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Fertility Trends in Ceylon

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PART I

The Scope of the Study

" If a severe demographic crisis is to be averted, the small family pattern must evolve directly among the peasants, for Ceylon has neither the potentialities for industrialisation nor the long span of time that is essential if rural values and behaviour are to be altered as the result of a slow and halting process of diffusion from the cities. This is the problem of Ceylon, but it is also the problem of the great cultures of Asia's mainland, of Java, of Formosa and of the Philippines. And here, again, Ceylon can constitute a laboratory for all Asia if she so wills ... " so wrote Irene Taueber in 1949.[1]

For nearly a decade all that has been done in this direction has been the sustained and concerted action of a small group of men and women who have banded themselves to form the Family Planning Association of Ceylon with the main object of creating a new family pattern so that there will be fewer children where there are now too many and some where there are now none. So far their efforts have failed to make any appreciable impression. The increasing rate of increase of the population has made it clear that if social change is to be wrought in areas which involve values that are sacred and attitudes towards life that are basic, the change must be attempted according to a program that has been evolved from scientific research designed specifically to ascertain how best these values and attitudes can be manipulated.

The recognition of the need to identify the basic values and attitudes involved and, second, to indicate the lines along which family planning propaganda could be profitably conducted has led to the promotion of research studies in this sphere. At the express request of the Family Planning Association of Ceylon, a study has been planned which seeks to identify the attitudes of the people to certain fundamental questions such as economic betterment, improved living conditions and achievement orientation—questions that are intimately connected with the problem of smaller family units. Economy of effort and finances demanded that the study be made on a sample basis and, consequently, the selection of the samples posed the first problem.

Occidental writers who have assumed the task of unravelling the mysteries of the East in an all embracing manner have been wont to look upon the small island of Ceylon—barely twenty five thousand square miles in all—not only as a homogeneous unit but also as one that could be adequately dealt with in conjunction with the neighbouring subcontinent

1. Irene Taueber ; Ceylon as a Demographic Laboratory. *Population Index*, 15 (1949) 293—304.

of India. The more discerning students, however, have recognised that this little island far from being homogeneous is an extremely heterogenous one where the seemingly superficial impression of homogeneity had been created by an unfathomable spirit of tolerance that pervaded the entire social atmosphere until very recent times. From whatever angle the population of Ceylon is viewed, be it the ethnic, linguistic, religious, educational or economic characteristics, the island gives sustenance to a multitude of groups each of which has its own peculiar way of life which it jealously safeguards. It was, perhaps, the recognition of this fact that led Irene Taueber to contend "here much that is now speculative can be reduced to specific hypotheses and subjected to the rigid test of quantitative verification".[2]

The suitability of Ceylon as a demographic laboratory rests not only on the diversity that characterises its population but also the fact that the diverse groups have been concentrated in different parts of the island. The geographical isolation permits the treatment of these groups as discrete units which can be readily compared and contrasted. Yet, in the proposed study of the values and attitudes of the people, the selection of a sample on a random basis did not appear to be the best. As differential fertility was the subject around which the study revolved, it was deemed expedient to have this as the primary criterion for the selection of the samples: the ethnic, linguistic, religious, educational and economic characteristics utilised as variable factors. What would be ultimately studied, consequently, are the values and attitudes prevalent in different groups having different fertility patterns, but similar socio-economic characteristics, on the one hand, and the values and attitudes prevalent in different groups having similar fertility patterns but with different socio-economic characteristics, on the other.

It is evident that the selection of the samples whose values and attitudes were to be studied should have as its basis a study of the population of the island. This study must necessarily take into consideration the structure of the population and the changes that have occurred in this structure over a period of time. It, consequently, constitutes the first stage of the research program. This report contains the results of this preliminary study. Broadly speaking, it comprises an analysis of the population changes, the fertility patterns and the socio-economic conditions of the country since the beginning of this century.

PART II

The Data and Their Limitations

It is only in recent times that the importance and necessity of population statistics have been universally recognised. In the past such statistics were considered unnecessary in many countries. It is generally believed that only the most advanced countries have any population statistics worthy of that name. Demographers in these countries have studied the population from so many angles that the existence of adequate population data has been established. The so-called under-developed countries are believed to have no statistics at all, or, if it is conceded that they do possess some demographic data, they are considered to be grossly inadequate—the degree of inadequacy being inversely proportional to the development of the country. However, it has been found that the demographic

2. *ibid.*

data available in these countries, as in the case of India,[3] lend themselves readily to meaningful analysis in spite of the fact that they are not as complete as the demographer would wish them to be. The belief that demographic data do not exist in most countries stems more from the paucity of demographic studies than from a factual evaluation of the situation. In some instances, a wealth of statistical information exists though people are unaware of its existence and the belief that no demographic data exist persists until someone interested investigates and points out the error. Such appears to be the case with Ceylon. It is generally believed that there are no demographic data for Ceylon but as Irene Taueber points out, among the less widely known aspects of this country are its "manifold statistics that lie unused in volumes collecting dust in the libraries and government offices of the world".[4] She goes even further and states "The prolific historical records and the incomparable analytical potentialities of the current censuses and vital records make Ceylon a true laboratory for demographic research."[5]

The data for this study have been taken from the census reports and the reports of the Registrar General on vital statistics. The current series of censuses in Ceylon began in 1871—the result of the promulgation of the Census Ordinance No. 5 of 1868 which provided for the taking of a census from time to time when the Governor and the Executive Council deemed it necessary. This series was to be regular and decennial and consequently, censuses were taken in 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911 and 1921. In 1931, because of the depression and the adverse financial situation of the country, it was decided that the census should be a partial one. Accordingly, a census of the City of Colombo was taken and the population of the rest of the island estimated on the basis of the changes that were found to have occurred here. No census was taken in 1941 because of World War II, but immediately after the war a census was taken in 1946. The next census was taken in 1953 though it was hoped that the series of decennial censuses taken at the beginning of the decade would be resumed in 1951. A census is being conducted in 1963.

The extent to which the processes of birth, death and migration go on in a country is measured by a registration system designed to record the events as they occur. Some sort of registration appears to have been practised in the early nineteenth century in Ceylon, for the Ceylon Blue Book, published in the printed form first in 1862, gives a tabulation of the annual population of the country from 1823. Legal recognition of the registration of births and deaths was made in 1847 by enactment of the Registration of Marriages, Births and Deaths Ordinance No. 6 of 1847. Yet registration was incomplete and haphazard. A series of amendments to the ordinance followed in the attempt to improve registration culminating in the Births and Deaths Registration Ordinance No. 1 of 1895 which forms the basis of the registration system prevailing in the country today. This Ordinance has since been amended and exists today in the consolidated and revised form as the Births and Deaths Registration Act No. 17 of 1951.

