of £38,000 which was the colony's total annual education budget. He proposed primary education for all Africans, a training college in each province, a salary and pension structure for teachers and, ultimately, a 'Royal College'. These proposals were made against a background of post-World War One notions of self-determination and a growing degree of economic security in the Gold Coast, which, for the first time, was achieving surplus revenue. Second, in 1920 the American Phelps-Stokes Fund commissioned the first of two investigations into African education, with the prime emphasis upon West Africa. Ward comments rather blandly:

The report of the mission stirred the conscience and the hopes of the British Government, while, with the publication of the Commission's report, a considerable degree of embarrassment can be envisaged at this American indictment of the profound failure of the contemporary colonial educational establishment. The newly appointed governor, Sir Gordon Guggisberg, impressed by the Phelps-Stokes mission, took advice from missionary agencies and others including J.H. Oldham, Fraser's brother-in-law, and seized the initiative by forming, in 1922, the Government Education Committee, which recommended, with a degree of gubernatorial influence, the setting up of an institution at Achimota to provide general secondary education, teacher training and technical education for males. It was Oldham who
suggested Fraser’s name to Guggisberg and also placed pressure upon a not unwilling Guggisberg, to secure the services of Dr. J. E. K. Aggrey, himself an African educationalist, leading the Phelps-Stokes missions to participate in the venture. In January 1924 Oldham informed Guggisberg

It seems to me essential that Fraser and Aggrey should go to the Gold Coast together. Each of them by himself is a first-class man, but it is the combination that will make the school...

Guggisberg responded favourably to this proposition and thus began a partnership which was to bear much fruit. However, the desired appointment of Dr. Aggrey and Fraser’s willingness to enter into a partnership with an African on the basis of mutual professional and personal regard, raised the spectre of bitter racial prejudice within the colonial establishment. Such feelings both inflamed Fraser’s desire to counter them, as in the Westminster Abbey sermon, while that sermon itself confirmed the view of Fraser as a dangerous radical.

On October 1 1924 Fraser sailed for the Gold Coast taking with him Dr. Aggrey and four other members of staff, including his own son, Sandy. Two weeks later they arrived in Accra and began to familiarise themselves with a society clearly divided upon racial grounds, the like of which Fraser had never before encountered, certainly nothing in Ceylon was akin to this. Within hours of his arrival Fraser had threatened to resign the principalship unless Dr. Aggrey be allowed to live with his colleagues in the designated 'European area'. Fraser’s deeply
held conviction of the evil of racism prevailed. However, initial suspicion tended to bitterness towards Fraser and his staff, for his plans for contextualisation and preparation involved a considerable period of time to gather information, allocate resources and complete buildings, a 'luxury' resented by some of their fellow members of the Colonial Service. Although local churches made substantial contributions to the success of the Achimota venture, particularly during this early period, nevertheless Fraser was no longer in the employ of the church but of the state. Accompanying the diverse preparations for Achimota, Fraser and others were involved in a delicate legal exercise, drawing up a totally new educational ordinance both for the colony and as the legal framework of the college. Added to this, after only two months in the colony, Fraser was hospitalised for the removal of a growth in the left breast. Although the growth was found to be benign a further operation followed and for some time Fraser's continued involvement in the venture seemed to be in doubt and it was assumed the great hopes for Achimota might never be realised.

By the time of the opening of Achimota in January 1927 other West African colonies were expressing interest in the Gold Coast experiment. Thus immediately after the formal opening ceremonies Fraser responded to a request from Sir Graeme Thomson, an old friend and colleague from Ceylon, now Governor of Nigeria, to investigate the future of education in
that colony. This required several visits and considerable preparation and follow-up at a crucial time for Achimota, for the manifest hopes for African access to the highest educational pinnacles were severely damaged by the sudden death of Dr. Aggrey. A final administrative enterprise undertaken by Fraser in this period at Achimota was the establishing of a constitution for the college, with a managing Board of Governors, marking the independence of the institution from the colonial power. This was achieved in April 1930.

