



# THE KANDYAN CONVENTION AND AFTER



B. H. ALUVIHARE.

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## P R E F A C E.

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On the 26th January, at Kandy, the Kandyans made a statement of those requirements they considered necessary for the reconstruction of society in their territory. We have tried to sketch the background against which these demands were made because Englishmen are ignorant of their status and obligations, whilst Kandyans have become ignorant and afraid of claiming their rights.

I want to remind Englishmen that the 'conquest' of the Kandyan territory is not founded on historical fact, **The rights of other Small Countries are meaningless to us unless our rights are respected**—unless where gross injustice has taken place, there is reparation. It is no compliment to the British nation that a people of industrious and hardworking peasants were made landless and degenerate with disease, poverty and drink.

The Kandyans must make an effort at regeneration; to that let us dedicate ourselves.

Feb. 1941.

B. H. ALUVIHARE.



## PREFACE

B. H. ALVAREZ

Proclamation

At a convention held on the 2<sup>nd</sup> day of March in the year of Christ 1815 and the Cingalese year 1730 at the Palace in the City of Kandy Between His Excellency Lieutenant General Robert Brownrigg Governor and Commander in Chief in and over the British Settlements and Territories in the Island of Ceylon, acting in the name and on behalf of His Majesty George the Third King, and His Royal Highness George Prince of Wales Regent, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland on the one part and the Adikars, Dossaries and other Principal Chiefs of the



The Komdyam Provinces on behalf of the Inhabitants, and in presence of the Mohottalas Coraels, Viduams and other subordinate Headmen from the several Provinces and of the People there and there assembled on the other part, it is agreed and establishes as follows

1<sup>st</sup> That the Cruelties and oppressions of the Malabar Ruler, in the Arbitrary and unjust infliction of bodily Tortures and the pains of death, without trial and sometimes without an accusation or the possibility of a Crime, and in the general Contempt and contravention of all Civil Rights, have become flagrant; enormous and intolerable;

the



III

the Acts and maxims of  
His Government being  
equally and entirely  
devoid of that Justice  
which should secure  
the safety of His Subjects  
and of that good Faith  
which might obtain  
a beneficial intercourse  
with the neighbouring  
Settlements

2<sup>nd</sup> That the Rajah  
Sri Vikrama Rajah  
Simha, by the habitual  
violation of the Chief  
& most sacred Duties  
of a Sovereign, has for-  
feited all Claims to  
that Title or the Powers  
annexed to the same,  
and is declared fallen  
and deposed from the  
Office of King - His  
Sons and Relatives,  
whether in the ascend-  
ing descending or in  
Collateral

১৫  
 অসম চৰিত্ৰলেখকগণ  
 তেঁওঁৰ লেখনৰ বিষয়ে  
 বহুত কথা কৈছে -

[illegible][illegible]



Collateral line, and whether by affinity or blood, are also excluded from the Throne. and all claim and Title of the Malabar Race to the Dominion of the Kandyan Province is abolished, and extinguished

That all male persons being or pretending to be relatives of the late Rajah Sri Wikrama Rajah Sinha, either by affinity or blood, and whether in the ascending descending or Collateral line, are hereby declared Enemies to the Government of the Kandyan Provinces, and excluded and prohibited from entering those Provinces on any Pretence whatever, without a written Permission for







for that purpose by the authority of the British Government, under the pains and Penalties of Martial Law, which is hereby declared to be in force for that purpose - and all male persons of the Malabar District now expelled from the said Provinces are, under the same Penalties, prohibited from returning, except with the permission before mentioned -

4<sup>th</sup> The Dominion of the Kandian Provinces is vested in the Sovereign of the British Empire and to be exercised thus the Governors or Lieut. Governors of Ceylon for the time being, and their accredited



lable - and its Rites, Ministers and Places of worship are to be maintained & protected. Every Species of bodily torture, and all mutilation of Limb, Member or organ, are prohibited and abo-

lished. No Sentence of Death can be carried into execution Against any Inhabitant, except by the Written Warrant of the British Governor or Lieut. Governor for the time being, founded on a Report of the case made to Him thro' the accredited Agent or Agents of the Government Resident in the interior, in

