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The General Report on the Census

THE practice of producing a General Report on the Census is an admirable one, since it enables the reader to appreciate the conclusions to be drawn from the detailed figures published in the remainder of the report. The Census of 1946 was taken after the publication of the Soulbury Report and while the Constitution of 1946 was in preparation. Mr. A. G. Ranasinha, C.M.G., C.B.E., who was Superintendent of Census, has therefore chosen to give a historical background. The first Chapter is an Epitome of History and the second a description of Ceylon on the eve of the census. Some may think that insufficient attention has been paid to the economic situation, but the tendency to exaggerate racial and political influences and to underemphasise economic forces is a correct characterisation of the environment created by the Donoughmore Constitution.

The Census Report is a quarry in which scholars will be able to mine for many years. In this review it is possible to pick out only a few of the features to which Mr. Ranasinha draws attention.

The population on March 19, 1946, was 6,657,339, excluding the non-resident population (Services and Shipping). This shows an increase of 1,350,468 or 25.4 per cent. since February 26, 1931. On the assumption that the present rate of increase will continue—an assumption which, as Mr. Ranasinha points out, is fallacious—there will be a population of 10,784,000 in 1981. We may note in passing that the crude birth-rate is tending to fall. For the decade 1921-1930 the mean was 39.8 per thousand. In spite of a sudden increase in 1943, for the period 1931 to 1945 the mean was 36.8 per thousand. On the other hand, the crude death-rate has fallen even more. For the decade 1921 to 1930 it was 26.5 per thousand and, in spite of the heavy mortality of the epidemic year of 1934, for the period 1931 to 1945 the mean was 22.2 per thousand. It follows that not only is the population increasing, but also the rate of increase is itself increasing.

Mr. Ranasinha is more optimistic about this phenomenon than most observers are likely to be. It is of course true that nobody can foresee what measures will be employed in thirty years' time to sustain a population

approaching ten millions. The resources of science have not been exhausted. The density of the population would be 399 per square mile, which is lower than that of England and Wales, Belgium, the Netherlands and Japan at present. No doubt as the population grows the Island's present one-sided economy will be diversified. Even so, there are few present signs of an increase of productivity. In spite of the colonisation schemes, the increase of population in the North-Central Province has been only 42,169 in fifteen years and the increase in the Eastern Province has been only 66,691. The increase in the Western Province, on the other hand, was 431,870.

Mr. Ranasinha's optimism is perhaps due to his belief that "there must have been in the Island at the height of its prosperity under the ancient kings a population exceeding by many times that found in Ceylon when the British first began to make their enumerations". The census directed by Governor Barnes in 1827 gave a population of 889,584. There can hardly be any doubt that wars, civil wars and malaria caused the population to begin to decline after 1000 A.D. if not before. It is also possible that the climate has changed—a point not mentioned by Mr. Ranasinha—and that the present dry zone had a much heavier rainfall than it has now. Even so, the evidence of ruins is quite inconclusive. The ruins of Anuradhapura bear evident signs of a wealthy civilisation; but its buildings were erected over at least 1300 years; there is apparently no evidence that they were all in use at the same time; and it costs little to maintain a temple once it has been erected. Indeed, it costs little to erect a temple if slave labour, labour employed under service tenure, or voluntary labour is employed. Nor is there any evidence about the proportion of the national income devoted to religion. The *Mahavamsa* and other religious documents are not good evidence about the condition of the people, for they necessarily tell a one-sided story. The tanks supply much better evidence; but as Mr. R. L. Brohier has pointed out, they were not all in use at the same time. As the larger tanks were erected the smaller tanks were deprived of their water supply and were allowed to silt up. It must have been as true a thousand years ago as it is today that adequate subsistence for one family requires five acres of land, of which two acres are paddy lands. There is no evidence that the wet zone or the hill country was occupied by a large population. It follows that the total population of the Island must have been comparatively small and that Sir Edward Denham's guess of four millions is more likely to be accurate than Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam's estimate of ten millions.

