The essay that follows, "Sri Lankan Law Reports as an Historical Source", was written in the late 1980s. It was accepted for publication by a journal that has ceased publication, and thus it never appeared in print.

In recent years I have thought of re-examining these colonial law reports, particularly their introductions, and writing a more substantive essay that would contribute to current debates on the construction of knowledge. At some point I may find the time for this, but it's unlikely to happen soon. In the meantime, the two bibliographical appendices at the conclusion of this essay may be helpful to researchers, and it is with the intention of making these available that I am publishing this piece on the American Institute for Sri Lankan Studies website.

John Rogers

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Sri Lankan Law Reports as an Historical Source

John D. Rogers

The intention of this article is to provide an introduction to the use of the law reports of the British period as an historical source. Although the law reports are published, historians are less familiar with them than with many manuscript sources, especially the CO 54 series at the Public Record Office in London. The main exception to this scholarly neglect is Vijaya Samaraweera's article on Indian plantation labour in the nineteenth century, which uses the law reports to show how legislation governing the relationship between British planters and their Indian workers functioned in practice. 1

Unlike historians, lawyers have long used the law reports as a tool in the pursuit of their profession. Their interest reflects the purpose of the reports, which is to publish Supreme Court decisions that clarify and interpret the law. The cases in the reports are used as legal precedents by lawyers, magistrates, and judges when making arguments or handing down decisions. Because of the importance of these cases to legal practitioners, the contents of many law reports have been summarized in digests and cited extensively in articles and books designed for practising lawyers. From the viewpoint of the historian, the most sophisticated and useful of these works is T. Nadaraja's history of the Sri Lankan legal system. However, as will be explained below, the purposes of the historian and the lawyer differ, and the historian who relies on the secondary legal literature without consulting the original reports risks missing much valuable evidence.

The large majority of cases reported in the law reports are judgments of the Supreme Court on appeals against decisions of the lower courts, that is, the district courts, the courts of request, and the police courts. When the Colebrooke-Cameron Reforms of 1833 reconstituted the judicial system, the district courts were given original jurisdiction over all civil and most criminal cases. The Supreme Court had original jurisdiction over serious criminal offences and appellate jurisdiction over all district court decisions. In 1843 a third tier of tribunals, police courts for criminal offences and courts of request for civil actions, was established to try less serious cases. The right of appeal from the third tier to the Supreme Court was in most periods subject to various restrictions, but was usually possible on points of law. When a fourth tier, the village tribunals, was established in the 1870s, appeals were allowed only to the government agent and to the Governor. As a result, the law reports do not include cases from the village tribunals.

The first Sri Lankan law report was published by Charles Marshall, a retired chief justice of the Supreme Court, in 1839. His volume covers the years 1833 to 1836, the period immediately following the Colebrooke-Cameron Reforms, and it provides a detailed account of legal practice in those years. Marshall expressed the hope that his work would form the model for a series of up-to-date volumes covering Supreme Court decisions, but no further reports were published until Alexander Murray's volume of 1848, which covered only 1846-47. It was only in the late 1850s that more reports began to appear. In the 1860s and 1870s an increasing number were published, many of them covering only specific courts or subjects. Some had government support, if only in the form of guaranteed purchases, but others were printed at the financial risk of the editor.

The haphazard coverage of the early law reports caused much inconvenience to judges and lawyers. These complaints were summarized by the Supreme Court Judge Henry Thomson in 1866: 'The decrees of the Supreme Court, when unprinted, cannot afford instruction to the profession generally; and consequently that Court has had to decide the same points, often elementary points, over and over

again, because the District Judges, Magistrates, Advocates, and Proctors have had no proper reports to refer to; indeed, even the judges of the Supreme Court itself, having no index to its decisions, have elaborately adjudged many questions of law, in ignorance that those very questions had been as elaborately adjudicated upon years before by their predecessors, or have unwittingly over-ruled those predecessors and even themselves. As a result of such criticisms, in the 1870s the government for the first time gave financial support to the publication of a current and ongoing series of law reports. The first of these periodicals was the Supreme Court Circular (1879). It was followed by the Supreme Court Reports (1892) and finally the New Law Reports (1896), which has continued to appear since Independence.