Census data and vital statistics in all countries are subject to the common errors of under-enumeration, mis-statements of age and inaccuracies in the migration figures. A reasonable estimate of the different errors involved is possible by a comparison of census and vital statistics figures. Comparison of the intercensal change in the population with the balance of births and deaths (natural increase) and of immigration and emigration

3. Kingsley Davis: The Population of India and Pakistan. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951).
4. Irene Taueber *op. cit.*
5. Ibid.

(migration difference) suggests where the errors may lie. In the balancing equations, the intercensal difference equals the natural increase obtained from the vital statistics plus the net migration factor. Discrepancies, when they are a deficit, suggest errors from census under-enumeration and when they are an excess, errors from under-registration of births.

Table 1 shows the intercensal increase, the natural increase, the migration difference, the discrepancy involved and the estimated under-registration of births during the intercensal years in the period 1901—1953. The observed difference in 1921 was less than what was to be expected from the vital data, suggesting an under-enumeration in the census of 1921. At the time of this census, there was a belief that there was considerable under-enumeration although Turnour, the then Superintendent of census, believed that any under-enumeration was negligible inasmuch as the census figure did not deviate significantly from a projection for 1921 based on earlier census figures.[6]

During the other intercensal periods the observed difference was greater than the expected difference. If we ignore the possibility of compensating errors or improvement in census enumeration, this suggests under-registration of births. On the assumption that there is no other error involved, under-registration has been estimated as 1·4% during the first decade of this century which has gradually been reduced to 0·1% during the period 1946—1953. It must be pointed out that these figures would be greater if errors in enumeration and death registration exist.

Similar information could be obtained by a comparison of particular age groups derived from registration statistics with the enumerated population in these groups. Thus by subtracting from the number of children born during the five years preceding the census, the number of deaths in this group, the number of "under fives" at the time of the census could be obtained, provided there was no in or out migration of this group. Discrepancy between the observed census figure and the expected one, if an excess, suggests a preponderance of errors from under-registration of births while it suggests a preponderance of errors from under-enumeration at the census if it is a deficit.

TABLE I

Intercensal Increase, Natural Increase and Migration Difference during the Intercensal Years in the Period 1900—1960.

1 *Period*	2 *Intercensal Increase*	3 *Natural Increase*	4 *Migration Difference*	5 *Discrepancy (Column 2 minus total of Columns 3 and 4)*	6 *Estimated Under-Registration of Births*
1901—1911	540,396	356,147	164,036	20,213	1.4%
1911—1921	392,255	319,410	86,234	13,389	....
1921—1931	808,266	656,950	134,958	16,358	0.8%
1931—1946	1,350,468	1,280,916	50,244	19,308	0.6%
1946—1953	1,440,556	1,363,174	76,268	1,113	0.1%

Source : Column 2 From Census Reports.
Column 3 From Administration Reports of Registrar General on Vital Statistics.
Column 4 From Administration Reports of Registrar General on Vital Statistics and Statistical Abstracts of Ceylon.

6. L. J. B. Turnour: *Report of the Census of Ceylon for* 1921. (Colombo: Ceylon Government Press, 1923).

Table 2 shows these figures for the census years 1901, 1911, 1921, 1946 and 1953. In the years 1901, 1911 and 1921, the official census figure was higher than the expected figure, while in the years 1946 and 1953 the official census figure was less. This suggests under-registration of births at the beginning of the century and under-enumeration at the later censuses. Table 3 shows the expected and observed population 1—5 years by one year age groups at the census of 1953. In some age groups such as "3 years and 4" and the "4 years and under 5" the observed number is much greater than the expected while in the other age groups the position is reversed. The lack of consistency suggests that the discrepancy is due to a mis-statement of age rather than to under-enumeration especially as consideration of the total population reveals no strong evidence of under-enumeration.

A third evaluation of the data is based on a comparison of the fate of one age group through different censuses. The over sixty fives in the 1946 census, for example, would have been in the category 40 years and over in the 1921 census, 30 years and over in the 1911 census, and 20 years and over in the 1901 census. The difference in the census figures must be due to deaths and migration in that group. If the census figure was greater than that calculated from the previous census figure by deducting the number of deaths in the intercensal period, the difference could be explained by immigration but a smaller census figure is evidence of under-enumeration, especially if immigration outweighed emigration.

TABLE II

Expected Number of "Under Fives" at Census and Official Census Figures 1900—1960.

1 Census Year	2 *Births Preceding Five Years*	3 *Deaths in the Group*	4 *Expected Number of "Under Fives" (Column 2 minus Column 3)*	5 *Official Census Figure*	6 *Discrepancy (Column 5 minus Column 4)*
1901	659,032	161,642	497,390	638,776	141,385
1911	757,959	202,751	555,208	607,975	52,767
1921	876,398	243,817	632,581	643,469	10,900
1946	1,161,069	213,360	947,709	861,439	86,270*
1953	1,510,715	187,707	1,323,008	1,208,829	114,179*

Source : Registrar General's Reports.

*The expected figure is greater than the official census figure.

TABLE III

Persons 1—5 Years, Expected and Observed a the 1953 Census by One Year Age Groups.

1 Age Group	2 *Expected Numbers*	3 *Observed Number*	4 *Discrepancy (Column 3—Column 2)*
Under 1 year	288,949	261,800	—27,149
1 Year and Under 2 Years	281,686	193,537	—88,149
2 Years and Under 3 Years	268,972	247,900	—21,072
3 Years and Under 4 Years	250,305	261,828	+11,523
4 Years and Under 5 Years	241,771	243,764	+1,993

Sources : Column 2 Registrar General's Report.

Table 4 shows the fate of the over 20 years age group in 1901 through 1946. The 1911 census showed this group to be greater than that expected if migration had played no part. A similar situation obtained at the 1946 census. At the 1921 census, however, the official census figure was much lower than the expected, suggesting an under-enumeration of a minimum of 5·4%.

TABLE IV

Counts through 1946 *of Persons Over Twenty at* 1901 *Census.*

No. Over Twenty at 1901 Census		1,674,098
Registered Deaths from the group 1901—1911		441,127
Expected No. Over Thirty at 1911 Census		1,232,971
No. Over Thirty at the 1911 Census		1,293,980
Excess at 1911 Census		60,009
Registered deaths from the group 1911—1921		417,341
Expected No. Over Forty at the 1921 Census		876,639
No. Over Forty at the 1921 Census		829,231
Deficit at 1921 Census		47,408
Registered Deaths from the group 1921—1946		733,285
Expected Over Sixty Fives at the 1946 Census		95,946
Over Sixty Fives at the 1946 Census		229,498
Excess at 1964 Census		87,252
Migration Difference 1901—1911	+	178,000*
Migration Difference 1911—1921	+	80,000*
Migration Difference 1921—1946	+	209,000*

* Migration Difference is for all age groups. A positive difference denotes an inward excess.