As in Ceylon so too at Achimota, Fraser entered into considerable periods of absence from the college, sometimes on leave, at times undertaking one of a never ending stream of requests for visits or advice, and, from 1930 onwards, a serious heart condition rendered him absent on medical grounds. All this had the effect of removing him from the day to day functioning of the college and this gave rise to various misunderstandings and personnel problems. At Achimota Fraser was of course considerably older than his staff and the easy collegiality of his early years appears to have come under considerable strain. Complaints by the staff guild were treated in a peremptory fashion as were Fraser's dealings over employment contracts. Despite serious in-house problems Fraser was awarded the CBE in the 1930 Birthday Honours for his contribution to education in the colonies. In the following years, despite protracted periods of ill health,
Fraser continued to throw himself into work with enormous energy, not least in the area of the college's considerable financial difficulties caused by a cut in government grant of approximately 30%. In February 1935, shortly before the Frasers' departure, C.F. Andrews, a friend and inspiration of old, spent six weeks at Achimota. At the end of March, aged 61, Fraser, proudly bearing his African appellation 'chief' was seen off by all the paramount chiefs of the Gold Coast.

Fraser now returned to Scotland, his home country in which he had spent none of his adult life, to Newbattle Abbey, near Dalkeith, which had been given by a family friend, the Marquis of Lothian, in trust, as an Adult Education Centre. The college, which aimed to improve access to education for all adults, opened its doors in 1937. It was administered by a governing body representing the Scottish universities, chambers of commerce, trade unions, the Educational Institute of Scotland, the county councils and others. Fraser was appointed the first warden.

This was indeed uncharted water for Fraser. He had never held a position in Britain, he had spent all his working life in totally different social environments and, furthermore, never before had he been in a position as an employee while others, here the governing body, were responsible for determining policy, goals and planning. In addition it must be borne in mind that this enterprise was somewhat peripheral to
mainstream educational work. It was neither a leading national institution nor was it based upon any religious foundation. Set in the context of the immediately pre-Second World War years it is perhaps surprising that Fraser accepted the position, for he had neither experience of nor commitment to this type of value-neutral venture. In summer 1939 he wrote candidly

I look forward to retiring at Christmas 1940.... Mack [the sub-warden] is really doing the main work, and that because I am not competent to do it. I don't know adult education as it is run in this land, nor do I know the standards of this country. They are a damn sight lower than in Africa, both in terms of disloyalty to one another and in financial corruption.

When Newbattle Abbey, after only two full years operation, was requisitioned by the army, the principal of Gordonstoun School suggested to Fraser that he might consider the school chaplaincy post. Fraser had already attempted to gain a position as an army chaplain, but his age and health totally precluded any such possibility. Fraser tentatively accepted the Gordonstoun position but Mrs Fraser, for the first time in their marriage, did not accompany her husband to a new appointment. However Fraser disliked the extremely cold climate and admitted being confused as to where his work might lie, although what he did he found enjoyable. After only two months in post Fraser wrote

I am now more and more certain that Gordonstoun is not my job. It is a work for the very wealthy for the most part and I do not feel I should do that.
Not since his letter to his father regarding the wisdom of entering employment with CMS, 37 years before, have we found Fraser expressing such a mood of uncertainty. Removed from his wife, confused about the purpose of his work, unhappy about the climate and his health, we have a rather pathetic picture of the ageing Fraser, yet still a Fraser whose prime pedagogical concern was to his pupils per se, with a clear preference for those of less well endowed circumstances.