When the <u>Supreme Court Circular</u> began publication, its first editor,

Ponnambalam Ramanathan, a prominent lawyer and future Solicitor-General, began
a project to fill in the gaps left uncovered by earlier reports. Between 1878
and 1890 he published five volumes that covered 'missing' years between 1820
and 1877. As a result, for the first time there was an unbroken run of reports
from 1820 to the present. However, neither Ramanathan's reports nor the new
legal series such as the <u>Supreme Court Circular</u> were comprehensive. Even the

<u>New Law Reports</u> should be used in conjunction with its many competitors. Many
cases were reported in only one publication, or not at all.

Appendix 1 to this article lists the law reports published during British rule. A few short-lived publications, especially from the twentieth century, may have escaped my notice. The appendix does not include legal guides that may refer to cases, but does include some works of this nature that report court cases in a format set apart from the main text. The titles, 56 in all, are listed alphabetically by the abbreviation that I have provided for the purpose of citing cases. Choosing abbreviations presented some difficulty since many volumes have been referred to in different ways in the legal

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literature, and in some instances the same abbreviation has been used for different reports.

Appendix 2 indicates the scope of each report. Entries are arranged by the date of the earliest case included. When a report includes only cases from a particular court or on a specific topic, this is indicated. The failure to include the parties to litigation, the absence of an index, and any other significant features of a particular report are also noted. The appendices, taken together, provide a guide to historical research.

Whatever the type of report, an important factor for the scholar to take into account is the time that elapsed between the year the case was heard and the publication of the report. The compilers consciously sought to leave out cases no longer relevant for lawyers and judges; the more time that had passed, the more likely cases of importance to the historian will have been left out as obsolete. For example, since Ramanathan's reports for 1872, 1875, and 1876 were published in 1890, he omits cases based on law superseded by the legal codes of the 1880s. Appendix 2 shows both the years covered and the date of publication of each law report.

More generally, it must be remembered that all the reports are selective, and include only cases thought to be of use to practising lawyers, that is, cases that illustrate a point of law. Similarly, the editors needed only to give enough detail concerning the case as was necessary to illustrate the legal point at issue. Fortunately from the viewpoint of the historian, some reports include more detail than is required for this purpose.

The collections of decisions the Supreme Court took in 1863 on appeals from the police courts may serve as an example that illustrates the different features of the reports, and the need for the researcher to consult all the appropriate volumes. There are three reports that cover the relevant cases:

Beling, Crowther, and Ramanathan's third volume (see Appendix 2). Beling

reports 60 cases, Crowther 49, and Ramanathan 24. But Beling alone is not sufficient, because Crowther reports 7 cases that are not in Beling. Moreover, Ramanathan includes 3 cases that are not in Beling or Crowther, making a total of 70 decisions available. In addition, the three editors choose to include different details about some cases, so it is often useful to check an individual case in more than one volume.

The various digests which seek to index the cases printed in the law reports provide some help to the scholar, but they cannot be relied upon entirely, especially for the earlier periods. The best general work of this kind is S. Rajaratnam, Digest of Cases Reported during the Years 1820 to 1914 (1914 to 1936), 2 vols., (Colombo, 1914, 1936). Many digests leave out cases thought obsolete, and their subject headings are designed for the lawyer or judge who needs information on the legal point at issue, which often differs from the subject of the case itself. For instance, a case of cattle theft that includes a revealing account of the crime and of attitudes towards it might well be indexed under the point of criminal procedure upon which the appeal was brought. The historian interested in cattle theft would probably not be able to find this case from from the index of the volume in question, much less in a digest of many volumes. Sometimes the tedious turning of pages is the only effective option for the researcher.

There are two main types of historical research for which the law reports can be used. First, the reports include essential information about the functioning of the legal system. There is a mine of evidence about how magistrates and judges administered the law, the ways in which people took advantage of their right to appeal, the length of delays in the legal system, and the willingness of the Supreme Court to interfere with the decisions of the lower courts. Similarly, the law reports offer an opportunity to trace the implementation of particular types of legislation. This is the purpose to

which Samaraweera put the reports in his study of plantation labour, which i_5 cited above.

The second type of historical research is to use the reports not only to study the functioning of the legal system and of specific ordinances, but to examine broader topics indirectly touched upon in the descriptions of cases. Possibilities include commercial relations, changes in land tenure, and the status of women. The subject indexes, while helpful, cannot be relied upon for this sort of research, for the incidental detail of the case, often very revealing, was not indexed.