The following conclusions are suggested by this analysis with regard to census data and vital statistics :

(*a*) there was an under-registration of births at the beginning of the century to the extent of about 1·5%. This appears to have decreased gradually to a current level of about 0·1%.

(*b*) there was an under-enumeration at the census of 1921 of at least 5·4%; and

(*c*) there has been a mis-statement of age at the censuses. Although we have discussed only the age group 0 to 4, examination of counts by single years of age gives prima facie evidence of age mis-statement.

(*d*) Other possibilities are errors both in census and vital data, and different degrees of error in each at different periods of time.

PART III

The Growth and Distribution of the Population

Regular and comprehensive censuses taken in Ceylon since 1871 give us a more or less complete picture of the changes that have occurred in the population. These census figures are presented in Table 5. At the first census, taken in 1871, the population of the country was found to be 2,400,380 while at the last census taken in 1953, it was 8,097,895—an increase of 237.37%. Lack of comparable data precludes an international comparison

of the changes in population over the entire period 1871—1953. Table 7 shows the population of 16 countries around the year 1870 and again around the year 1950. These figures indicate the rate of change of Ceylon's population has been high when compared with the European countries but when the comparison is with the other countries the rate change cannot be considered either high or low. It may be, consequently, concluded that the growth of Ceylon's population was normal especially when the location of the country is taken into consideration. It must, however, be pointed out that in neighbouring India and Pakistan, the population increased only 39% during a period (1891—1941) when it increased in Ceylon by 100·6%.[7]

TABLE V

Enumerated Population of Ceylon 1871—1953

Census	*Population*	*Increase*
1871	2,400,380	.....
1881	2,759,738	359,358
1891	3,000,789	241,051
1901	3,656,954	656,165
1911	4,106,350	449,396
1921	4,498,605	392,255
1946	6,657,339	2,158,734
1953	8,097,895	1,440,556

Source : Census Reports.
See also Statistical Abstract of Ceylon 1960 Table 8.

TABLE VI

Estimated Midyear Population of Ceylon 1900—1960

Year	*Population*	*Year*	*Population*	*Year*	*Population*
1900	3,559,866	1920	4,485,904 (*b*)	1941	6,020,000
1901	3,582,697	1921	4,504,837	1942	6,021,000
1902	3,629,986	1922	4,561,474	1943	6,134,000
1903	3,703,615	1923	4,643,761	1944	6,276,000
1904	3,767,826	1924	4,791,099	1945	6,496,000
1905	3,901,471	1925	4,926,607	1946	6,695,000
1906	3,968,541	1926	5,047,632	1947	6,879,000
1907	3,671,340	1927	5,203,238	1948	7,086,000
1908	4,008,742	1928	5,334,370	1949	7,297,000
1909	4,056,002	1929	5,430,026	1950	7,544,000
		1930	5,253,210 (*c*)		
1910	4,121,443 (*a*)	1931	5,325,254	1951	7,742,000
1911	4,120,819	1932	5,386,106	1952	7,940,000
1912	4,151,250	1933	5,415,516	1953	8,155,000
1913	4,220,458	1934	5,551,623	1954	8,385,000
1914	4,251,032	1935	5,598,000	1955	8,589,000
1915	4,355,015	1936	5,631,000	1956	8,929,000
1916	4,482,809	1937	5,712,000	1957	9,165,000
1917	4,589,635	1938	5,810,000	1958	9,389,000
1918	4,677,258	1939	5,897,000	1959	9,625,000
1919	4,724,034	1940	5,951,000	1960	9,896,000

(*a*) Corrected after the 1911 Census. (*b*) Corrected after the 1921 Census. (*c*) Corrected after the 1931 Census.

Source : Administration Reports of the Registrar General on Vital Statistics.
Note : These figures do not correspond exactly with those given in the Statistical Abstracts on later years. Corrections have presumably been made in the latter reports.