Tea, rubber, coconuts, tobacco and plumbago have added to the resources of the Island and enabled a larger population to be maintained on imported food. They are incapable of much extension and the work of the Irrigation Department seems not to be keeping pace with the increase of the population.

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The problem, therefore, is to secure new sources of productivity which will enable a rapidly rising population to be maintained. The commonly accepted theory that the social services can be expanded for the working classes without lowering the standard of living of the middle classes is tenable only if productivity increases faster than the population. Otherwise the middle classes must pay for the improvement of educational, medical and other social services by a lower standard of living.

Though in the short term the increase in the population is determined by births, deaths and migration—the last of which is now comparatively unimportant—the potential increase is determined by the number and the fertility of women of child-bearing age. Attempts to find a formula which would enable future population to be forecast have invariably failed because fertility, unlike fecundity, depends not only on the facts of nature but also on social conventions. Even as the social conventions are being investigated they are changing. In the University we cannot fail to be aware of the change, at least in the classes from which we draw students, for the ratio of male to female students has fallen every year. While the number of boys in English schools rose from 48,302 in 1937 to 107,445 in 1947, the number of girls rose from 20,532 to 56,824. In vernacular schools in the same period the number of boys rose from 375,919 in 1937 to 462,346 in 1947 and the number of girls from 259,166 to 380,594. Thus the number of boys at school rose by 34 per cent. and the number of girls by 56 per cent., indicating a change in social convention which is bound to affect the birth-rate in the next generation.

There is, however, still an excess of males and in fact it has increased slightly since 1921. My tentative conclusion in *The Economy of Ceylon* was that this excess was due to excessive child-bearing. Mr. Ranasinha shows that this cannot be true. In most countries there is an excess of males at birth, but this excess of males is turned into an excess of females through the heavy mortality of males before puberty. In Ceylon, however, there is an excess of female deaths at nearly all ages, so that the excess of males is actually increased before puberty. It is true that the excess is highest during the reproductive years 15 to 49, so that the high rate of maternal mortality and excessive child-bearing have some influence. It may be noted, though, that the maternal mortality rate has diminished rapidly in recent years. Mr. Ranasinha gives the figures from 1937 to 1945, but since 1945 there has been a rapid fall.

To a person who has presumably been classed as a "European", the emphasis given by the General Report to "race" is an interesting social phenomenon, for it clearly reflects prevailing opinion. In fact, the Report very properly uses the term "race-conscious". It is, however, equally interesting that there are few references to caste, for the Sinhalese and the

Tamils are as "caste-conscious" as they are "race-conscious". In fact, race-consciousness is clearly influenced by caste-consciousness. Unfortunately caste is the subject of a tabu, so that we cannot obtain adequate information about it except by a costly sampling method. Mr. Ranasinha wanted a census item relating to caste, but the Executive Committee of Labour, Industry and Commerce refused to break the tabu. It would seem, however, that "racial" endogamy is really caste endogamy, for social pressure in all normal cases compels marriage within the caste and inevitably this causes marriage within the "race" also. "Race", on the other hand, is not tabu. On the contrary the infiltration of nationalist ideas from the West and the competing claims of politicians have given the emphasis to "race" which is very properly exhibited in the Report. Inter-racial marriages are few. On the average there are only 450 a year, or 650 if marriages between Ceylon Tamils and Indian Tamils are included. These figures relate to marriages in Ceylon, and they would probably be slightly increased if the census test were domicile and not residence, for some Ceylonese marry in Europe or India. The number of marriages between Sinhalese and Ceylon Tamils is, however, only about 150 to 170 a year; and this figure is probably accurate. The significant fact is, that, in spite of colour-consciousness, the Europeans and the Burghers show a much higher inter-marriage rate than the Sinhalese and the Tamils. Separate figures for Moors and Malays are not given, but in the Registrar-General's reports the number of "Other inter-racial marriages" is shown to be about 100 a year. It would seem, therefore, that the most strictly endogamous groups are the Sinhalese and the Tamils, the only groups which have caste distinctions.

