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SESSIONAL PAPER XXVII.—1935.

Report of the Commission on the Headmen System.

NOVEMBER, 1935.

Printed on the Orders of Government.

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THE COMMISSION.

In the Name of His Majesty GEORGE THE FIFTH, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India.

By His Excellency Sir REGINALD EDWARD STUBBS, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Island of Ceylon and its Dependencies.



R. E. STUBBS.

To :—

Maxwell MacLagan Wedderburn, Esquire,
*William Augustus Weerakoon, Esquire,
Rajakaruna Chandrasekera Wasala Mudiyanseralahamillage Lawrence
Nugawela Loku Banda, Adikar.
Manan Thomas de Silva Ameresekera, Esquire,
Subramaniam Kanakasabai, Esquire,
Albert Alfred Wickramasinghe, Esquire,
Ahamed Lebbe Marikar, Mohamed Saheed Esquire.

GREETING.

WHEREAS We deem it expedient that a Commission should issue to inquire into and report upon the working of the existing Headmen System with a view to its improvement or replacement, partly or wholly, by any other system :

NOW know Ye that We, the said Governor, reposing great trust and confidence in your prudence, ability, and fidelity, have, in pursuance of the powers in Us vested by the Ordinance No. 9 of 1872, and by Article 93 of the Ceylon (State Council) Order in Council, 1931, nominated, constituted, and appointed, and by these Presents do nominate, constitute, and appoint you :—

Maxwell MacLagan Wedderburn,
*William Augustus Weerakoon,
Rajakaruna Chandrasekera Wasala Mudiyanseralahamillage Lawrence
Nugawela Loku Banda,
Manan Thomas de Silva Ameresekera,
Subramaniam Kanakasabai,
Albert Alfred Wickramasinghe,
Ahamed Lebbe Marikar Mohamed Saheed.

to be Our Commissioners for the purpose aforesaid, with authority to exercise all the powers which Commissioners appointed under the said Ordinance may lawfully use and exercise.

And We do hereby nominate, constitute, and appoint you, Maxwell MacLagan Wedderburn to be Chairman of the said Commission.

And We do further hereby authorize and empower you, Our said Commissioners, to make all necessary inquiries in the said matter, and to report to Us under your hands, as early as possible, upon the matters referred to you as aforesaid.

And We request and require all public officers and other persons to whom you may apply for such information or advice as may properly be given to be assistant to you in your inquiries.

Given at Kandy, under the Seal of this Island, this Sixth day of July, in the year of Our Lord, One thousand Nine hundred and Thirty-four.

By His Excellency's command,
C. C. WOOLLEY,
Secretary to the Governor.

* Mr. William Augustus Weerakoon resigned from the Commission in August, 1934, on account of ill-health ; in October, 1934, a further Commission was issued by His Excellency the Governor, appointing Mr. Lambert Wilfred Alexander de Soysa in place of Mr. William Augustus Weerakoon.



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REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON THE HEADMEN SYSTEM.

Proceedings.

WE were appointed on July 6, 1934, to inquire into and report upon the working of the existing Headmen system with a view to its improvement or replacement, partly or wholly, by any other system. We have held 28 meetings, the majority of them occupying a full day. We have heard oral evidence in Colombo, Kurunegala, Anuradhapura, Jaffna, Ratnapura, Badulla, Batticaloa, Galle, and Kandy, spending from one to four days in each of the outstation towns, and considerably longer in Colombo.

2. We were at pains to obtain the evidence of persons claiming to possess knowledge of the Headmen system. We requested the Government Agents and Assistant Government Agents to furnish us with the names of such persons, and to them we sent a copy of the questionnaire appearing in Appendix A, and invited them to express their views either orally or in writing. In addition, the questionnaire was published in the English and Vernacular Press, and the Government Agents and Assistant Government Agents were requested to give it publicity in their districts. In response to these requests for evidence 202 individuals and Associations appeared before us and stated their views orally; their names appear in Appendix B. 523 individuals and Associations replied to the questionnaire in writing; their names will be found in Appendix C.

3. As the oral evidence has so important a bearing on our findings we consider it very necessary that it should be made available to the public. We therefore, recommend that the written record of the oral evidence should be printed and published as a supplement to this report. We do not, however, consider it necessary that the written evidence addressed to us should be printed. This evidence is extremely voluminous, and the cost of printing it would be considerable. Further, numbers of witnesses expressed identical or very similar views, so that a large portion of the evidence, if printed, would be redundant.

The Scope of the Inquiry.

4. We have confined our inquiry to what may be called the Headmen system proper; that is, to the grades of chief headmen (Ratemahatmayas, Mudaliyars, Vanniyas, Maniagars and Adikarams, Muhandirams); superior headmen (Koralas, Vidane Arachchis and Udaiyars); and village and other minor headmen (Arachchis, Police Vidanes, Police Headmen, &c.; and Peace Officers, Constable Arachchis, Town Arachchis, Road Arachchis, &c.). We are aware that Presidents of Village Tribunals are often regarded as chief headmen, especially for ceremonial purposes, and that Registrars of Births, Marriages and Deaths, and Irrigation Headmen appointed under the Irrigation Ordinance, No. 45 of 1917, are similarly regarded as superior and minor headmen. The functions of these officers are, however, entirely different from those of the headmen proper, and cannot conveniently be examined in the course of the present investigation. We have also excluded from the inquiry clerks employed by chief headmen and superior headmen. A memorial was received from certain of these clerks, but we do not consider that an examination of the conditions of their employment falls within the terms of reference.

The 1920 Commission on the Headmen System.

5. In 1920 a Commission was appointed "to inquire into and report upon the native headmen system, both paid and unpaid, with a view to its improvement". That Commission's report was published as Sessional Paper II. of 1922. In paragraph 55 to 77 a number of suggestions was made with a view to the improvement of the system, many of which were subsequently adopted by the Government. We have found this report of great assistance in determining the method of our inquiry; it will be observed, for example, that the questionnaire published by us (*vide* Appendix A) is almost identical with that published by the previous Commission (*vide* Appendix B) of Sessional Paper II. of 1922). We have endeavoured to note particularly the

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON THE HEADMEN SYSTEM.

To :—

His Excellency Sir FRANCIS GRAEME TYRRELL, Knight Commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire, Companion of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Officer Administering the Government of the Island of Ceylon and its Dependencies.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY

We, the Commissioners appointed by His Excellency Sir REGINALD EDWARD STUBBS, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Island of Ceylon and its Dependencies, to inquire into and report upon the working of the existing Headmen System with a view to its improvement or replacement, partly or wholly, by any other system, have the honour to submit our report.

ways in which, and the extent to which, the material, social, and political development of the Island, which has taken place since 1922, has affected the efficiency of the headmen system as an instrument of administration. We have referred at the head of the sections of the present report to the related paragraphs of the 1922 report.

Reference to Dissent.

6. We regret that we have been unable to attain unanimity regarding the essence of our subject; the majority of members favour the abolition of existing grades of chief and superior headmen, and the replacement of the present minor headmen by Division Officers, supervised by special Assistants to the revenue officers, and corresponding direct with the revenue officers; the details of this proposal are stated in paragraphs 50 to 57. The Chairman and L. Nugawela Adigar disagree with this proposal; they favour the retention of the existing headmen system, with the improvements described in their dissent which appears at the end of the text of this report. The Chairman and L. Nugawela Adigar also disagree with various other portions of the main report, which they sign subject to their dissent. The paragraphs of the main report which are subject to the dissent of these two members are indicated by means of a double asterisk (**).

The Existing Headmen System.

7. We were much impressed by the fact that many witnesses appeared to have no conception of the structure of the existing headmen system, or of the details of the present salaries and conditions of service. Since considerable changes have been effected since 1922, when the report of the previous Commission was published, we have thought it proper to record, in the next succeeding paragraphs, particulars of the structure, salaries, &c., of the present scheme, although the majority of us favour the complete abolition of the grades of chief headmen and superior headmen, and propose alterations in the remuneration and conditions of service of minor headmen.

8. The numbers and distribution of the headmen of various grades in 1922, are shown in Appendix D of Sessional Paper II. of 1922. Since 1922 many posts have been suppressed, and, as explained in paragraph 19 below, further reductions in the number of superior and minor headmen are being effected as vacancies occur. The numbers provided in the 1934-35 Estimates are:—

Province.	District.	Chief Headmen.	Muhan- dirams.	Superior Headmen (Koralas, Udaiyars, and Vidane Arachchis).	Minor Headmen.
Western Province	Colombo	.. 8	.. 6	.. 66	.. 593
	Kalutara	.. 4	.. 1	.. 31	.. 255
Central Province	Kandy..	.. 8	.. —	.. 37	.. 461
	Matale	.. 3	.. —	.. 18	.. 178
Southern Province	Nuwara Eliya	.. 3	.. —	.. 16	.. 82
	Galle ..	.. 5	.. —	.. 59	.. 249
	Hambantota	.. 3	.. 1	.. 30	.. 145
	Matara	.. 5	.. —	.. 73	.. 239
Northern Province	Jaffna ..	.. 8	.. —	.. 46	.. 155
	Mannar	.. 3	.. —	.. 11	.. 34
	Mullaivivu	.. 4	.. —	.. 15	.. 33
Eastern Province	Vavuniya	.. 9	.. —	.. 22	.. 198
	Batticaloa	.. 3	.. —	.. 6	.. 28
North-Western Province	Trincomalee	.. 6	.. —	.. 55	.. 483
	Kurunegala	.. 5	.. —	.. 29	.. 194
North-Central Province	Puttalam	.. 4	.. —	.. 22	.. 94
	Chilaw	.. 7	.. —	.. 31	.. 204
Province of Uva	Anuradhapura	.. 6	.. —	.. 19	.. 144
Province of Sabaragamuwa	Badulla	.. 4	.. —	.. 24	.. 190
	Ratnapura	.. 98	.. 8	.. 610	.. 3,959
	Kegalla				

CHIEF HEADMEN.

9. *Salaries.*—In 1922, the salary of a chief headman was Rs. 1,200 per annum plus Rs. 420 per annum temporary increase. The 1920 Headmen Commission left the question of the alteration of this salary to the Salaries Commission (the “Wood Renton-Fernando” Commission) which was sitting at that time. The “Wood Renton-Fernando” Commission recommended that the chief headmen should be divided into three classes, to which the following salaries should be attached:—

Class I.	..	..	Rs. 3,600 per annum
Class II.	..	..	Rs. 3,000 per annum
Class III.	..	..	Rs. 2,400 per annum

(*vide* paragraph 127 of Sessional Paper XIX. of 1921). The Committee “appointed to advise the Government as to the method to be adopted for bringing the salary scheme contained in Sessional Paper XIX. of 1921, into operation*,” proposed an amended scheme of salaries for chief headmen, after consultation with the Government Agents. Their proposal was “that chief headmen be classified according to their length of service in such capacity, and that the three rates of salary recommended by the Salaries Commission be allotted as follows:—

Class III.	..	Rs. 2,400 per annum on appointment as chief headman;
Class II.	..	Rs. 3,000 per annum after 5 years’ service as chief headman;
Class I.	..	Rs. 3,600 per annum after 10 years’ service as chief headman:

promotion from one class to another to be dependent on satisfactory performance of duty, certified by the Government Agent”: (*vide* paragraphs 48 and 49 of Sessional Paper II. of 1923). This scheme was adopted by the Government, and is still in force. It is necessary to remember that this salary scale is not intended to be commensurate with the value of the services rendered to the State by these officers; their position is described by the Salaries Committee of 1926 (who discussed the chief headmen’s salary scale in detail in paragraphs 211-212 of Sessional Paper XLVIII. of 1928) as follows:—

“We cannot regard chief headmen as being in the same position as ordinary departmental officials, who are recruited without particular regard to their standing in the community.

If we were to regard them as such, then we think a considerable improvement in their salary scale might be justified, but we would add that, if such an improvement were effected, then there would in our opinion be no ground for any limitation of the field of choice in the making of these appointments. Perhaps at some future date a service of Provincial Revenue Officials recruited by examination may replace the chief headmen, but as long as chief headmen are dignitaries as well as officials, as long as birth and the possession of landed property are regarded as almost essential qualifications to appointment, their scale of remuneration must be fixed with reference to these facts. Their attainable maximum was increased by 200 per cent. only 5 years ago. We have given the matter most careful consideration, and are not prepared to recommend any further improvement. We admit that chief headmen are less well paid than a number of officers who do not possess the same official and social status, but we think it is too early yet to carry any further the process begun at the last revision. Before the last revision the appointments were practically honorary: they now occupy an intermediate stage: what they will ultimately become it is unnecessary to predict.”

The Salaries and Cadres Commission, in paragraph 67 of Sessional Paper XII. of 1932, recommended the reduction of the existing salary scale of chief headmen; this proposal was rejected by the Government on the advice of the Select Committee of the State Council appointed to consider the reports of the Salaries and Cadres Commission. This Select Committee, in paragraph 255 of Sessional Paper VIII. of

* The “Woods Revision Committee”.

1934, stated: "It is essential that these posts should be filled by men of initiative, ability, and integrity; we are of opinion that the present scale is no more than sufficient to attract men possessing these qualities. We recommend its retention."

10. The Revenue Officer, Tamankaduwa, is entrusted with certain duties not ordinarily allotted to chief headmen. He enjoys a higher salary scale than that of a chief headman, i.e., Rs. 3,866-867 (quinquennial)—Rs. 5,600. The history of this scale is related in paragraph 215 of Sessional Paper XLVIII. of 1928.

11. *Fixed Transport Allowance for Travelling inside the Division.*—Prior to 1922, chief headmen received no allowance to cover the cost of travelling within their divisions, although their duties necessitated their keeping a conveyance. Attention was drawn to this fact by the previous Headmen Commission, in paragraph 64 of Sessional Paper II. of 1922. In paragraph 127 of Sessional Paper XIX. of 1921, the "Wood Renton-Fernando" Salaries Commission recommended the payment to the chief headmen of a commuted motor car or horse allowance of Rs. 85 per month, or a commuted bullock cart allowance of Rs. 40 per month, for travelling within their divisions. In paragraph 54 of Sessional Paper II. of 1923, the "Woods Revision Committee" reaffirmed the above recommendation. The proposal was accepted by the Government, and with effect from October 1, 1922, commuted transport allowances were allowed of Rs. 85 per month if a car or horse was maintained, and Rs. 40 per month if a bullock cart was maintained. (In certain special instances the allowances granted were less than these rates.) The Committee on Travelling Allowances, in paragraph 27 of Sessional Paper IV. of 1924, recommended certain modifications of the rates of fixed transport allowances, and added that the scales proposed for motor cars should be applied to the then existing motor car allowances paid to chief headmen. The Government accepted this recommendation, and the motor car allowances of chief headmen were revised with effect from August 1, 1924, as follows:—

	Rs.
For a motor car weighing more than 15 cwt. ..	85
For a motor car weighing more than 10 cwt. and not more than 15 cwt. ..	70
For a motor car weighing 10 cwt. or less ..	60

These allowances were further reduced in 1930, and again in 1932. The rates fixed in 1932, which are still in force, are:—

	Rs.
For a private car weighing over 21 cwt. ..	70
For a private car weighing over 16 cwt. but not over 21 cwt. ..	60
For a private car weighing over 12 cwt. but not over 16 cwt. ..	50
For a private car weighing 12 cwt. or under ..	40

The allowances originally granted for a horse (Rs. 85) and for a bullock cart (Rs. 40) have remained at those figures up to the present time. It is necessary to observe that these allowances are not intended to cover the whole cost of the officer's travelling within his division. The 1928 Salaries Committee in paragraph 212 (iii.) of Sessional Paper XLVIII. of 1928, explained the matter in these words: "The allowance is not intended to reimburse a chief headman for all the expenses which he may incur in travelling within his division. It is an allowance towards the maintenance of a car which can be used for both official and private purposes".

12. *Travelling outside the Division.*—When travelling outside their divisions, chief headmen are governed by the ordinary financial regulations of the Government relating to the reimbursement of travelling expenses, with certain exceptions. The principal exception is that they are authorized to travel in their own conveyances, and to claim mileage at the prescribed rates, even along routes where public conveyances such as buses are available. They are also entitled to travel first class by train. Their rates of subsistence and lodging allowances are:—

	Subsistence		Lodging.	
	Rs.		Rs.	
For those drawing Rs. 2,400 per annum ..	3	..	1	
For those drawing Rs. 3,000 per annum ..	4	..	1	
For those drawing Rs. 3,600 per annum ..				

13. *Allowance for Clerical Assistance.*—The full history of this allowance is set out in Sessional Paper XXII. of 1928, which contains an Interim Report of the 1926 Salaries Committee, on "Allowances to Chief Headmen for Clerical Assistance". The Government considered the recommendations contained in this report, and decided that allowances for clerical assistance to chief headmen should be granted, to cover the cost of employing a clerk, or two clerks where two clerks were considered necessary for the transaction of purely Government business. The Government authorized the payment with effect from October 1, 1928, of an allowance of Rs. 40 per month where one clerk is required, and Rs. 70 per month where two clerks are required. These allowances are still in force. In paragraph 124 of Sessional Paper XVI. of 1932, the Salaries and Cadres Commission stated: "We are of the opinion that the number of peons, clerks, and messengers allowed to chief headmen is excessive and should be reduced." But the Select Committee appointed to consider the report of the Salaries and Cadres Commission stated, in paragraph 262 of Sessional Paper VIII. of 1934: "We are unable to agree with this view; we have no reason to suppose that the staff at present allowed to chief headmen is more than sufficient".

14. *Messenger Allowances.*—The history of this allowance is contained in paragraph 235 of Sessional Paper XLVIII. of 1928, the report of the 1926 Salaries Committee. That Committee recommended that the salaries of chief headmen's peons should not be separately itemised in the annual estimates, but that the chief headman should be paid an allowance to cover the cost of employing a peon or messenger. The Government accepted this recommendation, and the provision of salaries in the estimates is being replaced by the provision of allowances to the chief headmen, as peons already in service prior to 1928 retire. The number of peons allowed is one or two according to the necessities of the case; the Revenue Officer, Tamankaduwa, is allowed three peons. The rate of allowance per peon varies in different parts of the Island. The allowance is described in the Estimates as a "Messenger allowance"; the men employed are referred to as "messengers" or "peons".

MUHANDIRAMS.

15. *Salary.*—Prior to 1922 the salary of these officers was Rs. 600 per annum plus Rs. 240 per annum temporary increase. In paragraph 131 of Sessional Paper XIX. of 1921 the "Wood Renton-Fernando" Salary Commission recommended a salary of Rs. 1,200 per annum; the "Woods Revision Committee" suggested no alteration in this salary, and it came into force with effect from October 1, 1922. In paragraph 216 of Sessional Paper XLVIII. of 1928, the 1926 Salaries Committee proposed a salary of Rs. 1,500 per annum for Muhandirams, but this recommendation was not adopted by the Government. In paragraph 67 of Sessional Paper XII. of 1932 the Salaries and Cadres Commissioners recommended the reduction of the salary to Rs. 960 per annum, but this proposal was rejected by the Government on the advice of the Select Committee of the State Council which reported on the recommendations of the Salaries and Cadres Commission. The salary now in force is therefore Rs. 1,200 per annum.

16. *Fixed Transport Allowance for travelling within the Division.*—Prior to 1922 Muhandirams received no allowance of this description. The "Wood Renton-Fernando Commission" made no recommendation on the point; the "Woods Revision Committee" similarly made no recommendation. The question was referred by the Government to the Travelling Allowances Committee in 1923, and on its advice it was decided that those Muhandirams who acted as Assistants to Mudaliyars, and who had a similar territorial jurisdiction to the Mudaliyars, should be eligible for an allowance of from Rs. 20 to Rs. 40 per month according to the amount of travelling they had to do, and subject to the recommendation of the Government Agent in each case. At a subsequent revision one of the allowances was reduced to Rs. 15 per month.

17. *Travelling outside the Division.*—When travelling outside their divisions, Muhandirams are governed by the ordinary regulations of the Government relating

to the reimbursement of travelling expenses. They receive batta at the rate of Rs. 2 per day. They do not fall within the category of officers entitled to car mileage, but if they do travel by car, they are allowed mileage at the reduced rate of 20 cents a mile in accordance with the footnote to Financial Regulation 1181 (c)*. They are entitled to 2nd class railway accommodation.

SUPERIOR HEADMEN.

18. *Salary.*—The salary of these officers in 1922 is shown in Appendix D on page 23 of Sessional Paper II. of 1922. In paragraph 66 of that report the previous Headmen Commission stated :—

“Some of these officers at present draw a salary of Rs. 29 a month. The Commission recommends that this should be abolished, as being out of keeping with the principle on which they should be appointed. The Commission came to the conclusion that in some districts insufficient use had in the past been made of these officers. It may be possible in some measure to reduce their numbers but the grade should be retained, and they should be required to exercise closer supervision over the village headmen, more especially in regard to their crime work. They should be given a monthly allowance varying from Rs. 30 to Rs. 60, at the discretion of the Government Agents, in accordance with the work each has to do. This would cover the cost of all travelling within their divisions and attendance before the chief headmen.”

At present they receive allowances (not salaries) of Rs. 30, 40, or 45 per month, according to the amount of the work which the appointment necessitates. A brief outline of the history of this change will be found in paragraph 19 below.

MINOR HEADMEN.

19. *Salary.*—This group consists of two main divisions : village headmen, who are charged with a multiplicity of duties in a defined area, normally comprising a number of villages or hamlets ; and a comparatively small number of other minor headmen who are charged with certain special and more limited duties (e.g., Village Sergeants, Peace Officers, Constable Arachchis, Rural Constables, Town Arachchis and Road Arachchis). The village headmen received no salary or allowance in 1922 ; they received certain fees and money rewards for good work. The 1920 Headmen Commission in paragraph 67 of Sessional Paper II. of 1922 stated :—

“The village headmen have in the past been put to expense by reason of their public duties. To pay them a salary would be to convert them into an entirely different type of officer, and render them liable to comparison with police constables, peons, and others drawing salaries at similar rates. It is, therefore, suggested that they be paid a monthly allowance of from Rs. 10 to Rs. 30, at the discretion of the Government Agents, in accordance with their work. This would cover the cost of travelling in their villages and their attendance before the chief headmen. At the same time, as vacancies occur, the Government Agents should be directed to ascertain whether it is not possible to reduce their numbers by combining some of the smaller villages under one headman.”

Certain of the other class of minor headmen were in receipt of salaries in 1922 ; particulars of these salaries will be found in Appendix D on page 23 of Sessional Paper II. of 1922.

The 1920 Commission proposed no immediate change in the remuneration of this group, observing that many of the posts would be abolished as vacancies occurred. The recommendations contained in paragraphs 66 and 67 of Sessional Paper II.

* Officers who are entitled to horse or cart mileage, but not entitled to motor car mileage, may claim 20 cents per mile for the use of a motor car.

of 1922 were the subject of prolonged consideration by the Government. Eventually provision was made in the 1927–28 Estimates for the payment of allowances to superior and minor headmen on the following scales :—

Class A.

Koralas, Vidane Arachchis, Udaiyars, Gravets Muhandirams,
Mohottalas Rs. 45 per month.

Class B.

Headmen of intermediate rank, viz., Constable Arachchis,
Rural Constables, and Road Arachchis Rs. 30 per month.

Class C.

Police Headmen, Vidanes, Arachchis, Durayas, Weediya
Arachchis, Tulana Arachchis, and Peace Officers Rs. 25 per month.

Class D.

Minor Village Headmen in the Kandyan districts who are
responsible for single villages, and who work under the
supervision of the Gan Arachchis Rs. 20 per month.

In a small number of cases, larger or smaller allowances than those prescribed in this scheme were allowed to particular headmen, for special reasons. In November, 1930, the Colonial Secretary initiated a revision of the scheme, the object being to suppress superfluous posts and to grade the allowances so that they should accord more nearly with the amount of work required of the recipients and, consequently, with the expenses incurred by them in the execution of their duties. In July, 1931, the Constitution established by the Ceylon (State Council) Order in Council, 1931, came into force ; the revision of the scheme of allowances of superior and minor headmen was therefore completed in 1932 by the Ministry for Home Affairs, in consultation with the Treasury. We understand that the revised scheme is being put into force as vacancies in the posts of headmen occur, some posts being suppressed, the allowances attached to others being reduced.

The allowances provided in the 1934–35 Estimates range from Rs. 45 to Rs. 30 in the case of superior headmen, and from Rs. 30 to Rs. 5 in the case of minor headmen*. The numbers of headmen on each rate of allowance are :—

552 on Rs. 45 per month.
25 on Rs. 40 per month.
1 on Rs. 36·25 per month.
29 on Rs. 35 per month.
12 on Rs. 30 per month.
2,740 on Rs. 25 per month.
23 on Rs. 22·50 per month.
821 on Rs. 20 per month.
8 on Rs. 18 per month.
23 on Rs. 17·50 per month.
231 on Rs. 15 per month.
7 on Rs. 12·50 per month.
93 on Rs. 10 per month.
4 on Rs. 5 per month.

It is necessary to emphasize that these allowances are not intended to be commensurate with the value of the services rendered to the State by the headmen. They are intended to compensate the headmen for expenses incurred by them in the performance of their duties, and to recompense them in some degree for the pecuniary loss which they must sustain through devoting a large portion of their time and energy to their official duties.

20. By the notification dated September 30, 1929, the allowances of superior and minor headmen were brought under section 27 of the Pension Minute. The

* Save that the Peace Officer, Wattagama, draws an allowance of Rs. 36·25 per month.

effect of this notification, shortly stated, is that the officers receive a retiring allowance, which takes the form of a gratuity or annuity according to the length of their service.

21. *Refund of Travelling and other Expenses of superior and minor Headmen.*—Superior and minor headmen receive no allowance for travelling within their divisions; the allowances referred to in paragraphs 15 and 16 are intended to reimburse this among other expenses. The repayment of expenses incurred in travelling on official business outside their divisions is regulated by Financial Regulations 1278 to 1282 which read :—

“1278 *Discretion of Government Agent or Assistant Government Agent to relax.*—In cases where the Government Agent or Assistant Government Agent is personally satisfied regarding the details of expenditure which a minor headman is called upon to incur in the discharge of his duties, these regulations may be relaxed to the extent which is necessary, upon the personal certificate of the Government Agent or Assistant Government Agent that such relaxation is necessary.

