British Colonial Intervention and its Consequences on Contemporary Sri Lanka

Diploma Thesis

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Declaration

I declare that I worked on this thesis on my own and that all information gathered for its compilation are from the sources which are cited in the references.

Brno, March 29, 2018

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Abstract

Sri Lanka experienced British colonialism for more than one century. It has caused changes in education, agriculture, social and economic policies. This thesis examines the history of Sri Lanka from the British occupation up to its independence in 1947. It tries to explain and analyse the reasons why the British conquered Sri Lanka and what effects it has had on the nation at present. Not only does the thesis explore Sri Lanka’s development, but also the conflicts which might have been caused by nearly 150 years of British colonisation. Moreover, it unravels the complex relationship between the Sri Lankan and British people. The paper is based on the primary source material, written by historians like Colvin R. de Silva, G. C. Mendis and Professor Nira Wickramasinghe.

The thesis has seven parts. The first chapter introduces Sri Lanka’s ancient history and the Portuguese, Dutch and British occupation of the island. Following chapters analyse the British policies and administrative, social and economic changes. The last chapters describe transformations that affected the existing an older social and cultural divisions and their consequences on contemporary Sri Lanka.

Key words
Colebrooke-Cameron Commission, Colonialism, Ceylon, Tea Plantations, Buddhism, Tamils, Sinhalese, Education, Minorities
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Introduction

In the 18th and 19th centuries, Western intervention played a significant role in the process of extending territories outside Europe. The process of controlling and occupying other territories was a convenient way to become stronger and richer because new countries were often a good source of raw materials.

Sri Lanka has had experienced numerous waves of immigration. First Sinhala Buddhist and Tamil Hindu civilizations, then Arab Muslim traders and finally, four and a half of centuries of colonial rule under the European powers, the Christian Portuguese, Dutch and British. However, unlike the Dutch and Portuguese, the British did not colonize Sri Lanka for their sources, at least not initially, but they were intrigued by its good site and they eventually stayed in Sri Lanka for almost more than one century. (Schrikker, 2007, p.6) Occupying the island for such a long time must have had positive and negative impacts on the development of the country. Colonization often had a good impact on education which undoubtedly led to the modernization and development of the society. In addition, roads and railways were built and enabled people to travel much faster.

On the other hand, the British used their power mainly to exploit Sri Lankan people as their labour, the land as a new market and what was produced on the island was consumed mainly in Britain. Moreover, tea plantations affected the island not only economically, but also socially since the British recruited Indian Tamils from South India to work on them.

This thesis depicts and examines a history of Sri Lanka from the British occupation up to its independence in 1947 and it examines whether Sri Lankan people continued in the British policies even in the post-colonial times. The objective of the thesis is to determine what changes the British colonization caused on the island and it tries to assess the consequences of these changes on contemporary Sri Lanka.

The thesis was inspired by the works of several authors dealing with the history of Sri Lanka. The discussion of the early stage of British rule is primarily based on the works of K. M. De Silva who has written an important set of documents that depicts the colonial policy. In addition, K. M. De Silva is acknowledged to be Sri Lanka’s most prolific historian. The period before independence was carefully studied by G. C. Mendis who analyses the administrative and political developments. Since the thesis is also focused on contemporary Sri Lanka, the works by N. Wickramasinghe are very beneficial. The
author examines the island in the modern age and she depicts the colonial era from the view of the British as well as the oppressed Sri Lankan people.

The thesis is divided into seven parts. The first chapter gives a brief introduction to Sri Lanka’s early history and discusses the Portuguese and Dutch arrival on the island. This serves as a reference point for the following British occupation and the final subjugation of the Kandyan kingdom. The second chapter is the largest since it discusses the colonial transition under British rule at large and the reorganization of government that led up to the country’s independence in 1948. It also explores the reasons why the newly independent Sri Lanka joined the Commonwealth. The following chapters then analyse the social and economic changes of the country and the last chapter examines the consequences of British colonialism on contemporary Sri Lanka.
1. From the Ancient Period to the British Occupation of Ceylon

The history of Sri Lanka can be divided into three periods, ancient, medieval in which the decline of the Sinhalese kingdom began and the modern period that began with the arrival of the British. Each of them has unique characteristics of their own. The ancient period extended from the fifth century B.C., when the first immigrants came from northern India and settled in the island, known as Lanka, the "resplendent land", to about the end of the 12th century A.D. (Ross & Nyrop, 1990, p. 3)

It was the period when the Sinhalese civilization flourished on the island. The Sinhalese people spoke the Indo-Aryan language and they were predominantly Buddhists, although some of them converted to Christianity later on. According to the *Mahavansa*, the account compiled by Buddhists, the rise of Sinhalese civilization began with Indian Prince Vijaya, the legendary colonizer of Sri Lanka that established himself as a ruler. Many historians believe that this legend is a glimpse into the early settlement in Sri Lanka. (Senaveratna, 1997, pp. 7-8)

The Sinhalese civilization built four ancient cities of Anuradhapura, Magama, Sigiriya (Figure 1) and Polonnaruwa. Buddhism came into existence in every village and fulfilled the spiritual and the cultural needs of the Sinhalese. In the north people stayed alongside rivers since it was the dry zone. The south-western quarter of the island was the wet zone and it was at least developed area. Living in the dry zone, the Sinhalese obtained rain only during the monsoon and therefore they constructed huge tanks and extensive channels that provided water in times of drought. (Mendis, 2005, p. 4)

*The Mahavansa* includes information of the early Sinhalese civilization on the island, but it provides only scant evidence about the first Tamil settlement. According to Ross & Nyrop (1990), "there is some debate among historians as to whether settlement by Indo-Aryan speakers preceded settlement by Dravidian-speaking Tamils, but there is no dispute over the fact that Sri Lanka, from its earliest recorded history, was a multi-ethnic society" (p. 11). As there is no evidence of any disputes between these first two civilizations one could suggest that during the early centuries of Sri Lankan history there was considerable stability and harmony on the island.

The peace was first affected around 237 B.C. when the Tamils usurped the Sinhalese throne and they ruled over the island for 22 years. Then the Sinhalese managed
to take over the throne for several years, but a Tamil general Elara\(^1\) captured the throne at Anuradhapura and became king for 44 years. The Sinhalese king, Dutthagamani, fought a fifteen-year campaign against Elara who was finally deposed.

In the seventh century A.D., three Hindu empires, the Pandya, Pallava and Chola from southern India became a threat to the Sinhalese Buddhist kingdoms. Furthermore, when Sinhalese Prince Manavamma took over the throne with Pallava assistance, he became heavily indebted to Pallava patronage that lasted for almost three centuries.

By the middle of the ninth century, the Pandyas invaded northern Sri Lanka, the Chola took over Anuradhapura in 993 A.D. and Sri Lanka was ruled directly as a Chola providence for 75 years. The Tamil ethnic and religious consciousness raised and while Hinduism flourished, Buddhism experienced a setback. (Ross & Nyrop, 1990, pp. 10-11) Buddhism had no organization for the laity and the society in Sri Lanka was primarily tribal, but with the spread of Hinduism, a tribe gave way to caste. (Mendis, 2005, p. 2)

The caste system was of Indian origin. It formed the basis of social stratification and determined a person’s social position and obligation within the hierarchy. The monarch had an absolute power and his subjects owed him a kind of caste-based labour which was a condition for holding land. Social divisions were gradually formed between those who cultivated crops and those who would not engage agricultural occupations. (Ross & Nyrop, 1990, pp. 10-11)

In 1070 King Vijayabahu I (1070-1110) drove the Chola out of Sri Lanka and recaptured Anuradhapura. During his reign, the Buddhist monasteries and temples which were neglected during the Chola rule were renovated and built. The Sinhalese were again united under a single sovereign and it was during this period that Buddhism grew tremendously. The Sinhalese caste system developed its own characteristics and it was influenced by Buddhism that lessened the severity of the institution. There were no religious sanctions from Buddhism and caste avoidance also existed. (De Silva, 1981, p. 41).

Vijayabahu’s successor, King Parakramabahu I (1153-86), was also a great patron of Buddhism. His kingdom, Polonnaruwa was a repository of Buddhist art (Figure 2) and the city became one of the impressive capitals of the ancient world. (Ross & Nyrop, 1990, p. 15)

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\(^1\) Elara was a member of the Chola dynasty that ruled much of India from the ninth to twelfth century AD. (Ross & Nyrop, 1990, p. 11)
1.1. The Decline of the Sinhalese Kingdom and Colonial Encounters

During the 13th century, the Sinhalese kingdom faced cumulative invasions from southern India. Furthermore, the Tamil kingdom of northern Sri Lanka was expanding. In this period, the vast areas of the jungle that covered north-central Sri Lanka divided the Sinhalese from Tamils. Thus began important geographical separation that has had cultural and psychological implications to the present days (Figure 3). In the north, the Tamils developed culture supported by resurgent Hinduism that was based on the traditions of southern India. On the contrary, the Sinhalese were restricted to the central and southern areas and became fearful of the numerous Tamils and Parakramabahu VI (1410–67) was the last Sinhalese king who ruled the entire island. (Ross & Nyrop, 1990, pp. 16-17)

This period of political instability had undoubtedly debilitating effect on Sri Lanka’s economy. For the Sinhalese kingdom, rain-fed agriculture, the cultivation primarily of rice was the bedrock of the economy, but irrigation works in the parts of the dry zone, which were under the control of the Sinhalese, were kept in repair. Nevertheless, economic activity soon developed on new lines.

There was an increased demand for spices in Europe after the Crusades and the cinnamon that grew near the south coast became an essential item of export. The larger share of the profits of this trade was absorbed by the state, whose economy was thus less dependent on revenue from the rise. Here is necessary to mention that the importance of cinnamon as a source of revenue before the 16th century is sometimes exaggerated. Before and indeed even at the end of this century, the yield from this trade was well below that from other items such as elephants, gems and Areca nuts which were principal items in the export trade. (De Silva, 1981, pp. 89-90)

By the late 15th century, the Portuguese had already achieved dominance of maritime power in the Atlantic and consequently, they decided to explore new waters in Asia. When Vasco da Gama sailed around the Cape of Good Hope, he discovered a new ocean route that connected Europe with India and thus Portugal established maritime supremacy over the seas. The main aim of Portuguese activities in Asia was not so much of a territorial conquest, but rather to convert non-Christians to Roman Catholicism and moreover, acquire the substantial share of the spice trade for the European market. To achieve their goals, they attempted to dominate strategic points through which trade passed. (Wickramasinghe, 2014, p. 9)
At the onset of the Portuguese rule in Sri Lanka, there were three main centres of political power. The Sinhalese had two kingdoms of Kotte and Kandy and the Tamils had one kingdom at Jaffna. However, each of these kingdoms failed to assert itself over the other two and reunify the island.

Accordingly, the Portuguese took advantage of this situation and in 1505 the Portuguese docked at Galle. When the news about the arrival of the Portuguese reached King Parakramabahu VIII of Kotte (1484–1518), he immediately offered them cinnamon and elephants and allowed them to build a residence in Colombo in return for his protection. However, the Portuguese soon showed their true ambition. They fortified a trading post at Colombo and displayed hostility towards the island’s Muslim traders that had control over trade in and around the city. (Wickramasinghe, 2014, p. 9) Muslim traders claimed a major share of commerce in the Indian Ocean as they had created east-west and Indo-Sri Lankan trade routes. This flourishing trade became an irresistible target for the Portuguese who did not want economic competition from anyone. Soon, the fort in Colombo dominated the export market from Sri Lanka. (Ross & Nyrop, 1990, p. 18)

Not only did the Portuguese expand their trade dominance, but they also wanted to seize political control. Since the Portuguese protected the successive kings of Kotte against the other powers, they could control the Sinhalese leaders. At one point, all three kingdoms were divided among three rival brothers and the Portuguese pledged to protect one of them, King Bhuvanekabahu (1521–51) and his successor, grandson Dharmapala (1551–97) who even converted to Roman Catholicism. His conversion enraged a great majority of the Sinhalese. The rival kings exploited this issue and disqualified the young monarch from any claim to the throne. Nevertheless, Dharmapala was completely manipulated by the Portuguese advisers and in 1580 he was persuaded to make out a deed donating his dominions to the king of Portugal. This allowed the Portuguese sufficient claim to the kingdom of Kotte upon Dharmapala’s death in 1597. Portuguese missionaries began immediately to convert the local population to Roman Catholicism. They soon moved to the kingdom of Jaffna with these activities, however, Cankilli (1617–19), the king of Jaffna resisted all the contacts with the Portuguese and he decapitated the resident priest and about 600 other Catholics. The Portuguese consequently led several expeditions against Jaffna and they were successful. In 1619 Portugal annexed the kingdom of Jaffna and only the central kingdom of Kandy remained independent of the Portuguese control (Figure 4). (Reddy, 2003, pp. 53-55)
Consequently, the Portuguese attempted to expand into the interior of Sri Lanka. Even though they had met with resounding defeats many times, the Portuguese were very relentless and they spent almost the half century trying to expand their control over the central highlands of Sri Lanka. In 1636 the king of Kandy, Rajasimha II (1635–87), allied with the Dutch to depose the Portuguese. (Wickramasinghe, 2014, p. 11)

The Dutch pledged to help the king in exchange for a monopoly of the island’s major trade goods. In addition, Rajasimha II promised to pay all the war-related expenses. Because the Dutch dominated the Indian Ocean in the 17th century, they attacked the Portuguese positions not only in Sri Lanka but throughout the whole of South Asia. The Dutch gradually captured the eastern ports and restored them to the Sinhalese. However, the king of Kandy was regularly presented with such large bills that he was not able to repay them and therefore the Dutch refused to return western ports of Galle and Negombo to the king. In 1656 the Dutch captured Colombo, and in the following years, they managed to take over Jaffna and Trincomalee. The kingdom of Kandy was still independent, but the king incited rebellions against the Dutch repeatedly. (Reddy, 2003, p.57)

According to Davis (2016), "The Kandyan king was the major irritant to the Dutch. He hated all whites and mistreated any with whom he came in contact. He constantly broke his agreements with the Dutch and punished any native who cooperated with them" (p. 141). The Dutch left the interior, captured the remaining harbours and confined themselves to the coastal areas. However, the Kandyan king incited other riots in the lowlands and therefore the Dutch launched a punitive expedition that forced the Kandyans to sign a treaty. It gave the Dutch absolute sovereignty not only over the territories they had held before but over the whole sea-coast around the island. (Blaze, 2004, p. 188)

Having taken political control over the island, the Dutch continued to monopolize trade that was limited firstly to cinnamon and elephants but later extended to other goods. The Kandyans wanted to expel the Dutch from the island and therefore they began to search for foreign assistance. (Reddy, 2003, pp. 57-59)

1.2. The British Occupation of Ceylon

The Kandyans dealt with the British in 1762, 1782 and 1795. In 1762, Kirti Sri Rajasinha (1747-82), the Kandyan king, asked the British Governor, George Pigot, for help to evict the Dutch from Sri Lanka. (Nubin, 2003, p. 111) The British long hesitated since the neutrality of the Dutch in the Seven Years' War was advantageous to them.
Moreover, the British had an agreement with the Dutch that allowed them to use their harbour in Trincomalee as a naval base for ships that were damaged in sea fights in the Bay of Bengal. Nevertheless, on 1st May 1762, the governor sent the first diplomatic mission under John Pybus. Five British vessels arrived in Trincomalee, pretending that some of their ships needed repairs. Then John Pybus was secretly taken into Kandy to meet the king. (Pinto, 2015) He had prepared a draft treaty that included the request for a territorial foothold for the English East India Company. However, Pybus did not offer anything substantial in return and therefore the draft was only an unsuccessful attempt to get something for nothing. He left the kingdom on 21st June with generous gifts, but with no agreement. (De Silva, 1981, p. 158)

With the outbreak of war between the British and Dutch at the end of 1780, the British attention was drawn towards the harbour of Trincomalee. This harbour had a strategic location, it was safe during monsoons and moreover, it was fairly spacious. The British captured it in January 1782 and consequently, the East India Company sent an embassy to the Kandy king, Rajadhi Rajasinha (1782-98). The British had prepared a mutually beneficial treaty of alliance with the Kandyans. The treaty proposed an alliance with the Kandyans to expel the Dutch from Sri Lanka, but the king refused. He did not want to treat with a government that did not help his brother in time of need.

