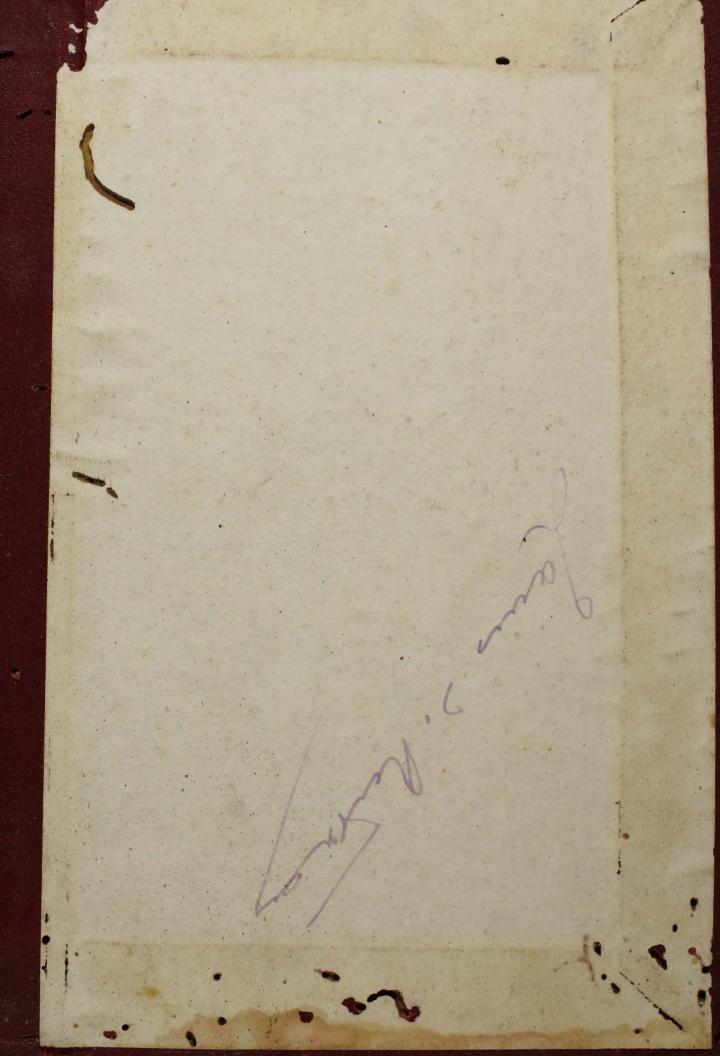
# ORIENTAL CROWN COLONY RIPE

FOR

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

BY WM. DIGBY



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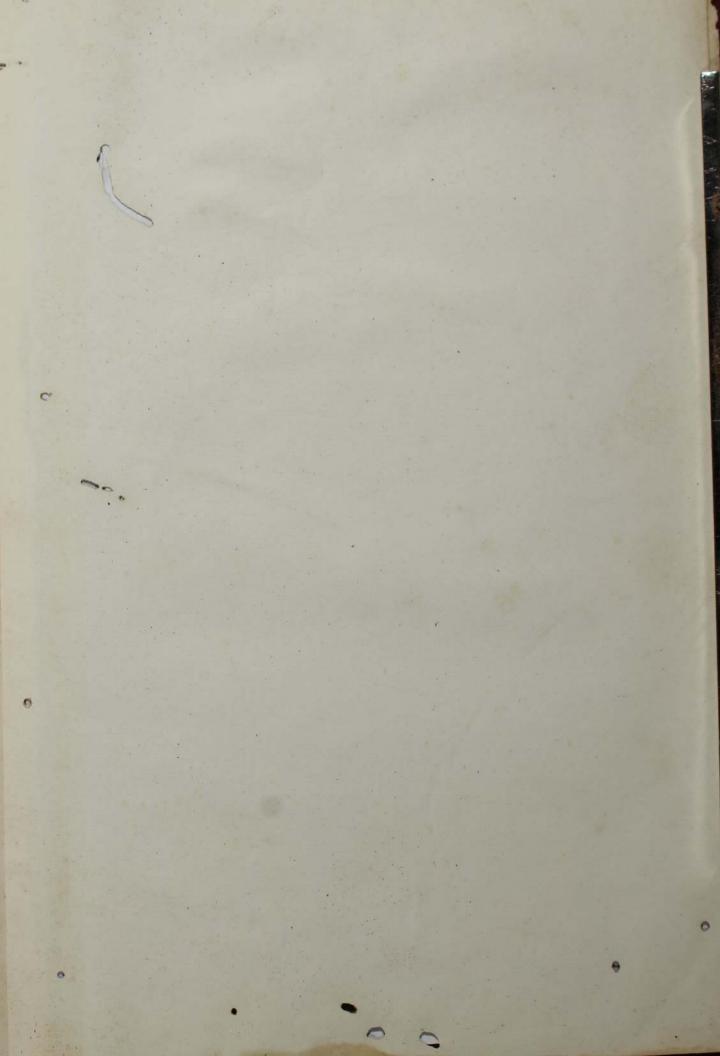
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REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

BY WM. DIGBY.

From the "Calcutta Review," January, 1877.

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1877.



# REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN THE EAST.

 Papers of Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association. City Press, Calcutta, 1876.

2—Addresses of Governors of Ceylon to Legislative Council. Vol. 1.

3.—The Ceylon Hansard. Vols. I, to VI.

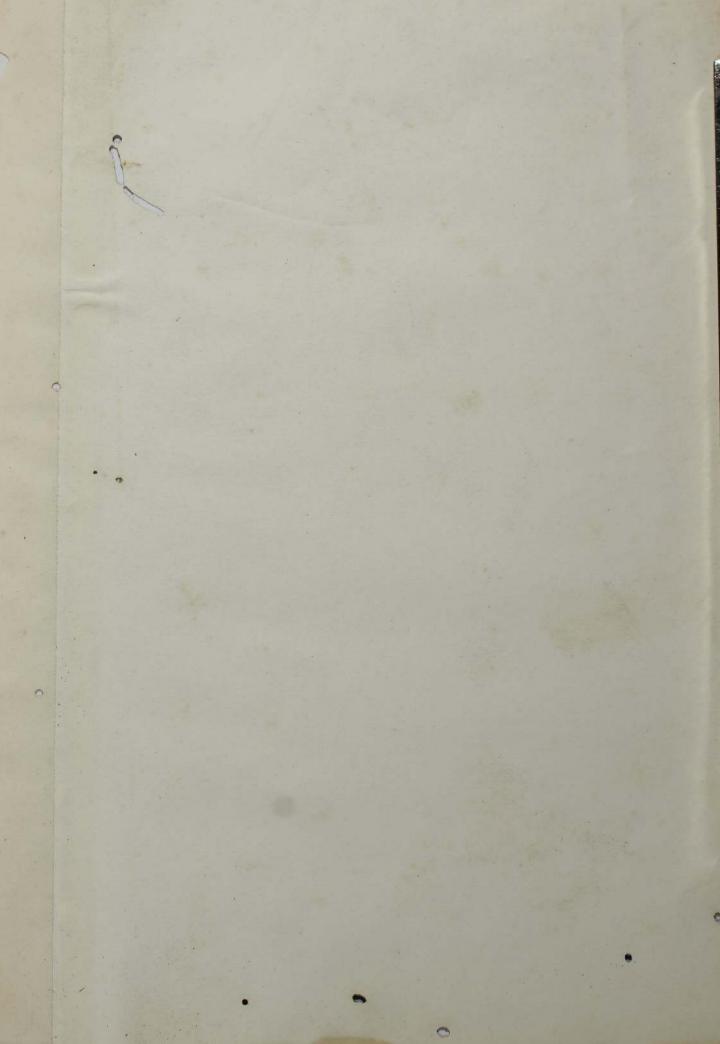
4.—The Ceylon Ordinances: Authorized Edition.

5.—The Ceylon Blue Book for 1875.