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VIII

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 ကလေးတို့ကို ခေါ်ဝေါ်  
 ကလေး

[illegible]







by a Special Commission, to be issued from time to time by the Governor for that purpose Provided always as to such charges of Murder wherein any British Subject may be defendant who might be tried for the same by the Laws of the United Kingdom of Great Britain & Ireland in force for the Trial of offences committed by British Subjects in foreign parts no such British Subject shall be tried on any charge of Murder alleged to have been perpetrated in the Hawaiian Provinces otherwise than by virtue of such Laws of the United Kingdom as Commissioned or Non Commissioned Military officers Soldiers or Followers of the Army usually held amenable to







10<sup>th</sup> Provided always, that the operation of the several preceding clauses shall not be contravened by the Provisions of any temporary or partial Proclamations published during the advance of the Army, which Provisions, in so far as incompatible with the said preceding articles, are hereby repealed.

11<sup>th</sup> The Royal Dues and Revenues of the Kandyan Provinces are to be managed & collected for His Majesty's use & the support of the Provincial Establishment according to lawful custom, and under the direction & superintendence of the appointed Agent or Agents of the British Government.

12<sup>th</sup> His







*Pilama Palawuwa*

Disave of the 8 Dorles of Chappagam - "signed" 2108  
தலைவர்

*Pilama Palawuwa*

Disave of the 4 Dorles "signed" 2108  
தலைவர்

*Monarawila*

Disave of the 4 Dorles "signed" 2108  
தலைவர்

*Platwatti*

Disave of the 4 Dorles "signed" 2108  
தலைவர்

*Molligoda*

Disave of the 3 Dorles. "signed" 2108  
தலைவர்

*Dullaywe*

Disave of the 4 Dorles "signed" 2108  
தலைவர்

*Millawa*

Disave of the 4 Dorles and Dintyone "signed" 2108  
தலைவர்

*Lalagoda*

Disave of the 4 Dorles "signed" 2108  
தலைவர்

*Lalagoda*

Disave of the 4 Dorles and Kalawiga "signed" 2108  
தலைவர்

In Presence of

"signed" I Dwyly

Chief Translator to Govt.

" " J. A. Sutherland

Deputy Secy to Govt.

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## THE KANDYAN DEMANDS.

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By the consent of the Kandyan people and subject to the Convention of 1815, which guaranteed to the Kandyan the safety of their persons and property according to their laws, institutions and customs, the Sovereign of the British Empire was vested with the suzerainty over the Kandyan territory.

The British Government in facilitating British plantations deprived the Kandyan people of development space in certain areas and introduced large number of non-Ceylonese labourers therein.

It is now necessary in order to preserve the very existence of the Kandyan in their own territory and to vest adequate political power in the Kandyan people, to determine the status of foreigners who have come into the Kandyan districts under the conditions stated above and the new interests other members of the Empire, being non-Ceylonese, are to be allowed to acquire.

Therefore the Kandyans demand of the Government:

(1) That land in the Kandyan territory be acquired from private owners for adequate village holdings and village expansion.

(2) That the sale of land to non-Ceylonese in the Kandyan territory, without the permission of the Government, be forbidden and that in all such cases the Government should be given a prior option of purchase.

(3) That Section 16 of Ordinance No. 11 of 1865 be repealed and no immigration allowed in future except with the permission of and on conditions approved by the State Council.

(4) That registers of assisted immigrant labourers who are domiciled and not domiciled in Ceylon be prepared and all the electoral rolls revised.

(5) That for the purpose of the Registers Section 7 & 9 of the Order in Council without amendment must afford the test and adequate administrative machinery should be provided for the making of the registers.



(6) That Assisted Immigrants being non-Ceylonese, with a minimum of five years' service in Ceylon, should on leaving the Island be entitled to a reasonable gratuity for each month of service.

(7) That Ceylon domicile should not be permissible to a person domiciled elsewhere.

(8) Sections 8 of the Elections Order in Council should be restricted to members of the United Kingdom and any part of the British Empire where Ceylonese get reciprocity.

(9) That the same population proportion for purposes of electoral areas be applied all over Ceylon, without discrimination.

(10) That in the delimitation of electoral areas, the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor accepted by the State Council in 1939 to provide adequate representation of the Kandyan peasantry be given effect to.