Sandy Fraser, the eldest son, had for some time been writing to his parents asking them to join him in Jamaica both to sit out the war years and to contribute to the school, Munro, of which he was now principal. Fraser accepted the invitation and left the wealthy of Gordonstoun for the somewhat more familiar surroundings of colonial education, but not without first preaching another fiery sermon, on this occasion in Oxford, paralleling Germany's expansionism in Europe with Britain's earlier colonial history. He asserted, two months into war, in November 1939,

We blame Germany for the brutal destruction of Warsaw, but the kraals of Lobengula and the Matabele were as dear to them as Warsaw to the Poles. The German has today exploited the Jew, we today exploit the African. 17

His convictions were therefore as clear and determined as before, his oratory remained powerful and his diplomacy limited.
In Jamaica Fraser joined the Council for Civil Liberties when confronted both by the poverty and the inherent racism he witnessed. Once again he took to controversy, now in a local newspaper, and was attacked for his views, particularly in relation to Indian politics. While in Jamaica Fraser was offered and accepted the temporary principalship of Highgate, an American Quaker college, which spanned a wide spectrum of educational activity, from infant to teacher training. Despite the greater familiarity with such an institution as this, Fraser remained in post for only two years, for in late 1943 he resigned citing personal and cultural, as well as denominational difficulties.

Despite having gone to Jamaica for the duration of the war, Fraser returned to Britain, at the invitation of Dr. Kurt Hahn, Principal of Gordonstoun, at the end of 1943, to take up yet another chaplaincy, this time at the Outward Bound Sea School at Aberdovey. This short-term post again failed to satisfy Fraser and he never settled into the job. He considered other appointments, the Principalship of a colonial College for Social Sciences in Jamaica or the running of Christian International Service, but indecision prevailed. This whole period after his return from Achimota was characterised by a lack of long term commitment and, one senses, a deepening degree of indecision and disillusionment. He resigned this final paid employment in summer 1944.
The next two years were spent at Goring-by-Sea in West Sussex, where, in retirement, Fraser, for the only time in his life worked in a parish, being honorary assistant curate to his son-in-law (the husband of his daughter Mary). However, this was also something of a stop gap and in June 1946 he returned to Gordonstoun and his Scottish roots. In August 1948, now aged 74, Fraser suffered a motor cycle accident severely injuring his leg. Despite this setback Fraser and his wife continued with a tour of newly independent Ceylon in 1949, to rapturous acclaim, but medical problems recurred. Further invitations drew the Frasers back to Achimota, for the ex-pupil Kwami Nkrumah, was now Prime Minister. Again they were warmly received and engaged on a demanding tour. After further medical treatment in Edinburgh Fraser was compelled to give up the family home "Lanka" and the Frasers lived with various family members until they made a second visit to the Gold Coast as Dr. Nkrumah's personal guests at the Independence celebrations. This tour was rapidly followed by a visit to the Moral Re-Armament Camp at Mackinac Island, Lake Michigan where he picked up the threads of an earlier friendship with Frank Buchman. This proved a particularly fortuitous meeting, for Buchman offered the Frasers the use of accommodation at the Moral Re-Armament Campaign's house in Berkeley Square whenever they might be in London. On one such occasion Fraser suffered serious kidney problems and both he and Mrs. Fraser were generously cared for by the Moral Re-Armament Campaign, living in the house for the next two years,
although neither of the Frasers were ever members of the movement. In 1960 the Frasers moved to yet another Moral Re-Armament house at Cowbeach, Sussex and from there Alek Fraser was taken to a nursing home at St. Leonards on Sea. He died there on January 27, 1962.

The Issues: (i) Language, Politics and Religion

There can be no doubt that Fraser's resolve to introduce the vernacular languages to an English school, not only as a subject for the curriculum, but as the medium of instruction, at such an early date, gave Trinity College an identity quite distinct from all other English schools in Ceylon. The findings of the Macleod Committee, appointed in 1911 and discussed above, reveal a clear division amongst those who saw instruction in the vernacular as the only means of developing a truly indigenous system of education and those, primarily Sinhalese respondents, who clearly feared that the compulsory introduction of the vernacular languages would severely limit the extent to which current patterns of education effected a degree of social and professional mobility.