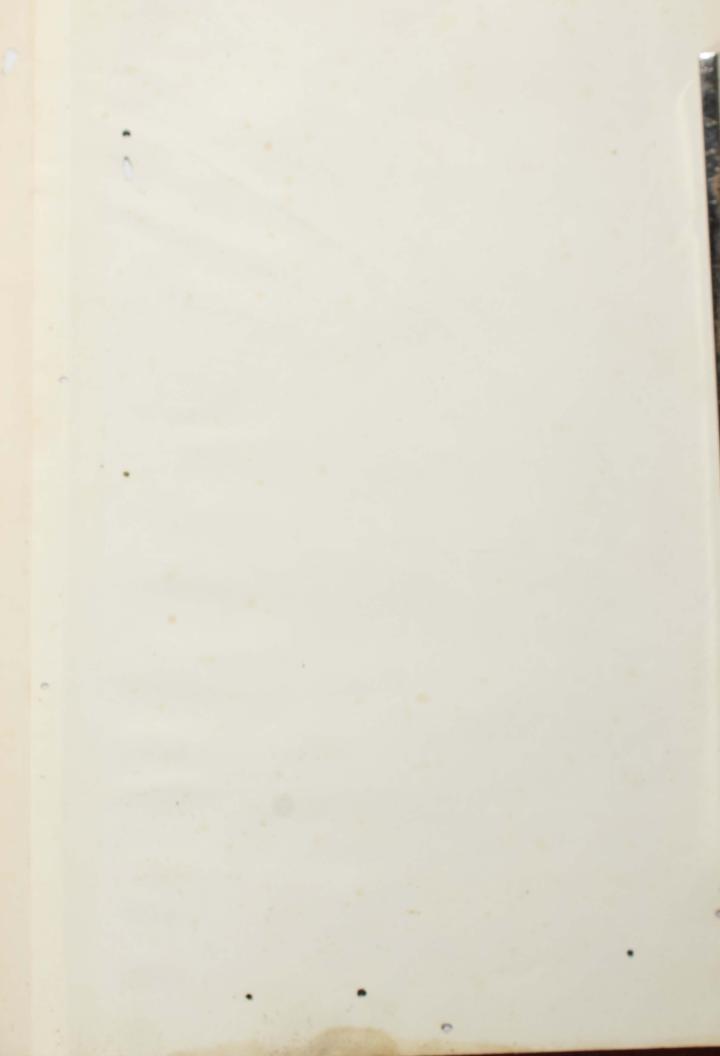
6.—The Ceylon Directory and Hand-book for 1876.

TOVEN'TS have proved that it is not very difficult in these days of rapid locomotion, when all parts of a widely-extended Empire are bound together by the iron bonds of railway lines, and when towns are within speaking distance of each other by the telegraphic wire, to move a whole community. The promptitude with which, on heat of tom tom, the members of a village community assemble under the largest and shadiest tree in the hamlet, has been almost equalled by the efforts made to arouse to concerted action the Eurasian in Simla with his brother in Madras, and both, with a central Association in Calcutta. When, in a previous article in this Review,\* it was remarked of the Burghers of Ceylon, "Looked at in various aspects the history of this "people may not be altogether without service to India in regard " to the treatment of her poor whites," it was not contemplated that, almost immediately after, the Eurasians of India would make a united effort to secure for themselves a more important position and greater influence than they at present possess. The effort that has been made, which a friendly critic has appropriately described as "not merely an association of laborers or tradesmen, but an association of a population," is one particularly deserving of fullest sympathy and heartiest support from all sections of Indian peoples,—from Hindus and the Mussulmans even more n from British settlers. In the remarks to be made in this paper, it will be shown that, in regard to a similar class in an island practically one with India, a generous and fair treatment of the offspring of mixed races has resulted in bringing much that is good and progressive in English social and political life close to the people, until the country has come to approximate more to the English standard of national existence than to the Indian. About sixty years ago the Burghers of Ceylon occupied a

<sup>. &</sup>quot; The Eurasians of Ceylon," Calcutta Review, July 1876, page 174.



position similar to that of the Eurasians of India at the present moment. That was then done for the former which the Eurasians are now doing for themselves, though there were opportunities for the Burghers the like of which it would be hard to find in India at the present time. As soon as British rule became consolidated in Ceylon, it was found that in the fairly-educated European descendants, the authorities had to their hand material which could be manipulated for the thousand and one inferior offices rendered necessary by the complex systems of modern Government. The Ceylonese proper were altogether unacquainted with the English tongue, and, generally, were not apt for the performance of the duties required; and, therefore, opportunity was given to the Burghers. It was, however, mainly to the exertions and influence of one man that the Burghers were able to attain a position of importance in the community. And it is only as one man (Eurasian for choice—failing him an Englishman)—becomes thoroughly possessed as with an apostle's ardour, with the desire to knit together and uplift the Eurasian community, that real and lasting good will result from the present movement. The hour has struck: will the man appear? In Ceylon, in the early years of the century, Sir Alexander Johnston, first King's Advocate fiscal, and subsequently Chief Justice and President of Council, constituted himself the champion of the Burghers, and wrought great things on their behalf. The policy for which he laboured with great devotion finds expression in remarks he penned in regard to a petition from certain East Indians to Parliament in 1830, expressions which acquire an added force at this time from the present action of the Eurasians. Writing to Mr. John W. Ricketts of Calcutta (himself an East Indian), Sir Alexander Johnston wrote :- "I have always been of opinion that, in policy, " His Majesty's Government ought to show marked respect to all " persons, who are either descended from Europeans, or who bear "any resemblance in features, manners, dress, religion, language. "and education to Europeans, and thereby constantly associate "in the minds of the natives of the country an idea of respect "and superiority with that of a European, and with that of every-"thing which is characteristic of, or connected with, a European." . . . . . . . In furtherance of these views he described what, in his opinion, was the course the Government of Ceylon should follow in regard to the Burghers, remarking-"In justice it ought "to do everything in its power to place the native Burghers of that "island in a situation which may enable them to acquire the "respect and esteem of their countrymen, and which may make "it their interest and their wish, as well as their duty to support "the authority and promote the views of the British nation. It ought to encourage them to improve their moral character, and



"to cultivate their understanding, by affording them the same "prospects that Europeans enjoy, of attaining, if they desire them, "situations of the highest honour and of the greatest emolument "in all the different departments of the State." The policy thus formulated was never adopted in so many words by the authorities of Ceylon, but its spirit was, to a great extent, made the rule of guidance, and its effects are to be seen on every hand at the present time; they found fullest development in the knighting of the late Queen's Advocate, Richard Morgan, and placed him on the Bench as Chief Justice. Yet, further, is it meet at this juncture to quote Sir Alexander Johnston's protest against treating with contumely and scorn this section of the community, a class whose interests he warmly espoused. "His Majesty's Government," he said, "ought not to consider the exclusion by law, for " no fault of their own, but merely on account of their complexion, "of so valuable a class of loyal subjects, as systematically de-"grading them in the eyes of their countrymen, and as subjecting "them on every occasion, in private and in public, amongst Euro-"peans and natives, however respectable, however well-educated, "and however deserving they may be, to the most unmerited "contumely and the most painful mortifications." He then went on to allude to the introduction of tuition in arts and sciences, and moral and political institutions, urging especially the establishment of vernacular journals (this was in 1810) to be given over to the people as soon as they had learned how to use this machinery for the expression of public opinion.\* His estimate of the good that would result from a generous policy was thus stated :-

That it [the Government] ought to consider the native Burghers in the Island of Ceylon as valuable auxiliaries in carrying into effect all such measures and in bringing about all such changes, as are calculated to improve the moral and political character of the natives of that island.

And, finally, that it must, so far from diminishing its popularity and endangering its authority, increase the former and affirm the latter by exalting the character and conciliating the affections of all the native Burghers who are settled in different parts of the island; who, from the circumstances of their birth are thoroughly acquainted with the language, habits manof their birth, are thoroughly acquainted with the language, habits, manners, usages and prejudices of the natives; and who, from the circumstances of their descent, their features, their names, their religion, their laws, their education, and their language, must, if wisely protected, feel themselves bound by every tie of affection and interest to adhere at all times to the British Government, and to consider their importance, if not their existence in society, as depending upon the continuance and strength of the British anthority in India.

events as now appear in the local jour-nals. This practice was continued till 1833, when newspapers proper were established. The Government of Ceylon stands alone among supreme authorities in this respect.