(11) That provision be made for the representation of the non-domiciled.

(12) That the study of Sinhalese be made compulsory in estate Schools.

(13) That Government land and Government employment should only be available to children born of parents domiciled in Ceylon.

(14) That administrative posts and Government employment in the Kandyan territory should preferably be given to Sinhalese-speaking Ceylonese domiciled in the Kandyan territory until some time after educational opportunities in the Kandyan territory have been equalized with those in other areas.

(15) That the Government, taking into account the income derived from the Kandyan territory and the want of adequate medical and educational facilities for the Kandyan peasantry, should take steps to supply these deficiencies.

### OUR CASE.

When soon after the signing of the Convention a question arose as to the validity of certain provisions in it, Brownrigg wrote: "The confirmation to the Kandyan of their own Laws Civil as well as Criminal was consented to by me not only on the ground



that it was just and necessary to their present condition to do so, but on a full understanding and conviction that it was an unavoidable condition of their voluntary acceptance of the British Dominion in which view I must consider this Government as bound by such consent subject to the unquestioned power of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent to reject that along with those advantages to which it was inseparably annexed."<sup>1</sup> The Convention was adopted by the Prince Regent.<sup>2</sup>

The Kandyans, say later historians, were astounded that the British after the deposition of His Majesty Wickreme Raja Singha did not return to Colombo and often asked when this would happen.<sup>3</sup> The reason for this astonishment seems to have been that the agreement was that the Kandyan territory was merely to own allegiance to the English Sovereign but was to be ruled by its own King.<sup>4</sup>

It is easier to understand the position if it is realized that the British entry could not have been accomplished but in agreement with<sup>5</sup> the Kandyans who Brownrigg says feared the King's attempt to plant Malabars in the Sabaragamuwa District. Not a single life was lost, not a single shot fired. A treaty was made between the parties and consent to this treaty was unanimous only when a kingship was promised. In the words of Sir Emerson Tennent,<sup>6</sup> "Sir Robert Brownrigg, at the very period when he was negotiating the first Convention in 1815, stated that the priests objected to give their entire concurrence along with the chiefs to the cession of the country, and hinted to him that it would be absolutely necessary for the safety of their religion that a Sinhalese King should be reinstated in the place of the Malabar one who had just been expelled."

The title of the British Sovereign to the Kandyan territory is not based on conquest. The installation of the Tooth Relic in Kandy was the final acknowledgment by the Kandyans of the

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1. Despatch 16/3/15. Proclamation 31st May 1816.

2. Proclamation 31st May 1816.

3. Marshall page 175.

4. Ehelapola's ola to the Chiefs of Maturata.

5. Despatch 29 of 25/2/1815.

6. Tennent—Ceylon Select Committee—House of Commons p. 171 q. 2618. This view is further confirmed by an ola said to have been written by Ehelapola to the Chiefs of Maturata requesting them to join him.



Treaty, and on that occasion Ehelapola, with the knowledge of the English, rode on a white horse at the end of the procession and he as representing the Kandyans and the "Resident" as representing the British Sovereign were annointed—a distinction entirely Royal. <sup>1</sup>

Whatever the circumstances of the treaty when Englishmen gazed on the beauty and fertility of the Kandyan hills, they conceived the idea of making English plantations there. <sup>2</sup> The rape of Kandyan land then began.

The first rebellion of 1818 probably was due to disappointment that the British did not leave the country and create a Sinhalese kingship. The arrest of Ehelapola in Naula was the signal for the fighting. When a people fights for its freedom, the struggle is desperate—the rebels were overcome. Many paid with everything they had.

It has been said that the rebellion of 1818 was like the fight of the Saxons for their freedom: "it was the defensive warfare of a nation, who took up arms to preserve, not to recover their independence". <sup>3</sup> The measures taken to subdue the Kandyans are thus described: "When a district rose in rebellion, one or more military posts were established in it; martial law proclaimed; the dwelling of the resisting inhabitants were burnt; their fruit trees were often cut down; and the country was scoured in every direction by small detachments, who were authorised to put to death all who made opposition, or were found with arms in their hands. But, in a warfare of the kind in question, where every inhabitant is a foe, persons who are not with us are commonly presumed to be against us, and treated as enemies. Hence the war carried on against the insurgents became characterized by devastation and extermination." <sup>4</sup> The brunt of the fray fell on the chiefs and the priests. Lawrie says: <sup>5</sup> "The story of English rule in the Kandyan country during 1817 and 1818 cannot be related without shame. In 1819 hardly a member of the leading families, the heads of the people, remained alive; those whom the sword and the gun had spared, cholera and smallpox and privations had slain by hundreds.