7. A. G. Ranasinha: *Census of Ceylon* 1946 *General Report.* (Colombo. Ceylon Government Press, 1950).

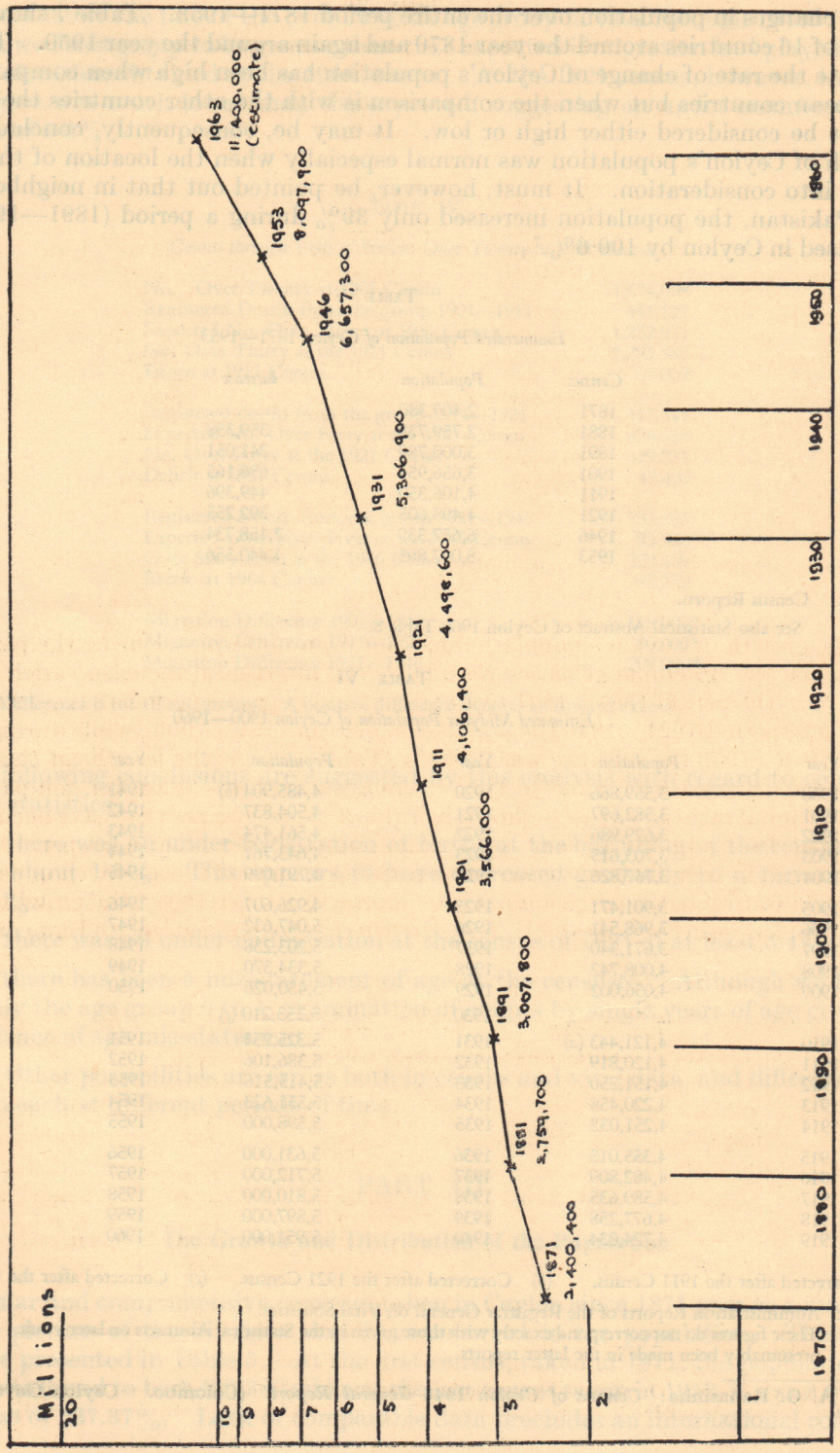


Chart 1. **Population of Ceylon 1871 - 1963**

TABLE VII

Increase of Population in Selected Countries 1870—1950

Country	*Period*	*Population at Beginning of Period*	*Population at End of Period*	*Percentage Increase*
Canada	1871—1951	3,689,257	13,984,329	279.06
Cuba	1877—1953	1,521,684	5,807,057	281.69
U. S. A.	1870—1950	38,558,371	150,697,361	290.83
Puerto Rico	1877—1950	731,648	2,210,703	202.15
Brazil	1872—1950	10,112,061	51,976,357	414.00
Chile	1875—1952	2,075,971	5,900,809	185.69
Colombia	1870—1951	2,391,984	11,266,075	370.99
Italy	1871—1951	27,436,806	46,737,629	70.35
Norway	1875—1950	1,813,424	3,278,546	80.79
Portugal	1878—1950	4,550,699	8,441,312	85.50
Sweden	1870—1950	4,168,525	7,044,939	68.98
Switzerland	1870—1950	2,669,147	4,723,163	76.95
United Kingdom	1871—1951	27,431,474	50,211,826	83.04
New Zealand	1871—1951	254,928	1,939,472	660.80
Hawaii	1872—1950	56,897	499,794	778.45
Ceylon	1871—1953	2,400,380	8,097,895	237.37

Source : United Nations Demographic Yearbook. New York 1953.

The growth of Ceylon's population has not been uniform. During the period 1871—1921, when the decennial censuses were held, the intercensal increase varied from a low of 8·73% in the period 1881—1891 to a high of 21·87% in the period 1891—1901. During the 25 year period 1921—1946 the population increased by 47·99% while during the 7 year period 1946—1953 the increase was 21·64% (Table 8). As the lengths of the intercensal periods have varied from time to time, a more meaningful figure for comparison is the average annual rate of increase—shown in Table 9. The changes that have occurred during the period 1871—1953 represent an average annual increase of 14·8 per 1000 persons. When viewed in terms of the average annual rate of growth of the world's population during this period (estimated average annual rate of growth 6·9 per 1000)[8] the growth of Ceylon's population has been considerable. It is so when the comparison is with India and Pakistan

TABLE VIII

Percentage Increase of Population during Intercensal Periods.

Original Census	*Final Census* 1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1946	1953
1871	14.97	25.01	52.35	71.07	87.41	177.35	237.36
1881	.....	8.73	32.51	48.79	63.01	141.23	193.43
1891	.....	.....	.....	12.29	24.02	82.05	121.44
1901	.....	.....	21.87	36.84	49.91	121.85	169.86
1911	.....	.....	.....	.....	9.55	62.12	97.20
1921	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	47.99	80.00
1946	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	21.64

Source : Based on data in Table 8.

8. Kingsley Davis: The World Demographic Transition. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 237 (1945).

where the average annual rate of growth was 6 per 1000.[9] But in comparison with other Asian countries the rate for Ceylon is not exceptionally high. Japan's population increased by 15·3 per 1000 per annum during the period 1920—1940;[10] the comparable figure for Ceylon is 15. The population of Burma, Malaya, Singapore, the Philippines, Taiwan, Thailand, and Korea has increased in the past World War II era at a rate well over 20 per 1000[11]; the comparable Ceylon figure is 28.

TABLE IX

Average Annual Percentage Increase of Population during Intercensal Periods.

Original Census	*Final Census* 1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1946	1953
1871	1.4	1.2	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.4	1.5
1881	....	0.8	1.4	1.3	1.2	1.4	1.5
1891	....	....	2.0	1.6	1.3	1.4	1.6
1901	....	....	....	1.2	1.0	1.3	1.5
1911	....	....	....	....	0.9	1.4	1.6
1921	....	....	....	....	....	1.6	1.8
1946	....	....	....	....	....	....	2.8

Based on the relationship $P_t = P_o\ e^{rt}$.

Source : Based on data in Table 8.

Fluctuations in the rate of growth have been noticed in many countries, sometimes occasioned by war, and sometimes by changes in migration policy. In addition to these fluctuations, the average annual rate of growth has shown a discernible trend. In most European countries there has been a retardation in the rate of growth of the population.[12] In the Latin American countries[13] the trend has been one of accelerated growth. In Asia the growth appears to have started only in very recent times and that too in a vigorous form.[14] Although the position in Ceylon could be described as a fairly high rate of growth between 1871 and 1946, it is only since the end of the World War II that the high rate of growth has caused concern. Not only is the present rate of growth at an unprecedent high level but the larger population base results in large increases in absolute numbers.