<sup>\*</sup> Undoubtedly the suggestion was obtained from the fact that the Government of Ceylon were newspaper proprietors, inasmuch as a portion of the weekly Government Gazette was devoted to the publication of such

Entertaining these opinions, I felt it to be my duty, as soon as I became Chief Justice and President of His Majesty's Council in Ceylon, to advise His Majesty's Government to place every descendant of a European in that island, whatever his complexion might be, precisely upon the same footing as a European; to look upon him as having the same rights and privileges, as subject to the same criminal and civil laws, and as eligible to the same appointments in every department of Government. Upon my recommendation native Burghers were appointed to the offices of registrar, keeper of the records, advocates, proctors, notaries of the Supreme Court, members of the landraads, secretaries of the provincial courts, sitting Magistrates, justices of the peace, and superintendents of the police, to the office of proctors for paupers, a situation of great responsibility, created by Government at my suggestion, for the specific purpose of protecting the rights of paupers and slaves, to that of deputy advocate fiscal, and, under certain circumstances, even to that of acting advocate fiscal, and discharging duties in that Court of great trust and importance to the safety of the Government and the tranquility of the country.

in that Court of great trust and importance to the safety of the Government and the tranquillity of the country.

In consequence of the adoption by Government of this line of policy, the native Europers in the island of Ceylon acquired a high value for character, and a powerful motive for improving their understanding, for cultivating every branch of knowledge, for making themselves acquainted with the arts, the sciences and manufactures, and the agriculture of Europe; they enjoyed a further opportunity of displaying their talents and extending their influence amongst their countrymen, and they felt a pride in exerting that influence in favour of the British Government, and in promoting, amongst the natives of the island, all such measures as were calculated to improve the state of the country and to ameliorate the condicalculated to improve the state of the country and to ameliorate the condi-

tion of the people.

Not only politically, but socially also, was this high encomium peculiarly appropriate, and the leaven has worked so thoroughly, and citizen and national life have developed so much, that, whilst the projectors of the Eurasian Association in India are driven to pen the following paragraph-

I wish, however, to press upon you the fact that the Association disclaims —in the fullest and widest sense of the term—all intention to intermeddle with anything of a political character, or criticise the actions of Government in any way whatsoever. The difficulties against which we have already to contend are sufficiently numerous and grave, and it would therefore be the crassest folly to create others, which can scarcely fail to alienate those in authority, who seem disposed to aid us;

the Burgher of Ceylon—a beneficent Frankenstein—is compelled, by the force of the influence he has been a powerful factor in creating,-to mix largely in politics, and does so with credit to himself

and with advantage to the State.

It was shown in this Review in July last that the Euro-Asians of Ceylon had risen high in every profession and walk in life in which they were engaged, and it needs not that these facts should be again stated. Indeed, a notable step in advance may be taken, a higher plateau reached, and the consideration of the solution of a great problem in the progress of oriental nations be shown as one outcome of the free and (in many cases) generous

policy exhibited towards the Burghers. That solution is the fitness of a whole nation, hitherto under despotic rule, for the right and proper use of Representative Government. Assuredly, it is with nations as with individual men, "that which ye sow ye shall also reap," and while the pages of history are crowded with instances showing the evil results of a cruel and unjust policy, it is gratifying to find that, in contrast to these, can be placed some as fruitful and loud-voiced for good as others are for evil.

Peace hath her victories

No less renowned than war,
And this is of them.

In all the social and political results to be described and detailed hereafter, the Burgher influence must count as immeasurably greater than purely English influence. This may be estimated by any Indian reader of this Review who will gaze from the outside at his own position and the actual influence he brings to bear upon the Indians around him, and with whom he is brought into contact. Social contact being confined to matters of business or formal acts of politeness, no impress is made upon the life, changing the current of being. It is hard to say how much would be left of distinctively English characteristics, apart from those adopted by Eurasians; hard to say, because it is to be feared the amount would be infinitesimal. Even in Ceylon, where social life is half-a-century ahead of that in the most favoured and progressive of Indian presidency towns, the Burgher is far more of a brother-man in every walk of life to the indigenous Ceylonese than is the European, however much the latter may be loved; and the reason is not far to seek.

A break may, perhaps, be best made at this point to express, the sense in which the Eurasian Association is viewed by the Burghers of Ceylon. Whilst, undoubtedly, a vigorous branch would be established, and pecuniary assistance be rendered by those wellto-do in the community, it is felt that a Ceylon Association would, necessarily, have a quasi-separated position. The freer air and broader national life of the island would demand diverse modes of action. There are points of difference, as well as features in common, between the Eurasian and the Burgher; and it is right that the former should be dwelt upon as well as the latter. The idea of joining Anglo-Indians with Eurasians in the same Association is felt to be a sound one; and the warm and hearty sympathy which, apparently, has been expressed in India, finds echo in Ceylon. If a large scheme is carried out it is felt that a Bank would be necessary, but financial arrangements must be worked on the basis of a fixed deposit, safe from reverses, otherwise defective monetary arrangements may upset the best matured plans. A Family Annuity Fund should be sketched by competent Actuaries. It would be scarcely wise to 6

attempt to encourage providence and thrift by making the rates higher than Bank rates. It would be sounder to follow Bank rates. To assist enhanced rates by aid from the Association Funds would be unwise. As soon as one scheme failed the other would be affected and the provident scheme would collapse. Object 5, viz:—"To encourage habits of thrift and providence amongst the members, so that families might be saved from destitution or distress from the untimely death of any member," should, therefore be re-defined, the scheme being left to professional actuaries to draft after the manner of benefit clubs and insurance companies. A Eurasian Association Savings' Bank should surely be successful. Amongst the stipulations might be one, that deposits should not be withdrawn within a certain term, and that interest be regularly payable at the end of six or twelve months. All moneys paying interest to depositories, are of course considered to be invested in securities at fairly high interest. The nature of Indian securities and mortgages are such that surely six per cent. need not be spoken of so diffidently as it is in Circular No. 2. Certainly to the Ceylon mind there is undue caution in this respect. Again, too, the door should not be shut and barred against donations from those who are outside the Association. In proceeding from appealing cries to Government to resolute self-help, there is no necessity for the responsible parties to fly off at a tangent, and consider their independence compromised and their self-respect tarnished, by receiving donations. Such gifts from wealthy Eurasians and others, and legacies, might form the nucleus of funds which might prove of inestimable service. One thing above all others should be borne in mind, even if the Association has to walk slowly for many days, and that is, that the expenses should be kept within the monthly subscription income. The "Mutual Aid" idea should only be developed from this source. The foundation fund should be jealously guarded, and allowed to increase until it formed a capital sum calculated to be of service. One more detail may be noticed. Sir Richard Temple's proposition to place one hundred lads in the Doveton College is sound and practical. The idea is reasonable and full of promise, and whilst more elaborate and ambitious schemes are being formulated, this might be carried out; special care, however, being taken that the Association does not sink into a mere society for the due carrying out of this proposal. Ceylon experience most clearly shows that Eurasians admitted to equal education with Mussulmans and Hindus will always exhibit an equal percentage of cultured ability; one thing being borne in mind,-and there is nothing which the writer of this article would more strongly impress upon his Eurasian friends than this,—the adoption of Mussulman and Hindu principles on one point at least: total abstinence from intoxicating liquors. The neglect of this is the only great obstacle in the way of the Burghers of Ceylon being more influential than they now are. It would be no unworthy infringement of the "liberty of the subject" if each of the hundred Doveton College lads were induced to take the Temperance pledge,—from conviction if possible,—and there are abstainers in sufficient force in Calcutta to put the youthful mind in a right channel in this respect; if persuation is not successful the "pledge" should be made a sine qua non. Total Abstinence in the East, as in the West, is the student's friend and the poor clerk's savings' bank, besides being an insurance against indulgence in mature years. One secret of the competitive success of Mussulman and Hindu students and of Moorish and Chetty traders (in Ceylon), is the coolness and readiness of resource they can always depend upon, derived from this source.

The Eurasian Association scheme is full of promise for good and for usefulness of an eminent kind. What service it will render to Indian social life must be left for the historian of the future to record; if it should serve in any measure to make of the Eurasians what has been made of their kindred in "India's utmost isle," there are none who should look with greater favour upon the movement than Indians of all races, with whom the Eurasians are so nearly connected by ties of blood, and with whom they have so much in common. Political efforts are expressly discarded by the promoters of the Association, and rightly so: nevertheless there is that in the course of events, and in connection with this link between the brother Aryans of the West and of the East, that men like the Editor of the Hindu Patriot, and Babu Anandamohan Bose, Secretary of the Science Association, to take two representative Hindus, should find much in the Association proposals to ensure their warmest sympathy and support.