The Macleod Committee reached a compromise in its recommendations in that "some instruction" in the mother tongue should precede reading and writing in English, while at the same time arguing that
the compulsory requirements in the vernaculars should not go beyond the fourth standard. It was not until 1919 that the Cambridge Senior and Junior examinations and the London Matriculation included, as optional subjects, both Sinhalese and Tamil.

However the recommendations of the Macleod Committee did not lead to the wholesale adoption of the vernaculars and did little to overcome the dual system of education based both upon language and the ability to pay. English schools alone remained fee paying, although after a child began to receive instruction in English the Anglo-Vernacular schools were also allowed to levy a fee.

It was this continued duality of standards, at the heart of which lay the language issue, which Canagaratnam sought to bring before the Legislative Council in 1926 as being unacceptable. His motion sought the ending of the current system and the introduction of a unitary education system for all public schools graded according to the standard of instruction imparted in them and that English, Sinhalese and Tamil be made language subjects in all schools [with the] ...mother tongue being gradually adopted as the medium of instruction in schools of all grades.

The issue of the introduction of the vernacular languages which, prior to the First World War, had been fostered and supported, particularly by English educationalists, had by
this time taken on a much more overt political dimension, as
the organised and popular strength of the nationalist movement
gained ground. The issue of language both as a key to
mobility and as a crucial factor in re-awakening indigenous
cultural life in Ceylon was now being realised by both English
and Ceylonese members of the Legislative Council and a
considerably broader spectrum of the population. In 1926 the
Governor appointed the Macrae Commission (Acting Director of
Education) once again to investigate both general and specific
issues namely

(a) What measures should be adopted in order to
extend the scope of education in vernacular
schools?

(b) How far is it practicable to make Sinhalese
and Tamil the media of instruction in the schools
of Ceylon?

(c) What steps should be taken to improve the
teaching of Oriental languages in English
schools?

The findings of the Commission were monumental in their
preference for the status quo. The overall recommendations
were to continue with the contemporary pattern, with an
envisaged system differing only very slightly from that which
had been in place for more than seventy years, since the
establishment of state schools and the introduction of the
current Grant-in-Aid system. The duality of the education
system was not questioned, although this issue in particular
had given rise to the very debate in the Legislative Council,
which prompted the appointing of the Commission.
It is, however, important to set this against the wider political background. During the 1920's pressure had developed upon the Colonial Office to revise the constitution of Ceylon. Indeed twice in that decade changes had been implemented. In 1920 the Legislative Council was increased in size to be composed of 14 official members and 23 unofficial members elected on a geographical and communal basis, the franchise being restricted by income, education and sex. Further reforms were introduced in 1924. Official membership was reduced to 12 and unofficial membership increased to 37, of whom 34 were elected as previously and three more seats on the basis of other communal group representation. After the 1924 reforms the title of the Council was changed to Representative Legislature in which the Governor had fewer and more narrowly defined reserved powers and in which political trading and compromise became the established modus operandi.

Given these political changes it is perhaps more comprehensible that the Macrae Commission felt that the prevailing educational system had served the colony well and had neither stifled social mobility nor indigenous political development and therefore the education system was in no need of any comprehensive overhaul. However, soon after the publication of the findings of the Macrae Commission the Colonial Secretary appointed a commission, under the chairmanship of Lord Donoughmore, to make revisions to the constitution of the colony. These considerations, formally
undertaken in 1927 and implemented in 1931, were the most far reaching since the Kandyan Convention brought the whole island under unitary British rule. The 1931 'Donoughmore' Constitution granted universal franchise to those over 21, a matter which Fraser had proposed many years earlier. Communal representation was abolished in the new State Council which replaced the Legislative Council and the Executive Council was replaced by a series of Executive Committees, each chaired by a 'Minister'.