Throughout history the population of no country has been uniformly distributed over its territorial limits. The people have been concentrated in certain parts of the land while other parts have remained more or less uninhabited. In the past, when man was dependent heavily on agriculture for his existence, the factors that controlled the distribution of the population were physical such as atmospheric temperature, rainfall, landform and the quality of the soil. Where nature was bountiful, people congregated, for here the burden of living was lighter and the struggle for existence less intense than in areas where nature

9. Kingsley Davis: *The Population of India and Pakistan*, op. cit.
10. I. B. Taueber and E. G. Beal: The Demographic Heritage of the Japanese Empire. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 237 (1945) 64—71.
11. United Nations: Demographic Yearbook 1949—1950. (New York 1950).
12. F. W. Notestein, I. B. Taueber, D. Kirk and A. J. Coale, *The Future Population of Europe and the Soviet Union.*
13. G. Mortara: A Riddle Solved. Brazil's Population *Estadistica* 1 (1943) 142—147.
United Nations: *Determinants and Consequences of Population Trends* (New York 1953)
14. United Nations: *Determinants and Consequences of Population Trends*, op. cit.

was less congenial. After the Industrial Revolution, however, man's direct dependence on physical factors was reduced. The availability of natural resources that could be exploited for industrial purposes began to play a predominant part, for now the stress was on manufacture rather than on agriculture and the adjutants to the former rather than to the later influenced the lives of men. With the passage of time, the march of technology and the diversification of economic activity considerably reduced the influence of factors such as climate, the quality of the soil and the availability of natural resources; cultural factors which influenced the people's view of the land and its uses played a more predominant part. Cultural factors, however, influence and are influenced by demographic factors. The increase in the population and the inability of the populated area to support the increased population leads to the search for new areas to live, new forms of economic activity, new techniques of production, new forms of social organisation and new objectives that society must attain.[15]

Ceylon is divided, for the purposes of administration, into nine provinces—Western, Central, Southern, Northern, Eastern, North Western, North Central, Uva and Sabaragamuwa. Each of these provinces is divided further into districts—23 in all.

These are in the

Western Province	—	Colombo, Negombo and Kalutara.
Central Province	—	Kandy, Matale and Nuwara Eliya.
Southern Province	—	Galle, Matara and Hambantota.
Northern Province	—	Jaffna, Mannar and Vavuniya.
Eastern Province	—	Batticaloa and Trincomalee.
North Western Province	—	Kurunegala, Chilaw and Puttalam
North Central Province	—	Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa.
Province of Uva	—	Badulla and Monaragala.
Province of Sabaragamuwa	—	Ratnapura and Kegalle.

Until recent times, Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa constituted one single district—that of Anuradhapura—and so did Badulla and Monaragala—that of Badulla. As comparable statistics for the entire period are available only when these districts are considered in their old form, they will be so considered in this study. The Registrar-General, and the Superintendent of Census have presented most of their statistics combining the districts of Colombo and Negombo, sometimes under the single title of Colombo and sometimes under the combined title of Colombo and Negombo. In this study the same procedure will be adopted. These two districts will be treated as one (Map 1).

Table 10 shows population distribution over the island at various censuses between 1900 and 1960. Table 11 gives the population indexes based on 1901 = 100. At the turn of the century we find that more than half of the country's population was concentrated in the south western and central parts of the country which constitute less than one fourth the total surface area. The most densely populated parts (Table 12 and Map 2) were the Western, Central and Southern Provinces. Less densely populated but nevertheless containing a sizeable population were the Northern and North Western Provinces and the

15. ibid.

MAP 1. MAP OF CEYLON SHOWING THE PROVINCES AND DISTRICTS.
PROVINCIAL, District Boundary
Figures—District Population at 1953 Census.

TABLE X

Numerical Distribution of the Population of Provinces and Districts at the Censuses 1900—1953

Area	*Extent. Sq. Miles*	1901	1911	1921	1946	1953
Ceylon	25,331.88 (100.0)	3,656,954 (100.0)	4,106,350 (100.0)	4,497,854 (100.0)	6,657,339 (100.0)	8,097,895 (100.0)
Western Province	1,432.00 (5.7)	920,683 (25.2)	1,106,321 (26.2)	1,246,847 (27.7)	1,876,904 (28.2)	2,232,276 (27.6)
Colombo	808.25 (3.1)	690,826 (18.9)	826,828 (20.1)	923,143 (20.5)	1,420,332 (21.3)	1,708,726 (21.1)
Kalutara	623.75 (2.6)	229,857 (6.3)	279,493 (6.8)	323,704 (7.2)	456,572 (6.9)	523,550 (6.5)
Central Province	2,290.13 (9.0)	622,832 (17.0)	672,258 (16.4)	717,739 (16.0)	1,135,290 (17.1)	1,366,685 (16.9)
Kandy	913.83 (3.6)	377,591 (10.3)	408,429 (10.0)	433,933 (9.7)	711,449 (10.7)	840,382 (10.4)
Matale	902.45 (3.6)	92,203 (2.5)	108,367 (2.6)	116,584 (2.6)	155,720 (2.3)	201,049 (2.5)
Nuwara Eliya	473.75 (1.8)	153,038 (4.2)	155,462 (3.8)	167,162 (3.7)	268,121 (4.1)	325,254 (4.0)
Southern Province	2,146.25 (8.5)	566,736 (15.5)	628,817 (15.3)	671,234 (14.7)	961,418 (14.4)	1,129,308 (14.0)
Galle	652.25 (2.6)	258,116 (7.1)	291,001 (7.1)	313,118 (7.0)	459,785 (6.9)	524,369 (6.5)
Matara	481.25 (1.9)	203,750 (5.6)	227,308 (5.5)	238,509 (5.3)	351,947 (5.3)	413,431 (5.1)
Hambantota	1,012.75 (4.0)	104,870 (2.8)	110,508 (2.7)	119,607 (2.6)	149,686 (2.2)	191,508 (2.4)
Northern Province	3,249.33 (13.5)	340,936 (9.3)	369,712 (9.0)	374,892 (8.3)	479,672 (7.2)	570,650 (7.1)
Jaffna	998.63 (3.9)	300,851 (8.2)	326,712 (8.0)	330,544 (7.3)	424,788 (6.4)	491,849 (6.1)
Mannar	964.21 (3.8)	24,926 (0.7)	25,603 (0.6)	25,582 (0.6)	31,538 (0.5)	43,689 (0.5)
Vavuniya	1,466.50 (5.8)	15,159 (0.4)	17,336 (0.4)	18,706 (0.4)	25,926 (0.3)	33,917 (0.5)
Eastern Province	3,840.10 (15.2)	173,602 (4.7)	183,698 (4.5)	192,821 (4.3)	279,112 (4.2)	354,410 (4.4)
Batticaloa	2,792.10 (11.0)	145,161 (4.0)	153,943 (3.7)	158,709 (3.5)	203,186 (3.1)	270,493 (3.3)
Trincomalee	1,048.00 (4.2)	28,441 (0.7)	29,755 (0.8)	34,112 (0.8)	75,926 (1.1)	83,917 (1.1)
North Western Province	3,025.87 (11.9)	353,626 (9.7)	434,116 (10.6)	492,181 (10.9)	667,889 (10.0)	855,228 (10.6)
Kurunegala	1,843.75 (7.3)	249,429 (6.8)	306,807 (7.5)	354,197 (7.9)	485,042 (7.3)	626,336 (7.7)
Puttalam	909.87 (3.5)	29,779 (0.8)	39,665 (1.0)	35,610 (0.8)	43,083 (0.7)	58,820 (0.7)
Chilaw	262.25 (15.8)	74,418 (2.2)	87,644 (2.1)	102,374 (2.2)	139,764 (2.1)	170,072 (2.2)
North Central Province	4,008.54 (15.8)	79,110 (2.2)	86,276 (2.1)	96,525 (2.2)	139,534 (2.1)	229,282 (2.8)
Anuradhapura	4,008.54 (15.8)	79,110 (2.2)	86,276 (2.1)	96,525 (2.2)	139,534 (2.1)	229,282 (2.8)
Province of Uva	3,227.15 (12.9)	186,674 (5.1)	216,692 (5.3)	233,864 (5.2)	373,238 (5.2)	466,806 (5.8)
Badulla	3,227.15 (12.9)	186,674 (5.1)	216,692 (5.3)	233,864 (5.2)	373,238 (5.2)	466,806 (5.8)
Province of Sabaragamuwa	1,892.50 (7.5)	321,755 (8.8)	408,521 (10.0)	471,814 (10.5)	745,382 (11.2)	893,160 (11.0)
Ratnapura	1,250.50 (4.9)	132,964 (3.6)	165,992 (4.0)	202,975 (4.5)	343,620 (5.2)	421,555 (5.2)
Kegalle	642.00 (2.6)	188,791 (5.2)	242,529 (6.0)	268,839 (6.0)	401,762 (6.0)	471,605 (5.8)