At page 201 of this Review for July 1876, it was said :-

The reference to the 'paternal' rule of Ceylon opens up a question far too large to be dealt with at the close of a paper like the present, but in regard to the future of the Burghers [as of other sections of the community] it is of vital and pressing interest. The question is—whether or not the time has come when a representative government should be established, and the people entrusted with the franchise? The writer thinks it has. Reasons in favour of this being conferred might be multiplied. . . . . . . . In an early number of this Review we hope to be able to show the fitness of the natives for the franchise, and the good its conferment upon them would do; the advancement of the whole island which would certainly follow."

We now take up this pledge.

AN OPEN LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL: THIRTY-THREE YEARS' WORK.
"There is no more important Institution in the Island than this

a native nobleman of Kandy, and a Member of Council. It was remarkable for its appropriate expression, its sound sense, and the deliberation and ease that marked the utterance of his feelings. There was no repetition or useless phraseology or flattery, and it was admitted by all who heard him to be the soundest and neatest speech of the night. That was in Ceylon. It is not, of course, always the best man who can make the best speech; but if what I have read could be said of a native of Ceylon, it could be said of thousands in India."—Speeches of John Bright, vol. i., p., 52.

<sup>\*</sup> Doubtless this allusion is to the following passage from one of the Right Hon'ble John Bright's speeches on India, delivered in the House of Commons on June 24th, 1858. Alluding to Presidency Councils, the Hon'ble Member said:—"I should propose to do that which has been done with great advantage in Ceylon. I have received a letter from an officer who has been in the service of the East India Company, and who has told me of a fact which has gratified me much. He says:—'At a public dinner at Colombo in 1835, to the Governor, Sir Wilmot Horton, at which I was present, the best speech of the evening was made by

has a history of its own which is worth telling: a description of the work it has done will show that it has existed to good purpose, and that the time has now come when it should give place to a House more in accordance with the times, and, what is of greater importance, with the improved position of the people and their increased fitness for a measure of self-rule. Ceylon is a Crown Colony, and a Crown Colony is described in an authorised publication, "The Colonial Office List," as a colony "in which the "Crown has the entire control of legislation, while the administration is carried on by public officers under the control of the Home "Government."

When, in 1833, Ceylon was entrusted with a deliberative council to assist the Governor in legislation, the island bore but little resemblance to the actively commercial and busily intellectual country it now is. The only article of export of commercial importance was cinnamon. This was a monopoly in the hands of Government, and upon good prices being obtained for it depended whether there would be a deficit or surplus when the year's accounts were made up: the authorities were, for the nonce, dry goods traders, watching every fluctuation in the market with feverish eagerness. Little connection was had with the interior, which was full of mountains covered with dense forests; roads there were practically none, save the greatartery formed by Sir Edward Barnes, the aorta of island communication. The plains outside the mountain zone were inhabited by an ignorant population of agriculturists, ignorant from their isolation; while all over the land, the Buddhist's priests were sunk in sloth, and altogether unmindful of conferring "merit" upon the people by calling them together to hear "bana." The finances of the island were burdened with a heavy military charge, and deficits were chronic, the island being only saved from almost Turkish bankruptcy by a series of successful pearl Taking the year 1834 as the first in which a record of fisheries. schools appears in the Blue Book, by reference to a few statistical statements an idea of the (then) position of the colony may be obtained. With a revenue of £377,952 there was a military force, of 6,227 men. In 1875, the revenue was £1,354,123, and the fighting force just overtopped one thousand. In 1834, thanks to the earnest efforts of the missionaries, there were 1,105 schools (800 were private schools, receiving no Government aid) with a 13,891 scholars. Forty years later,—and herein is, perhaps, the greatest lapse of duty on the part of the English rulers of the Island,—there are (1874 returns) only 1,458 schools with 66.385 scholars, while from 1863 to 1871 the number of schools was once as low as 716 and always less than one thousand. The annals of forty years ago were undeniably dull, and pall upon the student

of contemporary records. Further, of the Governors' speeches, in which one expects to find the largest range as well as the greatest height of the life of the period: during perusal thereof, the supposition grows upon the reader that a merchant's circular, dealing with an article of commerce, viz., cinnamon, and having a few extraneous subjects introduced to give colouring and interest, has been substituted for a vice-regal speech. The redeeming feature of the period was the great activity of European and American missionaries in the pulpit and educationally. It does not follow that they were more active, -they were not nearly so many in number, -then than now; but, in those days, so few figures passed across the stage, and the scene was so seldom changed, that the missionaries figured more largely in history than they do now, when the boards are crowded and the stage is diversified with a multitude of groups representing many interests. Scarcely anything touching the Ceylonese appears until Mr. Stewart Mackenzie was Governor: the intense sympathies of a man of more than ordinary culture, a ruler in advance of his times, led him to hew at what was left of the structure of domestic slavery, and to hasten its early fall. In 1829, so unsatisfactory was the state of affairs in Ceylon that a commission, consisting of Lieutenant-Colonel Colebrooke and Mr. C. H. Cameron, was appointed by the home authorities. The immediate occasion of the appointment of this commission would seem to have been the financially disastrous position of the colony, already alluded to. In 1827 the revenue was £264,375 and the expenditure £411,648, while in the previous year the deficit was £115,879, nearly half the income, which would be much as if Sir John Strachey were to state in March or April next that whilst the revenue for the year was £50,000,000, expenditure had run up to nearly £90,000,000! Full and exhaustive reports were made by the commissioners, and the outcome of their enquiry was the establishment of an improved system of judicature. Amongst other things recommended, was the establishment of a Legislative Council, and a despatch was sent to Sir Robert Wilmot Horton, the Governor, the fourth paragraph of which ran as follows: " . . . . . . Now we do hereby signify and declare our pleasure to be; that the said Legislative Council of our Island of Ceylon, shall always consist of fifteen persons [exclusive of the Governor], of whom nine shall be at all times persons holding offices within the said Island at our pleasure, and the remaining shall at all times be persons not holding such offices." The constitution of this assembly was confessedly imperfect. At that time even, prior to the passing of the first English Reform Bill, it was felt that such a council, not elective in any sense, and representative only through nomination, could not last long. Lieutenant-Colonel Colebrooke said it was " imperfect," but very properly remarked that it would " constitute an essen-

tial part of any colonial legislature for which the island may be pre-c pared at a future period." His fellow Commissioner, in words to be subsequently quoted, was even more emphatic in looking upon the proposed council as merely tentative, and introductory only to a representative assembly worthy of the name. The time for that assembly to be called into being has now come; but before attempting to show this from present data, it may be interesting to giance briefly at the work done by this, the first "open" Legislative. Council in the East, during the forty years in which it has held its sessions.

In the first days of the new council, dissatisfaction arose; the Governor, Sir Robert Wilmot Horton, not filling up the seats of unofficials till the third session, whilst a memorial from aggrieved British merchants regarding this action was treated with scant justice. This treatment from such a man was the more surprising as Sir Robert Horton had been a member of a Liberal administration in England, had been a Poor Law Commissioner (his book on Pauperism is useful to the Poor Law Reformer of the present day), and was altogether a man of whom quite the contrary of that which marked his career in Ceylon, would naturally be predicted. The boon of assisting in legislature was given so grudgingly that all grace was taken from the gift, while it was shown in a memorial to the Secretary of State, that had the unofficial seats been filled up, as the memorialists contended they ought to have been, two ordinances which were passed in the first session, which bore hardly upon the people, would have been shorn of the injustice which marked them. Leave to introduce bills was also asked for, but refused-to be granted, however, nearly a score of years later. While there was much in the infant institution to excite ridicule, in some things it commanded admiration. For instance, from the first, the meetings were open to the public, the reason for this being publicly stated, viz., that the inhabitants of the island and people in England might know what was going on. The House of Commons, in spite of Mr A. M Sullivan's efforts to the contrary in 1875, has not yet reached this honestly-avowed stage. Speech-making was early a characteristic of Ceylon M. L. C.'s, and Indian "exchanges," in days when topics were few for Anglo-Indian journalists to descant upon, would complain that there was nothing in the Ceylon papers save reports of Council proceedings.