The tabu on caste—which is to some extent broken by this Report, especially in Dr. N. D. Wijesekara's Chapter on ethnic groups—is itself a feature of great interest. The fact that it does not extend to India may suggest that it is due in the first instance to Buddhist influences. Among the Ceylon Tamils, too, the Brahmans have never been either numerous or powerful, and it is reasonably clear that in India the Brahmans, who stood to gain from emphasising caste, have been in large measure responsible for its survival. Western influences have also played a considerable part in Ceylon. Though Christians maintain caste and there are even, in some parts of the country, separate churches for separate castes, it is clearly inconsistent with Christianity, and Christianity has been a more powerful influence in Ceylon than in India. The problem of *Rajakariya* in the early British period is of great interest in their connection; for the Governors welcomed free labour and yet disliked caste. Governor Barnes alone was sufficiently ruthless to enforce *Rajakariya* and yet ignore caste, a fact which the Benthamite Colebrooke disliked intensely.

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The instruction for filling up the cage relating to "race" is an interesting example of the problem which this unscientific classification has created: "Enter the race of each person as Low-country Sinhalese, Kandyan Sinhalese, Ceylon Tamil, Indian Tamil, Ceylon Moor, Indian Moor, Malay, English, Scotch, Irish, etc. Do not use general terms such as British, Ceylonese, etc. As a general rule the offspring of parents of different races will follow the father's race, but Burghers and Eurasians or Euro-Ceylonese should be treated as separate races and described as Burghers and Eurasians or Euro-Ceylonese according to the statement of the persons themselves. In the case of a Sinhalese, you must state whether the person is a Kandyan Sinhalese or a Low-country Sinhalese. In the case of a Tamil or Moor you must state whether the person is a Ceylon Tamil or Moor, or Indian Tamil or Moor. In the case of an Indian, who is neither Indian Tamil nor Indian Moor, state the particular race, such as Malayali, Borah, Parsee. Similarly, in the case of an European the particular race should be stated, whether English, French, German, Russian, etc. A person from the Dominions or from the United States may be allowed to describe himself as a Canadian, and (sic) Australian, a New Zealander, a South African, or an American, as the case may be, if he prefers this to giving his original racial stock. Where a foreigner has been naturalized as a British subject, note to add in brackets after his race the letters N.B.S. thus: German (N.B.S.)"

What a pretty kettle of fish this lands us into may best be examined by beginning with the so-called "races" which are not endogamous, those generally classed as "European". By way of example, take the case of a lady whose "race" I had to determine for the purposes of this census. The late Herr Hitler would have called her "Aryan", but an anthropologist would probably have called her "Caucasian". Since she was born in England Mr. Ranasinha's minions would probably have called her "English", though nobody in England has yet discovered an "English" race. Since on Mr. Ranasinha's definition her father and mother were of different "races" (like the parents of most of the so-called "English"), we must examine the "race" of her father. Now this is a bit complicated. His surname suggests that several centuries ago his forebears were Spaniards, but that it has gradually been converted into a Polish name. He was born on the banks of the Oder in a place which was Polish until the partition, German when he was born, Polish again at the date of the census and appears now to be Russian. He spoke Polish with a German accent, German with a Polish accent, French with an English accent, and English with an accent of his own. He had not lived in Poland (or Germany) for 56 years.

Apparently an "American" who had one "English" ancestor in the direct line ten generations ago ought to call himself "English" though his "Englishry" (a perfectly good word known to Anglo-Norman Law) might

be less than one-thousandth of his personality. Actually, most Americans are Irish, for "Irishism" is known to be a dominant characteristic which causes the multitude of other characteristics which make up an "American" to be bred out.