The British power seemed to be tottering since they temporary lost Madras. In addition, the French realized the value of the harbour of Trincomalee and they seized it from the British and restored it to the Dutch. This is undeniable evidence of the decline of British power in the years 1780-2. (De Silva, 1981, p. 182) For the following years, the British did not pay any attention to Sri Lanka till the French declared war against Britain and the Dutch Republic on February 1st 1793. (Mendis, 2005, p. 14)

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2 In 1758 during the Seven Years' War, the French and British were concerned primarily with the control of the eastern parts of India. Since the east coast of India did not have many harbours that could have been used as a naval base, the French and British had to find more suitable places. The French took their ships to Bombay whereas the British used the harbour in Trincomalee. (Mendis, 2005, p. 14)

3 The Anglo-Dutch wars were naval conflicts that were over trade and overseas colonies. The fourth Anglo-Dutch war (1780-4) arose from the Dutch interference in the American revolution (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2014)

4 Madras was the capital of the southern state of Tamil Nadu. During 16th and 18th centuries it was ruled by the Portuguese and Frenchmen, but by the 18th century, the British conquered it and Madras became their central administrative centre in South India and a major naval base. (Madras, History, n.d.)
The British feared a French annexation of Dutch possessions in Asia since it would enhance their competitive position. William V, the Commander-in-Chief of the army of the Dutch Republic, had similar concerns about French activities in Asia and therefore he fled to England to take refuge with King George III, hoping to get British support to retain the Dutch possessions in Asia. George III responded instantly and within few days, he sent instructions to the commanders in Bengal and Madras. The British could not risk that the strategic harbour of Trincomalee could fall into the hands of the French. The commander of Madras immediately sent a letter to the Dutch government in Colombo, informing them about bringing Sri Lanka under the protection of the British army. Without waiting for a reply, he sent a fleet to occupy the harbour of Trincomalee, that was finally conquered in July 1795. It is necessary to add that there had been considerable confusion over the concept of "protection". As regards the Dutch, protection meant the temporary presence of a British garrison in Sri Lanka, whereas the British view implied a temporary occupation of the Dutch territories.

In September 1795, the British garrison marched up from Trincomalee to Colombo to deal with the Dutch officials. The Dutch Governor and council probably knew that their defence is seriously weakened since they immediately opted for capitulation. It was undoubtedly a rational decision since the Dutch had neither the military strength nor the supplies. Moreover, they could not call in the help of the court of Kandy as the British had already sought contact with the Kandyans. (Schrikker, 2007, pp.131-134)

The first two attempts to ally with the Kandyans failed, but in 1795, the English East India Company sent a senior official, Robert Andrews, and this time, the Kandyans were much more receptive than they were in 1782. Andrews was supposed to discuss the British actions against the Dutch with a view to preventing a civil war in the Dutch possession. Besides, he was supposed to obtain information about Dutch-Kandyan relations and the Kandyan king's permission for the English East India Company to build a factory in some convenient part for purposes of trade. (De Silva, 1981, pp. 185-187)

The British offered the Kandyans the treaty that would extend military aid in return for taking control of the seacoast and also a monopoly of the cinnamon trade. In addition, the Kandyans were offered a base for their external trade. The treaty was not without advantage to the Kandyans, nevertheless, Andrews refused the demands for an increase in the number of ports to be conceded to the Kandyans and thus the treaty was never

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5 Sri Lanka was not the only possession of the Dutch in the east, others were Malacca, the Moluccas, the Cape Colony and Cochin. (Mendis, 1971, p. 145)
ratified. By the time negotiations over the treaty failed, the British managed to expel the Dutch without any substantial assistance from Kandy. (Ross & Nyrop, 1990, p. 25) Thus, the Kandyans replaced a relatively weak enemy with a powerful one since Britain was the most progressive commercial and maritime power at the time. (Mendis, 2005, p. 15)

### 1.3. The Fall of the Kandyan Kingdom

The British had no real anxiety to gain complete control over the island, even though they discovered that the Kandyans had been giving encouragement to rebels in the lowlands. In spite of this fact, Robert Andrews allowed the Kandyans to develop trade contacts across the seas and maintained a policy of non-interference in Kandyan affairs. (De Silva, 1981, p. 220) However, when the Kandyan king died, there was no obvious successor to the throne. The most powerful person in the kingdom was Pilima Talauve, a man that held several offices and had enormous influence. However, he was not powerful enough and therefore he placed on the throne Sri Vikrama Rajasinha (1798-1815), who, he expected, would be a tool in his hands. Obviously, Pilima Talauve needed the British help for his immediate purpose and the first Governor of Ceylon⁶, Governor North (1798-1805) was delighted that he could turn his attention to the Kandyan problem. North urged Talauve to persuade the king to accept a treaty which offered him protection in return for permission to construct a road between Trincomalee and Kandy. North’s strategy was to connect the port of Colombo with Trincomalee, which was convenient in case of a French attack. (Wickremeratne, 1973, pp. 30-42)

Long negotiations with Talauve, who did not give up hopes of becoming king, led to strained relations between North and Talauve. In addition, Talauve could not prove to North that the king himself agreed to North’s plans and North obviously did not want to violate the position of the Kandyan ruler since it could make him the instigator of war. North maintained the correspondence with Wellesley, the Governor-General of India, in which he was encouraged to follow his plan.

However, by 1802, no treaty had been signed which was very disappointing for the British side. The king did not want to become dependent on the British and he refused to have anything to do with the treaty in which he saw no advantage to his kingdom. Talauve

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⁶ Sri Lanka had several different names during its long history. In the ancient period, the island was referred to as "Lanka". The Europeans referred to Sri Lanka as "Zeylan" or "Seylan" from which was derived the name Ceylon. This name was used by the British and even though the name was officially changed to Sri Lanka in 1972, the country is still known as Ceylon all over the world. (Larif, n.d.)
subsequently tried to achieve his object by bringing about a war between the king and the British. (Schrikker, 2007, pp. 199-200)

Talauve arranged an attack on British merchants while trading in Kandyan territory. Consequently, as Talauve expected, North declared war against the king who did not have any control over his chiefs. However, North probably did not think why the Portuguese and Dutch had failed to conquer Kandy.

Even though the Kandyan army was poorly trained, the king of Kandy did not have to rely much on his soldiers. He depended solely on the nature of his country. As the central part of Ceylon was a natural fortress, it was difficult of access. To enter it one had to ascend rocks, high mountains and cliffs and during the rainy season, the forest tracks became virtually impassable. The Kandyan king knew that they were powerless against the well-armed and well-trained British soldiers, hence they preferred to make surprise attacks in the forests in which they were at an advantage. (Powell, 1973, pp. 104-122)

The British troops approached Kandy from two directions. Nevertheless, when they occupied Kandy, they found that the king had retreated to the safety. In a very short time, the British soldiers began to suffer severely from malaria. When the monsoon set in, the communications with Colombo were interrupted and therefore the British were compelled to surrender. In the end, the British soldiers at Kandy, as well as Pilima Talauve, were massacred by the Kandyans. (Mendis, 2005, pp. 16-19)

In January 1812, Sir Robert Brownrigg (1812-20) was appointed as the Governor of Ceylon. The first instructions for Brownrigg were concerned primarily with maintaining friendly relations with the king of Kandy. King Sri Vikrama Rajasinha ceased to be a menace to the British, at least for the time being. Nevertheless, the British still desired to expand their trade and thus Governor Brownrigg attempted to make the king agree to a treaty, but he did not succeed. Accordingly, he began to consider the conquest of the Kandyan kingdom.

Brownrigg, like North, got into touch with the chiefs who welcomed British government’s interference and when the king learnt of these activities, he punished not only the chiefs but also all their relatives. Some of them were Buddhist monks and their execution obviously led to widespread discontent. Brownrigg knew that it was a great opportunity to conquer the king and therefore he declared war against the king. The second Kandyan war was over within forty days. Once Kandy was occupied, the British and Kandyans signed a treaty, known as the Kandyan Convention, in which the chiefs
agreed to make the British king their sovereign and thus the entire island was for the first time under a European control. (Ross & Nyrop, 1990, p. 25-26)

The kingdom of Kandy was under the administration of a British governor. However, the British did not get absolute control of the new territory as the Kandyan Convention pledged the British to protect and maintain their religion, to preserve the laws and customs and protect powers of the chiefs who had helped the British to eliminate the unpopular king. Moreover, the British left in their hands the criminal and civil jurisdiction over the districts in which they had authority. (Ross & Nyrop, 1990, p. 25-26) It is necessary to mention that the Kandyan chiefs had not contemplated the prospect of the establishment of British rule, but once they signed the Convention, they found the reality of foreign control extremely unpalatable. The treaty was thus a great disappointment to the Kandyan chiefs and they soon began to dislike the way the British ruled on the island.

Firstly, the British ignored caste distinctions. In other words, a punishment did not depend on the status of the persons, but only on the crime committed, which was against the idea of caste. Secondly, previously the chiefs had only the king who had superior authority, but after the British occupation, they had to take orders from British officials from whom they did not receive the respect to which they were accustomed. Similarly, the people did not appreciate the change since they had known only the Sinhalese form of government and they were too attached to their customs to abandon them lightly. Also, the Buddhist monks were dissatisfied as they were afraid of losing their power and influence. Even though the kings of Sri Lanka did not participate in religious ceremonies and temple worship, they treated Buddhist monks with great respect. On the other hand, the British did not show a deep reverence for their religion. (Mendis, 2005, pp. 19-24) Political and religious discontent among the monks and Kandyans led to rebellions, but the British managed to suppress them. The British realized that they had to reduce the power of the chiefs to prevent other rebellions and therefore the administrative changes that are analysed in the following chapter became for the British inevitable. (Ross & Nyrop, 1990, p. 27)
2. From Crown Colony to Full Responsible Government

The British conquest of the Dutch possessions altered the balance of power in Sri Lanka decisively. The nations such as the Portuguese and the Dutch that launched the first phase of European imperialism in Asia had already exhausted themselves and Britain became an unchallenged leader. Even though peace negotiations had already started in Europe in 1796, the British decided to retain Sri Lanka as a British possession. The government asked the British East India Company to share the administration of the island and guaranteed the company monopoly of trade, the cinnamon trade in particular. The Governor of Sri Lanka (Figure 5) was responsible for law and order, but all the commercial matters were under the control of the Governor of the East India Company. This system, called "dual control" lasted only from 1798 to 1802 since it proved a failure.

When Frederick North arrived on the island, he faced the unconcealed hostility of the Madras Civil Servants and these poor relations continued throughout the whole period of Dual Control. The officials who were sent from Madras were dishonest and inefficient since both prospects of promotion and salaries in Ceylon were significantly inferior to those in Madras and therefore no Civil Servant who was sent to the island was willing to remain there for long. In addition, the officers did not know how to govern Ceylon as the people on South India differed from those of the Sinhalese. Ceylonese people followed different customs and spoke a totally different language from those of Madras and thus their service was utterly useless.

Consequently, North suggested that this problem could be solved by the establishment of a separate civil service for Ceylon which would be independent of the East India Company. Governor-General Lord Wellesley protested against it, urging for preserving a united authority in India, however, Henry Dundas, President of the Board of Control for India, opposed to it, claiming that "the junction has done no good, and a good deal of mischief" (De Silva, 1981, p. 219).

Accordingly, the unfortunate connection of the East India Company with the administration in Ceylon ceased and the British possessions were made the British Crown Colony of Ceylon and were brought directly under the control of the Imperial Government. (Ross & Nyrop1990, p. 25)

The government of the Kandyan provinces was brought directly under the British officials and the governor that became the chief authority over the whole of the country. He had to occupy several official positions, such as an executive officer and legislative authority. (Reddy, 2003, p.63)

In order to prevent rebellions, the government realized that it was necessary to get in touch with the peasants and therefore it was necessary to establish the civil service whose work was to get into touch with the inhabitants of Ceylon. The Civil Servants had numerous duties to perform. They were the chief executive and judicial authorities in their districts and Government depended on the efficiency of their work greatly. In other words, the Civil Servants had to act as if they were the rulers of their areas.

Being aware of the example of the officials of the East India Company who let interfere their official duties with the private trade, the Governor of Ceylon forbade Civil Servants to engage in trade in order to prevent corrupt practices. The British government thus took steps to attract good men to fill the posts in the Civil Service. It offered pensions to all officers and promised them regular promotions. It was a means of inducing the Civil Servants to spend their whole career in Ceylon and acquire a deep knowledge of local conditions. (Mendis, 2005, p. 33)

The British government realized that it could not get a secure hold of the country by these steps alone. According to Mendis (2005), the Sinhalese and the Tamils were not advanced enough for a bureaucratic form of government. The only form of government they appreciated was a paternal one in which the officials personally saw to their needs and redressed their grievances. (p. 34)

The British officials could not get into personal touch with the peasants and therefore they had to depend entirely on the Mudaliyars. The result was that the government of Ceylon was virtually in the hands of the Mudaliyars. To change this state and to make British rule secure, the British government needed to reduce the powers of the Mudaliyars and to get the Civil Servants into close touch with the people. Governor

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7 The Mudaliyars were appointed from wealthy Tamil families. Mudaliyar was a colonial title created by the Portuguese that went from father to son and weakened the influence of the older ruling families. The Dutch continued with this practice as well as the British. Native headmen served their masters faithfully. Their loyalty was beyond doubts as they made a change in religious affiliation with every new foreign ruler. (De Silva, 1981, p. 189)
North deprived the Mudaliyars and the chiefs of the *nindagam*\(^8\) and the sovereign powers which the Mudaliyars and chiefs wielded in such villages. In addition, the *nindagam* was a hereditary estate that gave a family a sense of identity from generation to generation and it greatly increased its prestige. North began to pay the Mudaliyars and the chiefs salaries for their services and thus he made them entirely dependent on the British government. North began to fill their posts with the members of the Civil Service and thus he weakened the influence of the older ruling families.

Governor North soon realized that a government carried on from an office would not be successful and he ordered Civil Servants to make frequent circuits so that they could find out the needs of the people. Furthermore, the government offered substantial rewards to Civil Servants who had acquired a knowledge of the Sinhalese language.

Governor’s successors, Sir Edward Barnes (1824-31) and Sir Robert Wilmot Horton (1831-7) took further steps to increase the efficiency of the Civil Service and they insisted that every Civil Servant had to possess a good knowledge of Sinhalese or Tamil. (Mendis, 2005, p. 35)

### 2.2. The Colebrooke Commission and the Reforms

After the establishment of the Civil Service, only little progress was made in the administrative matters. The governors of Ceylon did not achieve any long-term and impressive results. At least according to the Imperial Government because in 1829 it sent Sir William MacBean George Colebrooke and Charles Hay Cameron to assess the administration of the island. Their task was primarily to examine the system of administration and to report on judicial matters.\(^9\) (Reddy, 2003, p. 65)

Their proposed reforms opposed discriminatory administrative regulations. Colebrooke along with Cameron wanted to liberalize the system of administration and they were in favour of the decentralization of the almost unlimited power possessed by

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\(^8\) To obtain the services and retain the loyalty, the Kandyan kings granted rights over land to the higher officers. When the king gave the village to a chief, it became a *nindagam*. The village was divided into shares, and the shareholders paid dues to the chief instead of to the king. The shareholders also had to perform some services. Thus, as long as the chief held office, he could enjoy services of his tenants, he also could fine or eject them. Later on, The Mudaliyars got the *nindagam* for their services not to the Kandyan kings, but to the colonial rulers. (De Silva, 1981, p. 150)

\(^9\) Their Report (1831–2) consisting of recommendations for administrative, financial, economic, and judicial reform became one of the most important documents in the history of the island. (Wickramasinghe, 2014, p. 31)
the governor. (Nubin, 2003, p. 113) They particularly disapproved the regulation that enabled the governor to expel or imprison any person without a fair trial.