The main problem in using the reports is that they are not comprehensive. The printed reports are a sample of cases decided on appeal. Editors had different criteria for choosing cases. Moreover, even if the reports included all the cases the Supreme Court heard, there would still be the problem of determining the representativeness of the cases for which an appeal was lodged. For these reasons, most research projects using the law reports will also have to make extensive reference to other evidence. It is in conjunction with other sources, both the relatively well mined documents available in London and the more extensive collection at the Department of National Archives, that the law reports can advance our knowledge of the history of modern Sri Lanka.

- 1. Vijaya Samaraweera, 'Masters and Servants in Sri Lankan Plantations: Labour Laws and Labour Control in an Emergent Export Economy,' <u>Indian Economic and Social History Review</u>, vol. 18 (1981), pp. 123-58. Steven Kemper also makes some use of the law reports in 'The Buddhist Monkhood, the Law, and the State in Colonial Sri Lanka,' <u>Comparative Studies in Society and History</u>, vol. 26 (1984).
- 2. T. Nadaraja, The Legal System of Ceylon in its Historical Setting (Leiden, 1972).
- 3. Henry B. Thomson, <u>Institutes of the Laws of Ceylon</u>, vol. 1, (London, 1866), preface.
- 4. For accounts of Ramanathan's project see the prefaces to his volumes, full details of which are given in Appendix 1.
- 5. A comprehensive legal bibliography for colonial Sri Lanka is <u>A Legal</u>

 <u>Bibliography of the British Commonwealth of Nations</u>, vol. 7, ed. Leslie F.

 Maxwell, (London, 1964), pp. 212-35.
- 6. Legal citations differ from the forms usually used by historians and social scientists. Sri Lankan lawyers follow the English practice, which places the volume number before and the page number after the report's abbreviation, without any intervening punctuation. It may be illustrated by the following example: Serahamay v. Rankira (1904), 8 NLR 40. This refers to the case brought by Serahamy against Rankira that was decided by the Supreme Court in 1904 and published on page 40 of the 8th volume of the New Law Reports.

7. Other important digests include H. Tiruvilangam, <u>Digest of Cases</u>, 1820-95, 26 parts, (Colombo, 1896-1905) and K. Balasingham, <u>Digest of Cases</u>, published in four parts, covering 1895-1903, 1903-08, 1908-10, and 1910-13, (Colombo, 1904-13).

Appendix 1

de Kretser

Colonial Law Reports, arranged by Abbreviations used for References

The Appeal Court Reports. Edited by A. L. de Witt and ACR G. E. G. Weeresinghe. 5 vols., (Colombo, 1907-09). [Asirvatham] See Leembruggen. Appeal Reports; being decisions of the Supreme Court, on Austin appeals from the District Court of Kandy. Edited by Nathaniel James Austin. (Colombo, 1862). Balasingham The Reports of Cases decided by the Supreme Court. Edited by K. Balasingham. 5 vols., (Colombo, 1904-11). See also Notes. [Balasingham] See Morgan. [W. M. Beling] Handy Book of Police Courts, being a digest of the orders Beling of the Supreme Court in Police Court Cases. Edited by William Wright Beling (vol. 1 with John William Vanderstraaten). 2 vols., (Colombo, 1863-69). Appeal Reports: being decisions of the Supreme Court on Beven & Siebel appeals from the District Court of Kandy (in continuation of Austin's reports) commencing from 1859. Edited by Edwin Beven and E. L. Siebel. (Kandy, 1877). See also Joseph and Beven; LM. [Beven] The Mukkuva Law, or the rules of succession among the Brito Mukkuvars of Ceylon. Edited by C. Brito. (Colombo, 1876). Browne's Reports of cases decided in the Supreme and Other Browne Courts of Ceylon. Edited by K. G. Dodwell Browne. (Colombo, 1900-02). Current Case-Law. Edited by Isaac Tambyah. 2 vols.. CCL (Colombo, 1906, 1907). Cevlon Law Journal: embodying reports and notes of cases. CLJ 9 vols., (Colombo, 1936-47). The Ceylon Law Reports, being reports of cases decided by CLR the Supreme Court of Ceylon. 3 vols., (Colombo, 1892-97). The Current Law Reports of Ceylon. Edited by F. A. Hayley. CLRC 2 vols., (Colombo, 1909, 1910). Ceylon Law Weekly. 38 vols., (Colombo, 1931-48). CLW [Conderlag] See Morgan. Criminal Appeal Reports of Ceylon. Edited by A. B. Cooray Cooray (vol. 2 with E. A. L. Wijeyewardene). 2 vols., (Colombo, 1914, 1915). Creasy's Ceylon Reports; judgments of the Supreme Court Creasy between 1859 and 1870. Edited by Harry Creasy. 1876). Decisions of the Supreme Court sitting in appeal. Edited Crowther by Jonathan Crowther. (Colombo, 1869). Contributions to a Treatise on Namptissement; being reports CTN of cases decided by the Supreme Court and the District Court of Colombo. Edited by Charles Ambrose Lorenz. CWR Ceylon Weekly Reporter. 8 vols., (Colombo, 1915-20).