The whole theory of "race" is, of course, nonsense; but Mr. Ranasinha must be forgiven because "race" is a popular fiction. It works very simply. Caste endogamy having prevailed for several generations, every person thinks he belongs to a "race" and so it is very simple to ask him to what "race" he thinks he belongs and take his word for it. The fact that most of the "Low-country Sinhalese" are of mixed Vedda-Sinhalese-Tamil-Portuguese descent does not matter, provided that they think they are "Sinhalese". If one works out the number of descendants that one rather promiscuous Portuguese soldier might have had, one soon reaches the conclusion that all the people of Ceylon might be, in Mr. Ranasinha's sense, "Portuguese". We know, in fact, that nearly all the "Portuguese" of the second generation might have called themselves, for census purposes, "Eurasians" or "Euro-Ceylonese". It is clear enough, though, that most of the descendants of the Portuguese have called themselves neither "Portuguese" nor "Eurasians", but "Sinhalese" or "Tamils". The number of persons actually returned as Eurasians or Euro-Ceylonese was 3,123, but some people with Portuguese or English ancestors call themselves Burghers, the number of whom was 38,803. If this figure were taken at its face value the conclusion to be drawn would be that the Dutch were the only promiscuous "Europeans" to stay in the Island. We know however that social conventions have changed, partly through the exaggeration by the northern social groups of that colour-consciousness which seems to be shared by all the Aryan-speaking peoples (including the Sinhalese), and partly through the Puritanism which affected both the Dutch and the British. We know from extrinsic evidence that the Portuguese had no inhibitions, and they must have affected the stock from which a large proportion of the people of the western coastal belt are drawn.

Dr. N. D. Wijesekera gives a useful chapter on the Ethnology of the peoples of Ceylon. The definition of "race" which he takes from Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders is less useful than the definition of an elephant as an animal with four legs. It would be very easy to select from the students of the University of Ceylon "a group of people showing similar tendencies, features and mental make-up"; but they would be drawn from several "races" as defined for census purposes. Nobody denies that there are in Ceylon different social groups with socially inherited—not biologically inherited—characteristics such as religion, language, costume, food, methods of cultivation, marriage customs, etc. These groups are not necessarily "racial" in the Ceylon sense, for they may be based on caste, occupation or education. Nobody denies, either, that caste endogamy, which has prevailed with few exceptions for

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several generations at least, has bred physical differences. I should guess that I could distinguish a Sinhalese from a Tamil in sixty or seventy per cent. of the cases, but when Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders—who could see no distinction whatever—asked how it was done, I had to reply that it was a general impression only, for though I could give some indications, none of them was conclusive. It is significant that I am almost invariably wrong about a Sinhalese from the North-Central or North-Western Province, for in those areas there must have been greater inter-breeding than in the south or the north.

The emphasis on “race” has affected the chapter on literacy. As is well-known, the Special Committee on Education, having for a large part of its discussions avoided the problem by talking about a national language called “Sinhalese-or-Tamil”, was at last brought to define “mother tongue”. This was :

- “(a) Where both parents are Sinhalese or Tamil then Sinhalese or Tamil, as the case may be ;
- (b) Where the parents belong to different communities, the home language, i.e. the language commonly spoken by the parents and the children ;
- (c) In the case of all others, English, Sinhalese, Tamil or Malay whichever the parents desire to adopt”.

Mr. Ranasinha, in the Executive Committee, or both, adopted a different definition :

“Enter in this cage the language of the race to which his father belongs under each person who can read to write it. In the case of Ceylon Moors, Burghers and Eurasians or Euro-Ceylonese, the mother tongue should be regarded as the normal language of the home, whatever it be”.

It will be seen that, for the Special Committee, the “mother tongue” of an English-speaking Sinhalese-Burgher family would be English, whereas for the census it would be Sinhalese. Both definitions are, however, infected with racialism, and it may be noted that the 1950 White Paper quietly drops “mother tongue” and substitutes “the language of the home”. The racialism was, in fact, primarily nationalism. Though it is true that the Special Committee deliberately ignored the Tamil-speaking Sinhalese for communal reasons, the majority decision was really aimed at the English-speaking groups among the Sinhalese and the Tamils. Its primary purpose was to force a child to speak “Sinhalese-or-Tamil”, and only its secondary purpose was to force a Sinhalese to speak Sinhalese.