1279 *Rates of batta.*—The rates of batta payable are as follows :—

- (i.) To Registrars of Births, Marriages, and Deaths, Korals, Udaiyars, Vidane Arachchis, and Mohottalas .. Re. 1.12½ a day
- (ii.) To subordinate headmen of all other classes .. 75 cents a day

1280 *Calculation of batta.*—Batta will be allowed on the following principles :—

- (i.) For attendance at the Kacheheri, Police Court, or Court of Requests—
 - (a) Headmen who reside more than 3½ miles from, but within 5 miles of, the Court or Kacheheri will be entitled to .. ½ day's batta
 - (b) Headmen who reside not less than 5 nor more than 10 miles from the Court or Kacheheri .. 1 day's batta
 - (c) Headmen who reside more than 10 miles but not more than 20 miles from the Court or Kacheheri .. 2 days' batta
 - (d) Headmen who reside more than 20 miles but not more than 30 miles from the Court or Kacheheri .. 3 days' batta
 - (e) Headmen who reside more than 30 miles but not more than 40 miles from the Court or Kacheheri .. 4 days' batta
 - (f) Those headmen who reside more than 40 miles from Court or Kacheheri will be granted an additional day's batta for every 15 miles or part thereof travelled beyond 40 miles
 - (g) Whenever train or omnibus or other public conveyance is available, actual omnibus or train fare or fare by other public conveyance should be paid and batta should only be paid for each night on which absence from home is necessitated.

(ii.) For attendance at a District Court or Supreme Court minor headmen may draw single batta at the rate per diem prescribed by Financial Regulation 1279 for the actual period of necessary absence, and also mileage at 20 cents per mile in the case of headmen in group (i.) under Financial Regulation 1279 and 7½ cents per mile in the case of headmen in group (ii.), where public conveyance is not available.

(iii.) For attendance at a District Court or Supreme Court situated outside the headman's revenue district batta may be allowed at the rate of Rs. 2.25 per diem to headmen in group (i.) and Re. 1.12½ per diem to headmen in group (ii.), as well as mileage as prescribed by Financial Regulation 1280 (ii.).

1281 *Detention.*—Full batta may be allowed for days of necessary detention at Court or Kacheheri; in all such court cases the Police Magistrate must certify on the batta ticket that it was necessary for the headman to stay an extra night in the court town.

1282 *Train Fare.*—Every headman is entitled to a refund of train fare at third class rates. They are also entitled to motor bus (third class), steam boat, and bullock coach fares. No cart hire will be allowed except as provided in Financial Regulation 1288 (ii.). Tram fare will not be allowed. Korals are entitled to a refund of train fares at second class rates.”

There is a considerable body of opinion that these rates are too low, and that they should be restored at least to the rates which existed prior to October, 1932, viz. :—

Batta.—Financial Regulation 1279.

Registrars, &c.	..	..	Re. 1.50 per day
Subordinate Headmen	..	..	Re. 1 per day

Batta.—Financial Regulation 1280 (iii).

Registrars, &c.	..	..	Rs. 3 per day
Subordinate Headmen	..	..	Re. 1.50 per day

Mileage.—Financial Regulation 1280 (ii).

Registrars, &c.	..	..	25 cents per mile
Subordinate Headmen	..	..	10 cents per mile

Many witnesses were also of opinion that Financial Regulation 1280 (i.) (g) operates unfairly; its effect is that a headman who leaves his villages at dawn and returns after a day at the Court or Kacheheri at 10 or 11 at night is paid no batta.

22. The refund of certain other expenses commonly incurred by superior and minor headmen in the execution of their duties is regulated by Financial Regulations 1283 to 1292. These regulations are reproduced in Appendix D. The wages of messengers and escorts, the cost of meals supplied to prisoners under arrest, the wages of attendants on wounded persons, and cart hire incurred in removing persons to the hospital, are examples of the type of expenditure referred to here.

23. The refund of the expenses incurred by superior and minor headmen is made from two principal sources; the sub-head of Head 27.—Provincial Administration entitled “Remuneration to Headmen”; and the “Headmen's Reward Fund”. The former is regulated by Financial Regulation 864 which reads :—

“864 *Purpose.*—This is a vote provided annually in the Estimates for each Government Agent, and is principally intended for the following purposes :—

- (a) To repay the headmen their batta, travelling expenses, and all other expenses incurred by them in the discharge of their duty.
- (b) To reward any specially good work done either in securing the apprehension and conviction of offenders, or in the maintenance of law and order in the village.

Payment from this vote may be made at the discretion of the Government Agent, and will be passed in Audit on the Government Agent's certificate that the charges are in order. The vote is not intended, and must not be used, for ordinary rewards which should be paid from the Headmen's Reward Fund.

Note.—Travelling allowances, &c., to Ratamahatmayas, Mudaliyars, Vanniahs, and District Muhandirams should be charged to the vote for travelling allowance to Clerks, Interpreters, &c., allowed to Government Agents and Assistant Government Agents. Travelling and other allowances payable to other headmen (Korals, Udaiyars, Peace Officers, Vidanes, &c.) should be paid from the vote for “Remuneration to Headmen.”

The use of the “Headmen's Reward Fund” is governed by Financial Regulations 863 and 1291 which read :—

“863 *Source and Disposal.*—(i.) The Headmen's Reward Fund is a deposit made up of half fines imposed in cases where a headman is entitled to an informer's share.

(ii.) Rewards from the fund should be paid by the Government Agent at his discretion, in proportion to the service rendered in each case, and not necessarily to the amount of the half fine.

(iii.) The Headmen's Reward Fund is not intended for payment of batta and travelling expenses to headmen.”

“1291 *Awards to Headmen.*—In making awards from the Headmen's Reward Fund, the Government Agent should take into consideration the probable expenditure incurred by each headman in instituting Crown prosecutions.”

The sums provided in the Remuneration Vote from the year 1921-22 to the year 1934-35 are shown in Appendix E. In March, 1931, the Colonial Secretary issued the following circular regarding the use of this vote :—

No. K 691/30

Colonial Secretary's Office,
Colombo, March 16, 1931.

Vote for Remuneration to Headmen.

SIR,—I AM directed to inform you that it has been brought to the notice of Government that there has been a steady increase annually in the demand for provision for the remuneration of headmen. The present financial circumstances make it imperative to check this tendency and the strictest economy must therefore be exercised in the administration of the vote for Remuneration to Headmen.

2. In particular the following instructions must be observed :—

- (a) Payment of rewards for good work in particular cases should normally be made from the Headmen's Reward Fund and not from the Remuneration Vote. They should only be paid from the Remuneration Vote in cases of exceptional merit and when the Reward Fund is insufficient to meet the expenditure.
- (b) Payment of annual rewards from the Remuneration Vote must only be made to headmen who are not in receipt of fixed allowances and when the Headmen's Reward Fund is insufficient.
- (c) For the current financial year no payment should be made from the Remuneration Vote on account of uniform allowance.
- (d) Wherever train or omnibus is available the payment of batta should not be regulated according to distance as laid down in General Order 430; (iii.) (a) to (f)*. Actual omnibus or train fare should be paid and batta should only be paid for each night on which absence from home is necessitated.
- (e) The greatest economy should be exercised in the payment from this vote of rewards for patrolling. Expenditure should be reduced by the use of commendations and good marks at the discretion of the Revenue Officer.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

(Sgd.) P. H. DE LA HARPE,
for Colonial Secretary.

The Government Agents.

We understand that the reduction of this sub-head during the last few years has resulted in headmen actually paying from their own pockets specific items incurred in the execution of their duty.

24**. While we agree that rates of batta and other allowances made to cover necessary expenses should be increased so that no headman should be actually out of pocket on account of the performance of his duty, the majority of us consider the system of money rewards inappropriate and harmful as encouraging headmen to concentrate on demonstrable results rather than on the general welfare of the community, and recommend the substitution of medals, sannas or certificates for the present money rewards.

AUTHORIZED FEES.

(Paragraphs 11 and 72 to 74 of Sessional Paper II. of 1922.)

25**. The authorized fees payable in 1922 to chief headmen, muhandirams, and superior and minor headmen are shown in Appendix D on pages 22, 23, and 24 of Sessional Paper II. of 1922. Since that date a number of fees have been withdrawn,

* Now replaced by Financial Regulation 1280 (i.).

** Vide dissent by Mr. M. M. Wedderburn, C.C.S., and L. Nugawela Adigar.

and a few have been added. In particular, the minor headmen no longer receive commission on collections of District Road Committee Tax, since that tax has ceased to exist; this commission afforded a considerable remuneration to the majority of minor headmen. The evidence of those witnesses who are in a position to know the facts is that the amount which can be earned in fees is now less than it was some years ago. Some witnesses appeared to favour the total abolition of fees, and an adjustment of the allowances to compensate for their loss. The majority of us advocate the total abolition of fees; we consider that the actual passing of money from members of the public to the headmen facilitates and encourages the extortion of illegal fees, and the offer and acceptance of bribes. Further, under our proposals the Division Officers will be full-time employees and will be paid a salary on that basis; the payment of fees will therefore be unnecessary.

THE CASTE NAMES OF MINOR HEADMEN.

26. In the Kandyan districts the names applied to certain village headmen vary according to the man's caste; his caste being almost invariably the same as that of the majority of people in his division. Thus in Kandyan districts the Goigama community village headman is called Arachchi; the Bathgama community village headman is called Vidane Duraya; and the Wahumpura community village headman is called Vidane or Maha Duraya. The nomenclature varies in different Kandyan districts, but some caste distinction in the nomenclature exists in all of them. The differentiation is in accordance with ancient usage, and some witnesses were of opinion that it is not considered offensive or derogatory either by the headmen themselves or by the villagers of the so called "lower" castes. On the other hand, there is a considerable body of opinion that the distinction is wrong in principle, is likely to perpetuate caste distinctions, and is offensive to some at least of the people of the "lower" castes. We think that this ground of complaint could and should be removed by assigning to all village headmen appointed to perform police duties a common name such as Division Officer, as recommended by the majority of the Commission. It is probable that the existing names will continue to be used in the villages, but we think that if the official nomenclature is changed, and the change is made known in the villages, it will help, in time, to obliterate caste distinction.

Duties of the Headmen.

(Paragraphs 15-18 and 59-63 of Sessional Paper II. of 1922.)

27. In paragraphs 15-18 of Sessional Paper II. of 1922, the duties of the headmen at that date are described, and in paragraph 17 a list of the duties of the village headmen, apart from their purely revenue duties performed under the orders of the Government Agent, is given. In Appendix F of the present Report will be found a list of the duties now performed by superior and minor headmen in the Kalutara District. The duties of these grades vary considerably from District to District, but the duties listed in Appendix F may be regarded as typical of the majority of Districts.

28. In paragraph 60 of Sessional Paper II. of 1922, the Headmen Commission expressed the view that "so far from adding to the headmen's work, an effort should be made to reduce it". The Government has not found it possible to give effect to this suggestion; its dependence on the headmen system as an instrument of administration has become progressively greater, and the amount of work required of the headmen has correspondingly increased. The duties of the headmen are so numerous and complex that it is impossible to describe accurately and fully the ways in which they have increased. But the following list of duties which did not exist at all, or which were very much less onerous, in 1922, is illuminating :—

- (i.) The initiation and supervision of land colonization schemes.
- (ii.) The supervision of certain areas of crown forests, and the issue of certain licences and permits under the Forest Ordinance No. 16 of 1907, and the supervision of the activities of the permit holders. This work was performed by the Forest Department prior to the year 1934.
- (iii.) The assessment of the crops of tea and rubber estates required by the Tea (Control of Export) Ordinance, No. 11 of 1933, and the Rubber Control Ordinance, No. 6 of 1934.

- (iv.) The annual revision of the list of voters for the State Council elections required by the Ceylon (State Council Elections) Order in Council, 1931.
- (v.) Reporting on the condition of ownership of motor vehicles and whether they are in use. This information is required by the Government Agents who are licensing authorities under Ordinance No. 20 of 1927.
- (vi.) In certain districts, the detection and prosecution of excise offences. This work was, prior to the year 1934, performed by the officers of the Excise Department.
- (vii.) Assisting the revenue officers in charge of the mapping out of Crown lands

Most of these accretions have affected the superior and minor headmen in some degree, and all have affected the chief headmen. It appears that every new administrative measure which requires the establishment of contact between the Government and the rural public, inevitably throws additional work on the headmen; they form the only effective instrument by which this contact can be established.

Method of Appointment of Chief, Superior and Minor Headmen.

29. The evidence we have received reveals numerous misconceptions regarding the present method of appointment of headmen of all grades. We therefore consider it desirable to describe briefly the present method of appointment.

30. *Chief Headmen.*—When a vacancy in a post of chief headman occurs, the Government Agent calls for applications from persons within or outside the public service. The applications received are scheduled. Normally, the Government Agent interviews a number of the candidates who appear from their applications to be most suitable, unless he is already acquainted with them. He then makes a report to the Public Services Commission under Public Service Regulation 27 recommending the appointment of a particular candidate. This report is usually a very full document; Public Service Regulation 27 requires that it shall state “the social standing, family, and position of each candidate, and particulars with regard to any landed property which he may possess in the district in which the vacancy exists”. The report is accompanied by the schedule of applications and by the applications themselves. The Public Services Commission consults the Executive Committee for Home Affairs under Public Service Regulation 27; the opinions of the Government Agent, the Executive Committee, and the Public Services Commission are then submitted to His Excellency the Governor for his decision. It is thus wholly incorrect to say, as many witnesses did say, that recruitment to the grade of chief headman is restricted to clerks employed in Kachecheris. It is correct that the candidates appointed have very frequently served in one or other of the Kachecheris. In the past it has been the practice in many districts to recruit to Class III. of the Clerical Service men of social standing in the district with a view to promoting them to chief headmen's posts if they are found to be suitable after a training in the Kachecheri which includes periods of acting temporarily for chief headmen. Moreover the Government Agent faced with the duty of recommending a candidate for a responsible post where both integrity and experience of administration are essential, must select a man whom he knows to be suitable in preference to candidates whose qualifications may appear on paper to be superior, but in regard to whom he has no reliable evidence as to their ability or integrity. Subject to these necessary limitations the field of selection is unrestricted.

31. *Superior and Minor Headmen.*—In August, 1932, the Ministry for Home Affairs issued the following circular with regard to the appointment of minor headmen :—

CIRCULAR NO. 24/32

The Ministry of Home Affairs,
Colombo, August 17, 1932.

Appointment of Minor Headmen.

SIR,—WITH reference to your reply to this Ministry's Circular No. 62/32 of January 29, 1932, on the question of consulting Village Committees in appointing minor headmen, I am directed by the Minister for Home Affairs, the Hon. Sir D. B. Jayatilaka, to inform you that the matter has received the careful consideration

of the Executive Committee of Home Affairs which was generally of opinion that difficulties would probably arise if consultation with Village Committees were made compulsory. It was therefore decided that no standing rule should be made on the point, but that it be expressed as the Executive Committee's opinion that if Village Committees should volunteer their views regarding the qualifications of candidates for appointments within their respective divisions they should be welcomed and given due consideration.

2. The Committee, however, laid considerable stress on the view that the candidates most acceptable to the majority of the villagers should, as a rule, be selected for appointment as village headmen, and that to achieve this end the Revenue Officers should welcome all avenues of sounding the public opinion in the village without having recourse to a regular poll. It was thought that the most practicable method would be to conduct the examination and selection of candidates, not in the formal atmosphere of a Kachecheri far away from the village but in the village itself or at some central spot near the village at which the villagers wishing to make representations could conveniently assemble.

3. I am to request you to give effect to the views of the Executive Committees stated above.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

K. VAITHIANATHAN,
Secretary to the Hon. the Minister for Home Affairs.

To all Government Agents and Assistant Government Agents.

In fact, many revenue officers were in the habit of consulting the villagers informally in the village prior to the appointment of minor headmen before this circular was issued. Generally speaking, the present practice is this: when a vacancy in a post of minor headman occurs, applications are called for in the locality. Some applications are addressed direct to the Government Agent and some to the chief headman. The former are referred to the chief headman, who schedules all the applications in the printed form, a copy of which appears in Appendix G. The Government Agent or Assistant Government Agent then goes to the village concerned or to a convenient centre accessible from the village on a date of which notice has been given locally, to make the appointment. He interviews candidates and having selected those—some 3 or 4 perhaps—who appear to be the most suitable, he hears any suggestions which the assembled villagers may make in regard to the appointment of any particular man. He inquires in a summary manner into the objections made, if any, and ultimately makes his own selection. The procedure no doubt varies in different districts, but we understand that it always follows these lines. Opinion varies considerably as to the value of this consultation with the villagers; the majority of witnesses considered it useful, in that it tends to avoid the appointment of a person who cannot get on with a section of the village, and helps to convince the people that the selection is actually made by the Government Agent or Assistant Government Agent himself. Other witnesses inclined to the view that usually the villagers are afraid to raise objections to the appointment of the man who may, despite their objections, become headman. Some witnesses stated that despite this consultation in the village and the publicity of the selection the man favoured by the chief headman is always appointed. The revenue officers and the chief headmen themselves contradict this view; all the revenue officers appear to attach very considerable weight to the chief headmen's advice, but none are guided wholly by it. A number of revenue officers stated that their chief headmen frequently declined to express an opinion as to which candidate is the best, even when asked to do so. On the other hand the Ratemahatmaya of Three Korales in the Kegalla District, when asked “In your division your choice has invariably been the choice of the Government Agent?” replied “Yes.”

32. The appointment of superior headmen is conducted in a somewhat similar manner, but in most districts an endeavour is made to fill a vacancy in a post of superior headman by the promotion of a minor headman, if a suitable man is available.

Training of the Superior and Minor Headmen.*(Paragraphs 18, 30, and 77 of Sessional Paper II. of 1922.)*

33. In paragraphs 18 and 30 of Sessional Paper II. of 1922, the previous Commission referred to the fact that the headmen received little training in the many duties which they are required to perform. In paragraph 77 of their report they stated:—

“It is admitted that the amount of training given to the headmen in their multifarious duties is at present insufficient. These consist of duties in connection with crime, general revenue duties, and special duties such as those connected with sanitation and the valuation of estates. The headmen should obtain their training by a study of their Manual, by oral instruction given by the chief headmen on division days, and by the revenue officers on circuit assisted by representatives of other departments. It should be the task of the Kachcheri Mudaliyars to keep the Manual and files of special instructions up to date. The chief headmen should devote more time than at present to the systematic inspection of the work of the minor headmen, and especially of those newly appointed. The greatest incentive, however, to a headman to learn his duties will be the periodical inspection by the revenue officer and the rewards dependent thereon.”

The training given at the present time appears to vary considerably in different parts of the Island. It still consists principally of verbal instruction by the chief headmen on division days and of the study of the Headmen's Manual. In the majority of policed areas the assistance of officers of the Police Department is enlisted. In some districts officers of other departments (for example, Sanitary Inspectors, Excise Inspectors, and Agricultural Instructors) also attend the Division days, and instruct the headmen in the work of their departments. The effectiveness of this very informal and unsystematized instruction must, we think, depend very largely on its regularity and frequency, and this in turn depends on the zeal and efficiency of the chief headmen. The revenue officers appear to be so overburdened with work, especially paper work, that they have no time to devote to the personal instruction of headmen, or to the detailed planning of such instruction. Many witnesses were of opinion that the existing arrangements are inadequate, and that the minor headmen are at present insufficiently trained; the commonest complaints were that their knowledge of the procedure which should be followed in cases of crime, and of modern scientific methods of agriculture, are insufficient. Some witnesses suggested that a training school should be established in Colombo, and that newly appointed headmen should be required to undergo an appropriate course of training extending over some six months. Others thought a number of training schools in different parts of the Island desirable. Others, again, considered these proposals impracticable on account of cost, and of the difficulty of requiring a village headman—himself a villager, probably married, with his fields and other interests in his village—to spend a long period away from his home, to the detriment of his private affairs. The extension and systematization of the existing mode of instruction was the solution which these witnesses proposed. A number of witnesses advocated the amplification of the present Manual with which headmen are furnished.

Complaints against the System.*(Paragraphs 20–33 of Sessional Paper II. of 1922.)***CORRUPTION.**

34**. The evidence of practically all the witnesses, both written and oral, contain some reference to this subject. The majority of persons who suggested the abolition of the system, or its drastic alteration, did so on the ground that it is at present

** *Vide* dissent by Mr. M. M. Wedderburn, C.C.S., and L. Nugawela Adigar.

incorrigibly corrupt. Almost every witness agreed that some headmen are corrupt, but opinion differed very considerably regarding the degree of corruption. Some considered it rare, others thought it common, while yet others regard it as universal. The bulk of the corrupt acts alleged can be divided into three main groups:—

- (i.) The payment of money by candidates for posts of superior and minor headmen to chief headmen, in order to induce the chief headmen to use their influence to secure the appointment of a particular candidate. The sums said to be paid varied from Rs. 50 to Rs. 1,000.
- (ii.) The payment by superior and minor headmen of a portion of their monthly allowance to the chief headmen. It was generally said that the minor headmen's contribution is Rs. 5 per month and the superior headmen's Rs. 10 per month. It was explained that the headmen dare not refuse the payment, because they believe that the chief headmen possess the power to deprive them of their appointments. The majority of witnesses who referred to this practice did not extend their allegations beyond the Western and Southern Provinces.
- (iii.) The extortion of illegal fees of various sorts from the public by headmen.

Several revenue officers of experience were questioned on these points; they were of opinion that cases of bribery are rare, while some considered that the acceptance of money was not looked upon as bribery, but rather as the acceptance of a gift sanctioned by ancient usage and custom. We feel that on this ground revenue officers condone grave acts of corruption. Further, their position is such that they cannot be expected to ascertain the full extent to which headmen are guilty of corruption. In the great majority of cases the giver and the taker of a bribe naturally endeavour to keep the revenue officer in ignorance of the facts. It is seldom that a charge of corruption is openly made against a headman; such charges have been made, and in some cases the headmen have been proved guilty and punished; in other cases the charges could not be proved; the success or failure of such charges depend largely on the position, influence, and wealth of the person making them.

* 35**. A large number of witnesses stated that they were personally aware of cases of corruption. It was not possible for us to test the truth of these assertions, unless we were prepared to inquire fully into them in the presence of the accused persons, and to examine all the evidence of each particular case; this we did not consider to be a part of our function. The witnesses emphasized the difficulty of proving acts of corruption by headmen, attributing this difficulty to a variety of causes. We feel that it would be almost impossible to obtain proof of the sort required by a Court of law; but we consider that it would be impolitic to await proof of this sort before holding that the charges of corruption are substantially true. The very existence of well-nigh so universal and vocal a conviction that the headmen system is irretrievably corrupt is sufficient for purposes of shaping public policy if not for purposes of ideal proof. It is not as if the charge is isolated and occasional, spasmodic or recent. The complaint is long-standing and persistent and the conviction is widespread and general. A significant contrast will clarify our point. Although charges of corruption against our judiciary have not been unknown, such charges have made no lasting impression on the public mind, and the honesty and integrity of its members is acknowledged beyond question. Why, on the other hand, should the charge of corruption against the headmen system be so persistent and insistent despite public attempts to repudiate it, both from outside and within? We are driven to the conclusion that it is because the fact is indubitable even though not susceptible of strict legal proof. However, proof sometimes comes from the most unexpected and unsolicited quarters. For example, in 1933 a newly appointed minor headman of the Bathgama community committed suicide in the garden of the Korala who was his immediate superior. The circumstances strongly suggested that the reason for the suicide was the headman's inability to pay to the Korala a present of Rs. 50 demanded by the latter. The Korala himself was newly appointed on probation; he was

** *Vide* dissent by Mr. M. M. Wedderburn, C.C.S., and L. Nugawela Adigar.

removed from the office of Korala, but there was no evidence to support a charge of extortion against him. Again, Gate Mudaliyar G. A. Goonetilleke, retired Atapattu Mudaliyar, Galle, wrote as follows in a memorandum addressed to us :—

“In my opinion the Headmen System has served its time and should therefore be discontinued. Its purpose was to serve as a channel of communication between the illiterate and inarticulate masses and the Government. The masses are now sufficiently intelligent to make their voices heard either by direct representation or through unofficial channels more intelligent and far more sympathetic than the Chief Headmen of to-day. It is not the headmen who have contributed to this improvement in the condition of the masses ; it is the inevitable result of the march of time. The spread of education, the civilizing influence of social and commercial intercourse, contact with world events through the medium of the vernacular press, the march of democracy, and not the least, keener religious activity and propaganda, have all tended to make the masses realize their rights and privileges of British citizenship and to assert them. Hence the village headman with the antiquated ideas often instilled into him as soon as he assumes office, and entertaining the notion that he must at any cost uphold the traditions of a system that is almost despotic in origin and character, cannot be expected to serve any useful purpose at the present day. He soon gets out of tune with those over whom he is placed ; his attitude tends to retard progress ; and the result is resentment and rancour on the part of the people who naturally strive to throw off the yoke. It is not the individual headman who is to blame for this, but the antiquated system suited for a former age, but still perpetuated under quite altered circumstances.

2. Having myself served as a chief headman for many years I feel averse to the task of making a comprehensive survey of all the evils that are attendant upon the system as it exists to-day although there is no difficulty to adduce facts sufficiently strong to impress even the hardened sceptic of the utter undesirability of its continuance.

3. A change in the method of appointment, or the payment of higher remuneration, or other amendments of this kind will not eradicate these evils. The system is beyond reform, and my 16 years' experience as a Mudaliyar has brought home to me the conviction that the system as a whole is entirely vicious and should be abolished.”

We have heard the reliable evidence of disinterested and public spirited witnesses, who after dispassionate consideration of all they know and have heard, express the view that corruption does exist among the headmen to a very large extent. Examples of the evidence we have in mind are the following :—

(i.) Mr. S. Shivapadasunderam, a retired Principal of Victoria College, Jaffna, giving evidence regarding the appointment of minor headmen and the alleged acceptance by chief headmen of bribes on the occasion of these appointments :—

Commission : Would you admit that there is a general practice of Maniagars taking money ?