Matara Cases: being a collection of hitherto unpublished

2 vols., (Colombo, 1913-15).

decisions by the Supreme Court of Ceylon on appeal from the District Court of Matara. Edited by O. L. de Kretser,

[de Witt] See ACR

Examiner Examiner Reports. Issued by the Ceylon Examiner. (Colombo,

1896).

Decisions of the Supreme Court on appeals from Police Courts Fernando

and Courts of Request. Edited by George Fernando.

1878).

Grenier The Appeal Reports from 1872 (1873, 1874), being reports of

cases argued and determined in the Supreme Court of Ceylon sitting in appeal. Edited by Samuel Grenier. 3 vols.,

(Colombo, 1872-74).

Hayley Treatise on the Laws and Customs of the Sinhalese, including

the portions still surviving under the name Kandyan Law.

Edited by F. A. Hayley. (Colombo, 1923).

Court of Appeal Cases of Ceylon. Edited by A. St. V. Jayawardene

Jayewardene and others. 4 vols., (Colombo, 1912-16).

Joseph & Beven A Digest of the Decisions of the Supreme Court delivered in

the year 1859. Edited by A. O. Joseph and Edwin Beven.

(Colombo, 1863).

JSC The Judgments of the Supreme Court of Judicature and the

High Court of Appeal of the Island of Ceylon delivered between 1820-1833. Edited by Ponnambalan Ramanathan.

(Colombo, 1877).

Koch Supreme Court Decisions in Appeal during 1899. Edited

by Gladwin Koch. (Colombo, 1900).

Leader The "Leader" Law Reports, being reports of current decisions

of the Supreme Court of Ceylon. 6 vols., (Colombo, 1907-12). Supreme Court Decisions in Appeal during 1905 (1906, 1907).

Leembruggen

Edited by G. H. P. Leembruggen (vol. 1), Leembruggen and R. N.

Asirvatham (vol. 2), and Asirvatham (vol. 3). 3 vols..

(Colombo, 1906-08).

The Legal Miscellany. Periodical. Vol. 1 (Colombo, 1853-54) was probably edited by Richard Morgan. Vol. 2 (Colombo, LM

1864-67) was edited by E. Beven and A. Mills.

The appeal reports: being reports of cases argued and Lorenz

determined in the Supreme Court of Ceylon sitting in appeal.

Edited by Charles Ambrose Lorenz. 3 vols., (Colombo,

1860-71).

[Lorenz] See also CTN: Weinman.

Marshall

Judgments and other decisions and directions of the Supreme Court of the Island of Ceylon, from the promulgation of the New Charter, 1st Oct. 1833 to March 1836. Edited by Sir

Charles Marshall. (Paris, 1839).

[Mills] See LM.

A Digest of the Decisions of the Supreme Court sitting at Morgan

Colombo, since the promulgation of the charter of 1833.

Edited by Owen W. C. Morgan, W. M. Conderlag, William

Michael Beling, and E. H. Prins. 2 vols., (Colombo, 1857-62).

[R. Morgan]

See LM.

Murray Cases heard and determined in appeal by the Supreme Court of

the Island of Ceylon from December 1846 to August 1847.

Edited by Alexander Murray. (Colombo, 1848).

Mutukisna New Edition of the Thesawaleme, or Law and Customs of Jaffna;

together with decisions of the various courts on the subject,

1801-60. Edited by H. F. Mutukisna. (Colombo, 1862).