In addition, there was no examination on the legality of any act that the governor committed. Cameron disapproved the civil courts which were under the governor. The methods of procedure and legal knowledge of the officials was unsatisfactory and therefore in 1832, a system of courts was established. As a result, both Ceylonese and Europeans were under the same judicial system which was extended to all classes of people and offered equal rights to everyone. Moreover, in 1833 District Courts were established in the major towns. Cameron wanted to include the Ceylonese in the judicial service so that they could assist the judges who had basic knowledge of the customs of the country. Also, the distinctions between the Europeans and Ceylonese were abolished.

On Colebrooke’s recommendation, many of the autocratic powers vested in the governor were replaced by an Executive Council. Thus the government of Ceylon was brought within the rule of law and the governor had to consult all administrative and financial matters with the Executive Council and whenever he wanted to overrule its decisions, he had to justify his action to the Secretary of State (Mendis, 2005, p. 56)

The Executive Council included nine officials and six unofficial nominees who were chosen from the principal merchants and land-owners. The Executive Council appointed the members of the Legislative Council, which functioned as a forum for discussion of legislative matters. (Nubin, 2003, p. 113) Thus Colebrooke introduced a more liberal form of government than that which had prevailed before 1833. The Legislative Council was to serve a limited purpose. The Colonial Office, did not look at it as a representative assembly, but it regarded it as a check upon the Governor in the sense that it was reliable and fairly source of information for the Secretary of State that was otherwise dependent on the Governor alone for information with regard to the colony and its affairs. A really remarkable feature of the Legislative Council was not so much the existence of an official majority within it as the presence of non-officials. In 1833 there were three of the fifteen members the Ceylonese and their presence served to underscore the validity of the comment that, "the essential purpose of establishing a legislative body has always been to give representation to the inhabitants of the dependency" (De Silva, 1981, p. 262).

Colebrooke also wanted to develop an administrative system of Ceylon, but first, he needed to unify administrative structure for the whole island since there were existing provincial boundaries within the two administrative divisions. Even though the Kandyan
provinces had a government similar to that of the Maritime provinces, they were still an independent unit in which officials were responsible only to the governor alone. In addition, this government was often influenced by the chiefs whose interests prevented the Kandyans from assimilating the ways of the people from the Maritime provinces who had come under modern influences. The earlier administrative divisions of the country divided the island’s inhabitants into low-country Sinhalese, Kandyan Sinhalese, and Tamil areas. (Mendis, 2005, pp. 57-58)

According to Nubin (2003), "Colebrooke believed that in the past, separate administrative systems had encouraged social and cultural divisions and that the first step toward the creation of a modern nation was the administrative unification of the country" (p. 113). Consequently, he put an end to the systems that existed in the different regions and country was placed under one uniform administrative system that was based on five provinces (Figure 6). By reducing the number of provinces, Colebrooke incorporated all differences into a single society and space. (Nihal, 1998, pp. 41-48)

Wickramasinghe (2014) holds a widely different view on this subject, she states that a reason for the administrative unification was the potential strength of the Kandyan region. With the allocation of parts of the former Kandyan kingdom to all five provinces, its strength was weakened. Crucially, apart from the Central Province, much smaller than the former kingdom of Kandy, the administrative capitals of all other provinces were located outside the former Kandyan kingdom. (p. 32)

2.3. The Establishment of the Departments

The construction of roads and railway lines in the 19th century also led to the changes in the sphere of administration and certain modifications had to be made. One notable development occurred under Governor Gregory (1872-7). Colebrooke’s division of Ceylon into five provinces, hitherto used as an administrative device to keep the Kandyans in check, became unnecessary because the threat of Kandy as a subversive force had gradually disappeared. (Nihal, 1998, pp. 41-48) And therefore Gregory increased the number of provinces from five to nine in order to raise the efficiency of government (Figure 6). In 1873 he created the North-Central Province because he considered the Northern Province too large as an administrative unit. There was the government agent at Jaffna, but he was not able to give the necessary attention to the remote districts, thus Governor Gregory separated these districts and formed the new province with Anuradhapura as its capital. In 1886 Gregory established the Province of
Uva which was now connected by road with Badulla that became its capital. This measure was necessary since the government agent at Kandy was unable to supervise this remote district properly. In addition, the number of plantations in these areas had increased and it was likely to rise higher because of the new railway line that had been constructed from Kandy to Uva. The provinces were divided into 21 districts of which 14 were administered by assistant government agents and the government agent was in overall control of the province.

New assistant government agents were established at Kegalle on the Colombo-Kandy road, at Nuwara Eliya on the Kandy-Badulla road and at Anuradhapura on the Kandy-Jaffna road and as the population of the Western Province increased significantly, assistant agents were stationed at Kalutara and Negombo.\(^{10}\)

The network of roads built during the second quarter of the 19\(^{th}\) century facilitated communications between Colombo and the other provinces. Also, the inventions such as the telegraph\(^{11}\) and later, the railway brought the administration in the districts under closer supervision from Colombo.

In 1873 Gregory first organized a conference of government agents the purpose of which was to promote uniformity of provincial administrations. It was a general meeting in which various subjects of public interest were discussed. Furthermore, the government agents were supposed to bring a list of works with all the expenses and they have to provide necessary explanations how and where the government money had been used. These annual meetings marked the beginning of the decline in power of government agents.\(^{12}\) (De Silva, 1981, pp. 316-318)

However, the government agents were still the head of each department that was established by the government. They were expected to maintain order, collect revenue, take an interest in the improvement of communications, the resolution of disputes, the development of plantations, the construction of public works, the maintenance of forests and other matters concerning their districts.

\(^{10}\) Mendis (2005) states that within two years of the establishment of the assistant agency at Negombo and Kalutara, the revenue of the districts rose by a third. (p. 123)

\(^{11}\) It was in 1858 when the electric telegraph was introduced into Ceylon. It linked not only the important towns of Ceylon, but also the island with India and England. (Mendis, 2005, p. 96)

\(^{12}\) The further away from the centre and communications, the greater was the power abused by the government agents and his subordinates. (De Silva, 1981, p. 318)
Moreover, the departments provided local people with opportunities for employment. However, in the Railway Department, for instance, nearly all the drivers, guards and engineers were recruited from Britain till the 1920s. As far as other departments were concerned, the positions available were usually less influential and prestigious, but it was undoubtedly a great opportunity especially for the educated Ceylonese. In addition, in 1891, several civil service positions were reserved for the indigenous people. (De Silva, 1981, p. 320)

Administration by departments did not suit all the peasants, though. Governor McCallum (1907-13) took a further step to improve the conditions in the remote districts and he invited the chiefs to the annual meetings to consult about rural problems. He believed that the Sinhalese and Tamil chiefs would be useful as officials. Another reform introduced by Governor McCallum aimed at the reorganization of the Police Department. With the development of communications and the rise of disputes over property, crime dramatically increased. The government agents who were in charge of the Police force were burdened with other duties to give sufficient attention to the Police Force and therefore the governor improved the pay and conditions of service and extended the control of the police to the rural districts to suppress crime. In addition, McCallum provided police officers with a special training and thus the higher posts began to be filled with candidates who were successful at the examination for recruitment to the Police Force. McCallum also improved the conditions in prisons. The reformatory was opened for all young offenders who had been sent to the same prisons as adult criminals before and the young prisoners were taught useful occupations which would enable them to earn a living. Older criminals were also given the chance of learning crafts such as weaving cloth and printing.

The policy of the government of Ceylon at this time was to associate the government agents with all the activities of their provinces, but as it has been already pointed out not all the activities could be carried out by them. Another department that required the specialized knowledge was the Forest Department. Since the British occupation, many forests were felled to provide land for coffee and tea plantations. Accordingly, the department was put in charge of the re-cultivation and the preservation of the forests. However, there was little progress in the preservation since many forests were being still destroyed for the opening of plantations or the trees were fallen for timber. Therefore in 1899, the Forest Department was reorganized.
The Department of the Royal Botanical Gardens also started to widen its scope in the last years of the century. This department had several gardens throughout Ceylon and it introduced new plants from other countries into Ceylon. The department did research on plant diseases and improved methods of cultivation. In 1896 the department began systematic research in matters connected with tropical agriculture and it started the *Agricultural Journal* to impart scientific knowledge on agricultural subjects. In 1902 the department hired scientific experts, established a botanical laboratory and purchased a tea estate for use as an experiment station. It was particularly useful for tea planters since they could learn how to improve the methods of cultivation and how to save both tea and coconuts from pests. Furthermore, the department carried out experiments in rubber and it showed how the yield of latex could be increased. The department was, understandably, of great assistance to the major agricultural industries and in 1912 it was converted into the Department of Agriculture. Wenzlhuemer (2008) points out that "the department had been invaluable for the prosperity of the plantation industry but had offered little help to the local peasantry (p.193).

The advance made in practical biology in Europe led to the establishment of the Department of Marine Biology that was enquiring into the pearl fisheries and marine creatures and the Department of Public Instruction that was exploring the cattle diseases.

As the British were interested in oriental studies, they established an Archaeological Department to preserve the numerous historical remains and they opened the Colombo Museum.

The extension of the communications and the introduction of motor vehicles led to a great expansion of the Postal Department the work of which increased considerably since the end of the 19th century. The government of Ceylon was also interested in the health of people and therefore it increased the activities of the Medical Department. Hospitals were built in every province and dispensaries provided treatment to labourers on the plantations as well as people in rural areas. People quickly got accustomed to going to hospitals to receive medical care. For instance, the number of patients who were treated in hospitals or dispensaries rose from 794,700 in 1895 to 1,561,138 in 1906. The surgeons followed the latest developments in science and soon the Bacteriological Institute and the clinic for tropical diseases were established and a hospital for women and children was built. Moreover, an asylum for lepers was built at Mannar and the sanitation of towns was improved by a complete system of drainage and sewage. (Mendis, 2005, pp. 135-148)
2.4. The Nationalist Movement

In the first decade of the 20th century, there was a perceptible quickening in the pace of political activity. The agitation for reform received an impetus from a number of new factors. Even though Ceylon entered the First World War, it had a minimal impact on the island since the fighting took place in the Bay of Bengal. However, this war had a significant influence on the growth of nationalism. The virtues of freedom and self-determination of nations were promoted amongst the Allies and soon there was an event that served as the immediate impetus for the growth of nationalism also in Ceylon.

In May and June 1915, riots occurred between the Sinhalese and the Muslims on the west coast. The British officials exaggerated the gravity of the disturbances and considered them as part of an anti-government conspiracy. The British resorted to severe measures and they quelled the rebellions with excessive zeal and brutality that shocked not only Ceylonese but also the British. The British officers executed many innocent people and arrested many Sinhalese, including Don Stephen Senanayake, the future first prime minister of Ceylon, who actually attempted to curb the riots. These acts roused a considerable amount of hostile feeling against the British and the Sinhalese realized that the only way of preventing the repetition of these actions was to obtain some control over the administration. (Ross & Nyrop, 1990, pp. 35-36)

The nationalist movement in India served as a model to the nationalists in Ceylon. Towards the end of 1916, the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League demanded a considerable advance in self-government. The British could not ignore this united request because of the services that had been rendered by India during the Great War. In addition, the British declared that "they were fighting to defend the cause of national freedom and democracy and had championed the ideas of self-development and self-determination for national units" (Mendis, 2005, p. 174). The British had thought hitherto that the Indians are unfit for parliamentary institutions, but they changed their opinion when in 1917 Edwin Samuel Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, made an important pronouncement which included the following statement:

The policy of His Majesty’s Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. (Mendis, 2005, p. 175)
The following year an Act of Parliament granted representative government in India. Nationalists in Ceylon learned from their Indian counterparts and they naturally expected that the British would grant responsible government to Ceylon as well.

The third factor that strengthened the movement for reform related to the revival of Buddhism and Hinduism. This revival, which was partially because of religious toleration by the British, created an interest in the ancient cultures of the Sinhalese, Tamils and also the Muslims and Burghers (the descendants of the Portuguese and the Dutch). This cultural awareness strengthened the reaction of the Sinhalese and Tamils against British domination and they started the movement for the reform in which a large number of persons became involved.

In 1919 the major Sinhalese and Tamil political organizations formed the Ceylon National Congress that asked for a council of about 50 members who would be territorially elected. Furthermore, this Nationalist political party asked for an elected speaker, the retention of the control of the budget and the inclusion of three Ceylonese in the Executive Council that would be chosen from the elected members of the Legislative Council. In other words, it demanded full representative government and an executive partially responsible for the legislature. (Ross & Nyrop, 1990, p.36)

In response to these demands, Governor William Manning (1918-25) introduced constitutional reforms under which the colonial authority agreed to the demand for unofficial representation in the Executive Council. The Legislative Council enlarged the membership from 21 to 37, of which 14 were official and 23 were unofficial. However, the elected members numbered only 16 and these included three Europeans and seven members who were nominated by the governor. Thus government had a great chance of commanding a majority in the Council. In addition, the majority of the Council consisted of Sinhalese which led to the dispute between the Tamils and Sinhalese. The Ceylon Tamils broke away from the Congress and asked for more seats so as to be equal in number to those of the Sinhalese (Law Teacher, 2013)

Neither the Tamils nor the government of Ceylon was satisfied with this system. They all believed that Manning could influence some members of the Legislative Council. In addition, Governor Manning completely divided the minorities by these reforms and therefore by order of the government, the number of the Council members was increased from 37 to 49, of whom 12 were official and 37 were unofficial. (Peebles, 2001, p. 154)
The Manning reforms of 1920 and 1924 might have had a chance of success, but they did not function effectively. One of the main reasons was that the minorities were not able to agree with each other. The various races and castes formed more or less separate entities. In addition, the various communities had not attained the same stage of development hence some communities were at an advantage owing to their economic and social position. For instance, the Tamils living in the north could not benefit from the establishment of the plantations and therefore they were employed in the government services, which was fairly advantageous for them. On the other hand, the Kandyans and the Muslims suffered enormously since they had not the same opportunities for education and employment as the Sinhalese and Tamils.

Accordingly, the Kandyans and Muslims began to develop a greater sense of group solidarity so as to struggle for power that was secured by the more advanced communities. During the debates, the Tamils and the minorities usually combined against the Sinhalese and when the Sinhalese and the Tamils united, the minorities combined with the officials. (Mendis, 2005, pp. 182-183)

Manning’s successor, Governor Hugh Clifford (1925-7) in frustration at his inability to cooperate with the Legislative Council, reported to the Secretary of State that the new constitution did not work satisfactorily. Consequently, in 1927 a royal commission consisting of the Earl of Donoughmore and the members who were representatives of the Conservative, the Liberal and the Labour parties in British Parliament, were appointed to visit Ceylon, ascertain why representative government had not succeeded and reported on any difficulties in administration which might have arisen in connection with it. Furthermore, they were requested to consider any proposals for the revision of the constitution that may be put forward. (Peebles, 2001, p. 154)

Consequently, in June 1928 the commission submitted their report which has been described as "the most remarkable state paper on colonial affairs of the 20th century". (Wright, 1966, p. 94) The commission declared that "the defects of the constitution were the failings of merely representative government".