Witness : Oh, yes. But, of course, there are exceptions.

Commission : But the exceptions are the very few who do not take money ? Generally they take money ? That is a common practice ?

Witness : Yes.

The same witness added that bribes are not offered direct ; he alleged that “ there are brokers who transact the business.”

(ii.) Mr. V. P. Goonewardene and Mr. S. P. A. de Silva, members of a deputation from the conference of Village Committee Chairmen of the Matara District :—

Commission : In your district, is there much bribery among headmen ?

Witness : Yes.

Commission : Among minor headmen and chief headmen ?

Witness : Yes.

Commission : Do the minor headmen pay the Mudaliyar for their appointments ?

Witness : Yes.

Commission : Do they pay a share of the salary monthly ?

Witness : Yes.

Commission : That is considered a great drawback to the efficiency of the service ?

Witness : Yes.

Commission : Why do you say they harass the people ?

Witness : The minor headmen have to get the money to pay the chief headman, and they harass the people and get it. Another point is, they will never give evidence in a case unless they are paid.

Commission : You consider this the general rule in the Matara District ?

Witness : Yes.

(iii.) A deputation from the Morawak Korale Planters' Association :—

Commission : The first statement is that there is a regular system of payments in connection with appointments. It runs to so much for every Police Headman, and so much for every Vidane Arachchi. The result is that the Police Headman or the Vidane Arachchi has to recoup himself somehow, and the villager is the person who pays. Would you subscribe to that ?

Witness : Yes, Sir, I must say that is a common practice. Among the headmen there are no doubt some good men but the majority of them carry on that practice.

Later in the evidence of the same deputation the following question and answer occurred :—

Commission : It is said that minor headmen, having drawn their salary from the Kachechi or by Money Order, have to subscribe Rs. 5 from it to the Mudaliyar ?

Witness : We have had very recent experience. All the minor headmen's salaries are sent by Money Order to the Mudaliyar. The headmen come to the Post Office and sign the Money Orders and hand them to the Postmaster, who hands the money to the headmen. Then every Police Headman hands over Rs. 5 to the Mudaliyar's clerk, and every Vidane Arachchi hands over Rs. 10.

(iv.) Mr. G. D. M. Wickremasinghe, Police Vidane, Kindelpitiya, Horana, Kalutara District :—

Commission : I thought that it is a well-known fact that all Mudaliyars have to be paid for appointment of minor headmen ?

Witness : Yes ; it is true. But in our korale no unsuitable man was appointed.

Commission : But that payment is made is a fact ?

Witness : It may be true, but I never gave.

The same witness, when questioned regarding the proposal that, in the appointment of minor headmen, a written examination should be held in the local Kachechi, stated :—

“The people in the Kachechi would take money from the applicants, saying that they would get the job when actually they cannot help the applicants. In that event what now goes to the Mudaliyar's Walauwa will go to the Kachechi.”

(v.) Mr. N. de Alwis, J.P., U.P.M., Chairman, Village Committee, Bentota, and Mr. P. R. Goonesekera, Chairman, Village Committee, Ratgama, gave evidence together. Mr. Goonesekera gave the following replies to questions regarding the payment by minor headmen of a portion of their monthly allowance to the chief headmen :—

Commission : May I inquire whether you have come to know that minor headmen have to pay a monthly proportion of their salary to the chief headmen ?

Witness : That is very common knowledge.

Commission : In addition to the payment on appointment ?

Witness : Yes.

Commission : And during Christmas too.

Witness : Yes, one month's pay.

(vi.) Mr. Francis de Zoysa, K.C., giving evidence regarding corruption among headmen :—

Witness : I am afraid the higher officials do not realize the extent to which corruption exists in the country under the Headmen system.

Commission : There are complaints made to us ; but when you inquire yourself into those complaints you never get any assistance.

Witness : That is true. That is the fault of the system. While the Mudaliyar is there, you cannot expect people to give evidence against the Mudaliyar.

Commission : Why not ?

Witness : They will not. When they know that it is a Civil Servant who holds the inquiry, and that he will do what is right or wrong according to the evidence before him, then there will be freer approach by the people. As things are at present, it is not worth a man's life to displease the Mudaliyar in charge. One may send an anonymous petition, or one in his own name, against the Mudaliyar, but there will be a dozen men ready to support the Mudaliyar, and to say that what that man says is false. The Mudaliyar standing there prevents the villagers from coming forward and saying what is absolutely true. The people know what the result will be if they by any chance give evidence against the Mudaliyar. The whole generation of the Mudaliyar will be on those poor villagers, for they have become powerful aristocrats.

We are bound to state that we are in agreement with the opinions expressed by these witnesses.

36**. Originally the headmen were remunerated by certain rights in respect of land, and possessed various other privileges ; these rights and privileges gradually disappeared, and the existing system of money payment was introduced by slow degrees. It was generally recognized prior to 1920 that the headmen were not ordinary paid servants of the Government, but were public spirited persons who accepted office through a desire to serve the state, and on account of the honour attaching to the appointments. The following evidence of P. B. Nugawela Dissawe is of interest in this connection :—

Commission : I think some members of the deputation believe that there will be a definite loss to the village through not having a resident chief headman.

Witness : The present system of headmen has degenerated from the system that we had in the olden days. Formerly headmen worked without salary, because they were landlords, more or less. Now the headmen system is economically starved because they have not the available land. Formerly the chief headman drew no salary. If there were any repairs to be carried out to his house, for instance, the villagers did the work, or he was helped by the Government in regard to the matter. The different Ordinances have deprived the village headmen of their assets, and they are in a starving condition. So this bribery cannot be stopped, if there is any at all.

Under the Kandyan system we had the Adigars and the Dissawes. They were executive officers. They have been broken off. When the first Adigar was appointed, he was paid a salary of Rs. 250. He was consulted in the appointment of chief headmen. Now that has been done away with entirely. "Adigar" and "Dissawe" are honorary ranks. Thereby the system has been broken up. If you want the full effect of the system to be maintained, the headmen must be economically uplifted.

** *Vide* dissent by Mr. M. M. Wedderburn, C.C.S., and L. Nugawela Adigar.

Commission : You would advise going back to the ancient system ?

Witness : There must be a way. The minor headmen, and so on, belonged to a system that was responsible for bringing the giant works into existence. If that system was worked and was cherished in the olden days, why should it not be so now ? When a headman retired, he was given a sannas ; now, after thirty-five years' service he has nothing to fall back upon, and if he is given land to the extent of, say 30 acres, his condition will be improved.

The present system of remuneration was introduced largely on account of the recommendations made by the previous Commission in Sessional Paper II. of 1922 (*vide* paragraph 19) ; but it is strange that the charges of corruption levelled against the headmen have not abated since the system of remuneration was established. On the contrary the increase of salaries, and the payment of allowances to minor headmen, have intensified corruption.

37**. In paragraph 27 of Sessional Paper II. of 1922, the previous Commission wrote :—

"The Commission emphasizes the fact that the only ultimate remedy for bribery is the growth of a healthy public opinion and the moral improvement of the people. So long as persons exist who are ready and willing to offer bribes, so long will there be found in any large body of public officers a certain number who will yield to the temptation and accept them, and the Commission is not convinced that corruption is more rife among the headmen than among many other sections of the community."

These are excellent sentiments, but we are of opinion that no Government can be carried on on the lines suggested ; we cannot conceive any Government awaiting the moral improvement of its people before attempting to cure the ills of the body politic, or countenancing the demoralizing offence of bribery on the ground that so long as people exists who are willing to offer bribes, there will, among a large body of public officers, be some who are prepared to accept them ; nor, in our opinion, is the alleged fact that headmen are no more corrupt than various other groups of persons, a valid reason for inaction on the part of the Government. We are constrained to state emphatically that the present headmen system has completely lost the confidence of the public, and that radical changes should be immediately effected.

INFERIOR TYPE OF CANDIDATES FOR SUPERIOR AND MINOR HEADMENSIPS.

38. In paragraph 28 of Sessional Paper II of 1922 the previous Commissioners wrote :—

"It was stated that in certain districts the type of men coming forward for appointment as headmen was inferior to the class who have sought these posts in the past, and inferior to the quality which the responsibility of the posts requires. The reasons adduced were the increase in the work, the demands made by the subordinates of a number of departments, and the lack of consideration and respect shown by the minor officials who have dealings with them, and who may jeopardize their position by their criticism and complaints. It is increasingly evident that the work of most departments outside the larger towns depends to a great extent on the co-operation of the village headmen, and that his co-operation depends generally on stimulus from his superior, the Government Agent. In the end all those departments which have been formed to deal with branches of administration originally controlled from the Kachcheri have to return to the Government Agent to seek the driving power necessary for the success of their projects in the villages."

The evidence received by us was similar, but three new reasons were adduced for the alleged deterioration in the type of man who now seeks appointment as a minor headman. The allowance now paid to superior and minor headmen, though not intended to be a salary (*vide* paragraph 19 above) is in fact regarded as a salary by

** *Vide* dissent by Mr. M. M. Wedderburn, C.C.S., and L. Nugawela Adigar.

the majority of the public, who are ignorant of the real nature and purpose of the allowance. It is said, possibly, we think, with reason, that the smallness of the amount of the allowance derogates from the dignity of the appointments, and encourages persons to whom that sum might be appropriate as a full-time wage to apply for them. Rs. 25 a month (and very few minor headmen receive a larger allowance than this) is little more than a labourer's monthly wages; it does seem possible that men of means and of standing in a village are deterred from applying for the post of headmen on this account. The second new reason now adduced for the alleged deterioration in the quality of candidates is that the chief headman exacts illicit payments from the candidates. The third reason suggested is that the chief headmen themselves do not treat the minor headmen with proper courtesy and consideration. Various proposals were made to remedy this state of affairs; some of them amounted to the replacement or the drastic amendment of the existing headmen system, and are discussed in subsequent paragraphs. Others were, that the allowance should be substantially increased; that the officers of all departments should be instructed to treat the headmen with greater consideration and respect; and that better educated men should be recruited as minor headmen.

Alternative Forms of Administration Proposed.

39. Various alternatives to the present headmen system were proposed; they fall roughly into two groups; firstly, variants of the existing system, differing from the existing system in greater or lesser degree; and secondly, completely new schemes, bearing little or no relation to the present headmen system. We discuss the first group of proposals in the ensuing paragraphs; the majority of us advocate the adoption of one of these proposals (*vide* paragraph 53). The proposals forming the second group depend upon the transfer to local authorities of the duties now performed by the headmen. We do not consider it necessary to discuss these suggestions in detail, because we are unanimously agreed that local Government must be much further developed before local authorities can be entrusted with the duties now assigned to the headmen acting under the direction and supervision of the revenue officers.

THE ELECTION OF VILLAGE HEADMEN BY THE VOTES OF THE VILLAGERS OF THE AREA.

40. This suggestion was in November, 1932, the subject of a motion in the State Council, viz., "That Government should appoint Headmen by secret ballot by the inhabitants of the particular locality out of those who pass a qualifying examination." On July 22, 1933, the State Council approved the report of the Executive Committee for Home Affairs on that motion. The report stated:—

"The motion was discussed at a meeting of the Executive Committee at which Mr. George E. de Silva was present on invitation. It may be assumed that the proposal applies primarily to village or minor headmen who are not only executive officers but also have certain police duties. It is necessary that village headmen should be impartial and prepared to face unpopularity in carrying out their duties. It is most undesirable that such officers should obtain appointment by canvassing for support and incurring obligations to their supporters, which will conflict with their impartiality in their subsequent official career. Moreover, if village headmen are to be elected by the villagers, every appointment would be preceded and followed by intensive party feeling in the village and it would take a long time before such party feeling dies out and the village settles to its normal life. The proposal is not therefore likely to lead to greater happiness of village life or more efficient administration. A similar proposal was considered by the Headmen's Commission of 1922 (Sessional Paper II. of 1922, paragraphs 55-57) and condemned as impracticable.

(2) The qualifying examination referred to could not be more than a test in Reading and Writing, which is now imposed on all applicants by Government Agents. At present the endeavour of the Revenue Officers is to select the candidate who, by education, character, and respectability, is likely to prove the most reliable officer. It was reported in certain cases that Revenue Officers do ask the inhabitants of the village to state their views on the candidates and take such

views into consideration in the final selection. The Executive Committee therefore felt that, as a *via media*, this practice could be made universal, and that a qualified candidate most acceptable to the majority of the villagers should, as a rule, be selected for appointment.

(3) In connection with this matter, the question as to what extent Village Committees should be consulted before appointing minor headmen was also considered, and it was realized, while appreciating the value in certain cases of the opinion of Village Committees, that some administrative difficulty and needless friction between the Revenue Officers and the Local Authorities would arise if consultation with Village Committees were made compulsory.

(4) The decisions in both these matters have been embodied in Circular No. 24/32 of August 17, 1932, addressed to all Government Agents and Assistant Government Agents which is appended hereto. This Circular was read to Mr. de Silva when he attended the meeting of the Executive Committee, and it was understood that he was satisfied with the steps taken. Some doubt was, however, expressed as to whether the Revenue Officers would actually carry out the spirit of this Circular. The Committee has carefully watched the practical application of the principles enunciated in the Circular and found no cause for any dissatisfaction.

Circular referred to in Paragraph 4.

CIRCULAR No. 24/32.

The Ministry of Home Affairs,
Colombo, August 17, 1932.

Appointment of Minor Headmen.

SIR,—WITH reference to your reply to this Ministry's Circular No. 62/32 of the 29th January, 1932, on the question of consulting Village Committees in appointing minor headmen, I am directed by the Minister for Home Affairs, the Hon. Sir D. B. Jayatilaka, to inform you that the matter has received the careful consideration of the Executive Committee of Home Affairs which was generally of opinion that difficulties would probably arise if consultation with Village Committees were made compulsory. It was therefore decided that no standing rule should be made on the point, but that it be expressed as the Executive Committee's opinion that if Village Committees should volunteer their views regarding the qualifications of candidates for appointments within their respective divisions they should be welcomed and given due consideration.

2. The Committee, however, laid considerable stress on the view that the candidate most acceptable to the majority of the villagers should, as a rule, be selected for appointment as village headmen, and that to achieve this end the Revenue Officers should welcome all avenues of sounding the public opinion in the village without having recourse to a regular poll. It was thought that the most practicable method would be to conduct the examination and selection of candidates, not in the formal atmosphere of a Kachehri far away from the village but in the village itself or at some central spot near the village at which the villagers wishing to make representations could conveniently assemble.

3. I am to request you to give effect to the views of the Executive Committee stated above.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
K. VAITHIANATHAN,
Secretary to the Hon. the Minister
for Home Affairs.

To all Government Agents and Assistant Government Agents.

The majority of witnesses with whom we discussed this point agreed that for some or all of the reasons set out in the Executive Committee's report, it is not desirable to introduce the elective principle in the appointment of headmen. We entirely agree with this view.

CONSULTATION WITH VILLAGE COMMITTEES REGARDING THE APPOINTMENT
OF VILLAGE HEADMEN.

41. In November, 1933, the following motion was moved in the State Council :—

“ This Council is of opinion that in the matter of appointment of village headmen the Village Committees be consulted and allowed a voice in the selection.”

In January, 1934, the Executive Committee for Home Affairs reported as follows on the motion :—

“ The Executive Committee has already considered the question as to what extent Village Committees should be consulted before appointing minor headmen. It was reported to the Committee that some administrative difficulties and needless friction between the Revenue Officers and the Local Authorities would arise if consultation with Village Committees were made compulsory. The Executive Committee, therefore, decided that if Village Committees should volunteer their views regarding the qualifications of candidates for appointment within their respective divisions they should be welcomed and given due consideration. This decision and the view that candidates most acceptable to the majority of the villagers should as a rule be selected for appointment as village headmen, and that to achieve this end the Revenue Officers should welcome all avenues of sounding the public opinion in the village without having recourse to a regular poll were embodied in a circular issued to Government Agents and Assistant Government Agents on August 17, 1932. The Executive Committee would, however, suggest that this question too be referred to the Headmen's Commission which is proposed to be appointed.”

The papers were accordingly referred to us by the Executive Committee for Home Affairs. We have received evidence on the point from numerous witnesses, including a number of Chairmen of Village Committees. Opinion varied considerably regarding the degree in which the Village Committees should participate in the appointment. Four principal proposals were made, viz. :—

- (i.) that the Village Committee should take the first step, and should actually suggest a name or names to the Government Agent ;
- (ii.) that the Government Agent should select from the applicants those whom he considers suitable, and refer his selected list to the Village Committee for the Committee to state which candidate they prefer ;
- (iii.) that the Government Agent should select from the applicants those whom he considers suitable, and refer his selected list to the Village Committee to state which candidates, if any, they consider unsuitable ;
- (iv.) that no formal reference should be made to the Committee, but that the Chairman of the Committee and any members who might be interested, should be present in the village on the occasion of the appointment, and should then state their objections, if any, to any or all of the candidates. (In this connection attention is invited to paragraph 28, in which the present method of appointment of minor headmen is briefly described.)

42. The advocates of method (iv.) feared that methods (i.), (ii.), and (iii.) would result in the canvassing of Village Committee members, and in the formation of factions in the village. Further, various witnesses feared that if methods (i.), (ii.), or (iii.) were adopted the Village Committees would feel aggrieved if their recommendations were not accepted, and that friction would thus arise between the revenue officers and the Committees. All things considered, we have come to the conclusion that method (iv.) is the best method at the present time. It appears to us to afford the Village Committees an adequate opportunity of stating their views regarding the candidates, and it avoids the very real difficulties inherent in the other proposals. We should add that in this paragraph we have excluded from consideration the evidence of witnesses who recommended the transfer of the whole of the headman's duties to the Village Committees or to officers appointed and supervised by the Village Committees. We have discussed this class of proposal in paragraph 39.

THE CREATION OF BOARDS TO ASSIST THE REVENUE OFFICERS IN MAKING
APPOINTMENTS OF SUPERIOR AND MINOR HEADMEN.

43. This proposal in its various forms was the result of the conviction, which seems to be very common, that the selection of superior and minor headmen is in reality made by the chief headman, who frequently sells the appointment, and not by the Government Agent. Numerous witnesses sought to destroy the chief headman's influence by creating boards composed of influential people of the district with the Government Agent or Assistant Government Agent as Chairman, to deal with these appointments. Opinion differed regarding the function, size, and constitution of these boards. Some witnesses considered that they should be purely advisory, others thought that the board should actually make the appointment. As regards the constitution of the boards, the District Judge, the Police Magistrate, the Superintendent of Police, the local member of the State Council, the Chairman of the local Urban District Council, the Chairman of the Village Committee concerned, a local planter, a local missionary, and the village schoolmaster, were variously suggested as members. The exponents of this mode of appointment did not appear to have decided clearly in their own minds whether the purpose of the board was to supply the Government Agent with information which the members themselves possessed ; or to help the revenue officer to arrive at a decision on the information supplied by others ; or to do both of these things. We think it essential that the supply of information should be by public servants, subject to the orders and the discipline of the Government, not by persons over whom the Government has no disciplinary control, and who cannot be punished if the information supplied is false or misleading. If, on the other hand, the board is intended to assist the Government Agent in arriving at a decision on information supplied by others, we consider that it would do more harm than good ; we believe that the revenue officers who are detached and impartial, are capable of making a better decision than a board some members of which would almost certainly favour a particular candidate on personal, social, or religious grounds. We do not therefore advocate the adoption of this method of appointment.

THE LIMITATION OF THE PERIOD OF OFFICE OF VILLAGE HEADMEN.

44. The intention of this proposal was to prevent, or, at any rate, to reduce, the corruption which is alleged to exist at present. No witnesses were able to explain at all convincingly how the proposal would achieve this end, and our view is that a precisely opposite effect is probable. There are certain obvious disadvantages in the proposal. For example, at comparatively short intervals each village would have a new and inexperienced headman ; the limitation would be unfair to a good headman, who performed his duties honestly and satisfactorily ; the post would necessarily become less attractive if it were known that it could only be held for a limited period ; in some villages, at any rate, there would after 10 or 15 years be a shortage of suitable candidates, since the only suitable men would already have served as headmen. Some witnesses attempted to avoid these difficulties by suggesting that, at the expiration of his period of office, a headman should be reappointed, if the majority of the villagers in his area favoured his reappointment. This proposal is obviously open to all the objections which have been shown to exist to the elective system. At present any headman can be removed by the Government Agent, if he is satisfied that the man's work or conduct is unsatisfactory. It is open to the inhabitants of any headman's division to complain to the Government Agent against a dishonest or oppressive headman, to prove the headman's fault, and to secure his dismissal. We do not think that any further restriction upon the headman's tenure of office is practicable or necessary.

ABOLITION OF HEADMEN IN AREAS ADMINISTERED BY MUNICIPAL COUNCILS AND
URBAN DISTRICT COUNCILS.

45. It is convenient to discuss this proposal here because it is tantamount to the replacement of the Headmen System in particular areas. In November, 1932, the following motion was moved in the State Council :—

“ That headmen appointed for areas within the limits administered by Municipalities and Urban District Councils shall be discontinued.”

The Executive Committee for Home Affairs, to whom the motion was referred, reported as follows in November, 1933 :—

"In connection with a motion of Mr. H. W. Amarasuriya with regard to the appointment of a Commission, it has already been reported to this Council that the Executive Committee of Home Affairs has taken the necessary steps to effect economy in the cost of the establishment of minor headmen by regrading and reducing allowances or by abolishing or amalgamating posts. It has also been reported that when the full revised scheme has been given effect to, there would be a nett saving of at least 25 per cent. of the allowances as compared with the Estimates for 1929-30. It may be mentioned here that quite a large proportion of the abolition of posts has taken place in Municipal and urban areas.

(2) The Government Agents have since been consulted with regard to the motion now before the House and they are unanimously of opinion that it would be impracticable to abolish the posts of all headmen within Municipal and urban areas. In the larger towns with a rapidly changing cosmopolitan population, where a strong and adequate Police Force has been established, the usefulness of minor headmen is distinctly diminished and the number of appointments is accordingly reduced. In Colombo, there is no counterpart of the village headmen at all, but there is one Vidane Arachchi for each ward (assisted by a clerk) who has been found sufficient to enable the Mudaliyar to deal with the administration duties which are entrusted to him. Even here, it is proposed that, when a vacancy occurs, the amalgamation of two Wards should be considered with a view to appointing one Vidane Arachchi. Similarly, in rapidly developing towns, where conditions approximate to those obtaining in Colombo, the number of headmen is being gradually reduced. In the Urban District Council area of Matara, for instance, there were, prior to April, 1933, 18 paid headmen, but that number has since been reduced to 11. The Assistant Government Agent is of opinion that the number should shortly be reduced to 7 and, later on possibly, to even 5. In the Kurunegala Urban District Council area, there are only three minor headmen, while in Anuradhapura, where the extent of Crown land within the town limits is large, there is only one officer.

(3) The duties of minor headmen within urban and Municipal areas are multifarious. The following is a representative list, though every one of them may not apply to all towns :—

- (1) A great variety of subjects relating to matters within Municipal and urban areas are referred to Government Agents for report either by the Government or by other departments and they, in turn, can only collect the necessary information if they have local officers of their own. In a village under ideal village conditions, the headmen supply the necessary link between the people and the Government departments; in most urban areas, village conditions are not altogether absent.
- (2) Supervision of Crown lands.
- (3) Duties connected with the registration, branding, and the issue of removal permits of cattle.
- (4) Identifying lands belonging to deceased persons for estate duty valuations and assisting the chief headmen in that class of work.
- (5) Issuing reports of worth to persons in connection with Village Tribunal and Police Court cases.
- (6) Fiscal duties, such as serving of criminal court processes.
- (7) Duties of attendance officers—preparing lists of children of school-going ages, &c.
- (8) Preparing lists of subjects for vaccination and producing them before Vaccination Officers.
- (9) Police work—issuing crime reports and assisting the Police in serious cases. Acting independently and instituting proceedings in minor cases, such as simple assaults, petty thefts, stray cattle, &c.
- (10) Excise work. The new policy of the Executive Committee of Home Affairs, already approved by the State Council, which is now in force, experimentally, in three districts of the Island, will transfer to the headmen nearly all the duties of detection.

- (11) Reporting Births and Deaths to Registrars.
- (12) Preparing Urban District Council electoral rolls and revising State Council electoral rolls.
- (13) Urban District Council duties, when called upon to assist by the Chairman.
- (14) Settling disputes.

(4) Explaining how the headmen serve to establish contact between the administration and the people, the Assistant Government Agent of Puttalam (Mr. E. Rodrigo, now Government Agent, Northern Province) has reported as follows :—

'Amongst a population which is not yet used to correspond freely by post, the duty of establishing contact between the administration and the people is a very important one. For instance, suppose the Government wants to acquire two perches of land in town to round off a street corner. The Assistant Government Agent is anxious to serve notices on all the numerous co-owners who have claims to some infinitesimal share of the land. He has to use the headmen both to find out who the claimants are and to have notices served on them. With regard to the question of inquiring into disputes, the number of those which are either settled by the headmen, or which are arrested from developing into serious fights by the existence of the temporary safety valve of a complaint to a headman is much more than one could imagine.'

(5) The Chairman of the Urban District Council, Ratnapura, who was asked for his observations on a draft report by the Government Agent on the subject, has stated as follows :—

'I fully agree with you in your remarks. In addition to the duties mentioned by you the services of the headmen are availed of by the public in petty cases in which the Police do not ordinarily take action, and they make themselves very useful in settling disputes both civil and criminal. I am strongly of opinion that the suppression of headmen in urban areas would not only be impracticable but also cause great hardship and inconvenience to the general public, more particularly the poorer classes.'

(6) The Executive Committee of Home Affairs is, therefore, of the opinion that the time is not yet ripe for the abolition of all posts of headmen within the limits administered by Municipalities and Urban District Councils, without increasing the expenditure of the country in finding suitable substitute officers to perform the duties which are now being done by headmen, but that their number within such areas should be periodically revised with a view to its reduction as the towns develop.

(7) The issues raised by this motion might be considered to fall within the wide terms of reference of the Headmen's Commission, which has been recommended to this Council, by the Executive Committee in connection with a motion by Mr. H. W. Amarasuriya and, if so, the report of that Commission may be awaited."