Courts of Request: a practical treatise on their constitution Nel1 and mode of procedure, including a selection of circulars, correspondence and forms, decisions of the Supreme Court on reviews and appeals . . . and an appendix. Edited by Louis Nell. (Colombo, 1858). [Nell] See also Tolls. NLR The New Law Reports. 49 vols., (Colombo, 1896-1948). Notes Notes of Cases decided by the Supreme Court of Ceylon. Edited by K. Balasingham. 6 vols., (Colombo, 1914-18). [Obeyesekere] See Times. Perera A Collection of Select Decisions of the Supreme Court on Points of Kandyan Law. Edited by Joseph Martinus Perera. (Colombo, 1892). [Prins] See Morgan. [Rajaratnam] See RRCC Ramanathan Reports of important cases heard and determined by the Supreme Court of Ceylon. Edited by Ponnambalam Ramanathan. 5 vols., (Colombo, 1878-90). [Ramanathan] See also JSC. Recorder The Ceylon Law Recorder. 22 vols., (Colombo, 1919-48). Revised reports of Ceylon: being a re-publication of all such cases of the Supreme Court of the Island of Ceylon RRC (reported from the year 1820) as are still of practical utilty. Edited by Isaac Tambyah. (Tellippalai, 1905). RRCC Revised Reports of Ceylon Cases. Edited by S. Rajaratnam. (Tellippalai, 1922). Digest of Kandyan Law, with an appendix containing orders Sawers of the Supreme Court in Cases decided in Appeal bearing on the Kandyan Law from 1851 to 1860. Edited by Simon Sawers. (Colombo, 1860; reprint in 1900). SCC Supreme Court Circular. 9 vols., (Colombo, 1879-92).
Supreme Court Reports. 3 vols., (Colombo, 1892-96) SCR Siebel Liability of estate owners and of superintendents; being a collection of important decisions on the subject, by the Supreme Court and the District Court of Kandy. Edited by E. L. Siebel. (Colombo, 1877). [Siebel] See also Beven & Siebel. The Law of Maintenance: being a collection of cases on the Sinnacutty subject decided in appeal under the Vagrant Ordinance. Edited by W. Sinnacutty. (Jaffna, 1878). Solomons Decisions of the Supreme Court on appeals from Courts of Request, 1861-67. Edited by F. C. Solomons. (Kandy, 1871). Tambyah Tambyah's Reports, being reports of cases decided by the Supreme Court of the Island in appeal. Edited by Isaac Tambyah. Title varies; most volumes were printed as part of the periodical Ceylon Law Review. 7 vols., (Colombo, 1899-1912). [Tambyah] See also CCL. The Times of Ceylon Law Reports. Edited by J. E. M. Times Obeyesekere. 19 vols., (Colombo, 1922-42). [Tiruvilangam] See also SCC Digest. Tolls Toll Cases. Edited by Louis Nell., (Cotta, 1858). Vanderstraaten The decisions of the Supreme Court sitting in appeal, from

1869 to 1871. Edited by John William Vanderstraaten.

(Colombo, 1874).

[Vanderstraaten] See also Beling.

Weerekoon

The Supreme Court Decisions in Appeal. Edited by E. B.

Weerekoon. 7 vols., (Colombo, 1908-12).

[Weeresinghe]

See ACR.

Weinman

Contributions to a treatise on Namptissement; being reports of cases decided by the Supreme Court of Ceylon. Edited by

James R. Weinman, based on the earlier edition (CTN) by

Charles Ambrose Lorenz. (Colombo, 1881).

Wendt

Reports of cases argued and determined in the Supreme Court of Ceylon, sitting in appeal during the years 1882-1883.
Edited by Henry Lorenz Wendt. (Colombo, 1884).
The Supreme Court Decisions in Appeal. Edited by E. A. L.

Wijeyewardene

Wijeyewardene. (Colombo, 1913).

[Wijeyewardene]

See also Cooray.