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1. Despatch 104 of 20th July 1815.

2. Brownrigg's despatches and Knighton p. 133. See also Emerson Tennent's evidence before House of Commons.

3. Marshall 192. 4. *ibid* 200. 5. Lawrie Gazetteer Vol. I. p 203.



The subsequent efforts of Government to rule and assist its Kandyan subjects were, for very many years, only attempts begun and abandoned. Irrigation and education did not receive due attention. The descendants of the higher classes of Kandyan times rapidly died out, the lower classes became ignorant and apathetic." Lawrie was writing as late as 1896.

It is unfortunate that the campaign to divide the Kandyan people, a campaign of vilification against the priests and the "aristocracy" has been persisted in even by others whose duty it was to attempt to heal the almost mortal wounds the Kandyans had received.

The British after the rebellion died out issued the Proclamation of 1818 which in some respects purported to alter the Convention, but it has only a pretext to legality. A rebellion of a part of the people cannot annul a treaty of the kind of the Convention. "At the instance of Great Britain it was declared, 'That the powers recognise it as an essential principal of the law of nations that no power can liberate itself from the engagements of a treaty, nor modify the stipulation thereof, unless with the consent of the contracting parties by means of an amicable understanding'."¹

It was after 1818 that the British suggested the policy of almost exterminating the Kandyans in certain areas and planting Malabars to supply their estates with labour. Rebellions followed in 1834 and 1848—the Kandyan territory was pillaged and burnt: Kandyan manhood killed and emasculated. The causes of the unrest were that the people were being driven out of their land and Malabars were imported to help the English with their exploitation. What land could not be got by confiscation, was got forcibly or under the Crown Lands Encroachments Ordinance (12 of 1840.)

In the Parliamentary enquiry, Mr. Disraeli asked Sir Emerson Tennent:² "What is the system of sale of Crown lands in Ceylon?" The answer was "Formerly before the year 1844, any individual who took a fancy to buy portion of Crown land, in any locality, had the power of applying to the Government for

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1. Protocol to the Treaty of London 1871.

2. for what follows 246 p. 171 & 172. House of Commons Select Committee enquiry.



permission to purchase that piece of land"—generally he got it. Crown land those days comprised nearly everything: land was sold upto the backyards of villages and villages as well as inhabitants disappeared. Governors, Colonial Secretaries, Bishops and Chief Justices, Attorney Generals and Surveyor Generals bought thousands of acres at almost nothing—these are a good many of the Company Estates of today. Sometimes, the only way to have property declared private was to lease it to an Englishman.

It is interesting to know that the introduction of drink and taverns too was a major grievance because the Kandyans knew it was meant to demoralise them—where people would not drink it was distributed free to teach them the habit.<sup>1</sup>

The Kandyans' grievances could not be remedied, it was said, because coffee planting and tea its successor could not be stopped. After 1848, the Community was exhausted with the massacres<sup>2</sup>—hospitals sprang up and roads went into all the planting areas, whilst the Kandyan population was left unaided and unprovided for.

It is against this background that the present must be seen. The past ninety years have been a period of decay—it is an accident that the Kandyan people have survived.

2. I shall now state the demands of the Kandyans and try briefly to explain their intention.

### LAND.

Resolutions :

- i. That land in the Kandyan territory be acquired from private owners for adequate village holdings and village expansion.
- ii. That the sale of land to non-Ceylonese in the Kandyan territory, without the permission of the Government, be forbidden and that in all such cases the Government should be given a prior option of purchase.

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1. Siskinner Vol. III. p. 526 House of Commons Committee.