The motion was withdrawn and the papers were in due course referred to us by the Executive Committee for Home Affairs. We are satisfied from the evidence given before us, and from the documents referred to us by the Ministry, that it is not practicable to abolish all the headmen in Municipal or Urban District Council areas immediately. We think that the numbers should be reduced on the advice of the revenue officers concerned, as circumstances permit. We understand that the matter is kept in view by the authorities responsible, and that in particular when vacancies occur, the question of leaving them unfilled is considered.

SUBSTITUTION OF A MINOR ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE FOR THE CHIEF HEADMEN.

46. This proposal, which found favour in one form or another with very many witnesses, appears to have its genesis in pages 122 and 123 of the Report of the Special Commission on the Constitution published in 1928. (These pages are reproduced in Appendix H.) The proposal assumed three principal forms which we discuss consecutively. In its first form the service is intended to cover the whole Island, its members being transferable to any place in the Island. Candidates for this service would be required to be of a prescribed age (between about 22 and 25). They would

require a nomination by His Excellency the Governor, which would be given only to persons of appropriate social position and character. Persons who secured this nomination would be required to sit an examination of a fairly high standard, comparable with that now held in the recruitment of Probationers to the Officer grade of the Police Department. They would finally be interviewed by a selection board appointed for the purpose; the board would recommend the appointment of the necessary number of candidates, their selection being based on the results of the written examination, and on the intelligence, personality, manner, address and appearance of the candidates, as revealed at the interview. The selected candidates would be on probation for an appropriate period, probably two years; they would be attached to the Kachcheris (in the capacity of cadets, not as clerks) for a year or two, and finally appointed to a post now occupied by a chief headman or by a President of Village Tribunals. (The majority of witnesses who advocated the creation of this service agreed that the posts of President, Village Tribunals, as well as those of chief headman, should be filled from it.) Arrangements would probably be made, by means of transfers, to allot a junior officer a comparatively easy division in the first instance. During the officer's period of training in the Kachcheri he would accompany the Government Agent on circuit; he would possibly be appointed to act as a Korala, a President or a chief headman during the existence of temporary vacancies; he would probably be afforded the opportunity of studying the work of the Police, the Agricultural, and the Sanitary Departments with officers of those departments. There are at present 98 chief headmen and 50 Presidents, Village Tribunals, in the Island, so that (if the posts of President, Village Tribunals, were filled from the service) it would consist of some 160 men (about 150 in administrative or judicial posts, and about 10 or 12 in training); recruitment would have to be at about the rate of 5 or 6 men per year. Most exponents of the scheme considered that officers of this type would be able to take charge of a larger area than the present chief headmen; if this were so, the size of the service could be reduced. Opinions varied considerably as to the salary scale which the service should carry; some witnesses considered that the lowest segment of the scale assigned in Sessional Paper VIII. of 1934 to future entrants to the Civil Service (Rs. 4,800—2 of 300 and 6 of 400—7,800) appropriate, while others considered a somewhat lower scale sufficient. But practically all agreed that men subject to transfer to any part of the Island would have to be paid considerably more than the present chief headmen, who are living on their own properties in their native districts, and are thus able to attend to their private interests as well as to their official duties.

47. It is clear that one result of the scheme described in the preceding paragraph would be that the officer in charge of any particular division might be a Sinhalese, a Tamil, a Burgher, or a Muslim irrespective of the race and religion of the people of the division. A Sinhalese from Matara might be in charge of the present division of Delft; a Jaffna Tamil might be stationed in the Wellassa division of Uva, and a Muslim from the Eastern Province in the Nuwaragam palata of the North-Central Province. The great majority of witnesses were of opinion that this is a grave objection to this particular form of the proposed service. It is true that race is ignored with no evil result in certain appointments and services in Ceylon; numbers of witnesses cited instances of Sinhalese Civil Servants functioning successfully in Tamil districts, and of Tamils working equally successfully in Sinhalese districts. It must be remembered, however, that these officers do not come into contact with the villager to anything like the degree which a chief headman does, and must, if he is to perform his duties satisfactorily. To avoid this difficulty, it was suggested that the service should be divided into three sections; a Kandyan section composed of Kandyans for the Kandyan provinces; a low-country Sinhalese section composed of low-country Sinhalese for the maritime provinces; and a Tamil section for the Northern and Eastern Provinces. The members of the three services would be transferable within the area allotted to their particular service. This alteration would reduce the size of each service to between 50 and 60 men (assuming that the posts of President as well as those of chief headman were filled from these services). Some sort of adjustment would be required in respect of certain divisions in the Northern and Eastern Provinces which are predominantly Sinhalese or Muslim in population.

48. Some witnesses carried the process of division a step further, and suggested a separate service for each Province, recruitment to be confined to persons of that Province. The numbers in such service would in some cases be extremely small, and regular recruitment would be impossible. It would be necessary to recruit in anticipation of particular vacancies, a process which unforeseen deaths, illnesses, retirements, and promotions would render difficult. To get over this difficulty, it was suggested that each service should contain one or two supernumerary officers who would be attached to the Provincial or District Kachcheris (even after the completion of their training) and who would act in temporary vacancies in posts of chief headman or President when these occur, and would be available to fill unforeseen permanent vacancies.

49.** We are of opinion that none of these related proposals forms a satisfactory solution of the problem which faces us. The recruits to the proposed minor administrative service would be drawn from the same social strata as the present chief headmen, and would be exposed to as great temptations and subject to as little supervision. The new service would have to be built up gradually, so, for a period of years the new type of officer would be working side by side with chief headmen of the present type. We think there is grave danger that they would become infected with the corruption which we believe characterizes the existing system in all its grades. It must be remembered that the new service would possess no tradition of integrity such as attaches to the Civil Service, and we fear that such a tradition would never be created in the environment in which the service would be established. We do not, therefore, advocate the adoption of any of the proposals discussed in this section of our report. The majority of us consider the scheme of Division Officers supervised by Civil Servants, described in the succeeding paragraphs, a far better system.

THE REPLACEMENT OF THE PRESENT ORGANIZATION BY DIVISION OFFICERS SUPERVISED BY CIVIL SERVANTS.

50. At first sight this proposal appears to be the substitution of a new system for the present Headmen system, but examination soon reveals that the change is rather one of nomenclature than of structure and function. Numerous variants of the scheme were suggested, many of them manifestly impracticable. We shall discuss only those forms which were favoured by numerous witnesses, and which are not obviously unworkable. The Division Officer is intended to replace the minor headman. He would in the majority of cases be a more highly educated person than the present minor headman, and whenever possible should be capable of corresponding in English with the Government Agent direct on administrative matters. He would be a full-time employee of the Government, and would be paid a salary considerably larger than the present minor headman's allowance. Opinion varied as to what the salary should be: many witnesses thought a salary scale comparable with the scale of future entrants to Class III. of the General Clerical Service (Rs. 480—30—1,200) appropriate. Others favoured a fixed salary within this scale. Various methods of recruitment of Division Officers were proposed, the majority being based on an educational test. There was a similar variety of opinion regarding the training of the Division Officer; some witnesses favoured a training school in Colombo; some desired several training schools; others were content with attachment to the Kachcheris for a period of preliminary training.

51. The majority of witnesses agreed that the existing Kachcheri staffs would be inadequate for the supervision of these new Division Officers. Some witnesses suggested the retention of the present chief headmen, but the more general view was that one or two Civil Servants, designated Additional Assistant Government Agent or Itinerating Assistant Government Agent, should be attached to the various Kachcheris, to perform the many duties now carried out by the chief headmen. The general view appeared to be that in no district would more than two or three

** *Vide* dissent by Mr. M. M. Wedderburn, C.C.S., and L. Nugawela Adigar.

such inspecting officers be required, witnesses being of opinion that a Civil Servant could take charge of a considerably larger area than is now assigned to a chief headman.

52.** After the most earnest consideration, a majority of us have come to the conclusion that a system of Division Officers supervised by Civil Servants is the most satisfactory substitute for the present system, which must, in our view, be replaced as early as possible. The two principal advantages of this scheme are, firstly, that the Division Officers themselves will be better paid and better educated than the present minor headmen, and therefore more likely to be honest and efficient; and secondly, the Division Officers will be directly and closely supervised by men whose honesty and ability will, we are convinced, be unquestioned.

53.** We consider, therefore that the grades of chief headmen, Muhandiram, and superior headmen should be abolished altogether, and the minor headmen replaced by Division Officers who should be full-time employees of the Government, subject to the Public Service Regulations and other regulations of Government applicable to officers of their status. The fixing of salary scales for the Division Officers is a matter of some difficulty. We consider that incremental scales are conducive to efficiency and are therefore desirable. A set of scales ranging from Rs. 360 per annum to Rs. 900 per annum would in our view be appropriate; but we recognize that the size, population and social and economic development of some divisions would justify a higher initial salary than Rs. 360 per annum; this salary would be insufficient to enable the Division Officer to maintain an appropriate standard of life in some of the more developed divisions. We regret that the information available to us is insufficient for us to make complete and detailed recommendations regarding the grading of the Division Officers and the allocation of a salary scale to each of the grades. We recommend, however, that the Division Officers should be divided into at least two grades, and, unless the allocation of particular posts to one or other of the grades presents insurmountable practical difficulties, we consider that the posts should be graded according to the size and importance of the divisions, and to the cost of maintaining an adequate standard of living in the divisions. We also recommend that the posts of Division Officer should be declared pensionable. A Division Officer should be not less than 21 years of age on appointment. The appointment should be on probation for one year in the first instance, and before confirmation the officers should be required to pass an appropriate written examination on the subject matter of their work. Failure to pass this examination should result in the extension of the probationary period and in the consequent deferment of increment. Unsuitable men would, of course, be discharged during the probationary period. We anticipate that a Division Officer will be capable of dealing with a larger area than the present minor headman's division, at any rate in the more developed parts of the Island. The number of Division Officers required will therefore be less than the present number of minor headmen. It is not possible for us to suggest a scheme of allocation of particular areas to particular Division Officers; this will have to be done by the revenue officers, the nature of the country, the density of population, and the type of man available for the post of Division Officer of course being taken into consideration.

54.** The Division Officers should be appointed by the Government Agent or Assistant Government Agent, who would of course receive advice from the appropriate Itinerating Assistant. The Kacheheri Mudaliyar, or head of the Native Department of the Kacheheri, should not be associated in any way with the appointment or disciplinary control of the Division Officers. We should, however, see no objection to the Village Committees expressing their views on the candidates for the post of Division Officer. We consider that whenever possible local men should be appointed, so it is possible that valuable assistance might be obtained from the Village Committees. The actual appointment should be made in the following manner:—

- (i.) The Government Agent or the Assistant Government Agent should call for applications by public advertisement. Applicants should be required to complete the usual type of application form, containing a declaration of the truth of the statements contained in the application.

** *Vide* dissent by Mr. M. M. Wedderburn, C.C.S., and L. Nugawela Adigar.

- (ii.) The Government Agent or the Assistant Government Agent should interview the candidates in the village concerned and should hear objections by members of the public to particular candidates. (The Village Committee would express its views at this stage.) The Government Agent or the Assistant Government Agent should then select from the candidates those who appeared most suitable; possibly some 5 or 6 would be so selected.
- (iii.) The selected candidates should then be subjected to a written examination of a general nature, and to an oral examination. These examinations should be conducted, and the papers marked by a Staff Officer of the Kacheheri. The candidates securing the highest marks should be appointed, on probation.

We consider that this method of selection will secure the appointment of the best candidate in the great majority of cases; it will also, we think, make it clear to everybody that the selection is not the result of bribery or other dishonest action.

55.** A regular scheme of training should be laid down for Division Officers. This scheme should be worked out in detail in each Province or District, and should provide for a time table of classes to be conducted by the Itinerating Assistant Government Agents, police officers, and officials of other departments. No Division Officer should be confirmed until he has passed a test in all the subjects in which instruction is given. As the Division Officers will be local men in the majority of cases we consider a scheme of local training will be not only less expensive than one or more central training schools, but also more effective in the practical training of these officers.

56.** The Civil Servants selected for the posts of Itinerating Assistant Government Agents should be officers of Class II. of not less than 4 or 5 years' experience of administrative work. They should possess a sound knowledge of the vernacular languages. If possible an Itinerating Assistant Government Agent should remain in a particular post for three years at least, it being obviously necessary that he should be familiar with the conditions and problems of the area within his charge. The number of Itinerating Assistant Government Agents required, and their allocation to the Revenue Districts, are matters on which we are unable to express a final opinion; they should be settled in the light of experience when the proposed scheme (if adopted by the Government) has been working for some time. We suggest the following tentative allocation for the present:—

Western Province—

Colombo District	..	..	2	
Kalutara District	..	..	1	
				3

Central Province—

Kandy District ..	..	..	1	
Matale District ..	..	..	1	
Nuwara Eliya District	..	..	1	
				3

Southern Province—

Galle District ..	..	..	1	
Matara District and Hambantota District	..	..	1	
				2

Northern Province—

Jaffna District ..	..	..	1	
Mannar District ..	..	..	1	
Mullaitivu District and Vavuniya District	..	..	1	
				3

Eastern Province—

Batticaloa District	..	..	1	
Trincomalee District	..	..	1	
				2

** *Vide* dissent by Mr. M. M. Wedderburn, C.C.S., and L. Nugawela Adigar.

<i>North-Western Province—</i>			
Kurunegala District	..	2	
Puttalam District and Chilaw District	..	1	3
<i>North-Central Province—</i>			
Anuradhapura District	..	1	
Tamankaduwa District	..	1	2
			1
<i>Province of Uva ..</i>			
<i>Province of Sabaragamuwa—</i>			
Ratnapura District	..	1	
Kegalla District	..	1	2

The aggregate number of Civil Servants required under this arrangement would be 21, plus (say) five to allow for leave. An addition of 26 posts to Class II. of the Civil Service would presumably be necessary. We express no opinion on the question whether an addition should be made to the number of posts in Class I. in consequence of this increase in Class II. We intend, of course, that the Itinerating Assistant Government Agents shall be normal members of the Civil Service, interchangeable with other Class II. officers, and eligible for promotion to Class I. in the usual way.

57.** The primary function of the Itinerating Assistant Government Agents would be the performance of the duties now carried out by the chief headmen. We imagine, however, that it would be possible to allot to them various powers and duties now assigned to the Revenue Officers, not to the chief headmen. The exact distribution of work between the Revenue Officer and his Itinerating Assistants is a matter of administrative detail, which we leave to the Government for settlement. The Itinerating Assistant Government Agents should, of course, be equipped with the necessary staff of clerks and peons; this again is a detail which we leave to the Government for settlement. Normally we consider that the Itinerating Assistant Government Agent should be stationed in the subdivision of the Revenue District assigned to him, but we would lay down no hard and fast rule on this point.

58. We have two relatively minor recommendations to make regarding the Division Officers. The first relates to the allocation of new duties to them, and in this connection we invite attention to paragraph 28 of this report. As we have stated there, the Government has not found it possible to avoid the allocation of new duties to the headmen as proposed by the 1920 Headmen Commission. We anticipate that as the economic development of the country proceeds, and its administration becomes correspondingly more complex, still further calls will be made upon the Division Officers, and it is reasonable to suppose that they will increase in efficiency as the general standard of education increases. We recommend, however, that all possible efforts be made to avoid overburdening them, and that before any further duties are assigned to them inquiries should be made from the Revenue Officers regarding the capacity of the system to discharge the proposed new duties. We also feel that the allocation of fresh duties entailing a substantial amount of work should be considered a ground for reconsideration of the cadre of the service of Division Officers. The second recommendation concerns the dress of the minor Kandyan headmen. The present Kandyan dress does not include a shirt or coat; the body above the waist is uncovered. We were informed by numerous witnesses that this dress is embarrassing and inconvenient to a headman attending the Court or the Kachcheri, and perhaps spending the whole day there. We suggest that the Kandyan dress be reserved for formal occasions, and that the minor headmen (Division Officers in our scheme) be allowed to wear a dark blue or black coat, a white cloth and a silver badge for ordinary official occasions, such as visits to Court or Kachcheri. It is interesting to note that the Kandyan Chiefs' Union agreed that in view of the change in the common style of dress among villagers, the proposed change in the dress of the Kandyan minor headmen is desirable. We understand that in certain divisions the minor headmen are already allowed to wear a uniform of the sort we now suggest.

** *Vide dissent by Mr. M. M. Wedderburn, C.C.S., and L. Nugawela Adigar.*

Summary of Recommendations.

59. The following is a summary of the recommendations contained in this report:—

- (i.)** That the grades of chief headman, Muhandiram, and superior headman be abolished; (paragraph 53).
- (ii.)** That the minor headmen be replaced by Division Officers who will be fulltime employees of the Government (paragraphs 53 and 54); and that caste names should not be used in official documents, or in addressing Division Officers verbally; (paragraph 26).
- (iii.)** That additional Civil Servants be appointed to the Kachcheries to assist the revenue officers in supervising the Division Officers; (paragraphs 56 and 57).
- (iv.)** That the payment of money rewards be terminated, good work being recognized by the award of a sannas, medal, or certificate; (paragraph 24).
- (v.)** That the payment of fess for particular services be terminated; (paragraph 25).
- (vi.) That the Revenue Officers be consulted before fresh duties are allotted to the headmen (Division Officers under the scheme favoured by the majority); (paragraph 58).
- (vii.) That the Kandyan headmen (or Division Officers) be allowed to wear a blue or black coat for ordinary official occasions; (paragraph 58).

Impossibility of Estimating Cost of Proposals.

60. The time and staff at our disposal have not permitted us to collect the detailed information which would be necessary for us to suggest complete schemes for the improvement of the system. Our recommendations are of necessity of a general sort; the details will require to be worked out by the authorities who possess the necessary data. It is therefore impossible for us to make any near estimate of the cost of what we propose. However, a rough calculation shows that the average annual cost in salaries of the present establishment of about 100 chief headmen, 8 Muhandirams, and 600 superior headmen, is approximately Rs. 627,000. The average annual cost in salaries of 26 Class II. Civil Servants (on the salary scale prescribed by Sessional Paper VIII. of 1934 for Ceylonese new entrants to the Public Service) would be approximately Rs. 257,000. The increase in the salaries of the minor headmen (to be called Division Officers in the scheme we propose) will be counter-balanced, at least in part, by a reduction in their number. The Itinerating Assistant Government Agents will of course require clerical staff and peons, but even taking these and other incidental items into consideration, we do not anticipate that the scheme we propose will exceed the present system in cost.

The Cost of the Inquiry.

61. The cost of this inquiry is Rs. 6,957 made up as follows:—

Subsistence and lodging allowances paid to members, to Secretary, to stenographers, and to peon; private car mileage; cost of hiring cars, Railway Restaurant cars and Railway warrants	Rs. 5,517
Salary of typist for 12 months	Rs. 317
Three-fourths salary of Clerk, Class III., General Clerical Service for 14 months	Rs. 420
Stationery and miscellaneous expenses	Rs. 273
Overtime paid to clerks, stenographers, and translators	Rs. 430

This does not include the following items:—

This does not include the following items:	
Part salary of Mr. M. M. Wedderburn, C.C.S., Chairman	These officers devoted only a portion of their time to the work of the Commission.
Part salary of Mr. C. H. Hartwell, C.C.S., Secretary	
Part salary of State Council Stenographers	
Cost of stationery supplied by the Chief Secretary's Office and the Treasury.	

** *Vide dissent by Mr. M. M. Wedderburn, C.C.S., and L. Nugawela Adigar.*

Acknowledgments.

We wish to acknowledge the assistance we have received from various officers of Government who have afforded us the temporary use of a part of their staff, arranged accommodation for our sittings, and supplied us with information. We also wish to thank the witnesses who appeared before us to give oral evidence, and the writers of the numerous memoranda supplied to us. Lastly, we record our appreciation of the services of Mr. C. H. Hartwell, C.C.S., who acted as our Secretary in addition to his duties at the Treasury, and to the Treasury clerks and State Council stenographers who assisted him.

M. M. WEDDERBURN,
Chairman.
L. W. A. DE SOYSA.
L. NUGAWELA.
M. T. DE S. AMERESEKERA.
S. KANAGASABAI.
ALBERT A. WICKRAMASINGHE.
A. L. M. M. SAHEED.

C. H. HARTWELL,
Secretary.

Colombo, September 27, 1935.

DISSENT BY MR. M. M. WEDDERBURN, C.C.S., CHAIRMAN
OF THE COMMISSION, AND L. NUGAWELA ADIGAR.

Introduction.

1. We differ from our colleagues on two main issues :—
 - (a) the degree of corruption of the present headmen system ;
 - (b) the replacement of a well tried system by what we consider to be a dangerous experiment.
2. One of us has had over 28 years' experience in the Civil Service, and the other 40 years' service—7 years as Kachcheri Clerk, Matale, 7 years as President, Village Tribunal, Kurunegala, and 26 years as Ratamahatmaya, Kurunegala. We are therefore fully conscious of the fact that the headmen at present as in the past constitute a body of public servants with a fine record of faithful and honest service ; without them no activity of Government would be possible. As in all large bodies of men entrusted with responsibility, inefficiency, dishonesty, and corruption are not unknown, but the headmen as a whole have performed, and do perform, efficient service to the public, which even to-day is largely honorary.
3. We are also conscious that this knowledge may be held to bias us against reform, and we have therefore taken every care to approach all suggestions for change with minds emptied of all considerations as to the effect on the existing service ; we are solely concerned with the problem of securing for the public the maximum of efficiency in the performance of essential services. What follows is our considered opinion on this practical issue in regard to the various proposals put forward.

The Present Headmen System.

4. In paragraph 19 of Sessional Paper II. of 1922 the Commissioners attributed the successful working of the system to the following factors :—

- “(a) The system has its roots in the history of the people of the Island, and is suited to their character and traditions.
- (b) It has been evolved in the course of centuries as the most satisfactory and practical method of administration for a society such as has grown up in Ceylon, and it has become an integral part of the social consciousness of the people.

- (c) It is based on that principle of personal Government which has hitherto proved most successful in Oriental countries. It depends on the close and friendly relations between the headmen and the villagers, to whom the abstract idea of ‘Government’ means little or nothing. They have always been accustomed by tradition and temperament to seek and obey the orders of personal representatives of a personal sovereign, and have in return expected and received the personal care and protection of accessible and paternal rulers. An attempt was made at the end of the eighteenth century to abolish the headmen and to substitute for them a body of paid “officials”. These men were placed in the situations previously held by the headmen and were charged with the collection of the revenue. Having no permanent interest in the areas in which they worked, and being strangers to the villagers, they were regarded with an animosity, which in 1797 culminated in a general rebellion. As the Honourable Mr. E. W. Perera says in the article quoted above ‘their exactions and outrages, coupled with the abolition of the feudal chief system, to which the people had been accustomed, lashed the Sinhalese into revolt’.”

In our opinion these observations are still applicable to the headmen system to-day, over a large part of the Island. In certain districts, however, especially in the coastal districts of the Southern and Western Provinces, the industrial development of the country has effected changes in the fabric of society which have had repercussions on the headmen system. People of families not traditionally influential have acquired wealth, and through wealth a degree of education and influence ; they appear in many cases to be antagonistic to the headmen system and to the headmen themselves, whom they regard as the survivors of an antiquated and illiberal order of society. There can be no doubt that the existence of a large body of people of this type weakens the personal influence of the headmen, and thus impairs the efficiency of the system which depends in so large a degree on that personal influence. Another related factor tending in a more general way to the weakening of the system is the spread of ideas which may be described as democratic (in the least precise sense of the word). These notions must necessarily undermine the headmen system, which is based on the principle of aristocracy, and which depends on the habit residing in the people of respecting and obeying the members of particular families. But it is important to note that these factors operate in a considerable degree only in parts of the country. Many witnesses seemed to overlook this fact. They appeared to envisage the social condition of the whole Island as similar to that of the Wellaboda pattu of the Galle District ; nothing could, of course, be further from the truth. It is possible that in time the office of headmen may become a sinecure save for police duties ; it may then be practicable to replace the existing system by a rural police force. Until this time arrives we are unable to imagine any efficient substitute for the present system.

5. Though most witnesses had some criticism of the system to offer, the great majority favoured the retention of the existing headmen system, possibly with some minor alterations. An exact numerical analysis of the evidence is not possible, because many witnesses gave qualified or indefinite answers to the question, should the system be retained ; further, some answers were given by an individual on behalf of a large number of persons (e.g., a Village Committee or a society or association). However, a rough estimate based on careful consideration of the verbal and written answers given is :—

In favour of retention of the system—632.

In favour of abolition of the system—75.

Complaints against the System.**CORRUPTION.**

6. As stated in paragraph I we do not agree with the majority on the subject of corruption. In paragraph 34 of the main report the alleged acts of corruption are divided into three groups. The evidence of these acts was of various kinds. A very few cases in which headmen have been proved guilty of corruption and punished

were cited; the revenue officers whom we examined, most of them men of many years' experience of provincial administration, stated that such cases are rare; all of them were of opinion that the charges of corruption are very greatly exaggerated. A number of witnesses stated that they knew of cases of corruption, but usually further examination revealed that they depended on the testimony of another person. A few persons claimed to have personal knowledge of corrupt acts, *e.g.*, to have paid money themselves to chief headmen to secure an appointment; none of these witnesses had proved the alleged corrupt act to the appropriate revenue officer at the time that it occurred. The great majority of witnesses admitted that they could not prove acts of corruption by headmen, but believed that they are committed because a general belief exists that that is so. They argued that there is no smoke without fire; everyone says the headmen are corrupt, and therefore it must be true.

7. This evidence should, we think, be regarded in two different ways; firstly, as evidence of the actual condition of the headmen system; and secondly, as an index of the public attitude towards the system and of the state of mind of the people in regard to it. Viewed in the first way, we think the evidence falls far short of establishing the charges of universal corruption; it is a tissue of unsupported allegations, vague and inconclusive, not a collection of proved cases of corruption. Many witnesses pleaded difficulty of proof; no villagers, they said, would dare to give evidence against the headmen, and no minor headman would venture to accuse his chief headman. We think the difficulty of obtaining evidence is exaggerated; but in any event the fact that allegations are difficult to prove is plainly no reason to accept them as true without proof. We do not suggest that the system is entirely free from corruption; taking into account the numbers of headmen of various grades, the class of society from which they are drawn, and the laxity of public opinion in Ceylon in regard to the taking and giving of presents, tips, commissions, and a whole range of irregular gratifications, we think it almost certain that some headmen are corrupt; but we are very far from the conviction that so many of them are corrupt as some witnesses believed.