Figures in parentheses are percentages.
Source: Census Reports.

Map 1. **Map of Ceylon showing the Provinces and Districts.**

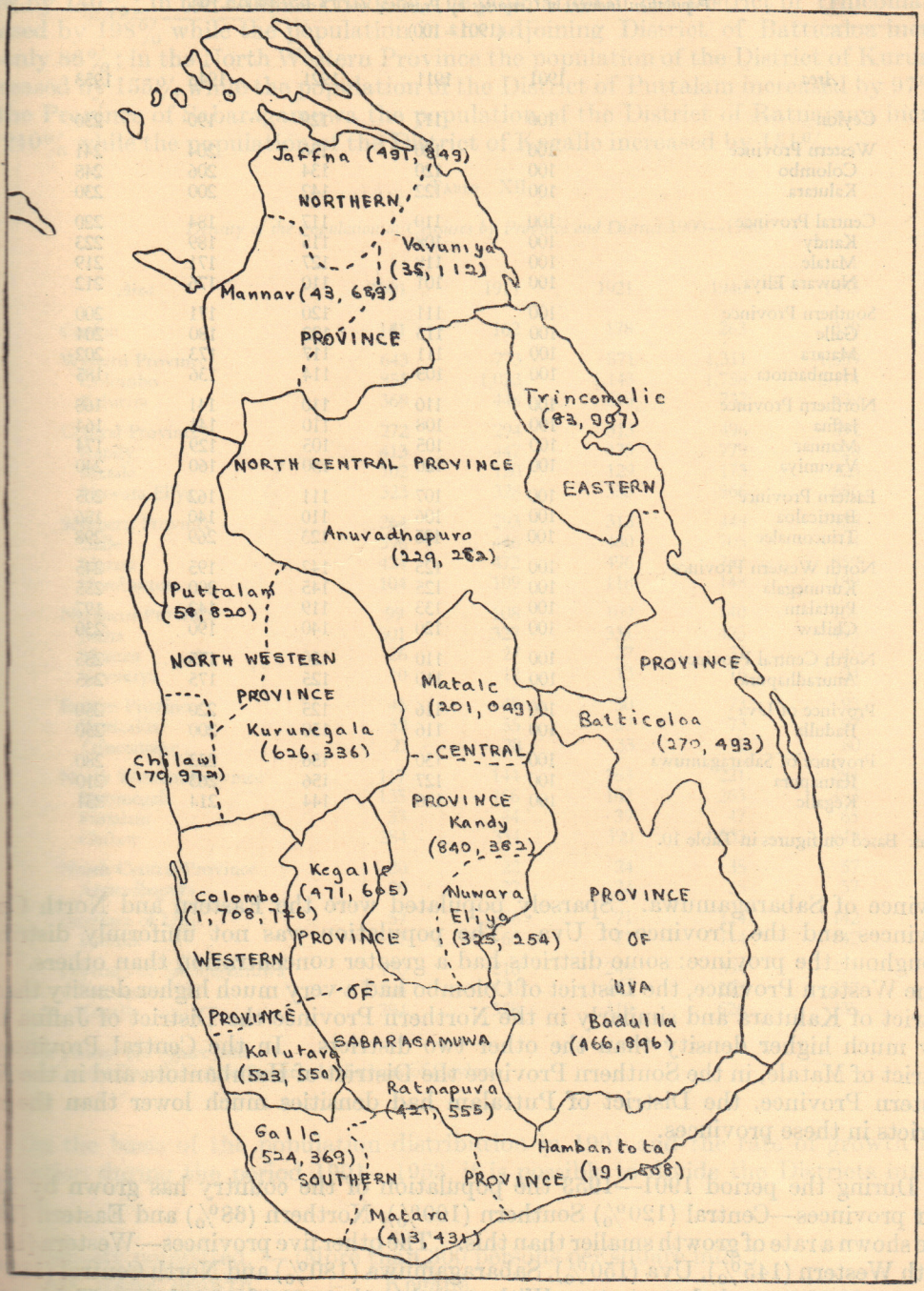


TABLE XI

Population Indexes at Censuses by Province and District 1900—1960
(1901 = 100)

Area	1901	1911	1921	1946	1953
Ceylon	100	117	129	190	230
Western Province	100	120	136	204	241
Colombo	100	120	134	206	248
Kalutara	100	122	142	200	230
Central Province	100	110	117	184	220
Kandy	100	108	115	189	223
Matale	100	118	127	171	219
Nuwara Eliya	100	101	110	176	212
Southern Province	100	111	120	171	200
Galle	100	113	122	180	204
Matara	100	111	117	173	202
Hambantota	100	105	114	136	185
Northern Province	100	110	110	141	168
Jaffna	100	108	110	141	164
Mannar	100	105	105	129	174
Vavuniya	100	120	130	160	240
Eastern Province	100	107	111	162	205
Batticaloa	100	106	110	140	186
Trincomalee	100	105	123	269	298
North Western Province	100	125	142	195	245
Kurunegala	100	125	145	200	255
Puttalam	100	133	119	142	197
Chilaw	100	120	140	190	230
North Central Province	100	110	120	175	285
Anuradhapura	100	110	125	175	285
Province of Uva	100	116	125	220	250
Badulla	100	116	150	200	250
Province of Sabaragamuwa	100	130	156	233	280
Ratnapura	100	127	156	263	210
Kegalle	100	130	144	214	251

Source: Based on figures in Table 10.