Despite these political advances it was not until 1943 that the issue of the dual education system, its core being differentiation on the basis of language, English or vernacular, once again became crucial. C.W. Kannangara's report of 1943 underscored the continued predicament of the prevailing system in which English has become a badge of social superiority, thus dividing the population into the more-or-less watertight social compartments, the English-educated and the Vernacular-educated. For twenty years and more a variety of voices had uttered these sentiments but proponents, like Fraser, were able to do little more than implement policy in one, albeit large and influential, institution. Kannangara's report also recommended the immediate introduction of free education at all levels, which, from 1945 became a reality, although at times restricted by the lack of provision at the higher levels. From 1945 all schools which ceased to levy fees began to receive
capitation and other financial servicing from the State Council and the Board of Ministers. Despite the adaptation of these parts of Kannangara's recommendations, approval was not forthcoming for his revised language policy which sought to ensure that Sinhalese and Tamil should be made the medium of instruction in all schools. That Sinhalese and Tamil should be made compulsory subjects in all public examinations.

Thus until the end of British rule in Ceylon there was no unanimity of policy on the place of the vernacular languages. From 1945 until independence in 1948 almost all primary education was in Sinhalese and Tamil but, given the shortage of qualified and experienced staff as well as resources, such vernacular education went little further. Although the fee barrier to higher education had been removed, the language barrier remained in operation. It is indeed an irony that Trinity College, Kandy, which had blazed the trail of the language issue remained outside the government education system, having, in 1945, decided to opt out, thereby losing its Grant-in-Aid. In this sense Trinity, a school well suited to the further development of indigenous education and whose curriculum and practice were regarded with high esteem by both government and educationalists alike, removed itself from the opportunity of a fuller participation in the education for the future in Ceylon.
The Issues: (ii) The Church's Role

'The Evangelization of the World in this generation' did not happen. Indeed in Ceylon the relative positions of Christianity on the one hand and Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam on the other, moved in the opposite direction. After the First World War the Christian presence dwindled, the Christian population declined and has never grown again in relative terms. All the non-Roman Catholic missionary societies active in the colony began to scale down their operations in the 1920's. For the CMS and the Anglican Church there were both positive and negative reasons for this, namely that there were now more experienced indigenous workers as well as a more developed diocesan infrastructure in the island, but the cost of funding the CMS presence was becoming quite prohibitive, as well as there being considerable difficulties in recruitment of personnel for missionary service.

The period of time between Fraser's departure from Kandy and the granting of independence was one in which the Anglican church in Ceylon did little to encourage or participate in the moves to constitutional reform, or, indeed, to promote any form of indigenous development. This was true not only externally but also in the church's internal life. English remained the predominant language of the liturgy, services in the vernacular being straightforward translations in all
respects including form, style and hierarchy, only two new churches were consecrated during the period and there was no official contact between the leaders of the several religious traditions. Furthermore the Anglican church's willingness to allow its schools to opt out of the free and unitary government education system clearly placed the church on the side of reaction.

While members of several highly influential and socially elite families, especially in Colombo, had been generous and committed members of the Anglican scene, as independence approached some of them returned to Buddhism. Without doubt men who saw the way to independence as demanding a clear form of indigenous identification, felt that the Anglican church remained a foreign intrusion, the religious arm of the colonial establishment. It is, even today, possible in powerful, politically engaged families to see the period between 1924 and 1948 as one of a fundamental sea-change in religious relationships, in which male members in particular re-embraced Buddhism, and as being the same period in which the adoption of national dress for males returned as well as the public observance of cultural and communal feasts and rites. Some of these very same men had been among Fraser's pupils at Trinity. While, therefore, Fraser's total policy of indigenization through language, areas of study, service in the community and more, did indeed prove successful in raising up generations of leaders for Ceylon, in their adoption of
leadership many of these very same leaders of the nation rejected what, for Fraser, was without doubt, the only cornerstone of life.
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