The benefits of free trade were early recognised—and that is nearly all, for fiscal arrangements which necessitate the existence of farmers of taxes on locally-grown rice, the exactions and impositions of whom are described in strong language, still flourish in full force, while imported food bears a burden which falls heavily on the poorer classes of the community. An attempt to deal with food taxes in 1839, led to the abolition of the fish tax, a tithe, and

the fishermen, mainly Romanists, at once voluntarily set apart this

sum for religious purposes,

What cannot fail to strike the reader of the "Governors' speeches" -next to the very ordinary nature of their contents, until Mr. Stewart Mackenzie introduced a practice which once marked the chief orators of the House of Commons, viz., quoting from the ancient classics, and reciting lengthy Latin sentences,—is the erratic dates at which the council met. Cause for surprise, however, is taken away, when it is observed that the colony was then so much of a military post, and little else, that the principal measure of one session was an ordinance providing bullock carts as a means of transport for troops. A sort of controlling power over the public purse was given in 1839, but it was not until ten years later that Earl Grey announced, in a despatch, the truism that none were so well able to properly spend a nation's money as the legislators of that nation; yet, in little more than a decade of years later, the unofficial members resigned in a body, because the vote for military expenditure was controlled in London instead of at Colombo. Jealousy in this respect is very keenly felt; and the session of 1875-76 was marked by a strong expression of public opinion, stormy personal debates and divisions, because the Secretary of State added £400 a year to the pension of the retiring Chief Justice, Sir Edward Creasy, without consulting the colony. An ordinance to cover this payment had to be withdrawn, pending the publication of despatches for which permission had to be sought. Under pressure through the council and otherwise, avowed Government connection with paganism—(the Kandian Convention of 1815 necessitates some connection still)-in Ceylon came to an end.

Privilege was precious to the budding legislators of Ceylon as it is to, say, the "superior person" of St. Stephen's, Westminster; and when, in 1840, certain members wished to protest against the passing of an ordinance, when all the forms of the House had been complied with, Governor Stewart Mackenzie said :- " I hold that, "in point of fact, in this as in every other deliberative, which is also "a legislative, assembly (except, perhaps, the House of Lords in "Great Britain), the only legitimate protest of any member is his " vote against the measure under discussion, which, as the names "and votes are regularly taken down, forms his recorded protest." Even if it were necessary, the facilities in Ceylon do not permit the writer of this to consult authorities on the moot point, which is now conceded to unofficial members of the council; but two facts may be mentioned which go to bear out the correctness of the opinion expressed by the Colonial Governor, viz.,-(a) Professor Thorold Roger's "Protests of the Lords," recently published, and (b) Mr. Plimsoll's protest against the abandenment of the Merchant's Shipping Bill in the House of Commons in 1875, which protest

was refused acceptance by Mr. Speaker Brand, and only found its way to the public through copies being given to the reporters to

the newspapers.

Railway formation; Military Expenditure — (the conduct of Home authorities in this respect was very ungracious); Tank Restoration; Land Registration; creation of Municipalities, large (in cities and big towns), lesser (in miner towns), and least (village councils); have been the other topics which have most exercised the minds of members of the Island Legislature. Viewed in whatever light one may choose, the railway has been most potent in its influence on the land, a type of the material works which help mental and moral progress in the present time. The Ceylon Railway has greatly opened up the country to Europeans and Ceylonese; it has brought hitherto partially-antagonistic races together; and has done much to advance the colony almost to the level of more progressive, only because entirely Anglo-Saxon, communities, till there are now few countries to which it need yield the pas. The extension of railways now in progress and contemplated will add so much to what has been already attained, that the moderate measure of reform sketched further on in this paper, as needed to meet the wants of the present time, will scarcely suffice to satisfy what will be demanded with energy and persistence. Why, for once in a way, should not political wants be met as they arise, and the injustice which leads to great agitation be avoided? In Ceylon the Ceylonese travellers contribute the large railway passenger totals, which it is the pride, annually, of the Traffic Manager to record: it is the produce of the estates owned and worked by Europeans which contributes its handsome quota to the gratifying result of a large surplus every year.

Consequent upon the strides made in the past few years, equalling what had taken two decades or a generation previously to achieve, a rapid glance at the legislation of the past six years, as recorded in the local Hansard volumes may not be

inappropriate.

(a) Finance.

The custody of the purse, the holding of the purse-strings, is altogether in the hands of Government. Honourable members have the right of closely scrutinizing every item, a right they exercise with much persistency, and often with great good to the public. The theory is that no money shall be spent until the sanction of the legislature has been obtained; but this is not always adhered to, and supplementary votes, to cover expenditure already incurred, are not unknown. The revenue is, all things considered, large. If a similar amount were raised in India, proportionate to the population, hundreds of millions sterling would remain for the disposal of the Finance Minister. In addition

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to Rs. 15,000,000 now raised as general revenue, there are Municipal taxes and various local cesses which, in a measure, would correspond with the local expenditure of presidencies and native States. However, it is useless to carry on the comparison between the money-chests of little Ceylon and huge India. Upon some classes of the community, and they among the poorest, taxation falls heavily; in the case of a cooly with a wife and one child living in Colombo, one-twelfth of his year's wages are absorbed in taxation. This is so unjust, and is capable of such facile adjustment, that the anomaly cannot exist long after full light is thrown upon it. Indian publicists, acquainted with the outery, almost rebellion, which followed in India on the imposition of a direct money tax (on incomes), on visiting Ceylon, generally express almost incredulous surprise on being told that an ordinary cooly, in common with all other able-bodied males save immigrant coolies, annually pays in hard cash the equivalent of six days' labour, for the up-keep of the roads. The author of the measure enacting this was Sir Philip Wodehouse, now Governor of Bombay, and it came into operation in 1849. A great injustice involved is, that the rate is not graduated; the wealthy merchant or high-placed civilian paying exactly the same as his cooly or horse-keeper; no more, no less. During the past few years surpluses of large amounts have over-flowed the treasury, and most has been spent in "public works of acknow-"ledged utility," as the legislative formula runs. The following table shows the main sources of revenue and expenditure -

Estimate of the Revenue and Expenditure of the Colony of Ceylon, for the year 1876.

PROPERTY AND DESCRIPTION OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PARTY OF	Re Cla						9,448,608 15	13,448,609 15	1,451,917 73, 58,416 50 84,986 53	\$8 068	14,994,320 76
HATTER BOTH SOUTH SECURITIES	# # # # # # # # # # # # # # # # # # #			9 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	1,300,000 0	0 999'819					Total Rs.
AND DESCRIPTION OF THE PERSON	Rs. Crss.	1,148,371,75 628,53a, 0 87,200 41,750, 0		19,705 0 25,821 25							
	Charges sonctioned by Ordinances Not.	Civil		Colonial Store	Sanctioned by Ordinance No. 12 of 1867. Contribution towards Milliary Expenditure	Sanctioned by Ordinances Nos. 9 of 1869 and 6 of 1870. Railway Interest and Sinking Fund	Charges voted by the Legislative Council in Appropriation Ordinance for 1876		Works charged on Balances Do. Surplus Funds Do. Loan Board Funds		
ACCORDING TO SECURITY STATE OF THE PROPERTY OF	REVENUE.  Rs. Cts.	astems 2,800,000 0 ort and Harbour Dues 100,000 0 ort and Sales 750,000 0	tevenue 1,000,000 i xclusive of Land 400,000	45,000	orfeitures, and Rees of Court	penses in- 300,000 283,000	8,000	ilway Receipts 2,750.000 0	13,449,000 0	Draft from Balaness 1,451,917 73 Do. Surplus Funds 58,416 50 Do. Loan Board Funds 84,986 53	Total Rs. 14,994,320 76

Ary Con Programmer Residence Residen

Council Chamber, Colombo, 15th December 1875.

The public debt is very small, and is incurred solely for reproductive works, such as railways and a break-water; in each sinking funds are provided. So prosperous has the island been, that one railway, the extension to Gampola, was constructed out of current revenue, and the debt on a continuation of this line will be redeemed in a very few years, when a hundred miles of one of the best paying railways in the world will be in the hands of Government, perfectly free of liability. During the earlier days of the council's existence, the proposal was made to raise loans for educational schemes, the loans to be liquidated by a sinking fund added to interest. The proposal, however, was firmly resisted by the (then) Governor, to the lasting detriment of the colony. Save from food taxes, and that on salt, the system on which the revenue is raised is sound: when the Home authorities cease to control the spending of it, there will be cause for congratulation.