Province of Sabaragamuwa. Sparsely populated were the Eastern and North Central Provinces and the Province of Uva. The population was not uniformly distributed throughout the province: some districts had a greater concentration than others. Thus in the Western Province, the District of Colombo had a very much higher density than the District of Kalutara and similarly in the Northern Province the District of Jaffna had a very much higher density than the other two districts. In the Central Province, the District of Matale, in the Southern Province the District of Hambantota and in the North Western Province, the District of Puttalam had densities much lower than the other districts in these provinces.

During the period 1901—1953 the population of the country has grown by 130%. Four provinces—Central (120%) Southern (100%), Northern (68%) and Eastern (105%) have shown a rate of growth smaller than this. The other five provinces—Western (141%), North Western (145%), Uva (150%), Sabaragamuwa (180%) and North Central (185%)—have grown at a much faster rate. With regard to the rate of growth too, (Table 11 and Map 3) the different districts in the different provinces have grown at different rates. In

the Northern Province the District of Jaffna grew by 64% while the District of Vavuniya grew by 140%; in the Eastern Province, the population of the District of Trincomalee increased by 198% while the population in the adjoining District of Batticaloa increased by only 86%; in the North Western Province the population of the District of Kurunegala increased by 155% while the population of the District of Puttalam increased by 97% and in the Province of Sabaragamuwa the population of the District of Ratnapura increased by 210% while the population of the District of Kegalle increased by 151%.

TABLE XII

Density of the Population at Censuses by Province and District 1900—1960.

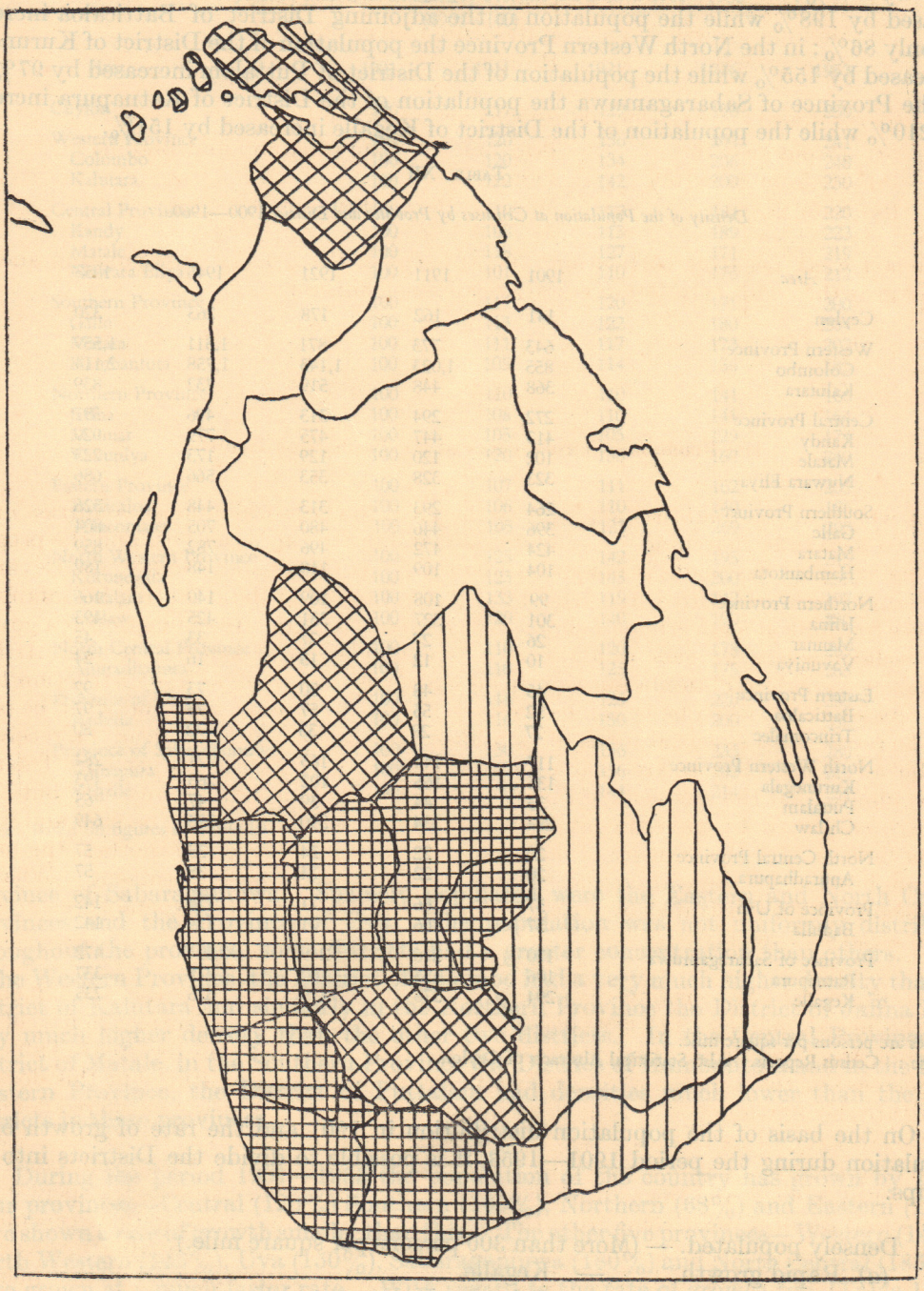
Area	1901	1911	1921	1946	1953
Ceylon	141	162	178	263	320
Western Province	643	773	871	1,311	1,559
Colombo	855	1,023	1,143	1,758	2,114
Kalutara	368	448	519	732	839
Central Province	272	294	313	496	597
Kandy	413	447	475	779	920
Matale	102	120	129	173	223
Nuwara Eliya	323	328	353	566	686
Southern Province	264	293	313	448	526
Galle	396	446	480	705	804
Matara	424	472	496	782	859
Hambantota	104	109	118	148	189
Northern Province	99	108	109	140	166
Jaffna	301	327	331	425	493
Mannar	26	27	27	33	45
Vavuniya	10	12	13	16	24
Eastern Province	45	48	50	73	92
Batticaloa	52	55	57	73	97
Trincomalee	27	28	33	72	80
North Western Province	117	144	163	221	284
Kurunegala	135	166	102	263	493
Puttalam	33	44	39	47	65
Chilaw	284	334	390	533	649
North Central Province	20	22	24	35	57
Anuradhapura	20	22	24	35	57
Province of Uva	57	66	71	114	142
Badulla	57	66	71	114	142
Province of Sabaragamuwa	170	216	249	394	472
Ratnapura	106	133	162	275	337
Kegalle	294	378	419	626	735