Till 1920, the Executive Council was all-powerful and was not bound to accede to the wishes of the Legislature, but the reforms had transferred the power to a Legislature that was not able to take the place of the government it opposed; they had no power to enforce its decision. The Executive Council, on the other hand, did not have the power to act as it could not command a majority in the Legislative Council and did not have sufficient control over finance that was in the hands of the unofficial members. The
constitution also made a distinction between the official and non-official. The Executive Council had the official majority whereas the Legislative Council had the unofficial elected majority. This ultimately led to a permanent opposition to any proposal and the economic and social developments of the country were hindered. (Tariq, n.d., p. 1)

The commissioners condemned the Manning constitution, but the next step was to consider what type of constitution would suit the country. They wanted transferred representative government to responsible government, but it was impossible to find the way that would recommend such a change. According to the commissioners, the Ceylonese had not acquired a practical training in the art of government yet and they had not possessed a corporate spirit because their patriotism was more racial than national hence the commission proposed the grant to Ceylonese of a fair share of responsibility for their government (Mendis, 2005, pp. 154-155)

Before the commissioners decided that Ceylon should be self-governed, they had considered three important problems. Firstly, the Tamils and other minorities demanded the continuance of communal representation, but the commissioners found that most, if not all, of the communal representatives of the Legislative Council, had shown an interest merely in matters that affected the general welfare and development of the island. Even though the communal representation was thought initially as a solution to the problems of the minorities in Ceylon, the commission recommended its abolition and they defended their decision by this explanation:

Only by its abolition will it be possible for the diverse communities to develop together a true national unity…Communal representation in Ceylon has no great antiquity to commend it, and its introduction into the constitution with good intentions has had unfortunate results. (Tariq, n.d., p. 2)

Secondly, the commissioners examined the question of the franchise. Till 1920 Ceylon had been granted a franchise to a certain extent. Females were not entitled to vote and men had the right to vote, but they had to attain a certain level of educational achievement and they had to achieve considerable wealth too. In 1924 the electorate consisted of only 4 per cent of the population (approximately 200,000 persons). (Gunawardena, 2005, p. 6)

The commission believed that granting the franchise only to a limited category was ineffective as the common people were not interested in the administration of the country
then. In addition, they concluded that education was not always needed to make a wise choice and the poor should get an opportunity to improve their standards of living. Thus the constitution granted the right to franchise to all adults.¹³

Finally, the commissioners did not consider a parliamentary form of government suitable for Ceylon because there was no party system and only two separate institutions, the Legislative Council and the Executive Council turned to be unsatisfactory. The commission recommended the establishment of a State Council that would devolve both responsibility and power to its members. Thus the Legislative and Executive Councils were amalgamated to form a single body whose members were divided into ten departments.

Three main departments, the Chief Secretary, the Financial Secretary and Legal Secretary, were withheld by the British who were officers of the State Council but without the right to vote. The remaining seven departments were composed of the elected members of the State Council. They were given Home Affairs, Agriculture and Lands, Local Administration, Health Labour, Industry and Commerce, Communications and Works and Education. Each department had to elect their chairman and they, along with the officers of the State Council, were to form the Board of Ministers (Cooray, 1984, p. 25)

The proposals of the Donoughmore Commission were understandably strongly opposed by some groups. For instance, the Tamils objected to the establishment of electorates based on numbers which would reduce their political influence. The Muslims and the Burghers also feared that their prospects of employment in government service could suffer due to the abolition of communal representation. Also, the question of the franchise led to much controversy. Especially the Sinhalese members objected to the grant of manhood suffrage to the Indian labourers on the estates.

Despite opposition, the Donoughmore Constitution was eventually established by Governor Thomson (1931-3) in 1931. The first State Council consisted of 46 elected members of whom 38 were Sinhalese, 3 Ceylonese Tamils, 2 Indian Tamils, 2 Europeans and 1 Muslim. The nominated members by the governor consisted of 4 Europeans, 2 Burghers, 1 Tamil Indian and 1 Muslim. A Board of Ministers including three British ministers and seven Ceylonese ministers, three of whom were from the minority

¹³ In the same year, this reform was initiated also in Britain where women finally achieved the voting rights. (Tariq, n.d., p. 3)
communities, replaced the Executive Council which was established along with the Crown Colony system of government in 1802. (Mendis, 2005, pp. 183-190)

2.5. The Attainment of Independence

In spite of all the attractive features, the Donoughmore Constitution satisfied none of the important political groups in Ceylon. The leaders of the Ceylon National Congress were not satisfied with the extension of the franchise to the Indian plantation workers. They considered it as a political threat to the interests of the Sinhalese population in the plantation districts as the Indian Tamils were in some districts in large numbers. The franchise to the Tamil Indians became one of the major political issues in Ceylon in the aftermath of the Donoughmore Constitution.

On the other hand, the minorities were also bitterly hostile to the constitution due to the abolition of communal electorates. They particularly complained that while almost absolute political power had been transferred to Ceylonese, safeguards for protecting the interests of the minorities were utterly inadequate. The minorities argued that the democratisation of the electorates would guarantee the permanent Sinhalese domination of politics and the Tamils and Muslims complained that they were forced to submit to the system utterly unacceptable to them. (De Silva, 1981, pp. 422-424)

In 1937 Governor Caldecott (1937-44) was requested by the Secretary of State to examine the constitutional position and submit his recommendation. Consequently, Caldecott objected to the proposals to restrict the franchise and refused to make any concession concerning a return to communal representation. However, he was for the establishment of a cabinet system of government which would be headed by a chief minister chosen by the governor. Caldecott argued that the success of democracy in Ceylon would depend greatly on the discipline and drive that political parties alone could infuse into a democratic political system. (De Silva, 1981, p. 442)

The reform proposals were debated in the State Council, but with the outbreak of the Second World War, the constitutional problems of a small colony took very low priority and therefore the Secretary of State felt that this matter should be re-examined after the war was over and in 1943 it made the following declaration:

The post-war re-examination of the reform of Ceylon’s constitution, to which His Majesty’s Government stands pledges, will be directed towards the grant to Ceylon by Order of His Majesty in Council of full responsible government under the Crown in all
matters of internal civil administration. Further, if the Ministers formulated a constitution on these lines, which would receive the approval of three-fourths of the members of the State Council, the Secretary of State agreed to examine it by means of a Commission or Conference. (Mendis, 2005, p. 191)

Consequently, the ministers submitted a draft and requested its examination. One of the major figures that worked on a draft was Don Stephen Senanayake. He was the leader of the State Council, Minister of Agriculture and Lands during World War II.

In 1944, Lord Soulbury was appointed the head of a commission whose task was to examine a new constitutional draft that the Ceylonese ministers had proposed. In the meantime, D. S. Senanayake demanded Dominion status which had been already granted to India and Pakistan. Senanayake was invited for a consultation by the Secretary of State and it is necessary to mention that some circumstances of the time were in his favour.

Firstly, after the fall of Singapore to the Japanese in February 1942, Ceylon became a central base for British operations and the port at Trincomalee recaptured its historically strategic importance. The port became the base for the British Royal Navy. (Reddy, 2003, p. 78)

Secondly, international criticism on keeping nations subjugated was tending in the direction of helping the people of their colonies to attain self-government as early as possible. Accordingly, the British eventually agreed to concede full participatory government after the war. (Mendis, 2005, p. 193)

Soulbury’s report also supported the draft that provided a bicameral parliamentary government consisting of a Senate and a House of Representatives. The executive power was vested in a Prime Minister and a cabinet appointed by the Governor General. The Governor-General was given powers in matters of defence, external affairs, but on all other matters, he could only act on the advice of his ministers. (Wickramasinghe, 2014, p. 176)

A new constitution provided Ceylon with a higher degree of autonomy than ever. Not only did it provide the full responsible government in all matters of internal civil administration, but the constitution also gave some control over defence and external affairs.

However, when India and Burma attained independence, Senanayake, this time already the first Prime Minister of Ceylon, presented his demand for the same treatment for Ceylon. Accordingly, after the new constitution came into being, the Secretary of State
for Colonies announced that Ceylon would be granted full responsible government. Their decision was implemented on February 4, 1948. Thus ended British rule over Ceylon. (Mendis, 2005, p. 193)

2.6. Membership in the Commonwealth

The transfer of power in Ceylon was smooth and peaceful. Senanayake did not sever connections with Britain and he decided to join the Commonwealth of Nations. Prime Minister might have been influenced by the fact that India had become the member of the Commonwealth, but there were also other reasons behind his decision.

Firstly, Senanayake believed in the democratic way of life and he was convinced that the Commonwealth desired to preserve peace in the world. Secondly, Prime Minister’s decision arose as Ceylon’s trade was primarily with other countries of the Commonwealth. In addition, all nations of the Commonwealth, except Canada, had a common economic interest through this membership. (Melegoda, 2013, p. 3) Ceylon was depended particularly on revenues from commodities like tea, rubber, coconut and spices and Britain was its largest purchaser. About 40 per cent of Ceylon exports went to Britain and 10 per cent to Australia. (Melegoda, 2000, p. 98)

Thirdly, Senanayake’s desire to be in the Commonwealth also arose since he feared political isolation. He wanted Ceylon to be a partner in a large comity of nations with access to the stream of diplomatic information. In addition, he believed that the Commonwealth would protect the island against any possibility of aggression from India in the future since he always perceived potential power and the enormous size of this country as a threat to national security. (Melegoda, 2013, p. 5) In the early years of independence, Senanayake claimed that "membership of the Commonwealth would provide a counter-force against any possibility of aggression from India in the future" (De Silva, 1981, p.507).

Thus in 1947 Ceylon became a member of the Commonwealth and unlike India where the dawn of independence was marred by massacres and migrations, this was a period of stability, peace and order.
3. The Colonial Economy

The British colonial economy was based on commerce, basically, on export crops, which required urban centres for commerce, networks of transportation, but primarily new workers. This was, however, a major problem since the Sinhalese were bound to particular occupations. To explain it properly it is necessary to introduce the traditional social structure that had been established by the time the British took control of Ceylon.

3.1. The Abolition of Rājākariya

Until the early 19th century, there was the traditional system of land tenure in which the land was granted in exchange for unpaid services. (Bond, 1992, pp. 14-15) This system was called Rājākariya and it involved two classes of duties. The services done by people for the repair of the bridges and paths in their districts and the services varying according to the caste of persons. As it was discussed in the first chapter, caste determined a person’s social position. No one could change his caste, it was determined by birth. In general, caste was a complete system of life and work in which every person had their place and work. However, it did not agree with the British ideas of modern government. For the British, this kind of serfdom was considered as a form of slavery, but more importantly, if they had kept the people bound to their occupation they would have hindered the progress of trade and industry. As a result, a few months after the British conquest, Rājākariya was abolished and the inhabitants of Ceylon were ordered to pay a new tax, consisting a share of land produce.

These changes proved fairly unpopular since now a landholder had to give a share of his produce to the government, but they usually did not escape the services. Many people demonstrated an unwillingness to work even though they were offered payment. (Mendis, 2005, p. 48) The government soon found out that this change was not to its advantage. Nevertheless, this practice affected the caste system significantly. Bond (1992) claims that it produced a new elite who was lower in the caste hierarchy but took advantage of the new economic opportunities. (p. 15)

As the Sinhalese society had no caste of traders the British encouraged the growth of this new elite since it was necessary to the commercial success and it opposed to the traditional elite which was based on the traditional ways of life including duties and occupations. (Samarasinghe, 2014, p. 40). Soon, this middle class had found their place
in the new system and they became not only traders and Civil Servants, but also landholders. (Bond, 1992, p. 15)

Even though Governor North abolished the services rendered for lands, this unpaid labour continued as before and thus all his reforms were never properly implemented. Colebrooke disapproved this medieval system, even in the modified form and he objected to it.

However, to understand Colebrooke’s decision, it is necessary to explain the factors that had influenced his strategies first.

By the early 19th century, Britain had become the workshop of the world owing to the Industrial Revolution. This obviously led to significant alterations in the economic, social and political organization. Furthermore, a powerful humanitarian current caused that the British people began to have a deep sense of duty for the lot of the common people. These two factors led to changes in values and ideas. Mercantilism was suddenly under severe criticism and economic activities were widely perceived as benefits for only a few people. Equality of all people before the law was advocated, individual rights were emphasized and freedom of speech and action was welcomed.

And therefore, Colebrooke and Cameron’s legal economic proposals opposed mercantilism, state monopolies and discriminatory practices. (Reddy, 2003, pp. 65-66) Their task was to inquire into the state of the colony and its whole civil government, its laws and practical administration of justice. Colebrooke and Cameron with their beliefs in free trade, democracy and acceptance of utility could not obviously appreciate the existing system of the government of Ceylon since they altered radically the entire system of government that conformed fully with their own ideas. (Mendis, 2005, p. 53)

One of the first things that Colebrooke deplored was the system of Rājākariya. He opposed it on both economic and humanitarian grounds. In addition, he raised objections also to the way Rājākariya was enforced. According to Colebrooke, the work did not fall equally on all people. Some persons had to work for Government and during that time, they neglected their own lands, and some chiefs exempted those who bribed them that the work at times fell very heavily on the others. According to Mendis (2005):

Rājākariya hindered the development of agriculture and commerce by its interference with normal occupations. It denied the people the chance of changing their form of work or migrating from the district in which they lived. It reduced the people to a state of serfdom,
and compelled Government to preserve distinctions of race and caste in order to get its work done and to deny equal rights to all its subjects. (p. 53)

Colebrooke regarded the system of Rājākariya as an intolerable and oppressive relic of feudalism. However, these were not the only reasons for its abolition. Rājākariya was an obstacle to the free movement of labour and the creation of a land-market, which was important for the establishment of the laissez-faire state. (De Silva, 1981, p. 248)

In addition, Colebrooke realized too that the attitude of the Ceylonese toward Rājākariya was no longer what it had been in the days of Governor North and this time, many people desired its abolition. The reason for the change in their opinions was owing to North who had transformed the outlook of the people on the system. The work they had rendered, before the modifications in the system, had usually consisted in cleaning and maintaining their villages, but after North’s reforms people had to work on modern roads and buildings which was no direct value to them. According to Mendis (2005):

The abolition of Rājākariya is a landmark in the history of Ceylon. It put an end to the legal sanction which Sinhalese feudalism and the caste system hitherto received. It enabled the termination of the Governor’s Courts, and placed all people irrespective of caste on an equal footing in the sight of the law. And above all, the abolition of Rājākariya and monopolies made possible the commercial age which the British government was trying to usher in. (p. 56)

However, the chiefs and monks of the Kandyan Provinces did not approve of an abolition of Rājākariya. The influence of the chiefs depended on the tenurial services and obviously on the caste system and the monks were afraid that the abolition would ruin the state of the temples which was depended entirely on the services of the tenants and therefore the works in the temples were permitted to remain.

3.2. The Rise of the Plantations, Trade and Indian Labour

The British promoted the development of the resources of their territories so as to increase their revenue, hence they began to develop agriculture in Ceylon. During the 18th century the British had improved vastly the methods of cultivation in Europe and therefore their aim was to implement these methods also in Ceylon. For instance, they
introduced the rotation of crops\textsuperscript{14} in order to get the best results from the soil. And lastly, the British introduced new field crops such as potatoes, turnips and Indian corn. Since rice was the most important food item in Ceylon, the British encouraged the people to cultivate different kinds of rice. Unfortunately, they did not achieve enormous success. The landowners had neither the capital for venturing into new enterprises nor the knowledge. (Mills, 1964, p. 174)

One of the most significant commercial crops that the Portuguese introduced in Ceylon was cinnamon. This undoubtedly helped the British since they developed cinnamon plantations around Colombo and opened new plantations for the cultivation of this product. Moreover, Governor Maitland (1805-11) also opened plantations of cotton, sugar and opium, but again, the people who cultivated these crops met with little success. Ceylonese cinnamon could not compete with cheaper varieties from other colonies and according to Bandarage (2005), "it was the restructuring of Ceylon’s cinnamon trade along laissez-faire principles that sealed its decline and paved the way for the rise of private coffee production" (p. 68).