The census would have been more useful if there had been separate questions giving the following information :

1. Mother tongue ;
2. Languages spoken ;

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3. Literacy in Mother tongue ;
4. Literacy in other languages.

Unfortunately the questions asked related only to literacy in the mother tongue and literacy in English so that the size of the English-speaking population is unknown. One realises, of course, that the answers to the question about languages spoken would have been highly subjective. I should myself have had the greatest difficulty in giving a correct answer.

The choice of the ages of 5 upwards for testing the proportion of literacy was no doubt dictated by previous census reports, but it is very arguable. The compulsory age for school attendance is 6, but it is well-known that many children start much later. Also, the change-over to mother tongue medium with English as a second language will affect the situation in future censuses, for very few children in the age group 5 to 11 will be literate in English. It would really be much simpler to ask the literacy questions only of those aged 15 and upwards.

We shall probably learn more about literacy when the detailed figures are available, for the chapter on literacy fails to answer some of the questions that one would like to ask. It does not show, for instance, that the *number* of illiterates has increased, while the *percentage* has decreased. The figures given in Table 13 of the Statistical Abstract of Ceylon, allowance being made for children under 5 years of age, are as follows :—

	<i>Literates</i>		<i>Illiterates</i>	
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
1921	1,156,100	381,500	897,200	1,420,300
1946	2,170,700	1,182,000	926,700	1,520,300
Difference	+ 1,014,600	+ 800,500	+ 29,500	+ 100,000

These figures are encouraging, but they do not produce quite so complacent a state of mind as the percentages given by the General Report, which show that male literacy has increased from 56.4 to 70.1 per cent. and female literacy from 21.2 to 43.6 per cent. Also, one would like to have figures showing literacy by age groups. Though some countries, like Soviet Russia, have made vast claims for schemes of mass education, the experience of countries which do not regard statistics as instruments of propaganda is that little can be done to increase literacy among adults. The real question is whether the children are being taught at school. Unfortunately, the children at school have never (apparently) been classified according to age and in any case the ages given in the census returns are subject to a large margin of error.

The result is given in the General Report. There were 826,452 boys in the age-group of 5 to 14 years, while the number on school registers in 1945

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was 492,317, or 59.6 per cent.; there were 790,553 girls in the same age-group; and the number on school registers was 372,240 or 47.1 per cent. Since 1921 the number of children of school age at school has increased from 36.3 per cent. to 53.5 per cent. These figures are, however, misleading; for they ignore the general exodus from the vernacular schools at the age of 11+. The proportion of children receiving *some* education is much higher; the proportion of children receiving the *minimum* of eight years' schooling is very much lower. Experience in England, where there are no language difficulties, has suggested that in the present generation, born to parents of whom 98 per cent. were literate, 2 per cent. of the young men and women are really illiterate notwithstanding *nine* years of schooling. Though a person who has been at school for four or five years may be treated a literate for census purposes—the test is to be able to write a short letter and to read it, but it is unlikely that the test was imposed very frequently—the chances are high that he cannot read or write fluently. Unfortunately the figures showing the number of children of each age-group at school—which are published every year for England and Wales—have not been collected for Ceylon. In 1947 the figures for each class (without reference to age) were collected, and they produce the results given below. The ages given are not the true ages, but what ought to be the ages. Many of them will in fact be “over-age”.