Appendix 2
Scope of Colonial Law Reports

	Years	Date	
Report	Covered	Published	Coverage
•			
Mutukisna	1801-60	1862	cutomary law of Jaffna
Hayley	1818-29	1923	Kandyan law
JSC	1820-33	1877	general
2 LM	1820–67	1864-67	a selection of cases from 1820-21, 1843-48, and 1860-67
RRC	1820–99	1905	all cases are drawn from earlier printed reports, mainly Morgan and Ramanathan; no criminal cases; arranged by subject
CTN	1830–55	1856	namptissement (law of provisional payment); includes cases decided by Colombo district court
Weinman	1830–81	1881	namptissement (law of provisional payment); revised edition of CTN; omits cases decided by Colombo district court; includes 13 cases decided after 1856.
Marshall	1833-36	1839	arranged by subject; names of parties not included
1 Morgan	1833-42	1857	general; names of parties not included from 1833-37
Austin	1833-59	1862	Kandy district court; very few criminal cases; arranged by subject; names of parties not included
Perera	1833-89	1892	Kandyan law; all cases are drawn from earlier printed reports; arranged by subject
Tolls	?	1858	toll cases
2 Morgan	1843-52	1862	general; more cases than 1 Ramanathan,
0		1002	but with less detail; no index
1 Ramanathan	1843-55	1884	general
Brito	1844–71	1876	law of Mukkuvars of Batticaloa; 8 cases, including decisions of Batticaloa district court
Nell	1845–55	1858	courts of request; names of parties not included
Murray	1846-47	1848	general; no index
Sinnacutty	1846–76	1878	law of maintenance; names of parties not included
1 Beling	1846-62	1863	police courts; names of parties not included
RRRC	1847-70	1922	selected cases from Creasy, Joseph & Beven, Murray, and Solomons
Sawers	1851-60	1860	Kandyan law
1 LM	1852-53	1853–54	general; names of parties not included; some sections have no index
1 Lorenz	1856-57	1860	general
2 Lorenz	1858	1866	general
3 Lorenz	1859	1871	general

Siebel	1858-77	1877	liability of estate superintendents; 20 cases, all but one from Kandy District
Creasy	1859-70	1876	Court; considerable detail; no index civil; names of parties not included; arranged by subject; no index
Joseph & Beven	1859	1863	general
Beven & Siebel	1859-67	1877	Kandy district court; most cases are
DCVCII & DICDCI	1037-01	1077	from 1860-62; no criminal cases; no index
2 Ramanathan	1860-62	1880	general
Solomons	1861-67	1871	courts of request; 37 cases; most names
COTOMONS	1001-07	10/1	of parties not included
Crowther	1863	1869	
	1863-68	1881	general; names of parties not included
3 Ramanathan			general
2 Beling	1863–68	1869	police courts; names of parties not
Fernando	1865-76	1878	included
rernando	1007-10	10/0	police courts and courts of request; most
			cases from Kandy and Panvila; most cases from 1875-76
Vandanstastas	1869-71	1874	
Vanderstraaten			general; names of parties not included
l Grenier	1872	1872	police courts; names of parties not
/ 7	1070/5/6	1000	included
4 Ramanathan	1872/5/6	1890	general
2 Grenier	1873	1874	general; names of parties not included
3 Grenier	1874	1874	general; names of parties not included
5 Ramanathan	1877	1878	general; names of parties not included
SCC	1878-91	1879-92	general
Wendt	1882-83	1884	general; includes cases not in SCC
Tambyah	1886-1910	1899-1910	general; includes many 19th century cases
CLR	1887-97	1892–97	general; includes cases not reported elsewhere
de Kretser	1890–1914	1913–1 5	Matara district court; no criminal cases
SCR	1892 - 94	1892-94	general
Examiner	1896–98	1898	general
NLR	1896–48	1895–1948	general; includes a few cases from 1872-94, some previously unpublished; continues after 1948
ACR	1898-1909	1907-09	general
Koch	1899	1900	general; no index
Browne	1900-02	1900-02	general; includes a few cases from
	1903-10	1904-11	before 1900
Balasingham	-		general; includes a few cases from before 1903
CCL	1904–06	1906–07	for 1904-05 includes a digest of reports published elsewhere; for 1905-06 includes brief summaries of previously unpublished cases; no index for 1906
Leembruggen	1905-07	1906-08	general
Leader	1907-12	1907-12	general; no index
Weerekoon	1907-12	1908-12	general; includes a few cases from before 1907
CLRC	1908-10	190910	general
	1911-16	1912-16	general
Jayewardene Notes	1911-16	1912-16	general; some cases have little detail
	1911-10	1914-18	4
Wijeyewardene	1913 1913 – 15	1913 1914 – 15	general criminal cases
Cooray CWR	1915-15		
Recorder	1913-20	1915-20 1919-48	general
recorder Times	1919-47	1919-48	general general
CLW	1922-42	1922-42	general; continues past 1948
CLA	1931-46 1936-46	1931-40	general; conclinues past 1940 general; vols. 7-9 have no index
	1 (36) 10	i 1.20-⊥\	Jewer at 2 4013" 1-1 Make no three