However, it was not only the reason why only few were inclined to invest in the cinnamon industry. All the objections against Rājākariya referred equally to monopolies and other government activities in trade and agriculture since they were done by means of these services. Colebrooke opposed all the commercial activities in which the British governors were involved, particularly cinnamon that was the chief government monopoly. Accordingly, Colebrooke opposed the organisation of the trade as well as the system of cinnamon production. According to the law, all the cinnamon plants, no matter where they grew, belonged to the government hence the monopoly prevented the people from getting a share in the sale of cinnamon. Consequently, Colebrooke abolished the cinnamon monopoly in Ceylon. (De Silva, 1981, p. 271) He believed that implementation of the changes would remove restrictions on trade and he expected that it would encourage private activities that would lead to the accumulation of capital of the people as well as the development of trade and agriculture.

After abolishing the trade and production monopoly on cinnamon in the course of the Colebrooke and Cameron reforms, there was little interest in the cinnamon trade.

\textsuperscript{14} Crop rotation is a practice of growing separately two successive crops of one kind or closely related species in the same ground in the interval of several years. The interval causes that the disease organisms perish in the soil and thus this method is very effective prevention of certain diseases. (Macmillan, 1935, p. 466)
However, other agricultural products did not suffer in a similar way. Owing to Colebrooke’s recommendations, the crown lands were sold at a nominal rate. In addition, the lands were given free of land-tax and therefore the obstacles that were in the path of the development of agriculture had been removed. (Wenzlhuemer, 2008, pp. 54-55)

Coffee plantations were not new in Ceylon. The Dutch also attempted to cultivate coffee, but they could have plantations only in the maritime provinces, which did not yield good results since there was the lack of fertile land. After the conquest of the Kandyan kingdom, the British gained access to the hill country that proved to be much more suitable. (Mendis, 2005, p. 50)

The first British coffee plantation was opened in 1824 when Governor Barnes granted land near Gampola to George Bird. Barnes also participated in coffee cultivation and started a plantation of his own and several government officials followed his example. Nevertheless, most of these early ventures were economically unsuccessful. The reason for this might have been owing to a small improvement in transport infrastructure of the island\footnote{Since there were basically no roads in the highlands, coffee had to be transported to the seaports by porters, which was undoubtedly too expensive for coffee planters. (Mendis, 2005, p. 50)} or because of the lack of cultivation skills. (Wenzlhuemer, 2008, p. 54) It is obvious that Governor Barnes did everything possible to encourage the cultivation of crops such as coffee, cotton, sugar, indigo and opium since he abolished the export duty and he waived the land-tax from commercial crops plantations.

Another product that was very significant that time was coconut. Bertolacci, (1983) estimates that there were almost 10,000,000 coconut trees in Ceylon in the early 19th century. The products of the tree such as oil, arrack and jaggery were partly consumed in Ceylon and the rest was exported. (p. 120)

The attempts to help the development of agriculture and trade in the early of the 19th century did not achieve any far-reaching results, yet the government expenditure continued to increase its revenue. (Mendis, 2005, p. 50)

Even though the planters found it difficult to make much profit, the situation began to change in the late 1830s and 1840s. R. B. Tytler who studied coffee planting in Jamaica arrived in Ceylon and provided the Ceylonese planters with the necessary skills to grow productive coffee bushes. Tytler showed the land-owners how coffee planting could be made more profitable thus. (Vanden Drisen, 1960, p. 4)
Consequently, the cultivation of coffee expanded enormously. In 1835 there were a few Europeans planters in Ceylon. From 1835 to 1843 about 130 plantations were opened and by 1846 there were between 500 and 600 coffee plantations. The capital invested in coffee between 1835 and 1845 is estimated at £5,000,000. (De Silva, 1981 p. 269)

Roberts and Wickremaratne (1973) attribute the rapid expansion of coffee cultivation to several decisive factors. In particular, the demand for coffee in Europe had increased and at the same time, the supply from the West Indies had declined because of the liberation of the West Indian slaves. Secondly, the expansion of the communication network, which will be discussed thoroughly in the following chapter and lastly, the investment of British capital. (p. 92)

The liberal policy after 1833 contributed to the evolution of the Ceylon as an attractive business location. The land grants provided the investor with a source of cheap land and prospects of coffee appeared so good that even Governor Mackenzie (1837-41), the officers, judges and Civil Servants started opening plantations. (Wenzlhuemer, 2008, p. 56) They were gradually joined by the capitalists from England and India some of whom started plantations and the others bought existing plantations at exorbitant prices.

With the rapid expansion of the plantation industry, the demand for labour rose swiftly. Consequently, the Ceylonese planters imported the workforce from nearby South India since it proved to be cheaper than the local Sinhalese, who showed their unwillingness to engage themselves in hard and underpaid work while they made a good living from their own lands. (Snodgrass, 1966, p. 23)

The figures on Indian labour migration given by Snodgrass (1966) record the number of immigrants between 1839 and 1842 at 5,300. (p. 26) If these figures are accurate, Indian immigrant labour must have played a significant role in the plantation economy in Ceylon. However, the early labour migration was actually seasonal and many immigrants came to Ceylon for the picking and returned to India after the coffee harvest. (Hollup, 1994, p. 21)

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16 The plantation agriculture was widespread in the colonial world of the 19th century. Plantations were usually owned by the Europeans with only a small percentage in the possession of indigenous elites. (Wenzlhuemer, 2008, p. 57)

17 Also, the abolition of Rājākariya did not solve the labour problem. Even though people were released from their services and they were allowed to choose any occupations, every Sinhalese was attached to his village by both custom and the property of his parents. In addition, those who belonged to the "high" caste considered it beneath their dignity to become a paid labourer. (Mendis, 2005, p. 68)
The migration was free of government restrictions and the contractual obligations and Tamil labourers, obviously, enjoyed "the legal right to quit his employer’s service at a month’s notice" (Wesumperuma, 1986, p. 22). Moreover, the demand for labourers was so enormous that in some cases the cost of labour quadrupled.

The initial satisfactory situation changed after the depression in 1845, though. The commercial crisis in Britain which was between 1845 and 1848 caused that Ceylon planters could hardly obtain any credit. Planters with smaller holdings were ruined by the depression and they had to sell their small estates at low prices. In addition, a fall in the consumption of coffee was accompanied by over-production which led to a rapid drop in prices.

However, the coffee industry was more resilient than one could anticipate and by 1849, signs of recovery became already noticeable and by 1853 the output steadily increased. The recovery in Ceylon owed almost as much to improving market in Britain and even though coffee prices never attained the heights that reached in the years before 1845, the new owners afforded a substantial margin of profit. Furthermore, the new proprietors started off with a great advantage since, during the financial crisis, scores of estates were sold cheaply. (De Silva, 1981 p. 270)

The Ceylonese who had a share in the coffee enterprise as contractors, planters, merchants, transport agents earned a great deal of money again and they gradually improved their standards of living. In addition, many of the Sinhalese and Tamil people who acquired wealth refused to accept the restricted status given to them by their caste.

Also, as it has been already mentioned, the plantations were depended on immigrant labour, but South Indian labours began to be drawn away to Mauritius where they received higher wages. Consequently, Governor Ward (1855-60) offered greater inducements for labourers to attract them back to Ceylon. He also improved their conditions by making it compulsory for employers to provide medical aid.

Coffee cultivation enjoyed its longest period of unbroken prosperity and in the 1870s reached its zenith. The price of coffee had risen by 50 per cent and the plantation system had penetrated almost all parts of the central highlands. Ceylon’s exports derived exclusively from plantation agriculture. (Peiris, 1981, p. 12)

However, in 1869 the trees had begun to be attacked by a devastating leaf disease to which no one at first paid any attention. The disease spread quickly throughout the plantation districts and the decline was swift and almost total. The planters had to search for a substitute crop and one that showed promised was cinchona.
In 1872 Ceylon cinchona covered 500 acres and in 1879 the area covered rose to 60,000 acres, but soon the enormous exports of Ceylon cinchona exceeded the demand and the price began to fall, hence the planters turned to other products.

Among all the crops that the planters had experienced, only tea showed real promise of success. (Wickramasinghe, 2014, p. 38) Tea was not new in Ceylon. In 1824 the first tea plant was brought by the British from China and it was planted in the Royal Botanical Gardens in Kandy. Further experimental planting began in 1839 with the tea plants brought through the East India Company, but the planters did not begin to plant tea owing to the high profits in coffee. However, with the decline of coffee, the commercial cultivation of tea could commence. (A heritage of excellence, 2015)

In 1867 James Taylor who had learned the basics of growing tea in India was given the task of growing tea on 19 acres in Loolecondera estate in Kandy. He soon found that the tea shrub is highly suitable to the poor soil of Ceylon (Figure 7). Taylor also set up the first tea factory and in 1875 he managed to send the first shipment of Ceylon tea to London tea auction. Tailor also created machinery for rolling the leaves. He continued to develop the tea industry and soon convinced many Ceylon planters. (Ferguson, 2010, p. 74)

The success of the tea industry also lay in other factors. In Britain, there was a decline in the demand for Chinese tea and people started preferring Ceylon tea for which the climatic conditions were excellent. (Wickramasinghe, 2014, p. 38) The area under cultivation rose in 1896 to 330,000 acres and in 1903 to 406,000 acres. The planters gradually improved the methods of cultivation and bought expensive machinery.

The pattern of labour utilisation on tea plantations was different from that on coffee estates. It has been noticed that on the coffee estates the labour was seasonal and the vast majority of immigrants returned to their homes each year after the coffee harvest. (De Silva, 1981 p. 290) On the other hand, tea was harvested throughout the year and therefore the maintenance of a permanent supply of labour was a fundamental necessity. Since the Sinhalese were just as averse to work on tea estates as on the coffee plantations, the reliance on Indian Tamil labour continued. (Vanden Drisen, 1997, p. 68) The government spent on medical aid a considerable sum of money. For instance, Governor Ridgeway (1896-1903) provided quarantine camps for labourers so that they could not spread infectious diseases since the main factor with which the government had to deal at that time was the toll taken by smallpox and cholera. The camps were fairly useful since the labours were medically examined there and if they were healthy, they could embark for
tea estates and the other labourers were in no danger of catching the disease from them. (Mendis, 2005, p. 151)

Some Indian Tamils even did not finish their route to the estates since they settled in the town and harbour of Colombo where there also was a demand for labour. They were employed by the shopkeepers, usually Muslims, Ceylon Tamils and Sinhalese, in the bazaars and villages and soon the non-estate sectors became very attractive for the South Indian labourers. Nevertheless, the majority of Indian Tamil immigrants settled on the estates. (Markovits, Pouchepadass, Subrahmanyam, 2006, p. 81).

The Indian labourers immigrated to Ceylon not as individuals, but in family units or groups which enabled them to maintain cultural traits. They spoke the same language, they all were Hindus and they traced their cultural origins to southern India. The plantation workers gradually became permanent residents rather than migrants and De Silva (1981) states that "this new element of plurality into the island’s multiracial society had profound consequences for the future" (p. 290).

Even though there was some interaction between the Sinhalese and Indian Tamils on the plantations, the lack of integration continued. It was probably caused by the creation of enclaves\footnote{An enclave is a territory or a part of the territory in a town, city or state. It is predominately made up of one ethnic group and the residents of the enclaves often appear to live separately from the surrounding community. Yet, they are still a part of the surrounding societies. (The World Geography, n.d.)} on the plantations where the labourers lived apart. In addition, workers were not given land, which obviously prevented them from interacting with the neighbouring villages and acquiring a new language. (Wesumperuma, 1986, p. 78)

Tea and coconut achieved an overwhelming dominance over the other plantation crops, but also the cultivation of rubber was very successful. The aim of the introduction of rubber production was to bring large parts in the Western, Southern Provinces into the export economy. They were opened mainly by European companies and the major participants in the establishment of rubber plantations were the tea companies. However, also the Ceylonese took to its cultivation. Even the poorer classes planted their gardens with rubber and sometimes they replaced a paddy and cinnamon with it. The rubber plantations also require a permanent workforce, but in contrast to the tea plantations, they were able to attract local village labour.

By 1913 rubber had replaced coconut as the largest export product after tea, which became a permanent feature of the economy in Ceylon and the number of Indian labourers
reached about 500,000, which was 12 per cent of the island’s total population. (De Silva, 1981 p. 291)

Economic growth was noticeable but lopsided. British agency houses and banks had a dominant interest in the economy and they had control over the export of plantation crops and the trend towards the extension of tea production became even more pronounced in the years after the First World War. From the beginning, a connection was established between the British-controlled sector of the economy and the colonial government the result of which was a comparative neglect of the traditional sector.

Firstly, this lop-sided development was depended on Indian labour which led to a qualitative change in the nature of Indian immigration, however, it was a general trend which had emerged during the European colonial period. Secondly, there was a question of land and population. According to De Silva (1981):

The plantations and British land legislation are believed to have resulted in the equivalent of an enclosure movement, with its predictable consequences – the disintegration of the peasant economy, landlessness among the peasants and social discontent, especially in the Kandyan areas. Land had been sold, mostly to European planters, in the Central Province. Although, a few Sinhalese did obtain some of this land, the vast bulk of it ended in British hands. (p. 294)

Many of these purchasers were speculators. The rapid growth of the plantations made enormous demands on the Department of the Civil Engineer and Surveyor-General. The work of land surveying was heavily in arrears, the Department was seriously disorganized and therefore they were unable to survey the land before it was sold. In consequence, Crown land was often sold to speculators who often resold it at a large profit. In addition, lands were sold by public auction at a reserve price and applicants were allowed to mark off its boundaries. Understandably, against the British, the Ceylonese planters could not compete.
4. The Transformation of Landscapes

4.1. Transport and Communications

With the revenue totally depending on the production of commercial crops, the request of the planting community for roads and railways could hardly be ignored. The development of infrastructure was undoubtedly necessary for the growth of the plantations and therefore the construction of a communication network became a chief feature of this period. It was a logical step both for the effective administration and for facilitating and cheapening the production of export crops. (Wickramasinghe, 2014, pp. 41-42)

Governor Barnes started building roads that linked Colombo with Kandy. Governor Horton consequently connected all the provincial capitals of the island by means of roads. He developed the road system in two directions. In 1833 he extended the Colombo-Dambulla road northwards to Jaffna and built the Kandy-Budulla road. He also completed the road from Kandy to Nuwara Eliya and connected Colombo with Trincomalee (Figure 8).

In 1841 the Colombo-Kandy road was metalled which created another revolution in the matter of transport. Bullock carts which needed more than 30 days to make a return journey between Colombo and Kandy, now managed it within eight days. (Mendis, 2005, pp. 69-71)

The government realized the importance of roads and to complete their construction they revived the old practice which had been abandoned in 1832. In 1848 Governor Torrington (1847-50) passed the Road Ordinance that compelled every man to give six days’ labour to building roads. In 1860 there were about 3,000 miles of road in good condition and the majority of the important towns in Ceylon were connected by road with Colombo and Kandy (Figure 9). (Muṇasimha, 2002, pp. 88-96)

The expansion of plantations was not the only object in constructing roads, though. Governor Gregory built a number of roads so as to open up the backward parts of Ceylon and to make them accessible to traders and government officials. Some of these roads provided routes for labourers from India. Besides, Gregory constructed scores of bridges and improved many roads. In 1890 there were 1,635 miles of metalled road and in 1912 there were already 2,772 miles. (Mendis, 2005, p. 116)
Even though the growth of plantations led to the construction of new roads, it was not sufficient to keep pace with a rapidly expanding coffee industry. The need for better and primarily quicker means of transport led to the establishment of the railways.

In 1853, the year in which railways started to be constructed in India, the planters demanded the construction of a railway since the export of coffee increased enormously and all the crops had to be conveyed to Colombo between the close of the picking season, which was in January, and the start of the south-west monsoon in May. When the monsoon broke, many roads became impassable. In 1854, about 30,000 to 36,000 bullock carts took the Colombo-Kandy road and the pressure on the road was so great that the carts returned extremely late. The cost of transport became expensive, but it was primarily because of the competition among the planters who were anxious to convey their coffee to Colombo in time. In addition, the planters knew that with the construction of railways their coffee would be much cheaper and they would be able to compete with Brazil coffee. (Thiranagama, 2011, pp. 230-231)

In 1855 Governor Ward regarded the establishment of a railway an absolute necessity. However, unlike India, the government of Ceylon could not afford to construct a wholesale network of railways, they had to build railways sequentially and every line had to be negotiated with the Colonial Office in London. (Muṇasiṃha, 2002, pp. 117-151) Governor Ward convinced the Legislative Council to sign a contract which estimated the total cost of the construction at £856,557 and thus the work on the first railway line between Kandy and Colombo was commenced in 1858. The line was opened nine years later and the construction of the railway line cost £2,214,000 for which the government was bitterly attacked. (Skinner, 1891, p. 247).