School	Age	Number of Children			At School		
		Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Infants	5 + to 7 +	256,359	244,568	500,927	319,536	256,266	575,802
Junior	8 + to 10 +	243,166	241,906	485,072	158,926	115,212	274,138
Primary	5 + to 10 +	499,525	486,474	985,999	478,462	371,378	849,940
Middle	11 + to 13 +	243,666	232,156	475,822	73,578	50,750	124,328
Upper	14 + to 17 +	302,375	255,104	557,479	16,789	13,529	30,318

It will be seen that the number of children in the infants' classes is larger than the number of children of the age-group 5 to 7, indicating that many children who are over-age for those classes are in fact in them. Since there are not similar figures for an earlier year, we cannot say offhand whether this is due to a sudden enthusiasm for education or the provision of new schools or whether it is a normal phenomenon. Probably all three explanations are partially correct. If we take the Sinhalese and Tamil schools alone for the years 1944 and 1947 we get the following comparison :

	1944	1947	% Increase
Schools	5,269	5,414	2.7
Pupils	722,426	842,940	16.8
Teachers	19,216	19,269	0.3

Since the number of pupils has increased much more than the number of schools, the most important explanation must be a change in social conventions. The number of boys has increased by about 52,000 and the

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number of girls by about 68,000. Evidently female education is spreading all along the line from primary school to University. We must therefore assume that the distribution is not static, but that the proportion at school at all ages is on the rise.

If we could assume that there were no over-age pupils in the primary school, we should find that in 1947 there were at school nearly 96 per cent. of the boys and nearly 80 per cent. of the girls of the primary school age : but we should get very different figures for the 11 + to 13 + age group, for they would fall to 30 per cent. of the boys and 22 per cent. of the girls.

These considerations suggest a considerable modification of the census figures. On the one hand the census grossly exaggerates the degree of literacy because most of those who are classed as "literate" have not had more than six years' schooling and therefore cannot be genuinely literate. On the other hand a vast change is taking place which may result in an enormous increase in genuine literacy among the young men and women in ten years' time and will at least result in a larger increase of literacy at the census level. The most impressive change of all is the revolution in the education of girls. Whether this will go beyond the age of puberty has yet to be seen, but the indications from the English schools and the University are that it will. The effect on the general standard of education of the next generation, most of whom can hope to have mothers who can read and write, will be incalculable.

We must, however, revert to the irrelevant and rather stupid question about literacy in the mother tongue. We may note in passing that while there were only 178 "Arabs", no less than 1,391 persons, of whom 54 were females, could read and write Arabic as their mother tongue. Since the mother tongue of a Ceylon Moor is his home language, there must be a remarkable number of families in which Arabic is spoken at home. It is a pity that the Special Committee on Education could not find any. Under the White Paper it will now be necessary for the Department of Education to provide schools using Arabic as medium of instruction.

For the rest, information is given only about Sinhalese, Tamil and English. The population over 4 is not classed according to "race", so one must take the whole racial population. The following are the figures :

<i>Race</i>	<i>No. of Race</i>	<i>No. Literate in Mother Tongue</i>	<i>Percentage (Pop. over 4)</i>
Sinhalese	4,620,507	2,442,418	60.8
Tamils	1,514,320	815,436	48.0
Burghers } Europeans }	47,344	36,252	85.7

The figure for "Burghers and Europeans" may be inaccurate, for it may not take into account those "Europeans" whose mother tongue is Scots,

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Gælic, Welsh, American, Manx, Cornish, Australian, and what not. I had myself to declare that a "European" in my household was illiterate in her mother tongue, as defined for census purposes, though she was literate in her mother tongue as defined by the Special Committee on Education.

The absurdity of taking mother tongue is, however, indicated by the figure for the Tamils. To suggest that 52 per cent. of the Tamils are illiterate seems ridiculous until one realises that the figure includes the Indian Tamils, who have the same mother tongue as the Ceylon Tamils but quite distinct standards of education. Literacy in the Jaffna District is in fact 70.6 per cent. while on the Estates it is 32.3 per cent. The fact that they have a common "mother tongue" is quite irrelevant. If the estate population be excluded and my arithmetic is correct, the literacy rate rises from 57.8 per cent. to 61.6 per cent. This is a truer measure of the efficiency of the educational system, for nobody has bothered much about the education of the estate population.