#### (b) Legislation for Ceylonese Interests.

Considering that, according to theory, the affairs of Ceylon are administered by the British for the Ceylonese, one cannot repress an exclamation of surprise at the few measures in the statute book which directly concern the Sinhalese, Tamils, Moormen, and Malays. The reason of this, however, is not far to seek. Slavery disappeared soon after the British took possession of the island. Education was fostered, perfect personal liberty secured to all, without distinction of religion, race, or colour, and an improved system of judicature provided an honest judge: each of these measures was secured with little or no legislation, the Charter having established the superior courts at the time the council was called into existence, while slavery was finally abolished by an ordinance of two short clauses, and education became a matter of administration affected by annual votes in the Supply Bill. Much, indeed, has been done, and, in some respects, the position of the people is better than it was under the native monarchs: possibly, greater haste would have led to less solidity, but this is doubtful. Certain foundations have been laid; the time has now come for a superstructure to be erected upon them, and the people introduced to a wider sense of freedom and larger liberty, by which they may exercise the right of free citizens to control themselves rather than to be controlled by others. The very acts which have been passed by the old council, now straining from enlarged life to burst its bounds, have made this necessary. Give freedom to a people who have soundness at bottom, remove disabilities from their path, and not only does labour on their behalf cease, but they go on to do similar work for others. Seed has been sown and the time for the harvesting of results has come.

In the early days of the council the zeal for education was great; the fruit is seen in the fairly well-educated generation of men who are now fit, with European assistance, to legislate for themselves. The conflicting religious interests of the island, in years gone by, rendered much progress in education extremely difficult; long and stormy were the fights on the subject, until a system of grants-in-aid for purely secular results allayed the storm, and settled the "religious difficulty" which still vexes English statesmen. The energy expended in the struggle, when that struggle came to an end, was not so sedulously turned into the channels of teaching as ought to have been the case; domestic slavery was gone, and the equality of all men, first taught by the Semitic race under the influence of the teaching of Christ, became a part of the inheritance of the Ceylonese individual. The gamarala (villager) suffered much from cattle trespass and cattle stealing, and became greatly demoralized thereby. Government stepped in and checked the evil; later on giving the aggrieved party power, in village council assembled, to do this for himself. Religious bondage, slavery to the soil, which especially fettered the tenants of Temple lands, as rajakaria [enforced labour for the king | had embraced the whole population, certain favoured classes excepted, was made a thing of the past to those who were willing to commute degrading services for a specie payment. Pecuniary aid and scientific assistance were granted to restore the ruined tanks, to repair the retaining bund, to fit in sluices, and once more to cause precious rain-water to lie upon the land and nurture the beautiful green springing blade of the rice-plant. As much was done in a few years as had been completed in a generation of the rule of the old kings, whose deeds, owing to the lapse of years, seem to the strained vision, as it peers across the centuries, fabulously large; this, too, without oppression of the people. Peculiar phases of disease, resulting from bad food and impure water, were specially grappled with, and hospitals erected for the succour of the sick; whilst, in many parts of the land, medical aid, through duly-qualified doctors, was supplied. That the people have not more fully availed themselves of the advantages of European medical treatment, is due mainly to their own prejudices and apathy. When "the skies above are as brass and the land beneath as iron," which, unfortunately, too frequently happens in the East,-in Ceylon, however, thanks to its insular position, less frequently than India,-relief works are opened, and direct assistance given. It is the boast of England that, bad as are her Poor Laws, no one need die of starvation within the four seas of Britain, as sustenance at least is provided for all; yet a writer

in the Contemporary Review (September 1875) tells of many authenticated deaths from starvation in one year. So prompt are the authorities of Ceylon, so watchful the officials, and so pertinacious the unofficial members of council and the newspaper press, that no death from lack of food need take place in the island. Very different this to what happened less than a score of years ago, when it was found that several hundred persons had actually died of starvation, and nothing was known of this by the public till the official, who had charge of the district, took his papers from the pigeon-hole of his desk and compiled his annual report. The crowning work of the existing council, above the registration to titles and restriction of entails, so far as purely Ceylonese interests are concerned, was the passing, five years ago, of the Gansabhawa ordinance; by which village municipalities and village tribunals have been revived, and, so far as the administration of communal affairs is concerned, they are working with as much perfection as anything human can be expected to attain. One high in authority in Ceylon, in a good position for observing the working of these institutions, says, in a letter : "So far as I can ascertain, everything is working admirably. I once told Sir Hercules Robinson [under whose rule the Gansabhawa ordinance was passed] by letter that had he done nothing else, it ought hereafter to be inscribed on his tombstone, 'he restored Village Councils to Ceylon," Waves of conquest have rolled over India from Central Asian border-lands to the narrow spit of land where the continent dips into a great waste of waters stretching to the Southern Pole, but nowhere did conquest remove or overlay the foundation-stone of the Aryan social fabric. The empire changed, and at court, now one conqueror, now sat on the imperial throne. But the depths of the social strata, the village system of "home rule," and the inhabitants thereof, were little more disturbed than are the minute globigerina which are laying a chalk bed in the mid-Atlantic, discomposed by a terrific storm which the while is swamping a stout ship or straining the stanchions of an iron steamer. Only the British "raj," among conquerors in the East, unwittingly applied a sponge to these ancient institutions, and, to some extent, wiped them out. Fruitless and regretable task-for fuller experience shows that a durable structure of administration by the people for the people, can only be reared on ancient lines. Consequently, in India the pancháyat is being revived, and in Ceylon the gansabhawa has been made once more to serve the many wants of village daily life, and to arouse the local ambition and energy of the people which had been crushed by the despotism of the ancient kings. To repeat, British rule in Ceylon has been particularly beneficent; true policy and enlightened statesmanship would argue that the trust and confidence aroused should be taken hold of, fostered, and directed to lasting good. "You have taught me self-govern"ment, and have raised high hopes and ambition within me," may remark the educated Ceylonese, addressing his present rulers: "Now you will surely not deny me the privilege to exercise my "powers? You have made of me a man. Stand just a little aside, "(I do not mean, go away altogether), and permit me to attempt "manly things." Can the appeal be rejected? Forty and four years already have the people served an apprenticeship: shall they not now enter the Promised Land of Representative Government, for which they have longed, and to rightly appreciate which, all their political training has been directed?

(c) European Interests.

The fact that Ceylon, upon the partial ruin of the West India colonies when slave emancipation took place, rose into importance as a scene of European labour, which might at first sight seem to he a means of keeping back the Ceylonese from self-rule and self-control, has had an exactly contrary effect. Though it may seem as if the legislation of Ceylon during the past forty years has been, in the majority of cases, apparently for European interests, native interests have been pari passu served. This is true of nearly all the distinctively European ordinances, though it must be confessed the good which has resulted to the people was not in the original programme, and has merely been an illustration of the truth, that more ends are involved in particular acts than are dreamed of by the promoters. Ordinances have been passed in European interests to aid immigration, provide railway extension, medical aid for coolies, the formation of roads by grants-in-aid from the general revenue. Two ordinances may be specified as specially passed to please the coffee planters, viz., (1) ordinances to exempt manures from tolls, and (2) a bill providing special legislation against coffee stealing. The introduction of the last-named measure caused great commotion, as the well-known maxim of the English common law, "Assume every man innocent until he be proved guilty," was altered to making every native who was found on a coffee estate-(estates are un-fenced and are "path-ed" in every direction) explain for what purpose he was there; if necessity arose, making possessors of picked coffee prove that it was honestly obtained, and prohibiting the possession of green (unripe) coffee under a penalty. Being "special legislation," it was stoutly resisted on the unofficial side of the House, and a long debate ensued. The bill was nevertheless read a second time, but in committee repeated divisions took place. There was much in favour of this measure being passed; it was drawn upon the recommendation of Sir Edward Creasy, Chief Justice, who had found that high prices for coffee had fostered crime, and that the heaviest sentences imposed under the existing law against theft, was inadequate to check the evil.

Two years' working of the ordinance has justified its introduction. District judges and police magistrates are not now much troubled with cases of coffee stealing, though prices have reached, and continue to maintain, an almost unexampled height. is often asked for in Indian Presidency towns, in the interests of European employers, viz., registration of servants, has been introduced into Ceylon with the best results. The measure was denounced, at its inception, as inquisitorial, but a year's working led to the weeding of bad servants out of the ranks of "helps; now it is as popular with employés as with employers, and its operations are to be extended.

Even with its system of nominated representatives, the council has been of great service in educating the people in the advantages of deliberative assemblies; and it may now be considered what kind of institution is required to meet the necessities of the case were the present Chamber, its work done, removed from the place it has so long occupied. It was created by a despatch from the Colonial Office; it may be removed by equally facile means. Outside agitation for reform may, and will, be carried on. Nothing can be done inside the Chamber, as certain instructions to the Governor forbid the question of the constitution of the assembly being broached at any of the meetings by any of the members, a most unfair and arbitrary rule.