Three years later, new extensions were built and by the 1870s the local elites began to campaign for their own lines which was opposed to the interests of European planters, but Governor Gregory intended to open up coastal towns and enable movement in and out of Colombo for the benefit of the natives. Consequently, the construction on the southern railway line began in 1875 and was completed in 1895 it was the first railway line that was used for the conveyance of passengers rather than goods. (Mendis, 2005, p. 117)

The northern railway line, running 211 miles through major cities was the longest in Ceylon and it took 19 years for the project to be completed. This line did not help the planters, but it served small-scale agriculture and passenger traffic and while the railway line was judged to be important, some documents relating to the line argued not about the
economic benefit of this line, but about the place and its industrious people who "deserved" a railway. It was said that the northern part of Ceylon was neglected by the colonial state and therefore the railway line enabled them to be part of the colony and the speech presented by the members of the Jaffna Railway Committee in 1887 to visiting Governor, Sir Arthur Gordon (1883-90), supports this argument:

This visit makes us rejoice to think that the north for the future is going to be considered and treated as a portion of the Colony. The north is not known because it is cut off from the rest of the island. It is so far removed from the centre of Government, that the cry of its people does not always reach the capital. This distance, political, social and physical was to be bridged by that archetypal symbol of contemporary modernity, the railway. The wants of Jaffna are many, but we beg to submit that in our humble opinion, there is no measure which will remove so many of our grievances as the joining of the north and the south by means of the railway. (Thiranagama, 2011, pp. 232-233)

The construction of roads and railways connected the highly populated districts of the north with the rest of the island. Above all, it enabled the Tamils to realize their connection with the rest of the people on the island.

Even though the roads and railway lines were built partly to help the expansion of the cultivation of coffee, tea, rubber and coconut, they also developed the other parts of the country. In fact, other development on the island depended on them. Some roads helped the development of irrigation works along the rivers. The roads that had been used for pedestrians, bullock carts and horse coaches were used by cyclists in 1896 and later by motor vehicles.

The development of the infrastructure included not only the roads and railways that linked the various parts of the island, but also the Mediterranean route was revived with the use of steamships that established quicker communication between Ceylon and England.19 For instance, a reply to a letter from Ceylon to London by the Cape route took almost a year, but by way of the Mediterranean, the time taken was about ten weeks. However, the first steamships regularly needed fresh supplies of fuel to their machinery and therefore they could not be used in open seas. Thus, they did not replace sailing

19 The Mediterranean route had not been used after the Turkish conquests in the 15th century hence communications between England and Ceylon as well as India had been made by way of the Cape of Good Hope. (Mendis, 2005, p. 72)
vessels which took the Cape route, but they definitely brought Ceylon into closer communication with Britain. (Mendis, 2005, pp. 72-73)

4.2. Architecture

With the development of the infrastructure, Ceylonese cities became gradually Europeanised. The British made Colombo city the capital and as a colonial foreign city, it displayed the imprint of the imperial control. (Schaffer, 1998, p. 75) At the turn of the 19th century, Percival (1975) observed that "Colombo, more than any other town in India, was built in the European style" (p. 102). A clock tower was built in the centre and King’s Street connected the Queen’s House and the Parliament building. Moreover, the British anglicized all urban elements by naming them in the British style. Perera (2012) states that:

Naming physical features, structures, places, and spaces is perhaps the most crucial aspect of colonization since naming appropriates places by reconstituting them within the particular cultural schemata of the namer. British scientific culture required that every place, mountain, or river be given a name, mainly for the purpose of identification and mapping. Although the Dutch had adapted many Sinhalese and Portuguese names for places and streets, British names in Colombo were largely derived from their own cultural memories in the metropole (Bristol Street, Hyde Park, Kew Road), associations with the royal family (York Street, Duke Street, Prince Street), historically significant men in Britain (Chatham Street, Stafford Avenue), and Governors and officials in Ceylon (Gordon Gardens, Norris Road). The system of cultural and spatial apartheid was, therefore, very pronounced. (p. 50)

The streets were lined with the buildings that were constructed in rows like in contemporary European cities and the space between buildings and the road was marked by the verandas. On the other hand, the Ceylonese streets and buildings did not define each other and buildings were located as clusters. However, making the landscape like that of a normal English town, the British excluded indigenous buildings. (Perera, 2012, pp. 50-51)

In 1880 Edison invented the incandescent lamp which made the electric lighting of houses possible. By 1888 electricity was used in England in streets and houses, two years later electric lighting was introduced in Colombo. (Mendis, 2005, p. 147)
Furthermore, a network of roads and railway lines connected the commercial centre with surrounded residential suburbs that were occupied largely by the British, Burghers and elite families from indigenous ethnic communities, including Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims. The inhabitants of Colombo enjoyed themselves in turf, golf, cricket and rowing clubs that had been established in every residential suburb.

One may perceive that Colombo was the modern and cosmopolitan city in which the British lived alongside their indigenous neighbours. However, the fact that some clubs had only "white" membership and all the club servants were the natives proves that it was essentially racist and culturally insular place. (Pieris, 2013, p. 57) In addition, during the British games such as rugby and cricket, the indigenous communities could be only the spectators, who were kept at a distance. (Perera, 2012, p. 56)

The British dwellings in Ceylon were either plantation bungalows or suburban dwellings. The fist was central to the physical transformation of the landscape since a British planter usually allotted plantation, built a manor house in which he lived like a British lord with his native servants. The houses of the governors were understandably the finest looking buildings in the country. Planters often built their houses with architectural features such as stone structures, entrance verandas and fireplaces. The bungalows were tall, spacious and roofed with two layers of clay tiles. Perera (2012) points out that bungalows were constructed to provide a panoramic view. The upper balconies offered a picturesque view over the sea or the plantations or the mountains (Figure 10). (p. 56)

Soon towns followed this model and for instance, the colony at Nuwara Eliya established by Governor Barnes in 1846 consisted of grey stone churches, Tutor-style homes, a red-brick post office (Figure 11). (Moldrich, 1973, p. 40)

The British built new buildings in such a way that it seems that they wanted to physically and symbolically overpower the former environment and its inhabitants. For instance, in Kandy, the British built a Protestant school and police station in the sacred square and an Anglican church was built in the most sacred place, near the Temple of the Sacred Tooth Relic (Figure 12). Kandy was gradually transformed into a British cultural place and like in Colombo, statues were erected in the public places and street and places were given British names. (Duncan, 1985, p. 191)

However, Kandy and Nuwara Eliya remained exclusively British only until 1910 when the Ceylonese elites started buying properties there. This trend occurred also in other urban centres like Galle and Jaffna and by the late 19th century, all the colony’s
administrative centres were attracting the Ceylonese, including both the indigenous elites and urban poor. (Pieris, 2013, p. 59)
5. Colonial Religious Education

With the emergence of the new class and new employment opportunities, the British wanted to raise the intellectual standard of the people in order to equip them for the new roles. Accordingly, they needed to establish an educational policy that would be able to achieve its primary purpose.

5.1. Education

When the British gained control of the Dutch possessions in Ceylon, two separate school systems had already existed. There was a network of Cristian parish schools and a relatively large number of traditional schools, *pansala*, that were attached to monasteries and managed by monks. (Sumathipala & Kannangara, 1968, p. 40)

Both of these two streams of education were rather neglected first, but Governor North, who considered education as an instrument for the moral improvement of man, showed an interest in these vernacular schools. North established a seminary in Colombo and he also opened a few English schools to teach people the new language so that they could man the government departments. (Jayaweera, 1971, p. 154) The demand for knowledge was great so was for employment under the British government. However, the development of education was no sustainable owing to aspects of British policy. According to Wenzlhuemer (2008):

In the first place, the state of the government revenue set up the financial framework, within which colonial educational policy could be realised. As the propagation of education has never been a preference of the British administration throughout the 19th century, expenditure on educational facilities has often been the first to suffer during times of financial difficulties. Second, the British approach to the education of the Crown’s native subjects was only partly based on humanitarian thoughts. Third, the competition of the various religious bodies and groups in Ceylon played a significant role in the development of education in Ceylon. (p. 201)

North’s successor, Thomas Maitland, was not interested in the propagation of education, but Governor Brownrigg opened several new schools both in towns and villages. He entrusted them to the missionaries.
The Baptist Missionary Society started to set up missionary schools in 1814, the Wesleyan Missionary Society followed in the same year, the American Mission in 1816, the Christian mission in 1817 and the Church Missionary Society in 1818. (Jayaweera, 1971, p. 154)

All these societies immediately started to build the schools in the centres of maritime regions, primarily around and in Colombo except the American mission that began its work in Jaffna. During 20 years, the missionary societies opened 235 schools in which almost 10,000 pupils were being taught. Schools were fairly well supervised and the local languages, Sinhala and Tamil, were used for giving instructions. In general, Governor Brownrigg supported the activities of missionary bodies since their schools had a definite policy and their work was carried on without interruption in contrast to the government schools. Thanks to Brownrigg’s support, missionary schools soon occupied a more dominant position in the spread of education that the government schools. (Wenzlhuemmer, 2008, p. 203)

Brownrigg’s successor Edward Barnes was interested only in economic progress on the island and he soon stopped the allowances paid to the missionaries. He left educational matters to the churches and hence the schools were reduced to four English and ninety missionary schools by 1830. (Jayaweera, 1971, p. 155)

However, the opening of the Ceylon civil service and offering highly skilled jobs to the natives was one of the reasons why a new emphasis was placed on English education. (Wickramasinghe, 2014, p. 44)

In 1832 the government accepted Colebrooke’s recommendation and abolished Sinhalese and Tamil schools and at the same time, five English schools were built in Colombo, Jaffna, Kandy, Galle and Chilaw. In addition, in Colombo, a secondary school was opened (now called Royal College). By 1835 there were 90 government-controlled schools and about 100 Catholic schools, but the emphasis was placed on these leading schools and therefore the centres of education moved from villages to towns. Those who benefited most were the Burghers that lived in the urban areas and as they were often Protestants, they had no religious scruples about attending these schools. (Perera, 2012, p. 75)

All government schools were English-speaking schools as Colebrooke stressed the absolute value of the English language. According to Coperehewa (2011), "Colebrooke was influenced by the view, held by Englishmen at the time, that oriental learning was of little value and that knowledge of English would lead to the moral and intellectual
improvement of the Eastern peoples” (p. 32). However, the government soon realized that English was not a satisfactory medium of instruction for Sinhalese and Tamil children. For instance, in 1838, Governor Mackenzie, a fervent believer in the social benefits of education, demanded a considerable change in the language education policy of the government. He believed that total dependence on English was an obstruction to progress in education. He promoted the education of the masses and not just an elite. Mackenzie suggested that children should be taught to read their own language before they learn English. (Corea, 1969, pp. 151-175)

Consequently, as studying English had far-reaching results, the government decided to ignore Colebrooke’s recommendation and in 1847 it established Sinhalese and Tamil schools again. Vernacular schools were widely extended and thus the government showed a commitment to promote mass education.

In the last decades of the 19th century, the number of schools increased rapidly. There were two educational systems in Ceylon, the government schools and missionary schools. It is necessary to mention that these two systems were not rivals. The government had more English schools and fewer vernacular whereas the missions had few English schools and many vernacular. (Gratiaen, 1933, p. 46)

Despite the increase of schools and pupils, the number of those who experienced the benefits of education remained small and therefore the government appointed a commission that examined the medium of instruction, a qualification of teachers and the subjects that had been taught. The commission then recommended that where schools existed attendance should be made compulsory. Consequently, in 1907 an attendance was enforced in almost all districts and the number of pupils rose by nearly 50 per cent.

The development of schools and compulsory attendance led to a considerable increase in the literate population and in 1912 about 40 per cent of men and 10 per cent of women were able to read and write. (Denham, 1912, p. 420)

Governor Horton considered the newspaper as an educational agency and he invited the public to express their opinions and write articles. The Liberal ideas that were common in England at that time were in favour of freedom of expression. There was also the growth of the press in the vernacular languages. The works were primarily religious and usually emphasized the other-worldly view of life. The presses issued innumerable books, magazines and tracts and these publications provided a considerable amount of information to literate people. English books and press provided people with the progressive ideas of European countries. Besides, students could study the arts, history
Under these circumstances, students soon realized that a knowledge of Sinhalese and Tamil did not take them very far. Sinhalese and Tamil literacy works did not deal with modern topics and they soon became uninteresting for young students as well as their language. The minority that took higher education began to confine themselves to English since they realized that the acquisition of English had the obvious advantages; English was the language of the government, the law courts and trade. Besides, knowledge of the English language opened vast avenues for employment. The number of hospitals, dispensaries, courts and plantations was quickly increasing and all educated people took advantage of these opportunities.

Also, the connection of education in English schools with England was strengthened. (Mendis, 2005, pp. 161-163) In 1880 school uniforms and the Cambridge examinations were introduced into Ceylon (Figure 13). The schools encourage their students by awarding the university scholarships on the results of the exams. 21 students took the examination in 1880 and in 1890 the number rose to 223. (Mendis, 2005, p. 128)

In addition, the government decided to give the students a scholarship on the results of an examination conducted by Oxford and Cambridge Joint Board. However, this led to unintended consequences. English schools did not concentrate on the need of the students, but each school tried to compete with the others in the number of candidates presented at the Cambridge examinations. Also, the schools that focused on the Cambridge examination followed a curriculum more suited to England than to Ceylon. The English schools paid little attention to the culture of the Ceylonese and they did not teach Buddhism or Hinduism. Even though there were some Buddhist and Hindu schools in Ceylon and their number grew during this period, it did not make a serious difference to the country.

The development of the country and the expansion of professions also led to changes in higher education. At the beginning of the 19th century, advocates and proctors were admitted and enrolled by the judges of the Supreme Court, but at the end of this century, the legal education was established to direct the studies of advocate students. All students were obliged to pass a preliminary and final examination at the end of the course.

In 1880 the Colombo Academy began to teach science. In 1903 the government opened a college for the training of teachers and in 1905 physics and chemistry laboratories were established in the Technical College. Also, the Medical College was
established on the proposals of doctors who wanted medical assistance places within the reach of the people of rural areas. (Mendis, 2005, pp. 153-161)

The educated class became interested in political issues, but it is necessary to add that they did not organise political activities directed against the colonial government. The similarity of the elite was based partially on their anglicised life-style of which English education was a fundamental characteristic. (De Silva, 1981, p. 333)

5.2. Religions

Two traditional religions of Ceylon, Buddhism and Hinduism did not have an organized body like the Catholic Church; they did not have the funds and the result was that Buddhist property began to be neglected. Monks could not build new schools and the majority of Buddhist and Hindu children had to attend the missionary schools which were run mainly with the object of converting Buddhists and Hindus to Christianity. A considerable number of children learned to read and write from monks, but the education was not organized as in schools run by the government or the Missions.