8. Viewed as an index of the public state of mind in regard to the system, it is necessary to bear two facts in mind; first, that the number of witnesses orally examined (202) is small when compared with the whole population of the Island; and secondly, that many of them seemed to be imbued, if not intoxicated, with the spirit of reform. It would be unsafe to assume that the evidence given before us agrees with the views of all or most of the persons among whom the headmen system operates. In any society the man who is satisfied with the existing state of affairs has little to say about it, unless some undesired change is imminent, which is not at present the case. Whereas, as the 1920 Commission observed, "It is the policy of every would-be reformer to foster every real or imaginary grievance against the existing authorities". A large part (though by no means all) of the evidence was given by persons who for social or personal or family reasons wish to preserve and support the system; or by persons who appeared to have some animus against it, independently of their hatred of the corruption which they alleged to exist. The extravagant language used by the latter class of witness, their tone, and the uncompromising universality of their condemnation, made it difficult to resist the conclusion that they were only too anxious to believe the words that they could of the headmen; and to induce us to share this belief. On the other hand, a large number of detached and impartial witnesses, men of reputation and position, believed that corruption is common. Many of them agreed with the views expressed by the 1920 Commission, which we share, that "the only ultimate remedy for bribery is the growth of a healthy public opinion and the moral improvement of the people. So long as persons exist, who are ready and willing to offer bribes, so long will it be found in any large body of public officers a certain number who will yield to the temptation and accept them." It is noteworthy that the comparatively few witnesses who appeared to be unbiassed contributed a balance of evidence against universal corruption, *e.g.*, one of the two Planters' Associations which volunteered evidence, the Lanka Maha Jana Sabha, and practically all the revenue officers and official witnesses of similar status, four of whom were Ceylonese with long experience of the actual administration of the existing system.

INFERIOR TYPE OF CANDIDATES FOR SUPERIOR AND MINOR HEADMANSHIPS.

9. In paragraph 38 of the main report the frequent complaint that the most suitable men do not apply for posts of headman is discussed. We think that this criticism of the system, like others, is exaggerated; this is the opinion of the revenue officers, especially of those in charge of the less advanced districts of the Island. The truth seems to be that in certain parts of the Island the headmen's position in society is less elevated than it was a few decades ago, but that in the more primitive areas it is almost unchanged. It is necessary to remember that the majority of the witnesses who appeared before us had little knowledge of the latter areas.

Alternative forms of Administration proposed.

10. No witness produced a complete alternative method of administration to replace the headmen system, though a number of more or less nebulous proposals were advanced, none of which withstood analysis. The majority of such schemes consisted in the transfer of the headmen's duties to the existing local authorities, or to new local authorities constituted similarly to those already in existence. Their exponents agreed, however, that many of the headmen's present duties are essentially, and must continue to be, functions of the central Government. They therefore suggested that the local authorities should be made by law subject in certain matters to the authority of the central Government. The local authorities would then, at one and the same time, be elected bodies autonomous within their prescribed limits, and the executive instrument of the central Government, subject to its orders and discipline. We cannot conceive such a system working satisfactorily, or, indeed, at all. Again, the majority of witnesses agreed that the local authorities would themselves be obliged to employ their own executive officers, and that they (in rural areas at any rate) would be drawn from the same section of society as the present minor headmen. We see no reason to suppose that they would be any more honest or efficient than the present headmen. Many witnesses appeared to possess only the vaguest idea of the duties now performed by the headmen; they were thus naturally handicapped in their endeavour to invent machinery to replace the headmen system.

SUBSTITUTION OF A MINOR ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE FOR THE CHIEF HEADMEN.

11. In paragraphs 46-48 of the main report a set of connected proposals favoured by many witnesses is described; they consist in the replacement of the present chief headmen by a minor administrative service. The case for the formation of a transferable service to replace the chief headmen is based on four main premises, *viz.* :—

- (i.) that very many of the present chief headmen are corrupt; or the belief that they are corrupt is so universal and so strongly established that public confidence in the system, as it exists to-day, is impossible;
- (ii.) that a service of the sort described would be relatively free from corruption, and would be believed by the public to be free from corruption;
- (iii.) that it is not necessary for an officer performing the duties of a chief headman to possess local influence independently of his office;
- (iv.) that it is not necessary for an officer performing the duties of a chief headman to remain permanently in one division, and to possess an intimate knowledge of that division by reason of his long residence in it.

12. We have discussed the allegation of corruption in paragraphs 6 to 8 of our dissent, and as stated in those paragraphs we believe them to be greatly exaggerated; we certainly do not consider that these charges have been sufficiently established to necessitate or justify the abolition of an admittedly efficient grade, and its replacement by an organization the success of which is uncertain.

13. We are doubtful of the soundness of the second premise referred to above. While agreeing with the general proposition that education is a potent factor in the

formation of character, we are far from certain that the rather higher educational qualifications of the proposed administrative service would ensure a higher standard of integrity than that of the present chief headmen. The members of the administrative service would be drawn from much the same social strata as the chief headmen, and would be exposed to as great temptations and subject to as little supervision. Further, the selecting body would generally know much less of the character and history of the candidates for the minor administrative service than is now known of the candidates for chief headmen; for many of the latter are men who have served under the Government Agents and Assistant Government Agents for many years, during which period their capacity and integrity have been tested. Numbers of witnesses stated that the Civil Service is in fact, and is believed by the public to be, free from corruption. Therefore, they urged that a minor administrative service recruited in a manner similar to that followed in the Civil Service would, in fact and in reputation, be of equal integrity. There are three fallacies in this argument. In the first place the nature of a Civil Servant's work would make it difficult for him to act corruptly without being detected, whereas it would be relatively easy for a chief headman to do so. Secondly, the reputation of the Civil Service has taken many years to build; it did not come into existence immediately and automatically at the time that the service was created, but is the result of many years of disciplined service by a body of highly paid officers selected and trained with a view to maintaining a high standard of integrity. Thirdly, the junior Civil Servant works for several years in the same office as, and under the close supervision of, a senior officer before he is appointed to a post where his work and conduct is not under the immediate surveillance of a superior officer whose duty it is to train him and watch and report on his progress.

14. The third and fourth premises stated above cannot be specifically controverted. It is not possible to point to specific acts which a chief headman is required to do, to the successful performance of which local influence or personal local knowledge is essential. Many witnesses who considered these qualities essential were unable to state with completeness and precision the ways in which they are used. The fact is, we think, that in very many of his duties a chief headman's personal influence is of the greatest use as a supplement to his official authority, though none of his duties, perhaps, would be impossible to a person vested only with the authority of his office. We admit, however, that the value of local influence is necessarily a matter of opinion, and no doubt it varies in different parts of the Island; we believe it to be considerable, especially in the less developed areas. The chief headman's own personal knowledge of his division, though it cannot be exact and complete, is of value in checking and co-ordinating the information given either verbally or in writing by the superior and minor headmen. It is impossible for the revenue officers themselves to possess any intimate knowledge of the problems and difficulties of the various divisions of their districts; the districts are too large, and the revenue officer's tenure of a particular office too short, to permit of this. If the chief headman (or the administrative officer performing the duties of the present chief headman) were not himself intimately acquainted with his division, the revenue officer would have to depend for information on a variety of subjects on the minor and superior headmen, who are in many cases only ignorant villagers themselves. We think this most undesirable. Some witnesses contended that knowledge of the division would be easily and rapidly acquired by a member of the proposed minor administrative service; but it seems to us plain that such an officer, subject to transfer and not himself a native of the division, could not possibly acquire the close knowledge of its problems and conditions which many of the present chief headmen possess. Other witnesses considered local influence undesirable because it is, according to them, frequently used as a weapon of oppression or extortion. It is obvious that power can be and sometimes is misused, but that is, equally obviously, not a reason for employing officers whose power is inadequate in kind or degree to the task which they have to perform.

15. Our conclusion is that the proposed minor administrative service would lack certain definite advantages which the present system possesses, while there is no guarantee that it would be free from the faults which are attributed to the present chief headmen.

THE REPLACEMENT OF THE PRESENT ORGANIZATION BY DIVISION OFFICERS SUPERVISED BY CIVIL SERVANTS.

16. In paragraphs 50-57 of the main report will be found a description of the system of Division Officers supervised by Civil Servants which should, in the opinion of the majority of the Commission, replace the present headmen system. As stated in paragraph 1 of our dissent, we disagree with the majority proposals.

17. We shall first discuss the proposal that the present minor headmen be replaced by Division Officers. In paragraph 54 of the main report, the majority of the Commission state that whenever possible local men should be appointed as Division Officers; apparently therefore they do not intend to exclude altogether the possibility of appointing a man who is a stranger to the division. We are convinced that in practice it would be found absolutely essential to appoint local men. The contrary view could in our opinion arise only from unfamiliarity with the duties which the minor headmen are required to perform, and which the Division Officers would have to perform if they were brought into existence. We are satisfied that the great bulk of the duties of a minor headman could only be performed by men possessing the intimate knowledge of their villages which results from life-long residence in them, or in their environs. The boundaries and ownership of land, the relation of persons, the history of paths and water-courses, the village customs in regard to cultivation, pasturing of cattle, and the use of Crown forests, are a few of the matters regarding which information is constantly required in the course of administration; that information is not contained in any written document; it exists only in the minds of the people of the village, and it is for this reason that at present the Government chooses a villager of intelligence, means and standing to be the agent of the Government in his village. A Division Officer who was a stranger to the locality would have to rely upon local inquiry, unsupplemented by his own knowledge of the required facts or of the veracity of his informant; we think it inevitable that the information supplied by such an officer would often be inaccurate and incomplete.

18. If, then, it is admitted that the Division Officer must be a local man, the following difficulties would arise in the scheme advocated by the majority of the Commission: in many divisions it would be found that no person possessing the educational qualifications required of a Division Officer was available; or, where persons of the stipulated standard of literacy were available, they would often be lacking in the other qualities required of a village headman. In all his work, but more especially in his Police work, the headman depends to a considerable extent on the respect and authority which he enjoys as a leading man of the village, quite independently of his office. There is no guarantee that the Division Officer, recruited largely on the ground of his educational qualifications, would possess any natural authority or status. It is of interest to note that many witnesses appeared to be under the impression that educational qualifications are at present ignored in selecting minor headmen; but this is not the case. Education is a factor, and an important factor, in determining the selection; but it is not, and in our opinion, should not be, the only or the most important factor. Even when local men possessing the stipulated educational qualifications and the other qualities required of a headman were available for posts of Division Officer, we are by no means convinced that their rather higher degree of literacy would be any guarantee of a higher degree of honesty or efficiency than that displayed by the present minor headmen.

19. The majority of the Commission consider that the number of Division Officers required under their scheme would be less than the present number of minor headmen; (see paragraph 53 of the main report). We think it probable that some amalgamation of divisions could be effected in urban and other thickly populated areas. But we doubt that any substantial reduction could be effected in the greater part of the Island; we base this opinion on personal experience of the rearrangement of minor headmen's divisions. It is necessary to remember that the actual volume of work is not the only relevant factor in determining a headmen's division; the headman (or Division Officer) must be easily accessible to all the inhabitants of the division; the area, shape, and physical configuration of the division are therefore of considerable importance.

20. We now turn to the Kachcheri staff (including the Itinerating Assistant Government Agents) required under the scheme proposed in the main report. In paragraph 50 of that report it is explained that the Division Officers "would in the majority of cases be more highly educated persons than the present minor headmen and should, whenever possible, be capable of corresponding in English with the Government Agent direct on administrative matters". The possibility of some of the Division Officers being unable to write English is thus admitted; we think that in practice it would be found necessary to appoint many such men. It is clear that additions to the clerical staffs of the Kachcheris would be required, to prepare the Division Officer's letters and reports for submission to the appropriate staff officer; and we think there is no doubt that in many cases these letters would have to be translated from the vernaculars.

21. In paragraph 57 of the main report it is explained that the primary function of the Itinerating Assistant Government Agents would be the performance of the duties now carried out by the chief headmen. It is clear to any person familiar with the duties of the present chief headmen that it would be necessary to submit all letters received from the Division Officers to the appropriate Itinerating Assistant Government Agent; otherwise, the Itinerating Assistant Government Agents could not be informed regarding the activities of their Division Officers. If the Itinerating Assistant Government Agents were located in the Kachcheri, the submission to them of all communications from their Division Officers would present no particular difficulty. But if an Itinerating Assistant Government Agent were stationed away from the Kachcheri at a town or village in his area (and we think that this would often be unavoidable), it would be necessary to equip him with a clerical staff distinct from that referred to in paragraph 20, to deal with the Division Officers' letters and reports referred to him by the Kachcheri.

22. Even assuming that adequate additions were made to the clerical staffs of the Kachcheris, we feel that the proposed Itinerating Assistant Government Agents would be unable to exercise sufficiently close supervision over the Division Officers. They would, it will be remembered, have much larger areas than the present chief headmen, and would not have the assistance of any grade corresponding to the present superior headmen (the Korals, Vidane Arachchis, and Udaiyars). Few, if any, of the witnesses who advocated this scheme appeared to have any conception of the mass of work which passes through the modern chief headman's office: they assumed that a junior Civil Servant would be able to take over the duties of at least two or three chief headmen, whereas in our opinion unless he were left in one district long enough to attain an intimate knowledge of its people and its problems, the Itinerating Assistant Government Agent would find difficulty in coping with the work of one chief headman's division of average dimensions. The execution by the Division Officers of the revenue officer's orders would, we fear, be unsatisfactory and dilatory, because the Itinerating Assistants would find it impossible to keep themselves sufficiently in touch with the work and conduct of each of the Division Officers. The number of Division Officers in the charge of each of the Itinerating Assistant Agents would be at least 150 and sometimes many more, and it would be impossible for the Itinerating Agent to meet each Division Officer and scrutinize his work in the division except at long intervals of several months. Further, in many districts, the supervision of the work of the irrigation headmen forms an important part of the chief headmen's duties; the chief headman meets the Irrigation headmen once a month in various circuit centres and examines their work. In some districts the irrigation headmen are extremely numerous; for example, under the scheme proposed by the majority of the Commission, an Itinerating Assistant Agent in the Kurunegala District would be in charge of three of the present chief headmen's divisions; in these three divisions there would be about a thousand irrigation headmen; it seems to us clearly impossible that the Itinerating Assistant Government Agent could exercise sufficient supervision over the work of these headmen. Again, as we have stated in paragraph 18 above, it does not follow that the higher educational qualifications which would be required of a Division Officer would ensure his complete integrity. We fear that with the degree of supervision which would be possible, Division Officers might well be guilty of more acts of corruption than the present headmen.

23. In paragraph 60 of the main report the relative costs of the present system and of that proposed by the majority are discussed in a general way. It is true that if the proposed scheme could be worked with only 26 Itinerating Assistant Government Agents, and if any substantial reduction in numbers could be effected when the present minor headmen were replaced by Division Officers, the proposed scheme might not be more expensive than the present system. But, as indicated in the previous paragraphs, we are convinced that an establishment of 26 Itinerating Assistant Government Agents would be wholly inadequate for the efficient performance of the work now done by nearly 100 chief headmen. In our opinion at least 50 to 75 Itinerating Assistant Government Agents would be essential for the satisfactory performance of this work. Again, as explained in paragraph 19 of this dissent, we do not think that any considerable number of amalgamations of the existing minor headmen's divisions would be possible in the greater part of the Island.

24. To sum up, we consider that the scheme would, all circumstances being considered, be less efficient, and no freer from corruption, than the present system. We do not advocate its adoption.

Proposals for Minor Alterations in Present System.

25. Many minor proposals for alteration of the existing system were made; those which in our opinion require consideration are discussed in the succeeding paragraphs (26 to 31).

BATTA OF MINOR AND SUPERIOR HEADMEN.

26. The concluding portion of paragraph 21 of the main report reads thus:—

"There is a considerable body of opinion that these rates are too low, and that they should be restored at least to the rates which existed prior to October, 1932, viz. :—

Batta.—Financial Regulation 1279.

Registrars, &c.	..	..	Re. 1.50 per day
Subordinate Headmen	..	..	Re. 1 per day

Batta.—Financial Regulation 1280 (iii).

Registrars, &c.	..	..	Rs. 3 per day
Subordinate Headmen	..	..	Re. 1.50 per day

Mileage.—Financial Regulation 1280 (ii).

Registrar, &c.	..	..	25 cents per mile
Subordinate Headmen	..	..	10 cents per mile.

Many witnesses were also of opinion that Financial Regulation 1280 (i.) (g) operates unfairly; its effect is that a headman who leaves his village at dawn and returns after a day at the Court or Kachcheri at 10 or 11 at night is paid no batta."

We are in agreement with the criticisms directed against these regulations. We recommend the restoration of the rates which existed prior to October, 1932. We also recommend that Financial Regulation 1280 (i.) (g) be amended to allow batta to a headman who is absent from his division on duty for over 6 hours, by whatever means he may travel.

REWARDS.

27. In paragraphs 22 and 23 of the main report, the Headmen's Reward Fund and the sub-head of Head 27 Provincial Administration are discussed; in paragraph 23 the majority of the Commission recommend the substitution of sannas, medals or certificates for the present money rewards. We disagree with this proposal. Rewards are intended to be an immediate recognition of good work, and recompense for extraordinary expenses incurred in the performance of duty. Sannas, medals and certificates should, in our view, be a means of recognition of long and faithful service.

AUTHORIZED FEES.

28. Paragraph 25 of the main report deals with the question of fees ; the majority recommend the discontinuance of all fees. We consider that the argument of the majority, that "the actual passing of money from members of the public to the headmen facilitates and encourages the extortion of illegal fees, and the offer and acceptance of bribes", has some force. But it is necessary, in any case, for headmen to receive sums of money from the public, for there will be always be a number of petty dues which for the sake of public convenience must be collected in the villages ; and the headmen are the most suitable—often the only possible—collectors. It must be remembered also that the fees drawn by a particular headman on account of a particular type of work are directly proportional to the volume of that work, and this may vary considerably from year to year. If fees were compounded with allowances, it would be necessary to revise the allowances at short periods, the ensure that they have a proper relation to the work done. These revisions would involve a considerable amount of work by the revenue officers, who are already fully occupied. We are of opinion that the fee system, by which remuneration is automatically adjusted to the volume of work done, should be retained.

THE CREATION OF BOARDS TO ASSIST REVENUE OFFICERS IN MAKING APPOINTMENTS OF SUPERIOR AND MINOR HEADMEN.

29. Paragraph 43 of the main report deals with the proposal that boards should be created to assist the revenue officers in making appointments of superior and minor headmen. We agree with the conclusion reached by the majority of the Commission ; but we wish to add that we are satisfied that at present the chief headman's opinion is not given excessive weight, and that the selection is the revenue officer's own selection. We also believe that generally speaking the most suitable candidate is appointed.

SELECTION OF MINOR HEADMEN BY A COMPETITIVE EXAMINATION.

30. A number of witnesses advocated the selection of minor headmen by means of a competitive examination among selected candidates. This proposal was also designed to destroy the power which the chief headman is alleged to possess at present of deriving an illicit revenue from the appointments of minor and superior headmen. The suggestion is that candidates for a headmanship should be interviewed by the Government Agent, and that those who are of suitable age, status and reputation should be required to undergo a written examination. The examination papers would be marked by a staff officer of the Kacheheri, and the man who obtained the highest marks would be appointed. We believe that this method would often result in the appointment of a man who, though the best mark-gainer, would not be the best headman. Many of the qualities required in a minor headman—personality integrity, social standing, local influence—cannot be measured by means of a written examination. Further, the system would not achieve the end for which it is designed ; for the Government Agent would have to be advised by somebody in making his preliminary selection (which everybody admits is necessary) ; whoever advised the Government Agent, whether it were the chief headman or some private person, could levy an illicit fee for making a favourable report, if he were sufficiently dishonest to do so. We do not consider this proposal a useful one, and we do not recommend its adoption.

TRANSFER OF CHIEF HEADMEN AFTER A PRESCRIBED PERIOD.

31. Certain witnesses favoured a proposal that chief headmen should be transferred after a prescribed period, for example, five years. In November, 1932, the following motion was moved in the State Council :—

"That this Council is of opinion that chief headmen, being public officers, should be subject to transfer every five years."

In October, 1933, the Executive Committee for Home Affairs reported on this motion, recommending reference to the present Commission. The motion was then withdrawn, and the papers were referred to us in due course. The intention of the

mover of the motion, and of those witnesses who advocated a similar change in the present system, appeared to be to prevent or reduce the corrupt and oppressive conduct imputed by them to the chief headmen. The idea behind the proposal is thus similar to those dealt with in paragraph 44 of the main report. It is open to the obvious objection that a chief headman would be transferred just at the time that he had acquired that intimate knowledge of his division which makes him so useful a part of the present administration. We are satisfied that the proposal would give rise to serious administrative difficulties, and would not reduce corruption.

Retention of the Existing Headmen System.

32. It seems to us plain that the retention of the existing headmen system is essential. The numerous duties now performed by the headmen must be performed by some officers of the Government. As we have stated in the preceding paragraphs, the alternatives to the present scheme suggested to us are not, in our opinion, practicable.

33. We wish here to emphasize the enormous amount of essential work performed by the headmen of all grades ; many witnesses appeared to fail entirely to appreciate its bulk and its importance. The duties of the headmen have been discussed in paragraphs 27 and 28 of the main report, and in Appendix F appears a list of the duties of the superior and minor headmen. The revenue officers, who are obviously best qualified to express an opinion on the matter, regard the headmen as an essential part of the machinery of administration. They consider that the majority of chief headmen and many minor headmen do rather more than a fair day's work in the discharge of the duties allotted to them. The headmen are a much criticised body of men ; we feel that much of the criticism directed against them is quite unjustified, and that their value to the State is insufficiently appreciated.

Recommendations for the improvement of the Existing System.

CHIEF HEADMEN.

34. *Appointment.*—The present method of appointment of chief headmen is described in paragraph 30 of the main report. We consider that the present practice, by which an attempt is made to recruit a man of good family possessing personal influence in the division, and owning property in or near to the division, should be maintained. We feel, however, that at the present time there is a tendency to appoint members of the General Clerical Service, particularly men serving in Kacheheris, sometimes to the exclusion of more suitable candidates who are not members of the public service. The reasons for this are two in number ; firstly, the officers serving in a Kacheheri are known to the Government Agent ; secondly, the mere fact that an officer has experience of Kacheheri work is in itself an asset, for a chief headman's work and the work of a clerk in a Kacheheri are closely related. We recommend that an attempt should be made to anticipate vacancies in posts of chief headmen, and that the selection of a successor to a retiring officer should be made a year or two before the vacancy actually occurs. The officer selected should be placed on probation, and attached to the Kacheheri in the capacity of a probationary chief headman. He should accompany the Government Agent on circuit, and should be appointed to act in temporary vacancies in the posts of chief headmen or Korala, or President, Village Tribunals. He should, if possible, be afforded an opportunity of studying the work of the Police, Agricultural, and Sanitary Departments under the supervision of staff officers of those departments. The probationer should, provided he has proved satisfactory, be appointed to the anticipated vacancy when it actually occurs. If a probationer should not prove satisfactory during his probationary period, the vacancy would, of course, have to be filled in the present manner. We realize that all vacancies could not be filled in the way which we advocate, but many of them could. We think that this method will tend to widen the field of selection, as the authorities will feel freer to select a person of whom

nothing is known by actual experience, but who appears on paper to be the most suitable candidate. At present, as we have said, we think that there is a tendency to prefer a candidate, who, though perhaps not the best on paper, is actually known to the Government Agent, or to some other responsible officer of Government. We understand that some years ago a similar system of appointment was actually in existence in the Kandy District, and that it worked satisfactorily. We have not been able to ascertain why the system was abandoned.

35. In the past many of the most efficient chief headmen in the Kandyan Provinces have served as Korals before being promoted to the charge of a division and we consider that this system of recruitment should be encouraged wherever it is found possible to secure suitable candidates to fill the posts of superior headmen. Several witnesses urged that, even in the maritime Provinces where this system of recruitment has not been used, a better class of candidate would come forward for the posts of superior headmen, if appointment to these posts carried with it the prospect of promotion to the chief headman grade.

We therefore recommend that in the selection of candidates for probationary appointments and still more in the case of the filling of unforeseen vacancies, preference should be given to any suitable superior headmen applicants.

36. At present Presidents of Village Tribunals are frequently appointed to vacancies in the grade of chief headman; experience has shown that this method of recruitment is generally satisfactory, and we think that it should be retained. It would not be necessary for a President to undergo the probationary period in a Kachcheri, since his experience as a President would have familiarized him with the routine of administrative work, and since his conduct and capabilities would already be known to the Government Agent. We consider that the probationers referred to in paragraph 34 should be allowed to apply for vacancies in the grade of President, Village Tribunals; thus if a vacancy in the grade of chief headman, in the anticipation of which a probationer had been appointed, were actually filled by the appointment of a President, the probationer should be at liberty to apply for the post of President so rendered vacant.