2. Knighton p. 330 and Marshall Laurie Vol. I. page 203.



These resolutions deal with the distribution of land. Prior to 1931, the land policy of the Government did not concern itself with village expansion but with the great plantations; under the new Government in 1931 provision for the reservation of Crown land expansion has been made but no relief has been given to villagers who were victims of the indiscriminate land alienation of the pre 1931 era. Possibly a revolutionary Government would deny the legitimacy of all titles and rights acquired in circumstances inimical to the national interest and refuse to recognise even the claims of labour that was imported for the purposes of those plantations.

We are, however, not in a position to deny the legitimacy of the presence of imported labour and other immigrants; we are not even in a position to deny the title of foreign estates however that title may be acquired.

The present condition of our villages in the more fertile and healthy areas is that there are neither grazing grounds nor land for expansion; peasants are confined to the land on which their huts stand. Therefore the pasture lands which were the easements to the paddy fields and sufficient land for dry cultivation must be restored as essentials to existence. They were taken away against the stipulation in the Convention that customary rights would be protected. The provision of this minimum of land requirement is one of the first tasks to be performed in salvaging what is left of Kandyan peasantry,

Apart however from questions of development, a unique opportunity now offers itself of acquiring foreign and largely British, interests in land for the national needs. In some areas British companies are selling their estates to non Ceylonese—in Matale over 1000 acres have changed hands in a few weeks and more will follow. It is imperative from the national interest especially of the Kandyan people that this land be conserved even at this late stage. In that way we can perhaps retrieve the present position: that the only areas left to the native population are the malaria-ridden jungles. It is absurd that we should only have Minneriya for expansion whilst foreigners own the health resorts. The demand that Government purchase land and prevent its alienation to foreigners is merely a request for redemption.



3. Resolution XIII—That Government land and Government employment should only be available to children born of parents domiciled in Ceylon.

This resolution partly following Indian precedent asks that Government land be alienated and employment given only to those born of parents domiciled in Ceylon. In our peculiar circumstances it is necessary that land in Kandyan territory should be reserved for our present population; to a large extent that object is served by the Government policy, adopted after 1931, of mapping out village areas and holding land Kachcheries where land is preferably given to the local peasantry. In the alienation of larger extents, Ceylonese born in Ceylon should be the only persons entitled to Crown land, colonizable Crown land not being sufficient for the normal growth of our population in the next 50 years. We seek to restrict the alienation of land to those who are born of Ceylonese parents because a person can as easily choose to abandon a Ceylonese domicile as to acquire it, whilst Ceylonese born here are less likely to do so. We have not enough land now to appear generous with it. Similar remarks apply to employment. Were such restrictions not accepted a Ceylon domicile may be chosen merely to acquire land or employment.

#### **FRANCHISE AND CITIZENSHIP.**

4. Resolution V.—That for the purpose of the Registers Sections 7 & 9 of the Order in Council without amendment must afford the test and adequate administrative machinery should be provided for the making of these registers.

This resolution and those that follow raise the human problem which is a corollary to our land problem. The use of large forces of foreign labour in Africa, Malaya and Ceylon has been one of the most regrettable results of Indian subjection. The indigenous population resented their introduction to such an extent that it became one of the chief causes of the Kandyan rebellions of 1834 and 1848. It is sad that India should be the innocent agent of evil; it is sadder still that she being closely placed to us, should have allowed herself to be used against us both as soldier and labourer.



The question is to what extent, considering our mutually unfortunate positions, we can accept the Indian as a permanent feature of our national economy.

This question has assumed a very urgent character since 1930 when manhood suffrage was introduced in a scheme of Government in which we have some control of our own future. Such future as we carve out must be on a national basis and on that basis the Indian problem must be solved. Pandit Jawaharlal has demanded that those Indians who had made Ceylon their home should be made nationals of Ceylon and absorbed into the larger community, whilst those who were here temporarily and did not wish to make Ceylon their home, must remain foreigners and expect as much consideration as other foreigners. The dignity of India, he said, demanded it. The Kandyans accept this demand and do not refuse to share power with those people who are domiciled in their territory, but that is the utmost that they can concede to interests that have arisen in the face of their utmost protest and in breach of their treaty rights.