The Christian missions made a considerable progress during this period. They carried on their evangelistic work more zealously than ever before. As it has been mentioned in the previous chapter, the government that realized the value of education welcomed the missionary schools and the missions naturally found schools as a great means of spreading Christianity. The missions also kept influence people through newspapers, books and tracks. (Mendis, 2005, pp. 80-82)

Buddhists and Hinduists had to utilize other methods for spreading their religions and therefore they conducted a set of rituals that assured that Buddhism and Hinduism would survive. The rituals brought believers together. In case of Buddhism, village monks, who were literate persons of the village, read aloud the stories that dealt with the past of the Buddha, his former births, renunciation and attainment of Nirvana. Martin Wickremasinghe20 (1961) recounts that listening to the preaching of the monks in the village was a form of entrainment for villagers. (p. 43) The stories were often pictured in the temples (Figure 14) and storytelling became an effective means of giving the abstract ethics of the doctrinal tradition that touched peasant society. Parents told these stories to

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20 Martin Wickremasinghe, born in 1890, related his wide experience of learning and schooling under colonial rule. He was taught, both at home and in the village temple, then in a vernacular school and in 1897 he was sent to an English school where he learned to read and write in English and Latin. He became the most renowned Sinhala novelist of post-independence Sri Lanka. (Wickramasinghe, 2014, p. 79)
their children and thus became part of their own consciousness. (Wickremasinghe, 1961, p. 41)

The monks undoubtedly realized that their religion was in danger and therefore they began to follow the methods of the missionaries themselves in order to counteract their activities in Ceylon. Buddhist laymen that had acquired wealth by taking part in the enterprises provided by British rule began to help the monks; they established printing presses so as to publish tracts and form societies for Buddhist propaganda. (Mendis, 2005, p. 108)

Buddhist activities made great progress during this time. Buddhists participated in the discussions with Christians and showed their great interest in their religion, simultaneously they expressed anxiety about its future. The major figure in these debates was Migethuwatte Gunananda Thera. His oratory was enormously influential and he gave strength to the cause of Buddhism. The discussions with regard to the merits and defects of Christianity and Buddhism continued in the journals run by Buddhists, Roman Catholics and Protestants. (Mendis, 2005, p. 129)

Colonel Olcott also played an important part in the history of Ceylon Buddhism. By the end of the 19th century, Buddhism had a secure place on the curriculum of universities all over the world and when Olcott, an American social reformer and spiritualist, arrived in Ceylon, he received a euphoric welcome from Buddhists who were eager to gain Western support. (Wickramasinghe, 2014, p. 81)

Hawkins (1999) claims that "the counter-attack against Christianity in Ceylon started when Olcott arrived" (p. 5). Olcott and his Western followers championed Buddhist aims, but they realized that Buddhist activities needed to be organized on modern lines. In 1880 Olcott began to publish the Sinhalese newspaper Sarasavi Sandarasa with the English part called The Buddhist which spread Buddhist propaganda and in the same year, he found the Theosophical Society. In 1885 a building purchased for the headquarters of the Society and a Buddhist flag was adopted. Olcott proposed a scheme of Buddhist education and in 1907 there were about three hundred Buddhist schools of which about two hundred were under the management of Olcott’s Theosophical Society. Olcott’s influence definitely encouraged the revival of Buddhism and he became a hero for many Ceylonese. (Harris, 2009, p. 147)

Similar developments took place in the north where the majority of Hindus lived. Hinduism had suffered for three centuries under foreign rule. Especially education, which was almost a monopoly of the Missions, became the chief means of conversion to
Christianity. Sumathipala & Kannangara (1968) quotes Ponnambalam Ramanathan\textsuperscript{21}, who in 1884 complained to the Legislative Council about the religious intolerance in the missionary schools:

Children who are obliged to go to these missionary schools are forced by the missionaries, under pain of fines and expulsion, to read the Bible whether they liked it or not. Hindu boys have learnt to make mental reservations and are getting skilled in the art of dodging. The holy ashes put on at home during worship are carefully rubbed off as they approach the Christian school and they affect the methods of Christian boys while at school. There is a great deal too much of hypocrisy in Jaffna in the matter of religion, owing to the fact that the love of the missionaries for proselytes in as boundless as the love of the Jaffnese to obtain some knowledge. (pp. 30-31)

Another significant Hindu who had been educated in a Christian school and began to revive Hinduism was Arumuga Navalar. He worked as a teacher in a missionary school, but Navalar soon realized that he was being used to Christianise Hindus and therefore he finished his work under the missionaries and developed modern Tamil prose. Navalar spearheaded a literary revival in Jaffna, he wrote commentaries on grammar for Hindu pupils and he also opened a rival school in Jaffna in order to provide education to Hindu children. (Wickramasinghe, 2014, p. 88) Navalar inspired other Hindus who had acquired considerable wealth hence he could afford to start the Society for the Propagation of Shaivism. The Society also realized the power of the press and they began to issue the \textit{Hindu Organ}. In addition, it held conferences, arranged public lectures, published books, pamphlets and tracts and in 1890 the society established the Jaffna Hindu College.

The revival of Buddhism and Hinduism gave a new impetus to oriental studies. Civil Servants, even Christian missionaries began the study of Pāli\textsuperscript{22} and Sinhalese. In addition, they began compile dictionaries and produce works on Buddhism and

\textsuperscript{21}Ponnambalam Ramanathan was appointed Solicitor-General of Ceylon in 1892. He held that position with great esteem and honour. He also went on a tour of Europe. While in England he was presented to Queen Victoria. In 1903 he became one of the first Ceylonese to be appointed King's Counsel. One of his great achievements was that he, as a candidate for the Educated Ceylonese seat, was elected to the Legislative Council in 1911. Prior to his retirement, he went on a grand lecture to America where he gave lectures on Hinduism and Hindu philosophy. Ponnambalam Ramanathan was a lawyer, scholar, statesman and brilliant public speaker, but primarily he was responsible for the enactment of several measures for the good of the Ceylonese people. (Arumugam, 1997, pp. 158-159)

\textsuperscript{22}Pāli is the language of the texts of the earliest literature of Buddhism and the sacred language of some texts of Hinduism. (Oberlies & Pischel, 2012, p. 1)
Hinduism. They started translating the *Mahavansa*, the ancient chronicle, and the branch of the Royal Asiatic Society began to investigate the ancient heritage of Ceylon. Also, Archaeologists began to work at Polonnaruwa and Anuradhapura and their finds contributed to the resurgent national pride. The study of the past became an essential part of education. In 1881 Pali Text Society was established and the European scholars and monks were publishing Sanskrit, Pāli and Sinhalese works that helped the study of these languages not only within the country. (Mendis, 2005, p. 130)
6. Colonialism and Constructed Identities

Before the arrival of the Portuguese, Dutch and British, the country was roughly divided into three kingdoms. People lived within these kingdoms which were differentiated by kinship, caste, religious and cultural identities rather than categories of ethnicity as they are today. However, these relations began to change when the Portuguese and then the Dutch occupied the island and brought with them their own distinct influences. Consequently, when the British occupied the island, they brought in further amalgamations through pervading capitalist economy dominated by the plantation sector. This set into motion transformations that affected the existing older social and cultural divisions.

6.1. Counting and Classifying: The Census Mode of Knowledge

British colonialism brought about a new way of looking at identities. They used a variety of technologies among which the most important was the census. According to Kertzer and Arel (2002), the measuring, categorizing and quantifying of populations were introduced by the British in the countries they ruled partially in order to deny political rights to the colonized, which in turn insisted that there be a clear demarcation between the settlers and the indigenes and partially to identify and categorize the people the British were to govern. (p. 3)

In 1835 a detailed statement included the registers of births and deaths and the population was divided into the following groups: whites (9,121), free blacks (1,194,482), slaves (27,397) and strangers (10,825). (Denham, 1912, p. 177).

In 1871 the first census was held in Ceylon. And according to Sarkar (1957), a population that was unaccustomed to being counted produced some unusual reactions:

Many people fled from their villages and spent weeks in the forests; others hastily got married and even took the unusual step of getting their marriage registered. The panic arose from a wide-spread rumor that the purpose of the counting was to transport younger males to Europe to make good the depletion in manpower caused by the Franco-Prussian war. (p. 19)

The population was counted according to their ethnic status which means that the census became a mode for creating ethnic identities as a Tamil, Sinhalese, Muslim, etc.
From 1871 to 1901, the Tamils of both Ceylonese and Indian origin were classified under the term "Ceylon Tamil". From 1911, however, the Tamils were separated into two categories "Ceylon Tamil" and "Indian Tamil". Kanapathipillai (2009) states that:

This naming also emphasized the foreignness of the Indian Tamils, which in due course came to form the basis of contestation among the Ceylonese political leadership of any claims made by the Indian Tamils for legitimacy and recognition in the nation-state (p. 19).

The population data were not only a source of keeping populations knowable but also a means of controlling them. Later, a new category of "temporary visas" was created and in this category, only Indian Tamils were included by the government of Ceylon. This qualifying neatly singled out the "temporary" occupants from the "permanent", but it primarily created tensions between ethnic groups which will be discussed in the following chapter.

6.2. Citizenship and Statelessness

Within a few months of independence, one of the most significant political issues in the country concerned the Tamils.

G. G. Ponnambalam who had led the Tamils in their political campaigns since his entry into the State Council in 1934 became a member of the Cabinet. Ponnambalam’s decision to join Senanayake’s government was the Prime Minister's sensitivity to minority interests. Senanayake had a deep conviction of the need for generous concessions to the minorities since he was aware that this was an essential part of political stability in a plural society. From the beginning, both Ponnambalam and Senanayake had the enthusiastic approval of the small, but influential, Christian minority and the Muslims who, in the past, had given great support to the Tamils in their political campaigns. Senanayake was sanguine about the prospects of ethnic harmony and a fair balance of responsibility and duty between the majority and the minorities, but soon his conception of a multi-racial polity was flawed. (De Silva, 1981, pp. 489-493).

Senanayake introduced three pieces of legislation, the Ceylon Citizenship Act of 1948, the Indian and Pakistani Residents Act of 1948 and the Ceylon Parliamentary Elections Amendment Act of 1949. These acts clearly demarcated the citizens from the aliens, but the first law deprived the Indian Tamils, consisting of mainly plantation workers and constituting 12 per cent of the population, of their citizenship. However,
there was a special reason for that; the Indian Tamils were regarded as an unassimilated group without roots in the country. The second law made it possible for those with education and property within the community to obtain citizenship. The third law deprived those without citizenship of the right to vote. (Wickramasinghe, 2014, p. 170)

Senanayake’s decisions can seem paradoxical, but even some minorities’ opinion, especially in the Kandyan areas, was deeply suspicious of the Indian Tamils. They were apprehensive about the prospect of Indian domination of the central highlands. However, another reason that could have been behind Senanayake’s decision is that he considered the Indian plantation workers as an additional source of political strength to the indigenous Tamils. (De Silva, 1981, p. 493)

Therefore, the Tamil Congress led by G. G Ponnambalam had joined the coalition with Senanayake and supported the legislation disenfranchising the Indian Tamil community. Thus, they separated the two communities, the Sri Lankan Tamils and the Tamils of Indian origin which had acted together for a common goal. (Kanapathipillai, 2009, p. 43)

Consequently, the voting strength of Tamil voters was dramatically reduced, which gave the United National Party (of which D. S. Senanayake was a member) as well as its Tamil and Muslim allies a decisive advantage in the general elections of 1952 in which the left-wing parties were greatly handicapped. (De Silva, 1981, p. 494) For instance, in the Nuwara Eliya, the number of voters at the General Election of 1947 was 24,295. After the revision, the number of voters fell to 9,279 of whom only 319 were Tamils. (Thondaman, 1994, p. 74)

Thus the Indian Tamils became isolated from the rest of society. Their low caste status and their poverty confirmed their lack of political representation and their rapid marginalisation in national politics. (Wickramasinghe, 2014, p. 182) In addition, in 1964, there were about 975,000 Indians without citizenship rights. To remedy this situation, the prime minister of India, Lal Bahadur Shastri, and the new Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike signed the Indo-Ceylon agreement that determined the status of people of Indian origin. Both governments agreed that 525,000 were to be repatriated to India and the rest was to be accepted by Ceylon. By the end of 1974 over 630,000 Indians applied to remain in Ceylon; the Indian Tamils thus showed that they considered Ceylon their home. However, lots of them were marked for deportation to India. During these years, the Indian Tamils suffered many hardships. Not only were they kept in isolation from the rest of the country, but they had also a low standard of living, high
death and birth rates and obviously high illiteracy. (Mukhopadhyay, Steehouwer & Wong, 2006, p. 153)

However, to return to the previous point, the Indo-Ceylon agreement had not been fully implemented in the end. By 1981, only 162,000 Indian Tamils had been registered as citizens of now called Sri Lanka and 373,900 had been given Indian citizenship, 445,588 persons had been repatriated to India against their will (Figure 15). In 1988, the Grant of Citizenship to Stateless Persons Act granted citizenship to all remaining Indian Tamils who had not applied for Indian citizenship. According to Wickramasinghe (2014):

The case of Indian Tamils, who currently number 5.5 per cent, is evidence that in the decades that followed independence, citizenship was perceived as a primary circle of belonging that measured one’s attachment to the territory by criteria of descent and literacy (implicitly). Aliens and migrants who hailed from the working class were set apart and cast away. But within the political community of citizens other divisions too were created: a majority and minorities were delineated through circles of exclusion and inclusion based on gender, religion and ethnicity. (p. 184)

It did not take long and also the indigenous Tamils were discriminated. For instance, in 1972 admission criteria to Sri Lankan universities were lower for the Sinhalese than for Tamils who had to obtain higher aggregate marks in order to enter university. They were also discriminated in terms of employment opportunities since the positions in state services that the Tamils enjoyed during the British rule were no longer given to them because the Sinhala language became the official language. This undoubtedly reduced Tamil traditional government positions. This time, the government of Sri Lanka also introduced an ethnocentric constitution that religiously discriminated against minorities. Thus was neglected the Soulbury Constitution which had been signed by the British before granting independence. The 1972 constitution gave foremost status to Buddhism while Hinduism, Islam and Christianity were downgraded which understandably provided the basis for a conflict. (Mushtaq, 2012, p. 204)

One can argue that there were tensions between Tamils and Sinhalese even under British rule, which is undoubtedly true, but it is necessary to highlight that the disputes never resulted in anti-Tamil riots. However, in 1972 Tamil buses were attacked and their property was destroyed which resulted in the division in society. Tamils began to
campaign for a Tamil homeland in northern and eastern Sri Lanka, where most of the island’s Tamils resided.

The Sinhalese national party carried out violence, they killed many Tamils and even though the government outlawed this party and said that it would not accept any similar actions, they did basically nothing against the Sinhalese activists. This obviously led to the secession by Tamil political leaders. A new political party, the Tamil New Tigers, was formed and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elan which turned into a very ruthless and effective organization afterwards. (Mushtaq, 2012, p. 204)
7. A Legacy of the British Empire

Colonialism came hundreds of years ago, but even nowadays its consequences can be seen in all the colonized countries. One can have the impression that once colonized, things were not going to be the same again. Did the Sri Lankans manage to preserve their identity over four hundred years of the European colonization?

As far as the English language is concerned, the government of Sri Lanka tried to change the language of instruction in their schools from English to Tamil or Sinhala. Nevertheless, the English language is still very prominent at schools since it became an important key to advancement in technical and professional careers. Also, the private institutions in which English-language programmes are used are attended by a good number of students even though they have to pay fees whereas the state-run schools are free. However, in these schools, the teachers are trained only in vernacular languages and they often have poor facilities and inadequate equipment and therefore the differences between private and state-run schools are extremely profound (Figure 16). (Reddy, 2003, p. 105)

Another feature which is a combination of the British and the Sri Lankan culture is school uniforms. Sri Lankan school uniforms were introduced by the British and today they are almost universal in both the public and private school system. However, they are all white in the colour which is a symbolic colour of Buddhism (Figure 13).