#### THE PEOPLE AS THEY ARE AND THE CHAMBER THAT IS NEEDED.

"The peculiar circumstances of Ceylon, both physical and moral, seem to point it out to the British Government as the fittest spot, in our Eastern dominions, in which to plant the germ of European civilization, whence we may not unreasonably hope that it will hereafter spread over the whole of those vast territories. - Report on Judicial Establishments and Procedure in Ceylon, By C. H. Cameron, 1830-31.

#### POLITICAL FRANCHISE,

#### Nil.

The two immediately foregoing lines appear in the centre of a page of the annual Blue Book, and, unlike other title-pages in the volume, has no section of details following. There being no political franchise, the question is prompted, in spite of what has already been written, "Is the inhabitant of Ceylon worthy of the franchise, and capable of rightly exercising such a trust?" The late Rev. Spence Hardy, a missionary of long standing in Ceylon, has described its climate by the experience of two individuals, the one reciting all the disadvantages and drawbacks of an oriental clime, the other summarising the many undoubted benefits. If a stranger were not informed that the descriptions referred to one and the same place, he would never of himself infer that they did so. Similarly, two Englishmen resident in Ceylon may be taken, and if questioned with reference to the people, may give diverse answers. One will assuredly say that they are indolent, untrustworthy, unveracious, pretending to be attached to the British, whilst all the time they bitterly hate them, and so on, until there is not an offence against the decalogue, or sin against society, which they are not held to be guilty of. Another Englishman, one who has mixed much with the people, will remark that undoubtedly the people have some bad qualities, -in short, are human, -that some of them have not the regard and love for truth which Englishmen are reputed to possess, but that they should not be unreasonably blamed on this account, as their antecedents have not been such as to cause them to be devoted to veracity. Subject races, the world over, slaves and others habitually oppressed, have never been notorious for truthfulness. That goes along with freedom. Further, he will say that the Burghers have many intellectual and kindred gifts, particularly those of a kindly nature; that the Tamils are honest in business, energetic and pushing; the Moorman and Malay very good behind the counter, on the bungalow verandah with a pedlar's pack, or as masons; whilst the Sinhalese, given fair opportunities, are not one whit behind any of their co-temporaries of other races in the island: whilst it is as true of the Sinhalese and Tamils as it is of the Burghers, that, with moderate facilities, they exhibit intellectual gifts and acquirements which make them the equals, in this respect at least, of Englishmen resident in the colony. It should never be lost sight of in dealing with Eastern races, those in Ceylon in particular, that the manner in which they were ruled in the past was such as to stifle all energy, all personal effort, and to make them mere puppets in the hands of a dissolute monarch surrounded generally, with courtiers who fooled their master's whims to the top of their bent. All things considered, the inhabitants of Cevlon, those of Dravidian or Malayan race as well as those of Aryan extraction, have developed a faculty for self-government, and have progressed as rapidly as any race of people could do. with the consequence, that they are now fitted to occupy a higher position in the scale of nations than that they have hitherto filled. Perhaps, of the half-dozen nationalities represented in the population of Ceylon, the true "sons of the soil," the Sinhalese, are least thought of by Europeans as possessing abilities which should entitle them to a position of equality with the alien rulers; yet, known as individuals, they are learned and industrious, and as communities not without a deal of energy. This latter characteristic has been especially displayed in the working of the Village Communities' ordinance; and the administration reports of the

Spite of the instances before their eyes in the present able Ceylonese members of the local legislature, Europeans in Ceylon often find it difficult to imagine that dark-skinned gentlemen, habited somewhat differently from themselves, should possess statesmanlike ability, or be able by power of speech to take a good grasp of a subject, and reason logically upon it. As though facility of utterance and a logical mind were matters of dress! It doth not appear in Hansard, nor hath it ever been recorded in contemporary history, that the county members of the House of Commons, who second the reply to the Queen's speech, are more eloquent than other members of Parliament, although they rise to address the speaker in all the bravery of a Deputy-Lieutenant's uniform, gorgeous and unique as that was before an order of court changed the tapering swallow-tails into the more decorous lappets of a surtout coat! Strong sticklers for the rights

and privileges granted to them, Ceylonese legislators would in all probability become; the pages of the Ceylon Hansard, for the past two years give ample evidence of this. Sturdy patriotism and not subservient time-serving would, it may safely be predicted, be the prevailing characteristic of the Ceylon House of

Representatives.

The material interests of the island, alike of European and Ceylonese, demand that legislative power to a greater extent than is now possessed, and a machinery which will work more smoothly and rapidly than the present, should be provided. Proof of this is seen in the backward state of many of the Provinces, exclusively Ceylonese, and one of the most important parts of the island, the Jaffna peninsula in the north, being so completely shut out from the capital and the more progressive parts of the island as to seem almost a foreign land. It is a Tamil who suggests in the newspapers the placing of a mail cart on a road just completed, which would bring Jaffna within twenty-four hours' journey of Colombo, and it is a European Government which peremptorily refuses to do this. The consequence of Jaffna being thus shut off from the rest of the island is, that a great part of her active people, the keenest in the community, go across the "silver streak," and the Madras Presidency and the Strait's Settlements have the benefit of their talents. To the European a reform is most urgently required. A remarkable illustration is afforded in the feeble and dilatory manner with which the home Colonial authorities have dealt with the subject of railway extension, while "some one should be hanged" for criminal waste of time in regard to water works for Colombo. It is impossible to fairly rule Ceylon from Downing-street, six thousand miles distant, and it is little short of a crime to attempt it. Materially this is true. Socially and politically it is equally patent. After nearly eighty years' occupation of the island only a miserably small sum is expended for educational purposes, and the system of education is not an iota ahead of what was taught in English grammar and day schools in the early part of the century. This would not have been the case had the inhabitants been given more power in council: proof that this is no mere assertion, made at random, may be found in one fact. As soon as the Gansabhawa Ordinance gave the people control over education, they established schools with great rapidity for girls as well as for boys; made attendance compulsory on pain of fine, with the further punishment that if the parent continued contumacious he should be deprived of his vote for the village council, and declared ineligible to sit as an assessor in the tribunal to try breaches of communal law. On-lookers, struck by the advanced position Ceylon has attained, compared, say with one of the Indian Presidencies, think there

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is great cause for gratulation. But when all the circumstances are taken into consideration, the feeling should be one of shame that so little has been done. Twelve years under a Representative Government, might be trusted to do as much as a generation

of the present system has accomplished.

It may be not inappropriate here to sketch the kind of assembly for which the colony is now ripe, placing as a porch to the edifice to be described, an abstract of the population of the various divisions of the land. In the distribution of seats, numbers have been kept in view to some extent, though the proportion of existing schools has been considered.

#### POPULATION OF CEYLON.

		Western Prov	ince.		
Colombo District	***				578.721
Sabaragamua District	111				92,277
Kegalla District					105,287
					776,285
		Central Prov	ince.		
Kandy District Matale District	***				258,432
		4			71,724
Nuwara Eliya District	***				36,184
Badulla District	***				129,000
					495,340
		Southern Pro	vince.		
Galle District					195,416
Matara District	***				143,379
Hambantota District	***	•••			60,960
					399,755
		Noutlan D.			
		Northern Pr	ovince.		
Jaffua District	***	•••			246,185
Manaar District	-				25,545
Mullaitivu District		***	•••		10,058
					281,788
		North-Western	Province.		
Kurunegala District					207,885
Puttalam District				***	61,199
2 decidant District	•••	***		***	269,084
					200,004
		Eastern Pro	rince.		
Batticaloa District	***		•••		93,220
Trincomalee District	***			•••	20,070
U.					113,290
U		North-Central	Province.		
Nuwera Kalawiya Dis	driet				58,972
Tamankaduwa			"		4,768
Demala Pattuwa					6,980
Domaia Lattiwa	***	***	•••	***	70,720
					,,,,,

### PROPOSED HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

- Officials, Heads of Departments, viz., the Major-General, the Colonial Secretary, Queen's Advocate, Auditor-General, Government Agents—Western, Central, Southern, Northern, Eastern, North-Western, and North-Central Provinces; Surveyor-General, and Collector of Customs.
- 1 European, elected by Chamber of Commerce (Colombo and Galle).
- 5 Colombo,—(elected by people) representing European, Burgher, Tamil, Sinhalese, Moor and Malay Communities.