37. *Salary.*—A large number of witnesses considered the present salaries of chief headmen and the present allowances of superior and minor headmen inadequate, and thought that a better type of man would be attracted to these grades if the remuneration were increased, the other elements of the existing system being maintained. Many of these witnesses were under a misapprehension as to the real nature of the present allowances, which have been described in paragraphs 9 and 19 of the main report. However, when the character of the existing remuneration was explained, a number of witnesses expressed the view that all the headmen should be paid a salary (not an allowance) commensurate with the value of the services rendered by them to the State. The actual rates of salary proposed varied considerably; some witnesses favoured fixed salaries, others preferred incremental scales. The salaries proposed rose as high as Rs. 100 per mensem for superior and minor headmen, and Rs. 750 a month for chief headmen, though the majority of witnesses who advocated enhancement of the present remuneration satisfied themselves with more moderate increases. (We have here excluded from consideration the salaries proposed for the minor administrative service and the Division Officers). We are of opinion that while a chief headman is a local dignitary residing on his own property in his native district, the present salary scale (Rs. 2,400—600 (quinquennial)—3,600) is adequate, though it is not, and is not intended to be, the full measure of the value of the officers' services. Our recommendation regarding the allowances of a chief headman will be found in paragraphs 38 to 40 below. As regards superior and minor headmen, we do not favour the entire removal of the honorary element from their service; indeed, we consider that all efforts should be made to emphasize the dignity and honour of these posts, and to destroy the notion which exists in some degree in some districts that the village headman is merely a paid servant of the Government, like a Police Constable or a Process Server. We do think, however, that there are grounds for increasing the allowances of some of the superior and minor headmen, the present character of their remuneration being maintained. Our recommendation on this point will be found in paragraphs 42 and 43 below.

38. *Fixed transport allowance.*—The history of this allowance has been described in paragraph 11 of the main report. We are satisfied from the evidence we have that the present allowance is in many cases quite insufficient to cover the expenses actually incurred by the chief headman in travelling within his division. We recommend that the present allowances should be replaced by allowances depending on the amount of travelling which is necessary for the particular chief headman to do, and on the cost to him of that travelling. We do not think that the allowance should be limited to the actual cost of transport; the expenditure incurred in spending nights away from the officer's home should be taken into consideration. The new rates of allowance will, of course, vary according to the size of the chief headman's division, and according to the amount of public business which the officer is required to perform. We regret that we do not possess the necessary information to formulate a complete scheme of allowances; we consider that a scheme could best be formulated by the Government Agents, in consultation with the Ministry for Home Affairs and the Treasury. We do not consider that any such scheme which may be approved by the Government should be regarded as rigid and immutable; the amount of travelling required of a particular headman must necessarily vary as the division develops, or new work is allocated to the chief headmen; we consider, therefore, that periodical revisions of the allowances will be necessary. The Government Agents will no doubt bring the necessity of any such revision to the notice of the proper authorities at the appropriate time.

39. *Travelling outside the division.*—As stated in paragraph 12 of the main report, the chief headmen now receive batta at the rate of Rs. 4 per day or Rs. 3 per day, according to their salary, when travelling outside their divisions. These rates appear to us to be quite insufficient to cover the probable expenses of a chief headman, if he is to maintain the dignity of his position. We recommend that the rate should be increased; Rs. 6 per day would not, in our opinion, be excessive.

40. *Allowance for clerical assistance.*—The present allowance had been described in paragraph 13 of the main report. There appeared to be general agreement among witnesses who were in a position to know the facts that the present allowance for clerical assistance is in many cases inadequate. A number of chief headmen employ one or more clerks in excess of the number allowed to them by the Government, and pay them from their private funds. Some witnesses also expressed the opinion that Rs. 70 (the present allowance for chief headmen for whom two clerks are considered necessary) is insufficient to pay two competent clerks. We recommend that the matter be examined by the Government Agents in consultation with the Ministry for Home Affairs and the Treasury, and that the number of clerks actually required by each headman, and the amount of money required to pay suitable men, be fixed. We think it desirable that the present practice, by which a chief headman receives an allowance and engages and pays his own clerks, should continue; in this connection we invite attention to paragraph 7 of the appendix to Sessional Paper XXII. of 1928 (on "Allowances to Chief Headmen for Clerical Assistance") with which we are in agreement. We regret that we are not equipped with the necessary information to formulate a detailed scheme of allowances. We consider that it should be recognized that circumstances may render necessary the enhancement of a particular chief headman's allowance, or the reduction of that of another chief headman. The scheme should not, in our opinion, be rigid; it should be subject to adjustment from time to time at the instance of the revenue officers.

SUPERIOR HEADMEN.

41. *The abolition of posts in certain districts.*—In paragraphs 27 and 28 of the main report the duties of the headmen are discussed. We recommend that the Government Agents be directed to examine the possibility of amalgamating some of the posts of superior headmen in their provinces. The evidence we have heard suggests that this could be done, at any rate in the Jaffna district, without loss of efficiency. It is not possible for us with the time and staff at our disposal to ascertain which particular posts are superfluous. This, we think, is a task which can best be performed by the revenue officers.

42. *The enhancement of the present allowances.*—The nature of the present allowances is described in paragraph 19 of the main report; as stated there, it ranges from Rs. 30 to Rs. 45 per month in the case of superior headmen. We consider that the nature of the allowance should be preserved. The superior headmen and the minor headmen should continue, so far as possible, to be Village magnates performing Government service on a partly honorary basis. We feel, however, that even on this footing the allowance is inadequate, in some parts of the Island. We recommend that the maximum limit for superior headmen should be raised to Rs. 75 a month. The allowance should depend, as at present, on the amount of time the headman has to spend on his official duties, the amount of unpaid travelling which he has to perform, and the probable amount of incidental expenditure, incurred officially, which it is not practicable to refund specifically. We would emphasize that in formulating the new scheme of allowances the Island should be considered as a whole, the work of the headmen in one revenue district being compared with that of the headmen in other revenue districts. We think it is possible that in some districts there will not be justification for increasing the maximum rate of allowance to Rs. 75 per month, or, perhaps, at all. On the other hand, we are satisfied that in some districts this limit will be by no means excessive.

MINOR HEADMEN.

43. *Enhancement of allowances.*—The present scheme of allowances is described in paragraph 19 of the main report. We recommend an increase of the present upper limit (Rs. 30) to Rs. 40. The amount of the allowances of particular headmen should be decided in the manner described in the preceding paragraph.

44. *Improvement of training.*—The present method of training is described in paragraph 33 of the main report. We recommend that the training now given should be intensified and systematized, but should continue to be performed in the chief headman's division on Division days. The assistance of local officers of other departments (especially Police officers) should be regularly enlisted, to instruct the headmen in the work of their departments. Programmes of instruction in all branches of the minor headmen's work (police work, first aid, sanitation, agriculture, forest work, &c.), should be drawn up, in consultation with the departments concerned, for each chief headman's division. The departmental instructing officers should give special attention to newly appointed headmen, or to men whose work in a particular branch is weak; the chief headmen should be able to inform the departmental officers which headmen require particular attention. Before confirmation, newly appointed headmen should be required to pass written or oral tests, held by the departmental instructors, who should report to the revenue officer on the headman's knowledge of the work of the instructor's department. Headmen should, of course, continue to attend the "instruction days" throughout their service. We understand that the Headmen's Manual is at present being revised, with a view to its amplification and modernization. We recommend that the work of revision be expedited.

45. *Treatment of minor headmen by officers of other departments.*—In this connection we invite attention to paragraph 38 of the main report. We recommend that the officers of all departments of all grades should be reminded that the office of headman is an important and honourable one, and should be instructed to treat the headmen with proper respect and courtesy.

46. *Change of nomenclature.*—In this connection we invite attention to paragraph 26 of the main report. We recommend that all village headmen appointed to perform police duties be called by one name. We suggest the name "Police Headman". We understand that this name is already in use in certain districts.

47. *Allocation of fresh duties to headmen; dress of Kandyan headmen.*—We are in agreement with the recommendations contained in paragraph 58 of the main report, regarding the allocation of fresh duties to the headmen, and the dress of the Kandyan headmen. These recommendations are made in the main report in relation to the proposed Division Officers, but they are equally applicable to the existing grade of minor headman the retention of which we advocate.

Summary of Recommendations.

48. The following is a summary of the recommendations contained in our dissent:—

- (i.) That the existing headmen system be retained; (paragraph 32);
- (ii.) That the rates of batta of minor headmen and superior headmen be restored to the rates which existed prior to October, 1932; (paragraph 26).
- (iii.) That the present method of appointment of chief headmen be changed, appointments being made on probation in anticipation of vacancies; (paragraph 34).
- (iv.) That the travelling allowances paid to chief headmen for travelling on duty within their divisions be revised and increased; (paragraph 38).
- (v.) That the rates of batta payable to chief headmen travelling on duty outside their divisions be increased (paragraph 39).
- (vi.) That the chief headmen's allowances for clerical assistance be revised and increased; (paragraph 40).
- (vii.) That the question of amalgamating certain posts of superior headmen be investigated by the revenue officers; (paragraph 41).
- (viii.) That the allowances of superior headmen and minor headmen be revised, and the maximum limit increased; (paragraphs 42 and 43).
- (ix.) That the training of minor headmen be intensified and systematized; (paragraph 44).
- (x.) That officers of all departments and of all grades be instructed to treat the headmen with proper respect and courtesy; (paragraph 45).
- (xi.) That all village headmen appointed to perform police duties be called "Police Headman", and that the existing diversity of names be abolished; (paragraph 46).
- (xii.) That the revenue officers be consulted before further duties are allotted to the headmen; (paragraph 47).
- (xiii.) That the Kandyan headmen be allowed to wear blue or black coats for ordinary official occasions, the Kandyan dress being reserved for occasions of special formality; (paragraph 47).

49. We regret that we have not been successful in persuading our colleagues on the Commission to agree with us, we equally regret that we cannot conscientiously subscribe to their views: we are convinced that neither the Division Officer Service proposed by our colleagues nor any of the other proposals discussed would be sufficient for the work required of the headmen, and that the welfare of the people will be infinitely better served by the retention of the existing system.

Colombo, September 28, 1935.

M. M. WEDDERBURN.
L. NUGAWELA.

APPENDIX A.

COMMISSION ON THE HEADMEN SYSTEM.

Persons wishing to give evidence before the Commission should address the Secretary, Room 222, New Secretariat building, Colombo, before September 15, 1934.

Persons wishing to make written representations should do so before September 15, 1934.

The following questionnaire is published for general information:—

- (i.) What are, in your opinion, the chief advantages of the Headmen System?
- (ii.) What are its chief defects?
- (iii.) Do you consider that the Headmen possess a satisfactory knowledge of their duties and disclose a sufficient training therein?
- (iv.) Do you think the system is capable of improvement, and do you advocate its continuance?

- (v.) If so, what improvements do you suggest either in the system or in the remuneration?
- (vi.) If you do not advocate its continuance, what substitute do you suggest?
- (vii.) Do you consider that the names of the various grades of Headmen should be different from the names of the various titular ranks?
- (viii.) What are your views regarding the remuneration of the various grades of Headmen?
- (ix.) What are your views regarding the payment of batta and travelling expenses?
- (x.) What suggestions would you make regarding the training of Headmen in their duties?
- (xi.) Have you any suggestions to offer regarding the method of appointment of Headmen?
- (xii.) What, in your opinion, are the essential qualifications of a Headman?
- (xiii.) Do you recommend a limitation of the period for which Headmen are appointed?

Chief Secretary's Office,
P. O. Box No. 500,
Colombo, August 20, 1934.

M. M. WEDDERBURN,
Chairman, Commission on the Headmen System.

APPENDIX B.

LIST OF WITNESSES WHO GAVE ORAL EVIDENCE BEFORE THE COMMISSION ON THE HEADMEN SYSTEM.

- Abdul Lobbe Marikkar, O.L., of Balangoda.
- Abeygunasekera, E. W., M.S.C., of Karandagolle in Nuwara Eliya District.
- Abeyasuriya, A. B. H., of Matara.
- Abeytunge, M., of Kadugannawa.
- Abeywickrema, D. D., of Lellopitiya, Ratnapura District.
- Alagiyawanna, D., a representative of the Siyane Korale Udugaha Mahajana Sabha, and Village Committee, Megodapata, Siyane korale east.
- Allahakoon, K. B., Korala, Hewawisse korale, Pata Hewaheta, Kandy District.
- All Ceylon Conference of Chief Headmen represented by :—
- Gate Mudaliyar Walter Samarasinghe, Atapattu Mudaliyar, Colombo Kachcheri ;
- Mr. W. H. Perera Wanigatunga, Atapattu Mudaliyar, Galle Kachcheri ;
- Mr. D. T. Perera, J.P., U.P.M., Mudaliyar, Alutkuru korale north ;
- Barnes Ratwatte Dissawa ;
- Mr. T. B. Nugawela, Ratemahatmaya, Udunuwara and Yatinuwara ;
- Mr. C. W. Canagasabey, Vanniah Mudaliyar, Eravur Koralai pattus, Eastern Province ;
- Mr. S. Namasivayam, Vanniah Mudaliyar, Town and Manmunai North, Batticaloa ;
- Mr. L. B. Warakaulle, Ratemahatmaya, Pata Hewaheta ;
- Mr. H. W. Samarakone, Muhandiram, Ambatalenpahala ;
- Gate Mudaliyar Edmund Pieris, Totamune Mudaliyar, Panadure.
- All Ceylon Vernacular Teachers' Union, represented by Messrs. :—
- J. P. Amarasingha, Guru Muhandiram ;
- S. A. Pieris ;
- H. K. M. de Silva ;
- M. T. Fernando ;
- E. C. H. Fernando ; and
- S. D. W. Panagoda.
- Amerasingha, W. N., of Chenkaladi, Batticaloa District.
- Appuhamy, D. R., Gan-Arachchi, Mapitigama wasama, Medagoda, Avissawella.
- Appuhamy, H. K., Chairman, Village Committee, Meda pattu, Nawadun korale, Ratnapura District.
- Appuhamy, L., of Balangoda.
- Appuhamy, M., Chairman, Village Committee, Talapitigampattu, Kadawata korale, Ratnapura District.
- Arasaratnam, Mudaliyar C., Interpreter Mudaliyar, Supreme Court, Colombo.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON THE HEADMEN SYSTEM. 5.

- Arasaratnam, V., of Narantanai, Kayts.
- Ariyaratne, D. A., of Hikkaduwa, Galle District.
- Atham, M. A., of Deltota, Kandy District.
- Athapattu, D. A., of Medagoda, Avissawella.
- Babun Appuhamy, P. V. A., of Kandy.
- Banda, E. M. U., of Urugala, Uda Dumbara, Kandy District.
- Banda, H. M. U., of Akmeemana, Galle.
- Bandara Attanayake, L., of Nawalapitiya.
- Bandara, W. K., Chairman, Village Committee, Negampaha korale, Kekirawa.
- Bandaranayake, P. B. M., Chairman, Village Committee, Rilpola korale, Uva.
- Bandarawanniya, S. B. C. T., of Kalmunai.
- Banks, P. N., Acting Inspector-General of Police.

Batticaloa Ratepayers' Association, represented by Messrs. :—

- S. Dixon ;
- S. Armstrong ; and
- S. O. Canagaratnam.

- Bogallagama, C. J. S., Chairman, Village Committee, Nikaweratiya.
- Brodie, A. M., of Jaffna.
- Bulankulame, P. B., Ratemahatmaya, Nuwaragam palata, Anuradhapura District.
- Canagaratnam, S. O., of Batticaloa.

Conference of Village Committees, Matara District, represented by Messrs. :—

- V. P. Gunawardene, Chairman, Village Committee, Madihe Godagama ;
- L. D. Sedara, Chairman, Village Committee, Kamburupitiya ; and
- S. P. A. de Silva, Chairman, Village Committee, Dondra.

- Coomaraswamy, V., C.C.S., Government Agent, Eastern Province.
- Crowther, I. T. S., of Kiran estate, Korakallimadu, Batticaloa District.

Dakunu Mahagama Mahajana Sangamaya, Kalutara District, represented by Messrs. :—

- A. Thepanis Fernando ; and
- R. C. M. Kularatne.

- Dahanayake, K. D., of Maradana, Colombo.
- De Almeida, J. R. S., of Akuressa.
- De Alwis, Gate Mudaliyar C. G., of Marawila.
- De Alwis, N., J.P., U.P.M., Chairman, Village Committee, Battota.
- De Fonseka, Mudaliyar G. W., Mudaliyar, Salpiti korale, Western Province.
- De Silva, A. A., of Telwatta, Galle.
- De Silva, A. B. Simon, of Matara.
- De Silva, A. D., Proctor, Supreme Court, Galle, and Chairman, Village Committee, Weragoda.
- De Silva, G. P. H. Janis, of Bulathgama, Balangoda.
- De Silva, H. A., District Judge, Batticaloa.
- De Silva, L. Henry, of Katugastota.
- De Silva, R. H. Sadris, of Akmeemana, Galle.
- De Silva, V. Geeris, Chairman, Village Committee, Kottawa, Talpe pattu, Galle District.
- De Silva, W. A., M.S.C., of Colombo.
- De Soysa, A. P., Proctor, Supreme Court, Galle.
- De Zoysa, Francis, K.C., of Colombo.
- De Zylva, Bertram, Proctor, Supreme Court, Anuradhapura.
- Dhanapala, J. A., of Kotahena, Colombo ; President, Wannu Board of Improvement.
- Dharmadasa, P. A., Proctor, Supreme Court, and Chairman, Urban District Council, Ratnapura.
- Dharmasiri, M. V., of Kandy.
- Dias-Wanigasekera, N. E., of Maho.
- Dingiri Banda Rate Lekama, Korala of Hetahaye korale, Kurunegala District.
- Dissanayake, D. D. R., of Kapugama, Dondra.
- Dissanayake, M. P., of Kundasale in Pata Dumbara, Kandy District.
- Dyson, E. T., C.C.S., Government Agent, Central Province.
- Edirisinghe, D. H., of the College of Indigenous Medicine, Borella.
- Ekanayake, T. B., Chairman, Village Committee, Maminiya korale, Kekirawa.
- Ellawala, C., of Balangoda.
- Ellawala, G. H., Chairman, Village Committee, Palle pattu, Nawadun korale, Ratnapura District.

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Farmers' Union, Batticaloa, represented by Messrs. :—

S. Armstrong ;
N. Kasupathipillai ;
E. Periatthambipillai ; and
S. O. Canagaratnam.

Fernando, E. T., of Madampe.

Fernando, J. S. A., of Veyangoda.

Fernando, N. Manuel, of Kaduwela.

Fernando, S. W., Chairman, Village Committee, Kandukara Ihala korale, Uda palata, Kandy District.

Gimson, F. C., C.C.S., Assistant Government Agent, Kegalla.

Gintota Co-operative Society, represented by Messrs. :—

L. W. Marshall ; and
I. G. M. Silva.

Godakumbura, C. E., of Colombo.

Goonesekera, A., of Kelaniya.

Goonesekera, D. S., Chairman, Village Committee, Kodagoda, Talpe pattu, Galle District.

Goonesekera, Edwin, Secretary, Bentota Mahajana Sabha, Bentota.

Goonsekere, H. A., Ratemahatmaya, Nawadun korale, Ratnapura District.

Goonetilleke, W. N., Mudaliyar, Bentota-Walallawiti korale, Galle District.

Goonewardane, H. B., Chairman, Village Committee, Hikkaduwa.

Gunasekera, P. R., Chairman, Village Committee, Ratgama.

Gunasekera, Dr. S. T., Assistant Director of Sanitary Services.

Gunawardena, R. D. W., of Koholana, Kalutara.

Harrison-Jones, C., C.C.S., Government Agent, North-Western Province.

Hathnagoda, T. B., of Gampola.

Hennessy, D. J. G., Superintendent of Police, Kurunegala.

Herat, C., Chief Clerk, District Road Committee, Puttalam.

Herat, D. B., Chairman, Village Committee, Wellawa subdivision, Maraluwawa.

Herathamy, T. M., of Hanguranketa, Nuwara Eliya District.

Hippola, P. B., of Peradeniya.

Houlder, Rev. A. C., of Kandy.

Hunter, L. L., C.C.S., Government Agent, North-Central Province.

Jayanetti, D. S., Vidane Arachchi, Welipenna, Pasdun korale west, Kalutara District.

Jayasekera, D. P. A., of Maturata, Nuwara Eliya District.

Jayawardene, D. T., Police Vidane, Hingurala, Puwakpitiya.

Jayawardene, E. Felix W., Proctor, Supreme Court, Dandagamuwa.

Jayawickrema, V., Police Magistrate, Kurunegala.

Joseph, James, District Judge, Badulla.

Kahapola, P. A. S., Secretary, Udugaha Pattu Maha Jana Sabha, Panadure.

Kanapathipillai, K., of Point Pedro, President, North Ceylon Village Committees Association.

Kandy District Village Committees Congress, represented by Messrs. :—

W. Thalgodapitiya ;
L. B. Ratnayake ;
T. B. S. Godamunne ;
L. S. Jinasena ;
C. A. Samarasinghe ;
D. B. Galpottawela ; and
S. B. Ratnayake.

Kandyan Chiefs' Union, represented by :—

J. C. Ratwatte Adigar ;
W. A. Udugama Dissawa ;
T. B. Mampitiya Dissawa ;
T. B. Nugawela Ratemahatmaya ;
T. B. Ratwatte Ratemahatmaya ;
W. B. Madawala Ratemahatmaya ;
H. B. Rambukwelle Ratemahatmaya ;
M. B. Panabokke Ratemahatmaya ;
M. B. Galagoda, Basnayake Nilame ;
L. B. Warakaulle Ratemahatmaya ;
rel. K. B. Wijekoon, 2nd Interpreter, Kandy Kachcheri ; and
exist. P. B. Nugawela Dissawa, Diyawadana Nilame.

Kandyan Youth League, represented by Messrs. :—

Albert Godamunne ;
P. B. M. Bandaranayake ;
Heen Mahatmaya ;
P. B. Hippola ;
D. W. Premachandre ;
L. M. Premaratne ;
R. P. Premachandre ;
A. C. Samarasinghe ;
S. A. Rajapakse ;
D. S. Perera ; and
P. Dolapihille.

Kasupathipillai, N. C., Chairman, Village Committee, Manmunai East, North Division, Batticaloa District.

Katugaha, H. B., Ratemahatmaya, Yatikinda, Uva.

Keerthiratne, N. H., Chairman, Village Committee, Kinigoda korale, Kegalla District.

Kulatilleke, S., of Dagedera, Galle.

Kurunegala District Chief Headmen's Union, represented by :—

P. B. Madahapola Dissawa, Ratemahatmaya, Hiriya hatpattu ;
Mr. J. H. Illangatileke, Ratemahatmaya, Wanni hatpattu ;
Mr. A. E. Madawala, Ratemahatmaya, Dewamede hatpattu ;
Mr. K. B. Kaduruwewa, Kachcheri and Gravets Mudaliyar, Kurunegala ;
Mr. T. H. E. Moonemalle, President, Village Tribunals, Katugampola hatpattu ;
Mr. W. Talgodapitiya, President, Village Tribunals, Dewamede hatpattu ;
Mr. W. Gopallawa, President, Village Tribunals, Weudawili hatpattu ;
Mr. R. B. Madawala, President, Village Tribunals, Dambadeni hatpattu ;
Mr. E. G. de S. Jayasundera, Ratemahatmaya, Dambadeni hatpattu.

Kuruwita Gunasekera, R. T., of Nugegoda.

Lanka Gamwesi Eksat Samitiya, Menerikande, Lellopitiya, Ratnapura District, represented by Messrs. :—

Ferdinando Weerakoon ;
M. T. C. Gunaratne ;
J. Kuruppu ; and
L. B. de Mel, J.P., U.P.M.

Lanka Mahajana Sabha, represented by :—

Hon. Mr. C. W. W. Kannangara ;
Hon. Mr. D. S. Senanayake ;
Rev. J. S. B. Mendis ;
Mr. J. N. Jinendradasa ;
Mr. M. H. Jayatilleke ;
Mr. D. B. Jayasinghe ; and
Mr. P. D. Liyanage.

Lebbe, A. S., of Kadugannawa.

Luddington, N. J., C.C.S., Government Agent, Sabaragamuwa.

Mahanama Appuhamy, D. J., of Nildandahinna, Nuwara Eliya District.

Majeed Cader, A., Galle.

Marikkar Hadjiar, C. L. M., of Balangoda

Matara Maha Jana Sabha, represented by Messrs. :—

E. Y. D. Abeyagunawardena ;
J. P. Seneviratne ; and
L. P. James Dias.

Meedeniya, J. H., Ratemahatmaya, Three Korales and Lower Bulatgama, Kegalla District.

Medarata Mahajana Sangamaya, Kandy, represented by Messrs. :—

D. S. Perera ;
D. M. B. Waidyadasa ;
L. M. Premaratne ;
L. S. Wijepala ; and
P. Rajapakse.

Mediwake, H. W., of Kandy.
 Melder, H., of Kandy.
 Mendiris Singho, W., of Horana.
 Millington, E. T., C.C.S., Government Agent, Uva.
 Minor Headmen's Union, Kadawata and Meda korales, Ratnapura District, represented by Messrs. :—
 H. M. M. Gunatilleke, Arachchi, Balangoda ;
 R. D. S. Munasinghe, Arachchi, Pallekanda.
 Molagode, R., of Katugastota.
 Moonemalle, L. B., Chairman, Village Committee, Dandagamuwa.
 Morawak Korale Planters' Association, represented by Messrs. :—
 R. C. Kannangara ;
 H. Lloyd-Jones ;
 V. G. W. Ratnayake ;
 J. L. Roberts ;
 W. S. Roper ; and
 J. Macmahon.
 Mudianse, D. W. M., of Balangoda.
 Mudalihamy, E. L., Chairman, Village Committee, Uduwaggampattu, Kadawata korale, Ratnapura District.
 Muttyah, C., J.P., of Batticaloa.
 Nagalingam, M. K., of Halpe, Katana.
 Naganather, Gate Mudaliyar A., J.P., U.P.M., Kopay, Jaffna.
 Nalliah, R. R., Chairman, Urban District Council, Jaffna.
 Nanayakkara, D. G. E., of Nildandahinna, Nuwara Eliya District.
 Nata Rajah, S., Chairman, Urban District Council, Anuradhapura.
 Nicholas, J. S., Assistant Commissioner of Excise, Northern Division.
 Niles, W. D., of Jaffna.
 Nugegoda, K. B., of Katugastota.
 Padiyapelella Podu Jana Society, Padiyapelella, Nuwara Eliya District, represented by Messrs. :—
 A. K. Muttiah ; and
 D. A. Gunasekera.
 Pallage, Pemasiri Abhayapala, of Alubomulla, Panadure.
 Panabokke, Honourable Mr. T. B., M.S.C., Minister for Health.
 Panadure Village Committee, represented by Messrs. :—
 D. H. S. Nanayakkara ; and
 M. P. Fernando.
 Perera, B. C., Chairman, Village Committee, and Inquirer, Divulpitiya.
 Perera, D. S., of Kandy.
 Perera, W. A., of Gangoda estate, Kurunegala.
 Perera, W. G. P., of Welikada.
 Peter, D. S., Kadugannawa.
 Podisingho, K. D., of Horana.
 Prasad, M., C.C.S., District Judge, Kurunegala.
 Pulley, C. Collin, of Balangoda.
 Raddalgoda, P. N., Chairman, Village Committee, Hiniduma.
 Rajakarier, V., District Judge, Anuradhapura.
 Rajakaruna, D. B., Chairman, Village Committee, Kende korale, Kahatagasdigiliya, Anuradhapura District.
 Rajapakse, S. A., of Kadugannawa.
 Rajaratnam, T. C., Proctor, Supreme Court, Chunnakam.
 Ramachandra, B. S., Chairman, Village Committee, Palle pattu, Kuruwita korale, Ratnapura District.
 Ramaswamy, V., Crown Proctor, Anuradhapura.
 Ranapala, M. V. E., of Katugastota.
 Ranasinghe, S. P., of Kundasale, Kandy District.
 Ratnayake, T. P., Chairman, Village Committee, Ganneva korale, Uda Hewaheta, Nuwara Eliya District.
 Ratwatte Dissawa, Barnes, Ratemahatmaya, Kadawata and Meda korales, Ratnapura District.
 Rodrigo, E., C.C.S., Government Agent, Northern Province.
 Rogerson, W. L., C.C.S., Government Agent, Southern Province.