As far as religion is concerned, the Buddhism and Hinduism undoubtedly suffered by the British conquest. Protestant Christianity had an advantage over Buddhism and Hinduism since it was more suited to meet modern requirements than Buddhism and Hinduism which were organized in a form more suited to feudal conditions. (Mendis, 2005, p. 44) However, the government of Ceylon rather maintained neutrality in matters of religion and they never attempted to convert Ceylonese people to Christianity, unlike the Portuguese and the Christian missions. Today, Buddhism is the majority religion, with about 70% of the country’s population as followers and it plays a significant political role in Sri Lanka and serves as a unifying force for the Sinhalese majority. Furthermore, the monks and entire sects have involved themselves in party politics and it is necessary to say that they have great power and their advice and orders influence public opinion greatly. Monks are also prominent in demonstrations and rallies promoting ethnic Sinhalese issues. (Ross & Nyrop, 1990, p. 95)
Hinduism, as Buddhism, experienced a significant decline during the European colonization, but nowadays it is dominant again especially in the Northern and Eastern provinces where most of the Tamil people live. According to the Census of Population and Housing of Sri Lanka (2011), 70.2% of Sri Lankans are Buddhists, 12.6% Hindus, 9.7% Muslims and 7.4% Christians.

Roman Catholic Church still has a well-established organization in Sri Lanka, nevertheless, the number of Christians has declined since the end of the colonial rule because many Christians converted to Buddhism or traced their religious heritage directly to the Portuguese. (Reddy, 2003, pp. 89-101) Sri Lanka is today a multi-religious society and even though Buddhism plays the most significant role, Hinduism, Islam and Christianity adhere to their own religious views; the high numbers of Hindu temples, Muslim mosques and Christian churches seen throughout Sri Lanka are evidence of this fact (Figure 17).

Other effects of British rule on contemporary Sri Lanka can be seen in the transport infrastructure and architecture. Most of the roads which were constructed during the British colonialism definitely help the development of trade even nowadays. Almost all the roads we can see in contemporary Sri Lanka are the legacy of the British rule even though bullock carts are still important in rural areas. Also, the railway lines which were constructed by the British for transporting tea and coffee from the hill country are still very popular among the inhabitants of Sri Lanka. However, their purpose is slightly different; today, they serve as popular public transport. It is necessary to mention that no major extensions were added to the railway nor road network after Sri Lanka gained its independence (Figure 18).

As far as the architecture is concerned, the British transformed some of the main towns or cities and landscape. The British defamiliarized some areas by transforming their structures and subjected them to an English-speaking administration and thus they destroyed and subjugated territorial spaces and architecture. However, there were any qualitative changes after independence. In 1970s Ceylonese architects preferred rather Gothic and Neo-Classical style in which the main institutional buildings were built and today, modernist buildings are being built. (Perera, 1999, p. 118) Even though the influence of the British architecture is still central, it is gradually being overshadowed by contemporary transformation. However, the names of the streets, monuments, buildings and even shops are still English, which seems that the Sri Lankans still associate themselves with the British.
The most important influence of the British colonialism on contemporary Sri Lanka concerns trade. The country’s economy still continues to be heavily dependent on export. During the British rule, the main commodities were tea, coconut and rubber which are still key export goods. However, since 1990s textiles have overtaken tea as the leading export and they became the most dynamic contributor to the country’s economy. The second largest significant commodity is tea and thus Sri Lanka has become the world’s second-largest tea exporter to the world. (Reddy, 2003, p. 158)

Nevertheless, the plantation economy disturbed the traditional equilibrium by introducing a new ethnic element - migrant Tamil workers and also by westernising new elites. The creation of ethnic and class differentiation as forms of social status influenced the old system that existed in the pre-colonial historical past.

However, the Sri Lankans still possess a caste system and it seems to be very important for them because all the members of the political elite tend to be members of the higher status caste and since the independence most of the prime ministers and presidents have been members of the Sinhalese Goyigama caste, which is the most influential caste in Sri Lanka. Caste is also important for the voters as they often support people of their own caste.

Even though the British colonialism has been often criticized, one important fact has to be mentioned here. During the British rule, there was undoubtedly an enormous improvement in the condition of the villagers, peasants and plantation workers. The British developed irrigation that provided a supply of water and they built medical facilities that helped to improve health. They built also few schools and according to Mendis (2005), the people from rural areas appreciated them. (p. 166) Also in the Central Province where the most plantation workers lived there were signs of a change. Many of plantation workers began to replace their thatched cottages with tile-roofed brick houses and they began to grow vegetables in their gardens.

In addition, Christian Missions no only influenced education, but they also began to demand higher wages for the labourers. Today, the plantation workers live in the terrible conditions. Their houses have not changed since the British left the island. Moreover, Tamil women are forced to use contraception and some of them have to undergo the sterilization procedure. From 1992 to 1999, 82 per cent of women were sterilized; today, it is about 60 per cent. The program of sterilization was initiated by the government that is the owner of the majority of plantations in which only the Tamils work, whereas in the management there are only the Sinhalese people. The aim of
sterilization is obvious; the government wants to reduce an amount of Tamil population and also, Tamil women work more if they do not have to look after their children (Figure 19). (Tauerová, 2015)
Conclusion

The British colonization that lasted from 1796 to 1947 caused enormous changes in the island. After the occupation of the Kandyan Kingdom in 1815 and suppressing the Kandyan rebellion, the British gained full control over the island and at the same time they began to establish a centralized form of government which they knew from their own country. Even though some people, especially those of higher castes, did not favour British interventions, ordinary and poor people might have appreciated considerable benefits. The British abolished slavery and moreover, they allowed their subjects freedom of worship, which the Ceylonese did know from the previous European rulers, the Portuguese and Dutch.

The recommendation of the Colebrooke-Cameron Commission helped the government to establish a common form of administration for the whole island. The provinces were rearranged and at the same time, a common system of law courts was established which brought all persons under the same rules of law and made them all equal in their rights. Furthermore, the abolition of Rājākariya was undoubtedly a landmark in the history of Ceylon since it put an end to the legal sanction which Sinhalese feudalism hitherto received. Colebrooke-Cameron reforms had undoubtedly far-reaching results since the administrative unification of the island caused that the people began to be treated as if they belonged to one nation. On the other hand, by this reform, Colebrooke and Cameron affected the caste system significantly and it is questionable whether the rationale behind the abolition of Rājākariya was humanistic or purely economic.

As far as other Colebrooke-Cameron reforms are concerned, the establishment of the Legislative Council actually prepared the way for the introduction of representative and responsible government that was based on democratic principles and that was introduced later on. Whatever the consequences of these reforms were no one can condemn the spirit in which they were made since Colebrooke and Cameron believed that the bond between Britain and Ceylon could be maintained primarily by improving the welfare of the people of the island. (Mendis, 2005, p. 52) In conclusion, the reforms made in 1833 were fairly radical. They opposed mercantilism, state monopolies and also discrimination.

After the Colebrooke-Cameron reforms, the government concerned itself, as it did in Britain that time, with the maintenance of peace and order, but it also undertook social
and industrial activities. One of the most significant changes concerned the agrarian economy. The British encouraged the opening of plantations that produced a revenue sufficient to run a modern form of government with highly-paid European officials at the top.

The plantations, which were established mainly with foreign capital and worked mainly by foreign labour, contributed greatly to the prosperity of the country. The constructions of roads, railways, the Colombo harbour, hydroelectric projects provided the infrastructure for a viable national economy and moreover, it led to the growth of trade with foreign countries and thus the local economy expanded into an international one.

The administrative and economic developments brought about new employment opportunities. There was the rise of government servants, lawyers, doctors, teachers, traders, transport agents and businessmen. They came from all races and castes and formed the new elite class. This development also led to the revival of Buddhism and Hinduism which suffered because of their competition with Christianity.

In the 20th century, Ceylonese nationalism grew and there was a demand for the reform of the Legislative Council. The Ceylon National Congress, whose leaders were influenced by British Liberal ideas, gradually gained complete control of the government and in 1948 Ceylon achieved self-government. Thus ended British rule over Ceylon, however, the country and its people were undoubtedly affected by the British colonialism even after gaining independence.

When I visited Sri Lanka in 2016 I could see the impact of British colonialism almost everywhere. The English names of the shops, streets, harbours, hotels and even the plantations whose owners, however, are Sri Lankan businessmen are a reminder of the British presence in this small country. The old tea factories look like as if there has been no development since the British left the country as they are still equipped with the machines the British brought. Also, the architecture, landscapes bear traces of the western influence. But what is extremely noticeable in the country is the tension between the Tamil and Sinhalese populations. I was wondering what Sri Lanka would look like without British colonial intervention and primarily whether the conflicts between the Tamils and Sinhalese have their roots in the British plantation economy. Thus, the aim of the thesis was to find the answers to these questions.

Sri Lanka under British rule went through the greatest and most fundamental changes, and this period is undoubtedly the most important and the most interesting.
The British policy and methods of the government have undoubtedly helped the advancement of Sri Lankan economy. In addition, the British colonialism has had an influence on transport infrastructure, education and healthcare, but the most importantly they attempted to teach Ceylonese politicians to establish and promote democracy and preserve the equal rights.

On the other hand, by creating new elites and abolishing the Rājākariya system, the British transformed fundamentally the culture of Sri Lankan people. Nevertheless, it is almost impossible to determine whether the growing antagonism between the Sinhalese and Tamils that resulted in the civil war in 1983 and divided the country was caused by the British colonialism.

The content of the first chapter proves that not all Tamils were brought to Sri Lanka by the British as they settled there more than 2000 years ago. They had their own kingdoms there and some disputes between the Tamils and Sinhalese already arose in the pre-colonial period. In other words, the Tamils had been in Sri Lanka long before the British arrived on the island and therefore it would not be reasonable to criticize only the British for the conflicts that occurred after independence.

The conflicts are not only between the Sinhalese and the Tamils as since 2012, the Buddhist groups have been targeting also Muslims and Christians with a significant degree of regularity. In 2014 an entire Muslim village was burnt down. In 2017 there were over 20 violent attacks against Christians and in 2018 fresh tension erupted against the Muslims in Kandy. The attacks were led by Sinhala-Buddhist mobs. They burnt several houses and shops and attracted the mosque in Welikada. According to Qadijah (2018), the attacks have drawn comparisons with the start of the country’s decades-long civil war between the Tamils and Sinhalese in which more than 100,000 people from both sides died. In addition, on March 9th the state of emergency was declared, which was for the first since 2011 when the Sinhala-Tamil riots ended.

These facts lead to the conclusion that contemporary Sri Lanka is divided not only by caste and class distinctions but also by religious and ethnic identities. The Tamils, Christians and Muslims do not have equal rights and the Sinhalese do not consider them to be indigenous people of the country even though they belong to Sri Lanka as much as the Sinhalese. According to Farley (2016), the Sri Lankan government has effectively created a national identity around Buddhist philosophy which is “To be Sri Lankan is to be Buddhist.”
The recent religious riots targeting Muslims and Christians are a result of oppression by the ruling majority Sinhalese community and the government that does not act in a responsible manner, which is probably because of the fact that the Buddhists are given positions of power in government.

Buddhism is considered to be a peaceful religion, but it is not the case of Buddhism in Sri Lanka. Here, Buddhist extremist groups have resorted to violence to dispose of the minority religions.

As a result, the minority communities that were attempted to be unified under the British rule, now, unfortunately, live more or less in social and political isolation. Equality and respect are some of the major issues that need to be covered between the Sinhalese and the other minorities. Tensions in the country are high and there is no certainty that people will be able to live together as one united and peaceful nation again.
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Electronic sources


Appendices

Figure 1. This site was selected by King Kasyapa (477–495 B.C.) for his new capital and since his palace was on the top of the rock, he was completely protected against enemies. To reach the top, it is necessary to climb 1,200 steps. However, on the way a series of remarkable frescoes and lion’s paws carved into the bedrock can be seen. (Personal photographs by author, 2016, August 16)

Figure 2. The Gal Vihara is a massive statue of Buddha. It is the sacred monument at Polonnaruwa, the royal ancient city. (Personal photograph by author, 2016, August 14)

Figure 4. The areas under Portuguese control in the 17th century, and under Dutch control in the 18th century. (De Silva, 1981, pp.17-18)
## BRITISH GOVERNORS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Dates</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Hon. Frederick North</td>
<td>1798-1805</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sir Thomas Maitland</td>
<td>1805-11</td>
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<td>Sir Robert Brownrigg, Bart.</td>
<td>1812-20</td>
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<td>1824-31</td>
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<td>J. A. S. Mackenzie</td>
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<td>Viscount Torrington</td>
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<td>Sir G. W. Anderson</td>
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<td>Sir Henry G. Ward</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sir Charles Justin MacCarthy</td>
<td>1860-3</td>
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<td>Sir Hercules G. R. Robinson</td>
<td>1865-72</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Sir James R. Longden</td>
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<td>Sir Andrew Caldecott</td>
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<td>Sir Henry Monck-Mason-Moore</td>
<td>1944-8</td>
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*Figure 5. The list of the British governors who were the heads of the British administration from 1795 to 1948 when this office was replaced by the Governor-General which represented the British monarchy. (De Silva, 1981, p. 572)*
Figure 6. Province boundaries of five provinces in 1833 and nine provinces in 1889. (Wickramasinghe, 2014, pp. 33-34)

Figure 7. The company name at the Mackwoods tea plantation near Nuwara Eliya. The names of the plantations were given after their founder, in this case after Captain William Mackwood. (Personal photographs by author, 2016, July 21)
Figure 8. The expansion of the roads and railways in Ceylon between 1814-1913. Retrieved from https://thuppahi.wordpress.com/2015/10/04/a-starry-guide-to-ribbon-urban-development-in-southwestern-lanka/
Figure 9. Colombo-Kandy road, now A1 highway, was the first modern road in Ceylon. It is 73 miles long and it offers a great variety of scenery. It starts in the commercial capital and ends in fortress city of Kandy. (Personal photograph by author, 2016, August 7)
Figure 10. The tea plantation with the typical manor house on the left that offers its owners an extensive outlook over the plantation. This estate is between Nuwara Eliya and Kandy. (Personal photographs by author, 2016, July 21)
Figure 11. The picture of Nuwara Eliya, the town of the hill country in the Central Province. Many of the buildings and places retain features and names from the colonial period. For instance, in the foreground of the picture there is Lake Gregory that was constructed during the period of Governor Sir William Gregory in 1873. Nowadays, new hotels are built and furnished with the same features and many homes maintain their gardens in the old English style. (Personal photographs by author, 2016, July 11)
Figure 12. A Buddhist Dagoba next to the Christian St Paul’s Church in the area of the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy. Retrieved from http://www.weltrekordreise.ch/p_asie_lk2.html

Figure 13. The British introduced school uniforms, but Buddhists later decided about the colour. In Buddhism, white is a symbol for clear mind and purity. Parents, generally, do not like the colour since a white uniform gets dirty in a day and students have to attend schools in clean clothes. In addition, the uniforms are expensive which becomes very demanding for the average Sri Lankan families. (Personal photograph by author, 2016, July 15)
Figure 14. One of the wall paintings in Aluvihare Rock Temple, sacred Buddhist temple. All the paintings in the temple depict the hellish afterlife that awaits people who commit sins. Every sin has a different punishment, this picture depicts the punishment for infidelity. (Personal photograph by author, 2016, August 5)

Figure 15. Number of persons repatriated to India from 1964 to 1987. (Kanathipillai, 2009, p. 8)
Figure 16. The national school in Trincomalee. (Personal photographs by author, 2016, August 6)

Figure 17. An Anglican church in Nuwara Eliya and the Hindu Gods in front of the Koneswaram temple in Trincomalee which is currently occupied by the Sri Lankan Army. (Personal photograph by author, 2016, July 23 and August 1)
Figure 18. Sri Lanka in 2008 with the railway lines plotted on the map. These railway lines that are still widely utilized were constructed during the second quarter of the nineteenth century by the British. (Thiranagama, 2011, p. 229)
Figure 19. The physical quality of life of these women workers is much inferior to the national average. About 60 per cent of the women who work on plantation suffer from chronic malnutrition. Their work involves climbing steep slopes, carrying a weight of up to 25 kilos in a basket on their back and constant exposure to changeable weather. (Momsen, 2017, p. 63) (Personal photographs by author, 2016, July 22)