1 Kandy (race indifferent).

- 1 Galle ditto.
  1 Jaffna ditto.
- 1 Dimbula, Dikoya and Maskeliya (coffee districts).

1 Uva ditto.

1 Districts north of Kandy, including Kadugannawa and Kurunegala on the west.

Districts east of Kandy, including Hantane, Nilambe, Pussellawa, Ramboda, &c.

#### Western Province.

- 3 Colombo District.
- 1 Sabaragamuwa District.
- 1 Kegalla ditto.

#### Central Province.

- 1 Kandy District.
- 1 Matale ditto.
- 1 Nuwera Eliya and Badulla.

#### Southern Province.

- 1 Galle District.
- 1 Matara ditto.

#### Northern Province.

- 1 Jaffna District, including Manaar.
- 1 Mullaitivo ditto.

#### North-Western Province.

1 Kurunegalla District.

#### Eastern Province.

- 1 Batticaloa and Trincomalee

  North-Central Province.
- 1 Anaradhapura and District.
- 4i in all, including Speaker, to be nominated from amongst the members.

The qualification for the franchise might be,—in Municipalities the contribution to municipal taxes; in coffee districts, the managing or assisting in the management of a coffee estate, such manager or assistant to be over twenty-one years of age; while in out-lying districts, possession of property of a certain value, or payment of rates levied by local improvement boards, or having a vote for village councils, should constitute qualifications for a vote for the Legislature. A clause in the Charter granting some such scheme as has been shadowed forth, might permit the House year by year to add to the voting power of a district by permitting newlyconstituted Gansabhawa voters to be added to the register. The union between town and village life and national affairs, could not fail to be in the best degree stimulating and healthily beneficial to the people. A veto upon legislation might be placed in the hands of the Governor; who, in his turn, would be responsible to the Home authorities, to whom he would send full minutes of proceedings. The present Executive Council, consisting of four chief officials, should be enlarged, having as many elected members as officials: these members should hold office for three years only, and, if Europeans, should have been in the island at least three years. The Governor should not have a seat in the assembly,\* but a Speaker should be selected. Salaries should be given to the "unofficial" members of the Executive, who should hold portfolios of agriculture, and similar matters. Elections might be triennial, and the sense of responsibility could then be brought prominently before the people, who also could not fail to benefit by the frequent communications which would take place between members and their constituents. The representative of "gay wisdom" in the House of Commons, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, addressing his constituents recently, reminded them that when members of the Lower House were dismissed from Westminster, the Queen sent them "to their duties in the country." He confessed he was puzzled to know what these duties were: in his own case, for instance, as a

Government bill, deliberately turning his chair round and sitting with his back to an hon. member during the whole time he was speaking. Further, the President became very wroth, broke the rules of the House in regard to the bill, and was only restored to his wonted composure by the Senior Member temporarily occupying the chair, whilst His Excellency went to one of the open windows and watched some military athletic sports being carried out on a maidan near!

<sup>\*</sup> It is lowering to the dignity of the Queen's Representative to take part in the often rough give-and-take style of oratory of such institutions. Mixing in petty matters the vice-regal office is not raised in esteem. Governors are but men, and they naturally take much interest in measures which have emanated from a conclave of which they form a part, viz., the Executive, which initiates all Ordinances. Amongst the traditions of the present House is one which tells of a Governor highly offended at persistent opposition to a

county magistrate, the principal duty seemed to be to license one; set of people to make another set drunk. The phrase quoted might be a reality in Ceylon, if only members of the right stamp were elected, and this would certainly be the case if the reform were initiated con amore. A member's duty, so far as the purely Ceylonese constituencies were concerned, would be only half-fulfilled by the three or four months' legislation in the year. Properly carried out a member would only fully perform his duty when he made frequent visits to the people he represented, and thereby bring them into contact with the civilization and progress of the age, in the active life of which, he would show, they were taking a part. Given arrangements of the nature indicated, there would be provided, what is now greatly needed, viz., scope for the ambition of able men among the Ceylonese who, if they find their lawful aspirations checked, may thwart rather than aid in the solution of social and political problems which England in the East has to meet. At present the way for advancement is not made plain in the manner indicated.

The cry is often uttered that, in matters of legislation, India wants rest. Perhaps so; rest at least from ill-considered, injudicious interference with the people, but it is, on the face of the remark, monstrous to insinuate that English rule has been so beneficent from Cashmere to Comorin that her rulers may henceforth "rest from their labours" for their "works will follow them." Nothing is farther from the truth in India, and nothing is less in accordance with fact in Ceylon. The last-named land has mineral resources to develop, but they are few: its wealth consists in its broad acres, and apart from the uppermost slopes of the highest hills there is, perhaps, not more than a hundred thousand acres which could not be made annually to yield produce. There are tracts of cultivable lands, supplied with tanks repaired and fit for use, or needing only very slight additions to make them available for storage of water, waiting to be colonised: this will never be done under the present system of rule. Under a popular Government what is desiderated might be accomplished; it is as certain as anything actually unattained can be that it would be done. This is not the only way in which rich results would be sure to follow from more generous and enlightened policy of rule. With things remaining as they are, while there is some cause for congratulation at what has been done, there is more occasion for regret and shame · that so much lies unattempted.

#### RECAPITULATION AND CONCLUSION.

The whole case, from a material point of view, for the establishment of wider and more popular institutions, may be shown in

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double row of figures. The present council was established in 1834: if suitable for the state of things existing then, it is unsuitable now. Every single item in the "Statistical Review of the Progress of Ceylon," appended to the Blue Book shows this, as will appear from comparing the following returns:—

Population."	Military.	Births.	Marriages.	Deaths.	Schools.	Scholars.	Revenue.	Expenditure	Shipping.	Imports,	Exports.
1834. 1,167,700 1875. 2,459,542		21,930 67,285		17,486 53,363		13,891 73,020		1570553000	Tons. 153,510 2,216,403	£ 372,726 5,361,240	£ 145,834 5,375,410

This marvellous development, as great for an Asiatic colony as the rise of Chicago or Melbourne in American, or Anglo-Saxon communities, demands better treatment than it at present receives from the Colonial Office. Nothing more nor less than the measure of freedom which fathers give their sons when the latter are too old to be kept at home. Not that Ceylon, as a consequence of greater freedom, is likely to desire to break away altogether from England: rather would the bonds which connect her with the British dominions be riveted. The diverse races in the island, instead of seeking to acquire dominance one over the other, are being drawn together and to think and act as one people: distinctive race-names are giving place to the comprehensive and descriptive appellation of Ceylonese. It is not possible to conceive of a time when British agricultural interest in Ceylon will cease. It is too profitable to be given up by those engaged in it, as is sometimes urged would be the case, were justice done to the people in the manner indicated in this paper, An English Governor will, necessarily, rule whilst connection with Great Britain is kept up. Compensation may be found probably in Ceylonese attaining high honours in the Imperial Parliament, or even in being sent to rule distant Provinces of the federated constitution of the future. Experience proves that it is not wise to make local magnates supreme local rulers.

To sum up, the contentions of this paper may be formulated in the following propositions, which, it is hoped, have to some extent, been proved, and which show the desirability for those who have the power to grant reform, not to be slack in well-doing, who have the power to grant reform, not to be slack in well-doing, but hy just and generous dealing to stave off agitation and bring but hy just and generous dealing to stave off agitation which have yet to

be created. It is maintained—

- (a) That the interests of the island suffer grievously from the necessity for referring everything to Downing-street, London, for decision;
- (b) That full justice is not done to the island, because those most acquainted with its wants are denied a proportionate share in its government;

(c) That, with almost unexampled opportunities, all progress save that which is material, has been comparatively slow and intermittent: much has been done, vastly much more might have

been accomplished;

(d) That the people of the land have displayed an astonishing fitness for self-government, and that, therefore, the duty of the English rulers is to recognise the manhood it has developed, and to give fair play to the qualities it has been the means of bringing forth;

(e) That the experiment of ruling the East through the people of Eastern lands will, of necessity, have to be made; and that a better theatre than Ceylon for the inception of the new rule, cannot be conceived, the action of the people themselves having already taken the proposal out of the region of experiment; and

(f) Opportunity calls for action.

WM. DIGBY.