Sabaragamuwa Planters' Association, represented by Messrs. :—

C. Allday ;
 G. L. Miles ;
 D. M. Berry ;
 J. D. Hoare ;
 E. E. Megget ; and
 Gate Mudaliyar Jayawardene.

Salim, S. H. M., Secretary, Young Muslim League, Galle.
 Samaranayake, A. O., of Kesbewa.
 Samarasinghe, A. F., President, Village Tribunals, Siyane korale east and Hapitigam korale, Western Province.
 Samarasinghe, C. A., of Kadugannawa.
 Senaratne, D. T., Vidane Arachchi, Radawana, Siyane korale east, Western Province.
 Servants of Lanka League, Colombo, represented by Messrs. :—

W. A. V. Jayatilleka ; and
 C. M. Edwin de Silva.

Shivapadasunderam, S., of Polikandy, Valvettiturai.
 Silva, S. P. Jonis, Chairman, Gramarakshaka Samitiya, Dondra.
 Sirimanne, Simon O., of Elpitiya.
 Siriwardena, D. W., Hony. Secretary, Mahajana Sabha, Dehiwini palata, Uva.
 Sovis, W. William, of Kochchikade, Negombo District.
 Stevens, G. C., of Batticaloa.
 Thambippillay, N., Head Clerk, Publications Branch, Chief Secretary's Office, Colombo.
 Thambyah, A. P., President, North-Ceylon Workmen's Union, Jaffna.
 Tillekaratna, L. B., of Karandagolle, Nuwara Eliya District.
 Udugama Dissawe, W. A., J.P., U.P.M., of Matale.
 Uduuwara Bauddha Mahajana Samitiya, Gampola, represented by Mr. D. M. A. Talawatura.
 Uduuwara Gangapalata Gramarakshaka Samitiya, Peradeniya, represented by Messrs. :—

R. S. S. Gunewardene ; and
 W. Arnolis.

Okku Banda, H. W., of Kumbalgamuwa, Nuwara Eliya District.
 Wadduwa Mahajana Sangama, Wadduwa, represented by Messrs. :—

M. R. Perera ;
 K. S. Tissera ; and
 H. C. Fonseka.

Wahab, S. M. A., President, Three Korales Muslim League, Ruanwella.
 Wallooppillai, T., Proctor, Supreme Court, Ratnapura.
 Wanasundera, D., Kachcheri Mudaliyar, Ratnapura.
 Wanduragala, H. B. F., Proctor, Supreme Court, and Chairman, Village Committee, Boyagane Division, Kurunegala District.
 Wanduramba Village Committee, Gangaboda pattu in Galle District, represented by Messrs. :—

M. A. Chandradasa ; and
 L. G. Hamiappu.

Wattewewa, C. R., Chairman, Village Committee, Kebitigollewa, North-Central Province.
 Weerasinghe, W. C. W., of Gonapinuwa, Galle District.
 Wetthasinha, C. E., of Mapitigama, Avissawella.
 Whitehorn, R. H., C.C.S., Government Agent, Western Province.
 Wickremasinghe, C. M., President, Kosgoda Maha Jana Sabha, Kosgoda.
 Wickremesinghe, C. L., C.C.S., Land Commissioner, Colombo.
 Wickramasinghe, G. D. M., Police Vidane, 629, Kindelpitiya, Horana.
 Wijayapala, L. S., of Katugastota, Kandy District.
 Wijayaratna, E. de S., Proctor, Supreme Court, Galle.
 Wijegoonewardane, D. B. W., of Mahagama, Kalutara District.
 Wijesekera, A. E., of Bentota.
 Wijeyasekera, P. E. S., of Kalutara.
 William Singho, W. N. R. P., of Dondra.
 Wimalasooriya, P. K. S., of Passara.

APPENDIX C.

LIST OF PERSONS WHO SUPPLIED WRITTEN MEMORANDA TO THE
COMMISSION ON THE HEADMEN SYSTEM.

Abayasekara, R. H., Mudaliyar, Pitigal korale north, Chilaw.
 Abdul Hameed,
 Abesekara, D. M., of Iriyagama, Peradeniya.
 Abesiripatirana, D. J., Chairman, Co-operative Society, Oyata in Hinidum pattu, Galle District.
 Abesiripatirana, D. M., Secretary, Co-operative Society, Oyata in Hinidum pattu, Galle District.
 Abeygunasekera, E. W., M.S.C., of Karandagolle, Nuwara Eliya.
 Abeygunawardana, D. C., of Nakulugamuwa.
 Abeyasinghe, P. N., of Dewalegama, Polgahawela.
 Abeygunawardana, P., Registrar of Births, &c., Dellawa, Morawaka.
 Abeykoon, M. B., Proctor, Supreme Court, Kandy.
 Abeynaike, E. C., of Akuretiya, Baddegama.
 Abeynaike, E. T., (Retired Chief Clerk, Galle Kacheheri) of Mount Lavinia.
 Agricultural Association, Hidellane, Ratnapura.
 Ahammadu Abdulla, M. L., and two others of Welipenna.
 Alahakone, P. A., of Mahagedara, Welamboda, Kadugannawa.
 Alahakoon, K. B., of Kotmale.
 Alisandiri Appuhamy, M. M., of Mahinkanda, Dehiowita.
 All Ceylon Conference of Chief Headmen.
 All Ceylon Notaries' Association, Kandy.
 Aluwihare, C. B., Ratemahatmaya, Walapane, Nuwara Eliya District.
 Amarasiri, D. L., Chairman, Village Committee, Dellawa, S. D., Neluwa.
 Ambanpola, Y. M., Chairman, Village Committee, Asgiri Pallesiya pattu, Yatawatta in Matale District.
 Amerasingham, W. N., of Chenkaladi, Batticaloa District.
 Amerasekera, J. B. S., of Wattala.
 Amerasekere, H. E., of Hambantota.
 Andarawewe, P. B., Chairman, Village Committee, Pallegampaha, Padiyapelella in Nuwara Eliya District.
 Anti-crime Society, Kotawera, Welimada.
 Appuhamy, A. D., of Handessa, Peradeniya.
 Appuhamy, A. M., Chairman, Village Committee, Kalagam korale north, Anuradhapura District.
 Appuhamy, B. M., of Ambahela, Nuwara Eliya District.
 Appuhamy, B. M., Chairman, Village Committee, Udayane, Nuwara Eliya District.
 Appuhamy, B. P. Daniel, Karasagala, Urapola.
 Appuhamy, H. K., Chairman, Village Committee, Meda pattu, Nawadun korale, Niwittigala.
 Appuhamy, K. M., of Rambodagama, Nuwara Eliya District.
 Appuhamy, L., of Balangoda.
 Appuhamy, W. M., of Kabulumulla, Ruwanwella.
 Appusinna Appuhamy, K. A., of Imbulana, Ruwanwella.
 Appuwa, B. G.,
 Appuwa, W. P., of Deluntalamada, Nuwara Eliya District.
 Arasaratnam, Mudaliyar, C., Interpreter Mudaliyar, Supreme Court, Colombo.
 Arasaratnam, V., of Narantanai, Kayts.
 Ariyadasa, W. F., of Sangilipalam, Ramboda.
 Ariyaratne, D. A., of Totagamuwa, Hikkaduwa.
 Arnolis Appuhamy, K. D., of Waturugama, Gampaha.
 Arruppola, P. B., of Wataddare, Pussellawa.
 Aryadasa, H., of Getamanna, Beliatta.
 Athanda, P. B., of Kandy.
 Attygalle, A. C., Proctor, Supreme Court, Ratnapura.
 Avusadahamy, K. P., of Atawakwela, Pinnawala, Balangoda.
 Baddarala, — , of Kadawat korale west, Ratnapura District.
 Bakmiwewa, Oliver H., of Kiribamuna, Ibbagamuwa.
 Balahamy, M., member of the Village Committee, Batuwatta.
 Balasuriya, M., of Kudawewa, Kurunegala District.
 Bambaradeniya, K. B., of Geliya, Gampola.
 Banda, A. M. D., of Deluntalamada, Ramboda.
 Banda, A. M. U., Korala, Gangapalata in Udunuwara, Kandy District.

Banda, A. M. U. P., of Wattappola, Kadugannawa.
 Banda, D. M. U., of Kituldeniya, Peradeniya.
 Banda, E. M. U., of Ambale, Urugala in Kandy District.
 Banda, K. M., of Nikahetiya, Kandy District.
 Banda, K. N., of Hendeniya, Peradeniya.
 Banda, K. W. P., of Pata Dumbara, Kandy.
 Banda, P. U., of Bopitiya, Deltota, Kandy District.
 Banda, R. D. M., Arachehi, Kadadora, Nuwara Eliya District.
 Banda, S. M. D., of Nikahetiya, Wattappola, Kadugannawa.
 Banda, S. M. D., of Nugetenna, Urugala.
 Banda, S. M. D., of Peradeniya.
 Banda, S. M. Goonerat, Registrar of Births, &c., Kinyama korale, Bingiriya.
 Banda, U. G. K., of Talatuoya, Kandy.
 Banda, U. V., Chairman, Village Committee, Nuwaragam korale north, Ulukkulama.
 Banda, W. A. U., of Wariyapola.
 Banda, W. M., of Weligalla, Gampola.
 Bandaranayake, M. H., of Harasgama, Matale.
 Bandaranayake, T. B., M., of Badulla.
 Bandarawanniya, S. B. C. T., of Kalmunai.
 Bandula, K. D., member of the Village Committee, Kolonnagampattu, Ratnapura District.
 Bassett, R. H., Assistant Government Agent, Nuwara Eliya.
 Boteju, S., of Bartuwandara, Kesbewa.
 Bunawatta in Gandahaya korale in Kandy District, villagers of
 Buultjens, J. W., J.P., of Matara.
 Canagaratnam, V., J.P., U.P.M., Proctor, Supreme Court, Chavakacheheri.
 Charles Appuhamy, L. D., of Madulkelle.
 Conference of Chairmen of Village Committees, Matara District.
 Corea, Gate Mudaliyar J. E., of Chilaw.
 Crowther, I. T. S., of Kiran estate, Korakalimadu, Batticaloa District.
 Dahanayake, James, Chairman, Village Committee, Walasmulla Subdivision, Hambantota District.
 Dahanayake, K. D., of Maradana, Colombo.
 Dakunu Mahagama Mahajana Sangamaya, Mahagama.
 Dedunupitiya, R. B. S., Chairman, Village Committee, Pallepallata, Kandy District.
 Deen, S. M.,
 De Fonseka, Mudaliyar G. W., Mudaliyar, Salpiti korale, Western Province.
 De Mel, J. J., Gate Muhandiram and Retired Korale Mudaliyar, Colombo.
 De Saram, D. L., Chairman, Urban District Council, Kotte.
 De Saram, Valentine, of Matara.
 De Silva, Charles, of Batapola, Hikkaduwa.
 De Silva, Mudaliyar, D. C., Revenue Officer, Tamankaduwa.
 De Silva, D. I., Head Master, Buddhist School, Weragampita, Matara.
 De Silva, G. E. Colin, Chairman, Village Committee, Munnesserampattu, Pitigal korale north, Chilaw District.
 De Silva, H. G. E., of Pussellawa.
 De Silva, H. W., of Balapitiya.
 De Silva, M. T. S. S., of Kehelwala, Deraniyagala.
 De Silva, N. W. P. Edonis, of Eluketiya, Ahangama.
 De Silva, R. H. Sadris, of Akmeemana, Galle.
 De Silva, Solomon, of Dunsinane, Pundaluoya.
 De Silva, S. K. A., of Werellana, Hikkaduwa.
 De Silva, S. J., Chairman, Urban District Council, Weligama.
 De Silva, T. K., Johannis, of Agaliya, Baddegama.
 De Silva, U. P. William, of Parussella, Yatiyantota.
 De Silva, W. A., M.S.C., of Colombo.
 De Silva, W. C., of Kaluwadumulle, Ambalangoda.
 De Silva, W. J. A., Secretary, Jatika Prabodha Pracharaka Sangamaya, Katukurunda, Kalutara.
 Dharmakirti, S. J. B., of Matale.
 Dharmasena, B. L., of Ruwanwella.
 Dharmasena, R., of Panamgammana, Kotmale.
 Dharmawardana, H. D. A., of Dehiowita.
 Dias-Wanigasekera, N. E., of Maho.
 Dingiri Banda, Korala of Hetahaye korale, Kiribamuna.
 Dingiri Banda, G. R. M., of Gangoda, Peradeniya.
 Dissanayake, H. R., Chairman, Village Committee, Netolpitiya, Tangalla.
 Dissanayake, K. B., of Kapuliyadda in Kandy District.

Dissanayaka, P. B., of Handessa.
 Dissanayake, I. P., Chairman, Village Committee, Wilachchiya korale, Anuradhapura District.
 Dissanayake, M. B., Inquirer into Deaths, Pata Dumbara, Gunnepana in Kandy District.
 Dissanayake, P. S., Chairman, Co-operative Society, Weliana, Wellawaya.
 Dissanayake, S. B., of Hendeniya, Peradeniya.
 Don David, of Kuliyapitiya, Dandagamuwa.
 Don Pedrick Appuhamy.
 Dunuwille, C. P., of Padiyapelella.
 Ebra- Lebbe Hadjar, P. A. M., Chairman, Village Committee, Nindavur, Batticaloa District.
 Edirisinghe, D. M. E., of Karagalla, Kosgama.
 Edirisinghe, L. A. P., of Rotumba, Bengamuwa, *via* Matara.
 Ekanayaka, S. B., Chairman, Village Committee, Bogoda korale, Haliela.
 Ekanayake, D. P. W., member of the Village Committee, Udugoda Pallesiya pattuwa in Matale North.
 Ekanayake, H. B., of Pata Dumbara, Kandy District.
 Ekanayake, M. B., of Imbuldeniya, Peradeniya.
 Ekanayake, T. B., Chairman, Village Committee, Maminiya korale, Kekirawa in North-Central Province.
 Ellappar, K., Chairman, Village Committee, Naduchettikulam, Thandikulam in Mullaitivu District.
 Ellawela, C., of Balangoda.
 Fernando, D. Peduru.
 Fernando, D. W., Chairman, Village Committee, Hewawisse korale in Pata Hewaheta, Kandy District.
 Fernando, Sir H. Marcus, of Colombo.
 Fernando, R. S., of Warakagoda, Neboda.
 Freeman, H. R., M.S.C., Anuradhapura.
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 Ganapathy Pillay, S., Chairman, Village Committee, Karainagar, Jaffna District.
 Gangaboda Pattu Mahajana Sabha, Baddegama.
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 Gintota Co-operative Society, Gintota.
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 Gooneratne, W. D. R., of Mawatagama.
 Goonetilleke, Gate Mudaliyar G. A., of Galle.
 Gramarakshaka Samitiya, Gampaha.
 Gunaratna, Mudaliyar A. F., of Kegalla.
 Gunaratna, M. S., of Eriyagama, Peradeniya.
 Gunasekera, H. D. C., Chairman, Village Committee, Aturugiriya Subdivision, Homagama.
 Gunasekera, J., of Batuwandara, Kesbawa.
 Gunasekera, P. R., Chairman, Village Committee, Ratgama.
 Gunasekera, R., of Panamgammana, Kotmale.
 Gunasekera, R. D. A., Chairman, Arthasadaka Sangamaya, Uruwala peruwa, Malwatuhiripitiya.
 Gunasekera, Dr. S. T., Assistant Director of Sanitary Services, Colombo.
 Gunatillake, R. P., Muhandiram, Salpiti korale, Dehiwala.
 Gunatilleke, W. S. de Alwis of Kotmale, Nuwara Eliya District.
 Gunawardena, W. G., of Karawanella, Ruwanwella.
 Gunawardene, V. P., Chairman, Village Committee, Madihe-Godagama.
 Hewickrama, D. J., Head Teacher, Methodist School, Boossa.
 Hewu, S., of Rawanagoda.
 Hewanda, P. W., of Kalapitiya, Nuwara Eliya District.
 Hewan, J. M., of Chundikuli, Jaffna.
 Hewan, C., Head Clerk, District Road Committee, Puttalam.
 Hewan, K. B., of Niyangandara, Pundaluoya.
 Hewachchi, D. D. S., Chairman, Village Committee, Baddegama.
 Houlde, Rev. A. C., Secretary, Church Missionary Society, Colombo.
 Hunter, L. L., Government Agent, North-Central Province.
 James, W. G., of Kumbuloluwa.
 James Appuhamy, M. P., of Bandarawatta, Deraniyagala.
 Jayaratne, B. M. F., of Colpetty, Colombo.

Jayasekera, D. P. A., of Kumbalgamuwa, Maturata.
 Jayasinghe, J. M. P., of Gurudeniya, Kundasalaya, Kandy.
 Jayasinghe, L. D. D., of Diyagama, Kalutara.
 Jayasundara, M. B., and three others of Aludeniya.
 Jayasuriya, D. A., of Bingiriya.
 Jayasuriya, D. P., M.S.C., Chairman, Village Committee, Kanuwana Subdivision, Kandana.
 Jayatillaka, D. E., of Katupota, Narammala.
 Jayatilaka, E. A., of Dewalagama, Kegalla District.
 Jayatilake, M. C. S., of Katunayaka.
 Jayatileka, A. P., of Ullalapola, Banduragoda, Mirigama.
 Jayawardana, Gate Mudaliyar C. R. P., J.P., of Ratnapura.
 Jayawardana, T., of Kegalla.
 Jayawardane, A. O., of Balangoda.
 Jayawardhana, D. P. A., of Haputale.
 Jayaweera, D. H., of Colombo.
 Jayawickrema, V., Police Magistrate, Kurunegala.
 Jinadasa, L. M., of Kahandamodera, Ranna.
 Jinadasa, R., of Sangilipalam, Ramboda.
 Kalubanda, Arachchi, Petiyagoda, Udunuwara, Kandy District.
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 Kandy District Village Committee Congress.
 Kandyan Chiefs' Union, Kandy.
 Kandyan Youth League, Kandy.
 Kandukara Ihala Korale Village Committee, U. P., Pussellawa.
 Kapilaratna, H. B., of Gangoda, Peradeniya.
 Kapilaratna, R. D., of Gangoda, Kadugannawa.
 Kapukotuwa, U. B., of Udispattu in Kandy District.
 Kapuruhamy, of Korasagalla in Kelagam korale south, Anuradhapura District.
 Karanduhamy, K.
 Kariawasam, E. R., of Galle.
 Kariappar, A. L., of Kalmunai.
 Karunaratna, R. B., of Aludeniya, Gelioya, Gampola.
 Karunaratne, G. B., of Gelioya, Gampola.
 Karunaratne, G. M., of Wattappola, *via* Kadugannawa.
 Karunaratne, K. B. S., of Tispane, Kotmale.
 Katandeniya, A. B.
 Katugaha, H. B., Ratemahatmaya, Yatikinda, Uva.
 Kegalle Planters' Association.
 Kennantudawa Gramarakshaka Samitiya, Haltota.
 Keppetipola, E. B., of Peradeniya.
 Kiraupasaka, D. U., of Yatawatta, Matale.
 Kiri Banda, D. W., of Niyangandara, Pundaluoya.
 Kiri Banda, H. M., of Rawanagoda.
 Kiri Banda, P. B., of Tammuttegama, Anuradhapura District.
 Kiri Banda, T. R., of Kehelwattugoda, Kurunegala District.
 Kiri Banda, W. M., of Pallewela.
 Kiri Banda, W. M., of Ramboda.
 Kirimetiawwe, H. B., of Andanadeniya estate, Gampola.
 Kobbekaduwe, S. D., of Kadugannawa.
 Kobbewela, H. B. H., of Madatugama, Anuradhapura District.
 Kodagoda, E. B., Chairman, Village Committee, Udapalata, Uda Pussellawa.
 Kolugala, U. B., Chairman, Village Committee, Ganatapalata, Tumpane, Kandy District.
 Kulasekera, K. B.
 Kulatunga, N. S., of Karawanella, Ruwanwella.
 Kure Appuhamy, N. T., of Maswela, Pussellawa.
 Lane, Colonel C. A., of Walarambe, Wattegama.
 Lebbe, A. S., of Kadugannawa, President, Yatinuwara Mahajana Sabha.
 Liyanage, N. A., of Maskeliya.
 Lokubanda, R. M., of Gangoda, Peradeniya.
 Madahapola Dissawa, P. B., Ratemahatmaya, Hiriyala hatpattu, Kurunegala District.
 Madawalamulla Gramawardhana Samitiya, Galle.
 Madawela, A. K. B., of Talgodapitiya, Ibbagamuwa, Chairman, Village Committee, Dodangaslanda Subdivision.

Madukanda, S. M. U. B., Ratamahatmaya, Vavuniya South.
 Madukande, S. M. K., J.P. and Dissawa, Madukanda, Vavuniya.
 Maithreepala, H., of Pelmadulla.
 Mampitiya Dissawa, T. B., of Kadugannawa.
 Mannar, N., Chairman, Village Committee, Navatkuli.
 Manutunga, M. A. P., of Parape, Rambukkana.
 Mappaner, P. R., of Vavuniya.
 Marasinghe, D. G. P., of Homagama.
 Marasinghe, J. H., of Alawatugoda, Matale.
 Marasinghe, W., of Malandeniya, Mawatagama.
 Marku Appu, J., of Maradana, Colombo.
 Matale-Kaikawela Mahajana Sabha, Matale.
 Meedeniya, J. H., Ratamahatmaya, Three korales and Lower Bulatgama, Ruanwella.
 Meera Sahibu, A. C. U. Saiathu, of Ramboda.
 Melder, Harold, of Kandy.
 Mendis, Rev. F. R. E., of Moratuwa.
 Menikhamy, N. K. B., of Naramana in Medagandahe korale, Kurunegala District.
 Mohamed Ehuttar Hadjar, M. M. H. M., Chairman, Village Committee, Kinnya, Trincomalee District.
 Moonemalle, T. H. E., President, Village Tribunals, Katugampola hatpattu, Kurunegala District.
 Moratuwa Mahajana Sabha, Moratuwa.
 Morawak Korale Planters' Association, Deniyaya.
 Mudalihamy, E. L., Chairman, Village Committee, Uduwaggam pattu in Kadawata korale, Balangoda.
 Mudalihamy, M. K., Arachchi, Morape, Maswela, Pussellawa.
 Mudianse, D. W. M., of Balangoda.
 Mudiyanase, A. R., of Karawanella, Ruwanwella.
 Mudiyanse, D. M., of Boyagama, Peradeniya.
 Mudiyanse, G., of Maswela, Pussellawa.
 Mudiyanse, T., Arachchi, Yatigammana Menikdiwela, Kandy District.
 Mudiyanse,—of Metagama, Nuwara Eliya District.
 Muhammadu, Ana Una Habibu, Chairman, Village Committee, Mannar East.
 Mulgama, B., of Wikiliya, Balangoda, Chairman, Village Committee, Helanda palata, Ratnapura District.
 Munesinghe, R. de S., of Pallekanda, Balangoda.
 Muttetuwigama, E. D., Ratamahatmaya, Demala hatpattu, Anamaduwa.
 Mutu Banda, K. M., of Hendeniya, Peradeniya.
 Mutuwa, P. K. B., of Maswela, Pussellawa.
 Myna-henaya, V., of Nikahetiya, Wattappola, Kadugannawa.
 Naganather, Gate Mudaliyar A., J.P., U.P.M., of Kopay, Jaffna.
 Nalliah, A. Celestin, Chief Clerk, Kachcheri, Mannar.
 Navaratne, M. B., Chairman, Village Committee, Kandupalata in Udunuwara, Kandy District.
 Navaratne, T. B., of Kadugannawa.
 Nawaratne, P. B., Secretary, Walagedera Sri Punyabhiwardhana Samitiya, Walagedera Kadugannawa.
 Nell, Dr. Andreas, of Colombo.
 Neville-Rolfe, R., of Maliboda, Deraniyagala.
 Nicholas, Norbert R., of Grand Bazaar, Mannar.
 Noor, Muhammadu, S., of Watadeniya, Welamboda, Kadugannawa.
 Nugapitiya, A. B., Chairman, Village Committee, Medasiya pattu, Matale.
 Nugawela, J. R., Ratamahatmaya, Uda Hewaheta in Nuwara Eliya District.
 Nugawela, T. B., Ratamahatmaya, Udunuwara and Yatinuwara, Kandy District.
 Obayasingha, W. C., of Tangalla.
 Odiris Appuhamy, K. M. D., of Ramboda.
 Padiyapelella Podu Jana Society, Padiyapelella, Nuwara Eliya District.
 Paikianathar, N., Udaiyar of Metkumulai, Mannar District.
 Paiyagala Sangamaya, Paiyagala.
 Panabokke, Cecil B., of Kehelwattugoda, Kegalla District.
 Pandittesekera, Graham, of Marawila.
 Paterson, H. C., of Halgranoya.
 Pedris Singho, J. B., of Ramboda.
 Peiris, Albert, of Mawila, Nattandiya, Chairman, Village Committee, Meda palata, Chilaw District.
 Pelmadulla Gramarakshaka Sucharitha Wardhana Society, Pelmadulla.
 Perera, A. D. J., of Karagastalawa, Ramboda.