Under the Order-in-Council (following the 1928 discussions) a person having resided in Ceylon for five years is entitled to the State Council Franchise if either he is domiciled here or expresses, in writing, an intention to be so. There are many who believe this too generous a concession. In the present circumstances we do not repudiate the solution arrived at in 1928 and embodied in the Orders in Council creating the present Constitution. We want this position maintained, as being acceptable to nationalist India and as ensuring some degree of stability in our national unit.<sup>1</sup>

6. Resolution XI.—That provision be made for the representation of the non-domiciled.

We ask that representation of the undomiciled labourers should be provided for, because that was a part of the proposals made by Sir Herbert Stanley in 1928 and such provision is a necessary part of the scheme of representation.

1. It also represents what India wants of us. Nehru said; "Those Indians who had made Ceylon their home should be considered nationals of Ceylon completely without distinction.....In regard to those Indians who had come here more or less temporarily and who did not wish to become Ceylon nationals, their position was different legally and constitutionally and would become different when Ceylon advanced to freedom. They had no business to come here to exploit Ceylon and take advantage of its people" (Daily News 27-7-39)



5. Resolution VIII.—Section 8 of the Elections Order in Council should be restricted to members of the United Kingdom and any part of the British Empire where Ceylonese get reciprocity.

Section 8 of the Elections Order in Council gives the State Council franchise to members of the British Empire resident in Ceylon and having a literacy-cum-property qualification. In England a Ceylonese can acquire the franchise without any discrimination against him, but it is not so in other parts of the Empire. We do not see why we should treat nationals of those other countries with a generosity that is denied to us.

To summarize our franchise proposals:

We contemplate giving the franchise on a property-cum-literacy and residential qualification to citizens of those parts of the Empire where Ceylonese are admitted to the franchise on a similar basis. Apart from that, we contemplate a purely domiciliary qualification based on residence and proved or declared intention to those who are here on our invitation; full citizenship being available with land and employment only.

7. Resolution VI.—That Assisted Immigrants being non-Ceylonese, with a minimum of five years' service in Ceylon, should on leaving the Island be entitled to a reasonable gratuity for each month of service.

It has been hurled at us that we throw away the superannuated labourer like "a sucked lemon". The superannuated labourer tends to become a vagrant if he has nothing to fall back on in his old age, and where he is a foreigner, his very helplessness compels him to claim a domicile here; such a process will not enhance our national assets. For this reason we propose a gratuity to a non-domiciled labourer in addition to anything such a person may be entitled to as a labourer; the gratuity should be generous enough to enable him to return to his country with dignity and a sense of security.



8. Resolution IV.—That registers of assisted immigrant labourers who are domiciled and not domiciled in Ceylon be prepared, and all the electoral rolls revised.

Resolution VII.—That Ceylon domicile should not be permissible to a person domiciled elsewhere.

The resolution that registers be prepared is a necessary corollary to resolution XI and VI; No process however should be allowed by which people would get the best of both worlds, and resolution VII is particularly meant to prevent such a result.

9. Resolution XII.—That the study of Sinhalese be made compulsory in Estate Schools.

Sinhalese must be taught in Estate Schools to provide some contact between the native population and estate labourer, and to increase the chances of cohesion in the national body. In Sinhalese times the main factor making for national unity was language and allegiance; these factors must be restored. The domicile test will provide the allegiance, whilst the Sinhalese language, living as assisted immigrants do in the Sinhalese territory, will provide the language; it is the first and perhaps the only immediate step to implement Nehru's request that "They should be treated not merely legally and constitutionally as nationals but there should be a desire to absorb them into the larger community of Ceylon."

10. Resolution III.—That Section 16 of Ordinance No. 11 of 1865 be repealed and no immigration allowed in future except with the permission of and on conditions approved by the State Council.

The present discretionary power granted to the Controller of Labour to allow Immigration which is bound to have very farreaching results in the future must be taken away and the State Council vested with that power.

We advocate the absolute prohibition of recruiting licences for immigrant labour.



### ELECTORAL AREAS.

11. Resolution IX.—That the same population proportion for purposes of electoral areas be applied all over Ceylon, without discrimination.

„ X.—That in the delimitation of electoral areas the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor accepted by the State Council in 1939 to provide adequate representation of the Kandyan peasantry be given effect to.