The number of people literate in English is probably the most accurate of the literacy figures. It was 367,622, of whom 107,757 were females. Male literacy in English was 8.4 per cent. and female literacy in English was 4 per cent. Assuming that 36,252 were "Burghers and Europeans", the other "races" have 331,370 persons literate in English. These figures may be compared with our assumption in the University—based on income and not on language—that we drew students from a population of 350,000. Our "constituency" has, however, increased lately because many of our poorer students came from Sinhalese-speaking or Tamil-speaking families.

Mr. Ranasinha says that "the growing demand for an English education" had not been appreciably met. Oddly enough, the Special Committee's insistence on "mother tongue" seems likely to result in a substantial increase in English education. The following figure indicate the change since the census:

	1945	1949
Children in English Schools		
Male ..	66,152	150,494
Female ..	34,164	87,184
Total ..	100,316	237,678

The employment figures cannot be compared with those for previous censuses, since new and better definitions have been used. The only figures now available relate to the *principal* occupations of those who earned money or money equivalent. The number of persons "gainfully employed" in this sense was 2,611,524 or 38.9 per cent. There is, as might be expected, a

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comparatively high level of employment among women. Among males the proportion was 57.2 per cent. and among females 18.1 per cent. The principal women's occupations are given as follows :

Tea	..	221,141
Rubber	..	64,468
Coconuts	..	13,483
Domestic Service	..	50,067
Cooks	5,515	
Ayahs	3,257	
General Labourers	..	36,513
Coir yarn makers	..	12,192
Rope makers	..	9,509
Lace makers	..	2,278
Mat weavers	..	10,880
Kadjan makers	..	2,619
Basket makers	..	1,357
Teachers	..	11,911
Vegetable sellers	..	5,225
Dhobies	..	7,815
Nurses	..	1,304
Midwives	..	1,657
Hospital attendants	..	1,877

Agriculture is still the Island's greatest industry, though trade and transportation (not industry) is beginning to make some impression. In agriculture the largest figures were :

Tea	..	467,713
Paddy	..	282,854
Rubber	..	204,210
Coconuts	..	69,683
Chenas	..	37,689
Vegetables	..	30,871
Tobacco	..	21,114

It should, of course, be remembered that only the "principal occupation" is given. Of the 282,854 persons engaged in paddy cultivation, only 82,014 were owners of paddy lands. Evidently Ceylon is far from being a country of "peasant proprietors".

Among the industrial occupations, the only large groups seem to be :

Goldsmiths	..	11,798
Coir yarn makers	..	13,024
Rope makers	..	10,425
Tailors, etc.	..	12,948

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Toddy drawers	..	15,105
Wood workers	..	61,006
Mat weavers	..	11,517
Builders	..	30,675

In the trade and transport occupations the largest groups were :

Carters	..	15,700
Motor car and bus employees		15,754
Railway transport workers		16,154
Food dealers	..	43,166
Small shopkeepers	..	83,388

On the whole, these figures confirm the impression that one gets by driving about the country. The importance of tea and rubber is emphasised, while the importance of paddy and coconuts has to be written down. Large-scale industry is of no importance, while the cottage industries still play a large part. The fishermen, who number 38,066, are not in the above list, nor is Government service as such, for many in the Government service are classed under other heads. The boutiques, village fairs and motor transport provide a substantial measure of employment, usually self-employment.

Finally, there is an interesting analysis of wage rates :

	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
	<i>Per cent.</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>
Under Rs. 40 per mensem	64.2	91.5
Rs. 40-120 per mensem	32.7	7.5
Rs. 120-400 per mensem	2.8	1.0
Above Rs. 400 per mensem	0.3	0.03

Presumably, though the point is not made clear, these figures relate to wages not to incomes. A self-employed boutique-keeper or hiring-car owner would not appear in it.

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