Perera, A. S., of Mabola, Wattala.
 Perera, Don David, of Ruwanwella.
 Perera, D. S., of Kandy.
 Perera, G. H., of Boraesgamuwa.
 Perera, J. B., Licensed Surveyor, Chilaw.
 Perera, J. S., of Kumbalgamuwa, Nuwara Eliya District.
 Perera, K. D. L., of Yatiyantota.
 Perera, M. A. A., of Polgahawela.
 Perera, M. J. A., of Ramboda.
 Perera, M. Simon, of Pussellawa.
 Perera, N. D. S., of Wahakotte, Chairman, Village Committee, Udugoda Pallesiya pattu, Matale District.
 Perera, P. G., Chairman, Village Committee, Elpitiya.
 Perera, P. S.
 Perera, T. P., of Keselhenawa.
 Perera, W. A., of Gangoda estate, Kurunegala.
 Perera, W. P. E., Police Constable No. 1,683, Police Station, Batticaloa.
 Periapperuma, D. A., of Arewwala, Pannipitiya.
 Petiyagoda, L. B., of Handessa, Peradeniya.
 Petiyagoda, N. B., of Handessa, Peradeniya.
 Petiyagoda, S. W., of Handessa, Peradeniya.
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 Piyadasa, P. K., of Ramboda.
 Piyasena, M. W., of Sangilipalam, Ramboda.
 Piyuma, R. G., of Panagammana, Kotmale.
 Podiappuhamy, H. W., of Dehiowita.
 Police Officer, Mahaiyawa, Battuluoya, Chilaw District.
 Ponniah, P., of Chavakachcheri.
 Prachmaratna, G. H., of Sangilipalam, Ramboda.
 Pragnaratne, A. M., of Hedunuwawa, Pussellawa.
 Premachandra, V. P., of Dewaragampola, Mawanella.
 Proctor, R. C., of Jaffna.
 Punchi Appuhamy, W. G., of Rawanagoda.
 Punchi Banda, of Bopitiya, Giriulla, Kandy District.
 Punchi Banda, of Gangoda, Peradeniya.
 Punchi Banda, B. M., of Ambahela, Nuwara Eliya District.
 Punchi Banda, B. M., of Handessa, Peradeniya.
 Punchi Banda, K. E. M., Chairman, Village Committee, Talgaspitiya, Kegalla District.
 Punchi Banda, R. M., of Gangoda, Peradeniya.
 Punchi Banda, S. M., Chairman, Village Committee, Ganga Ihala korale (U. P.), Gampolawela, Gampola.
 Punchi Banda, V., of Imbuldeniya.
 Punchi Banda, W., of Hedunuwawa, Pussellawa.
 Punchi Banda, Y. M., and 38 others of Walapane, Nuwara Eliya District.
 Punchi Banda.
 Punchi Bandara, J. E. M., of Dethatana, Hanwella.
 Punchirala, K. M., of Kalapitiya, Kotmale.
 Punchirala, R. G.
 Punchirala, S., Korala, Ramboda.
 Pussegoda, G., of Ampitiya, Kandy.
 Pyper, Gordon, of Hantane estate, Kandy.
 Raigam Korale Rural Reconstruction Society, Horana.
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 Ranasinghe, D. A., of Galawewa, Anuradhapura District.
 Ranasinghe, D. D., of Yakkala, Gampaha.
 Ranasinghe, D. V., Chairman, Village Committee, Kalagam korale south, Anuradhapura District.
 Ranatunga, C. P., of Diyagama, Kalutara.
 Ranhami, W., of Alakola, Nuwara Eliya District.
 Ranhamy, of Gankewala.
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 Ratepayers' Association, Trincomalee.

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 Ratnayake, L. B., of Boyagama, Peradeniya.
 Ratnayake, P. S., of Gelioya, Gampola.
 Ratnayake, R. B.
 Ratnayake, T. B., of Hinwerella estate, Mawanella.
 Ratwatte Adigar, J. C., M.S.C., of Kandy.
 Ratwatte, T. B., Ratemahatmaya, Pata Dumbara, Kandy District.
 Ratwatte, T. B., of Wattappola, Kadugannawa.
 Reid, A. H., of Demodera, Chairman, Uva Planters' Association.
 Richard, R. P., of Horambawa.
 Rodrigo, Arthur B., of Graceland, Udahantenna, *via* Nawalapitiya.
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 Saleh, M. A. C. M., of Colombo.
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 Samaranyake, D. A. V., of Induruwa.
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 Samaraweera, A. S., of the Kacheheri, Kalutara.
 Samarawickrama, N. D., President, Nawagamuwa, Co-operative Society, Kaduwela.
 Samichiappu, L. H.
 Saparamado, A. D., Saviel, of Katana, Negombo.
 Sarana, of Panamgammana, Kotmale.
 Sarana.
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 Sathasivam, S., of Puttur.
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 Senanayake, J. M., of Balalla, Maho, Chairman, Village Committee, Ambanpola Sub-division.
 Senanayake, T. B., of Nikahetiya, Kandy District.
 Senaratne, D. A., of Waga.
 Seneviratne, B. W., of Dabaradeniya, Gelioya, Gampola.
 Seneviratne, D. B., of Galpata, Kalutara.
 Seneviratne, E. L. B., of Wattappola, Kadugannawa.
 Seneviratne, T. B., of Kadugannawa.
 Seneviratne, W. F., Chairman, Village Committee, Walallawiti pattu, Welipenna.
 Servants of Lanka League, Colombo.
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 Shamoona, A. M., of Katugastota.
 Shivapadasunderam, S., of Polikandy, Valvettiturai.
 Silva, A. S., of Horampella, Minuwangoda.
 Silva, D. James, of Iluppitiya, Batapola.
 Silva, G. Andiris, of Kabulumulla, Ruwanwella.
 Silva, L. Jubilis, of Warapitiya, Hettiwatta, Alutgama.
 Silva, M., Pedrick, of Batapola, Hikkaduwa.
 Silva, W. Philip, of Kalamulla, Kalutara.
 Simon, Sikurajapathi, of Maswela, Pussellawa.
 Simon Appuhamy, W. D., of Kadadora, Pussellawa.
 Sinhabahu, D. E., of Keselhenawa.
 Sinnathamby, M. A., of Mulliavanai, Mullaitivu District.
 Sirimane, Simon O., of Elpitiya.
 Siriwardana, J. B., Chairman, Village Committee, Gokarella Subdivision, Kurunegala District.
 Siriwardana, D. J., Secretary, Co-operative Society, Katugahahena.
 Siriwardhana, B. M., of Alpitiya, Atakalanpatta, Kahawatta.
 Siriwardhana, Ranodewe, of Gevilipitiya, Aranayaka.
 Siyaneris Appuhamy, J. M., of Boyagama, Peradeniya.

Sobana, M., of Panamgammana, Kotmale.
 Sobhita, Rev. G., of Kiliyalpitiya Vihara, Kandy.
 Somadeva, W. D., of Mattibokka in Weudawili hatpattu, Kurunegala District.
 Sri Punyawardhana Samitiya, Polgaha-anga in Udunuwara, Kandy District.
 Stevens, G. C., of Batticaloa.
 Subasinghe, D. J., of Digatwewa, Rajakadaluwa, Chilaw.
 Subasinghe, D. Y., of Kinigama, Godagedera, Gampaha.
 Subramaniam, M., Chairman, Village Committee, Eravur North, Sittandy, Eastern Province.
 Subramaniam, M., of Trincomalee.
 Sudharshanaphivurdhi Samitiya, Weligalla in Udunuwara, Kandy District.
 Sugathapala, K. S., of Mawela, Maswela.
 Sugathapala, L., of Anuradhapura.
 Sugathapala, L. P., of Panamgammana, Kotmale.
 Sumanadas, K., of Deluntalamada, Ramboda.
 Sumanadasa, H. M., of Karandupone, Kegalla.
 Sumangala, Rev. A. Sri Sobhita, of Aludeniya, Gampola.
 Swaminathan, S., Chairman, Village Committee, Myliddy.
 Talgodapitiya, A. B., of Kandy.
 Tennakoon, D. B., of Petiyagoda, Kandy District.
 Tennakoon, U. B., President, Co-operative Union, Gunnepana, Kandy.
 Thalagala, D. M., of Homagama.
 Thanapathy, John de Silva, of Moduruduwa, Paiyagala North, Western Province.
 Udabage, P., of Deraniyagala.
 Udalgama, G. M., of Colombo.
 Udalgama, J. W., of Kegalla.
 Udarata Eksath Arthasada Sangamaya, Katukelle, Kandy.
 Udugama, E. T., of Palapatwela, Matale.
 Udurawana—, Korala, Pellogampaha in Pata Dumbara, Kandy District.
 Uduwerelle, D. B., Chairman, Village Committee, Unappuwa, Gampola.
 Ukku Banda, of Nikahetiya, Kandy District.
 Ukku Banda, H., of Methagama, Nuwara Eliya District.
 Ukku Banda, H. W., of Kumbalgamuwa, Nuwara Eliya District.
 Ukku Banda, W. M., of Wattappola, Kadugannawa.
 Ukku Banda, W. M. M., of Boyagama, Peradeniya.
 Ukkuwa, D., of Udahentinna, Nawalapitiya.
 Ukkuwa, R. G., of Maswela, Pussellawa.
 Ukkuwa.
 Unamboowe, U. B., Ratemahatmaya, Kotmale, Nuwara Eliya District.
 Upasena Appuhamy, U. D., of Wijebahukanda, Kotmale.
 Uva Chief Headmen's Association.
 Vadamarachy Youth League, Point Pedro.
 Van Sanden, J. C., of Norris road, Colombo.
 Vidanapathirana, Surasena, of Opata in Hiniduma pattu, Galle District.
 Village Committee, Akkarapattu, Batticaloa District.
 Village Committee Kaduwela S. C., Ranale, Hanwella.
 Village Committee, Karunavarappattu South, Mullaitivu District.
 Village Committee, Kinigoda korale, Rambukkana.
 Village Committee, Mawata and Kandua pattu, Kegalla.
 Village Committee, Melpattu North, Oddusuddan in Mullaitivu District.
 Village Committee, Pallegampaha in Pata Dumbara, Kandy District.
 Vinasithamby, K., Chairman, Village Committee, Mullaiavalai in Mullaitivu District.
 Wadduwa Mahajana Sangama, Wadduwa.
 Wadia, S. H., C.C.S., Acting Excise Commissioner, Colombo.
 Waidyanatha, U. T., and 272 other residents of Bopagoda and Gammeddegoda in Galle District.
 Walloppillai, T., Proctor, Supreme Court, Ratnapura.
 Walmsley, Rev. A. M., of Castle Hill, Kandy.
 Wanigaratna, D. L. S., Chairman, Village Committee, Akmeemana, Galle District.
 Warakulle, L. B., Honorary Secretary, Kandyan Chiefs' Union, Ampitiya, Kandy.
 Warnasuriya, H. D., of Hakmana, Matara.
 Warsakoon, P. B., of Dehiowita.
 Wattewewa, C. R., Chairman, Village Committee, Kebitigollewa, Anuradhapura District.
 Waydyaratna, C. V. P., Chairman, Village Committee, Opata in Galle District.
 Weerakoon, D. D., Secretary, Leuwanduwa Co-operative Society, Welipenna.

Weeraman, R. E., of the Kachchéri, Kalutara.
 Weerasuriya, Sam. S., Proctor, Supreme Court, Galle.
 Welagedara, C. B., of Maswela, Pussellawa.
 Welaratna, D., of Dandagamuwa.
 Welatantiri, D. W., of Kelantotukanda, Bentota.
 Wettawe, M. B., Gravets Mudaliyar, Nuwara Eliya.
 Wettewe, C. B., President, Village Tribunals, Wann hatpattu, Kurunegala District.
 Wickramaratne, J. M., of Beliatta.
 Wickramaratne, H. J. M., Proctor, Supreme Court, J.P., U.P.M., Chairman, Village Committee, Ambalangoda.
 Wickramasinha, H. P., Superintendent, Havana estate, Nattandiya.
 Wickramasuriya, Mudaliyar N. A., of Matara.
 Wickrema Seneviratne, K. H. M. Charles, of the Nagoda Village Tribunal, Nagoda.
 Wickramasinghe, A., Honorary Secretary, Diyatileke Ratepayers' Association, Hanguranketa.
 Wickremasinghe, G. D. M., Police Vidane, Kindelpitiya, Horana.
 Wickremesinghe, R. D., of Talpitiya, Wadduwa.
 Wijayatilaka, A. P. G. John, of Habaraduwa.
 Wijekone, K. B., of Petiyagoda, Kandy District.
 Wijemanne, Mudaliyar J. H. P., Retired Assistant General Manager of the Railway, Dickwella.
 Wijeratna, —, Chairman, Village Committee, Gandeke, Madugoda in Kandy District.
 Wijeratna, T. B.
 Wijesingha, D. N., of Beliatta.
 Wijesinghe, D. S., of Sangilipalam, Ramboda.
 Wijesinghe, J. E., of Matara.
 Wijesundara, D. B., of Gangoda, Peradeniya.
 Wijesuriya, S. E., Ayurvedic Physician, Tillawatawana, Hungama.
 Wijetunga, J., of Pannaliya, Polgahawela.
 Wijeynaike, K. D. Nonis, of Omatta, Agalawatta.
 Wijesingha, D. C., Chairman, Village Committee, Weuda Subdivision, Kurunegala, District.
 Wijeyesekera, F. A., of Waikkal.
 Wijeyesekera, P. E. S., of Kalutara.
 Wilakatupota, D. B., of Wariyapola.
 Willegoda, D., of Walagedera, Kadugannawa.
 William, K. W., of Boyagama, Peradeniya.
 Wilson, K. R., of Hendala.
 Wimala Gunasekera, D. C., of Naimbala, Tihagoda, Matara.
 Wimalasena, N. M. S., Walasmulla.
 Wimalasooriya, W. K., of Ampitiya, Kandy.

APPENDIX D.

FINANCIAL REGULATIONS 1283-1292.

1283 Tolls.—Every headman is entitled to a refund of tolls. The toll receipt must be attached to the bill.

1284 Escorts.—(i.) Escorts employed by headmen to proceed in charge of prisoners may be paid 60 cents a day.

(ii.) Escorts can only be engaged when the accused is charged with a serious offence or when he is a person of violent character and is likely to attempt to escape, or when there are more than one accused.

(iii.) Not more than one escort for each prisoner will be allowed.

(iv.) Under receipts from escorts for payments made to them must invariably accompany the bills.

1285 Messengers.—Hire of messengers employed by headmen to send reports to an Inquirer, Chief Headman, Court, or Police in serious cases can be charged at the rate of 5½ cents per mile travelled on both the outward and the return journeys.

1286 Meals for Prisoners.—Meals for prisoners may be charged at the following rates :—

		Morning. Meal. Cents.	Noon Meal. Cents.	Night Meal. Cents.
Western Province	..	6	25	25
Kandy and Matale Districts	..	6	25	25
Nuwara Eliya District	..	7	22	22
Northern Province	..	6	20	20
Southern Province	..	6	20	20
Eastern Province	..	8	22	22
Kurunegala District	..	7	25	25
Puttalam District	..	6	21	25
North-Central Province	..	10	25	25
Province of Uva	..	10	25	25
Province of Sabaragamuwa	..	5	20	20

N.B.—The figures given above are the maximum amounts payable. If meals can be provided for less, only the expense necessarily incurred should be paid.

1287 No meals are to be supplied except to a destitute person, or when special circumstances render it necessary that meals should be supplied. In every such case a certificate must be attached, countersigned by the chief headman, that the prisoner is a destitute person, or stating in detail the special circumstances in which meals were supplied.

1288 (i.) Attendants on Wounded Persons.—Attendants on wounded or sick persons may be paid 60 cents a day.

(ii.) *Cart Hire.*—When a wounded or sick person or an accused in custody has to be conveyed by train or in a cart, train fare or cart hire and other expenses must be paid by the person so conveyed, except when he is a destitute person, or when special circumstances render it necessary that such expenses should be defrayed for him. In every such case a certificate must be attached, countersigned by the Chief Headman, that the wounded or sick person is a destitute person, or stating the special circumstances in which the expenses were defrayed for him, and that a refund of the amount cannot be obtained from him.

(iii.) When cart hire is charged a receipt from the carter must be attached to the bill.

1289 For attending Court.—No headman is entitled to charge batta for attending court, except (a) in Crown cases, (b) in cases in which he has sent in a crime report, (c) cases in which he produces an accused on warrant, or (d) in any case not falling under (a), (b), or (c) in which the Police Magistrate certifies him to have been a material witness in his official capacity.

1290 Witnesses.—Headmen cannot charge cart or omnibus hire for witnesses, train fare for witnesses, or any other expenses in connection with witnesses either in Crown cases or otherwise. Officers in charge of Police Stations on railway lines may issue railway warrants to headmen and witnesses attending Court, and to informants, identifiers, and other persons brought before them in connection with inquiries into crime, &c., in accordance with the classes shown in the Appendix.

1291 Awards to Headmen.—In making awards from the Headmen's Reward Fund, the Government Agent should take into consideration the probable expenditure incurred by each headman in instituting Crown prosecutions.

1292 Watchers of Dead Bodies.—Headmen are entitled to a refund of expenses incurred by them in employing watchers of dead bodies and for burial of unclaimed dead bodies of destitute persons without known relatives. The number of watchers for whom payment may be made should ordinarily not exceed one by day and two by night, but it will be within the discretion of the Government Agent to allow more in exceptional cases, provided that a maximum of four is not exceeded. The usual rate of payment for watchers will be 37 cents each a day or a night (50 cents in the Central and Uva provinces), but the Government Agent may, at his discretion, grant higher rates when the necessity arises.

APPENDIX E.
VOTES FOR REMUNERATION OF HEADMEN.

	1921-22.	1922-23.	1923-24.	1924-25.	1925-26.	1926-27.	1927-28.	1928-29.	1929-30.	1930-31.	1931-32.	1932-33.	1933-34.	1934-35.
Colombo	7,000	7,000	7,000	7,000	7,000	10,000	20,000	20,000	17,500	15,000	7,500	3,750	3,750	3,750
Kelutara	1,000	3,000	3,000	4,000	4,000	6,000	11,000	11,000	9,200	9,200	7,200	3,000	3,000	3,000
Kandy	4,500	7,000	7,000	4,200	4,200	13,238*	14,000	14,000	11,700	11,700	8,000	4,000	3,000	3,000
Matale	—	—	—	1,600	1,600	2,050	2,500	2,500	2,100	2,100	2,100	1,000	1,000	1,000
Nuwara Eliya	—	—	—	1,200	1,200	1,355	2,000	2,000	2,100	2,100	1,100	550	550	750
Galle	2,000	3,000	4,000	6,000	6,000	6,000	7,000	7,000	6,700	6,700	4,000	2,000	2,000	2,000
Hambantota	1,200	1,200	1,500	2,400	2,400	2,400	5,000	5,000	4,200	4,200	2,940	1,250	1,000	1,000
Matara	1,800	2,000	2,500	3,500	3,500	4,000	5,000	5,000	5,000	5,000	2,100	900	850	1,050
Jaffna	1,000	1,000	1,200	950	950	1,200	2,000	2,200	2,900	2,900	1,500	600	800	800
Mannar	—	—	—	185	185	185	500	500	420	500	300	150	150	150
Mullaivivu	—	—	—	265	265	275	1,000	1,000	840	840	714	357	357	357
Batticaloa	—	—	—	850	850	4,020	4,500	4,500	2,100	2,100	1,250	625	625	625
Trincomalee	—	—	—	250	250	1,000	1,500	1,500	1,260	1,260	250	125	125	125
Kurunegala	1,500	3,000	3,000	3,500	3,500	3,900	5,000	5,000	4,200	4,200	3,900	1,950	1,950	2,200
Puttalam and Chilaw	500	1,500	1,750	2,000	2,000	2,015	4,900	4,000	3,360	4,000	3,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Anuradhapura	750	1,500	2,000	3,000	3,000	3,150	6,500	6,500	5,440	5,450	3,450	1,725	1,725	1,725
Badulla	1,250	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	3,600	4,900	4,000	3,360	3,500	3,200	1,600	2,500	2,500
Ratnapura	600	1,300	1,400	1,500	1,500	3,750	5,550	5,550	4,160	4,160	1,500	750	1,000	1,000
Kegalla	800	1,300	1,600	1,800	1,800	2,275	4,000	4,000	3,360	3,360	2,460	1,230	1,200	1,200
Total Rs.	24,400	35,300	38,450	45,700	45,700	70,475	105,050	105,250	90,000	87,520	56,464	26,562	26,582	27,232

* Includes provision for allowances to Headmen for uniform coats, and for badges for non-Kandyan Headmen.

APPENDIX F.

DUTIES PERFORMED BY VIDANE ARACHCHIS.

- Carrying out orders of the Mudaliyar and the Muhandiram, or any other higher official.
- Conveying the orders of the Mudaliyar, &c., to the Police Vidanes and Vel-Vidanes.
- Supervising the work of the Police Vidanes and Vel-Vidanes.
- Inquiring into petitions and other complaints referred to Vidane Arachchi.
- Holding Division Day Meetings of the Police Vidanes and Vel-Vidanes.
- Attending the Division Day Meetings of the Mudaliyar monthly.
- Issue of bail reports to parties.
- Execution of cattle vouchers and issue of permits for removal of cattle.
- Issue of Sweet Toddy Licences.
- Attending to Relief Work.
- Supervision of Crown Lands.
- Supervision of P. W. D. roads, for stray cattle.
- Issue of cattle branding receipts, collection of cattle branding fees, and issue of branding irons to Police Vidanes.
- Valuation of properties for estate duties.
- Collection of money due to Government from persons who are liable to pay.
- Issue and collection of monthly returns on a form furnished by the Medical Officer of Health regarding work done by the Police Vidanes.
- Attending Courts to give evidence where the Vidane Arachchi is summoned.
- Getting notices published either by beat of tom-tom or by affixing notices in public places.
- Helping Mudaliyar to revise Voters' lists for election of members for the State Council, Urban District Council, and Local Options.
- Supervising the preparation of rubber register prepared by Police Vidanes.
- Preparation of list of persons liable to pay Income Tax.
- To appear at the Kachcheri in connection with land sales and Land Acquisitions.
- Inquiring into the claims, character, and worth, &c., of the applicants for headmanship, &c.
- Collecting from headmen Habitual Criminals' Returns monthly and forwarding them to Mudaliyar.
- Collection of statistics for the following returns :—
 - Monthly—
 - Season Report.
 - Distress Return.
 - Lists of persons who die leaving properties worth over Rs. 2,500.
 - Habitual Criminal's Return.
 - Stray Cattle Return.
 - Quarterly—
 - List of illicit sellers of toddy and arrack.
 - Half yearly—
 - Youthful Offender's Return, and
 - Cattle and Disease Return.
 - Yearly—
 - Blue Book Returns.

DUTIES PERFORMED BY POLICE VIDANES.

- (i.)—Crime—
 - Inquiring into and settling minor grievances, and land and family disputes, &c.
 - Supervision of dangerous and reconvicted criminals.
 - Night Patrol with and without the Police.
 - Issue of Serial Reports of Crimes as soon as brought to notice.
 - Making notes of complaints received in diary.
 - Investigation of crimes.
 - Tracing witnesses and recording their statements.
 - Taking into custody accused and weapons, &c.
 - Sending injured persons to hospital.
 - Arresting absconding accused.
 - Making search for stolen property, &c.

12. Conducting prosecutions in Courts or assisting Police thereat, and giving evidence.
13. Service of summons on parties and making reports to Courts proving service of summons.
14. Arrest of persons on warrant and producing them in Court.
15. Issue of bail reports.

(ii.) Service of Process of court in minor offences.

B.—Public Health—

1. Reporting of infectious diseases.
2. Accompanying Sanitary Inspectors, giving them every possible assistance.
3. Getting householders to keep premises clean.
4. Service of statutory and other notices on householders regarding construction of latrines and cleanliness of premises and making reports thereon.
5. Making a monthly return on a form furnished by the Medical Officer of Health regarding health work.
6. Construction of sheds where necessary when smallpox, cholera, plague, &c., occurs.
7. Supplying food to patients and contacts and watchers.
8. Accompanying Medical Officer of Health and Sanitary Inspectors from house to house for vaccination, &c.

(Malaria Relief)—

9. Going round the village at arranged intervals and preparing a list of persons to whom relief should be given. Additional visits to specific areas when urgent.
10. Getting rice and other provisions from the Vidane Arachchi, and distributing them to patients.
11. Arranging transport facilities for patients in need of these.
12. Accompanying "Home Visitors" from house to house.

C.—Education—

1. Preparation annually of list of children of school-going age.
2. Taking charge of school furniture during holidays and taking care of it.

D.—Land Settlement—

1. Serving of notices.
2. Collection of monies due.
3. Reporting names of heirs.
4. Delivery of Crown Deeds and Final Orders.

E.—Survey Department—

1. Pointing out boundaries.
2. Serving of notices.
3. Taking care of Land Marks.
4. Being in attendance on surveyors.

F.—Excise Department—

1. Issue of reports on applications for Sweet Toddy Licences.
2. Delivery of licences to parties.
3. Seeing to the marking of trees.
4. Examination of pots.
5. Raiding of illicit places.
6. Giving information and rendering assistance to Excise Officers.
7. Attending Court.
8. Revision of Voters Lists' regarding Local Option Polls.
9. Identification of voters at Local Option Polls.
10. Publishing notices regarding Local Option Polls.
11. Publishing notices regarding new tavern sites.