The request that electoral areas be so divided as to provide adequate representation for the Kandyan peasantry is to obtain for the Kandyans that weight in the Councils of the Country as will give them an opportunity of redressing their grievances. We postulate equality of divisions on a population basis because the weightage is abnormally against us at present.

It is said that at the time of the Union when the division of electorates in Ireland took place, the extent of her territory and the diminution in her population due to causes over which she had no control were taken into consideration.<sup>1</sup> To similar treatment the Kandyans whose territory comprises the larger part of Ceylon, whose population at various times has been massacred, whose development has been studiously retarded, are surely entitled.

We demand from the British Government that on the devolution of power on the people of this country, power should devolve on the Kandyans commensurate with the power they brought in at the beginning of the British connection.

### GENERAL.

12- Resolution XV.—That the Government, taking into account the income derived from the Kandyan territory and the want of adequate medical and educational facilities for the Kandyan peasantry, should take steps to supply these deficiencies.

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1. May's Constitutional History Volume III page 40.



Article II of the Convention, covenants that: "The Royal dues and revenues of the Kandyan Provinces are to be managed and collected for His Majesty's use and the support of the Provincial Establishment according to the lawfull custom; and under the direction and superintendence of the accredited Agent or Agents of the British Government." The revenues have been directed mostly to enterprises which do not help the Kandyan population—roads hospitals and post offices for plantations. Since 1931 the balance is being adjusted but a hundred years' neglect cannot be remedied in a few years; that particular attention which is essential to the rehabilitation of the Kandyan Provinces is not yet forthcoming. Our population and villages have to be rescued from a hundred years of neglect. Burrows wrote in his diary. "During the reign of those kings and chiefs whom we are pleased to stigmatise as barbarous tyrants, it was swarming with people and teeming with villages; and during the eighty or ninety years of our British rule, our boasted "Pax Britannica," the dams and tanks have been slowly crumbling away and the ridges disappearing from the paddy fields whilst the last dregs of the deserted population is almost utterly gone."<sup>1</sup>

13. Resolution XIV.—That administrative posts and Government employment in the Kandyan territory should preferably be given to Sinhalese-speaking Ceylonese domiciled in that territory until some time after educational opportunities therein have been more equalised with those in other areas.

With educational facilities as they are, it is no wonder that those educated in our provincial schools have little chance in competition for employment; education is neither widely spread enough nor deep enough to ensure fair competition with those boys trained in the more favoured areas. (The number of educated unemployed and the semi-employed in our areas is appalling though not very often talked about.)

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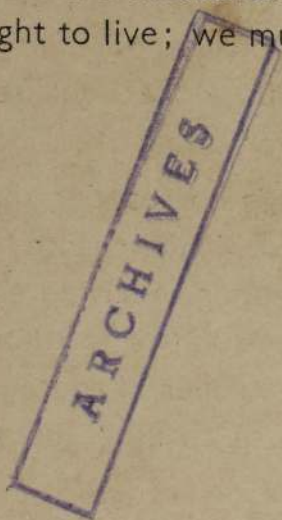
1. See also Emerson Tennent Vol. II p 435; there is some evidence that tanks and bunds were also destroyed in 1818.



We are being ousted even from the posts of kitchen and hospital orderlies, midwives and peons because all the training for these is concentrated in Colombo or Jaffna. Officers are sometimes appointed to services where they cannot speak to the people in their own vernacular. The very strangeness of the administration makes it unsympathetic and wooden.

14. In the last resort, under any Government, the best help and a never failing resort, is self-help. Specially is this so in any country pretending to Democracy. To remedy injustice however there must be a will to Justice; it is no use a section of Kandyans wishing for freedom to perpetuate an aristocracy, nor should we make ourselves a party to keep an oligarchy in power. The mass whose strength we have now to rally will have no interest in that. The Kandyans have all along been a territorial and not a communal unit: the Muslim, the Portugese and the Indian living with us and owing loyalty to our unit have been admitted to our fold.

Often personal ambition has led to personal jealousies that have betrayed the national cause. Never in our long history have we been nearer annihilation than in the past century and we can afford none of these luxuries that divide and corrupt us. Where there are thousands dying for freedom, we have now to assert the right to live; we must try to emerge alive.









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