Figures are persons per square mile.
Source: Census Reports. Also Statistical Abstracts of Ceylon.

On the basis of the population distribution in 1901 and the rate of growth of the population during the period 1901—1953, it is possible to divide the Districts into nine groups.

I. Densely populated. — (More than 300 persons per square mile.)
   (a) Rapid growth — Kegalle.
   (b) Medium growth — Colombo, Kalutara and Kandy.
   (c) Slow growth — Nuwara Eliya, Galle, Matara and Jaffna.

Map 2. **Density of Population 1953.**



II. Moderate density — (Under 300 and over 100 persons per square mile.)

(*a*) Rapid growth	—	Kurunegala and Ratnapura.
(*b*) Medium growth	—	Matale and Chilaw.
(*c*) Slow growth	—	Hambantota.

III. Sparse density — (Under 100 persons per square mile.)

(*a*) Rapid growth	—	Trincomalee, Anuradhapura and Badulla.
(*b*) Medium growth	—	Vavuniya.
(*c*) Slow growth	—	Mannar, Batticaloa and Puttalam.

There is a weak negative correlation (–0·15) between the density of population and the rate of growth. This correlation is statistically insignificant.

PART IV

The Economic Consequences of the Population Growth

A womb to the tomb welfare state is the ideal towards which most countries in the world are said to be marching. Ceylon too is marching towards this goal and the progress that the country has made is not inconsiderable. As things stand today, the Ceylonese comes into this world with a free delivery at a government hospital, during his infancy he receives free milk at a government clinic. He receives, later on, free education at a government school where he gets in addition a free midday meal and free books. If he is intelligent enough to obtain admission to an University, he receives free instruction there too. As an adult, when he is sick he receives free medical assistance and when he is not sick, he receives his essential foods at subsidised rates. When he is dead, he receives a free burial, if his relatives are unable or unwilling to give him a costlier one. The term free connotes that the recipient of the services receives them without any cost but those who are employed by government to dispense these services have to be paid and where the services involve the transfer of material goods from one person to another, the monetary implications of the transaction become the business of the government. What all this means is best illustrated by consideration of the government's expenditure on some of the social services.[16]

In the fiscal year 1958/59 the education bill of the country was Rs. 247,776,000·00 and the health bill Rs. 141,866,000·00—the two combined constituting 25·5% of the government's expenditure that year, and a per capita expenditure of Rs. 40·37 (Table 13). The increase of the population demands an increase in the expenditure but this does not constitute the only increase. Improvement of the facilities that could be offered demands additional expenditure to ensure that the services offered are worthy of the name. During the period 1946/47—1958/59, when the population increased by 37%, the education bill increased by 306·5% and the health bill by 271·2%. This money and money spent on the other social services must come from the country. The Government gets its revenue by taxation in various forms to various degrees—a process that gives it an ability to vary its revenue within rather wide limits. Yet there is a limit beyond which no further increase

[16] S. Selvaratnam: Some Implications of Population Growth in Ceylon. *The Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies*, 4 (1961) 33—49.

Increase in population brings with it many other problems, most of them revolving around employment. The extent of unemployment in a country can be gauged by the registrations for exployment and better employment. These figures do not measure the situation exactly for they are generally much lower than the actual number of unemployed. Nevertheless, they reflect the trend in unemployment and under-employment. Since 1946 the persons seeking employment or better employment through the employment exchanges in the country have increased. Also increased is the proportion of these persons to the total employable male population (20—60 age group), from 2·1% in 1946 to 5·1% in 1959.

TABLE XV

Registrants for Employment and Better Employment 1946—1959

Year	*Registrants*	*Labour Force (a)*	*Percentage Unemployed*
1946	36,544	1,708,000	2.1
1947	34,744	1,711,000	2.0
1948	66,656	1,824,000	3.7
1949	69,732	1,879,000	3.7
1950	65,122	1,935,000	3.4
1951	52,707	1,986,000	2.7
1952	53,023	2,036,000	2.6
1953	51,546	2,077,000	2.5
1954	63,304	2,134,000	3.0
1955	71,010	2,172,000	3.3
1956	85,952	2,230,000	3.9
1957	112,758	2,287,000	4.9
1958	117,796	2,344,000	5.0
1959	128,018	2,499,000	5.1

(*a*) Male Population 20—60 years.
Source : Statistical Abstracts of Ceylon.

Increase in employment opportunities can result from the opening up of new avenues of employment or from the extension of existing avenues. In a country that is predominantly agricultural, the extension of existing avenues of employment must be associated with an increase in the extent of land cultivated. The cultivated land in Ceylon today is much more than what it was a few years ago and there is still more land that could be profitably cultivated with improved irrigation facilities. But, as the territorial limits of a country do not expand with its increasing population there is a limit to which agricultural extension is physically possible. Not only can employment opportunities not be increased, they must actually decrease as more and more land is taken up merely to house the increasing numbers. Industrialisation, obviously, is the only solution. Its importance has been recognised and since 1952 concerted efforts have been made to provide more employment through both large scale and small scale industrial projects. But yet the movement in this direction has not been impressive. Over 50% of the labour force is engaged in agricultural pursuits: the percentage was larger in 1953 than in 1946. Only 10% of the labour force was engaged in manufacture in 1953—a percentage slightly larger than that in 1946. (Table 16).

One of the aims of population studies is to estimate the future population size so that an important factor in the planning of socio-economic development programs may be as factual as possible. Projections of Ceylon's future populations have been made by the Registrar-General,[17] the United Nations,[18] and S. Selvaratnam.[19] These projections are based on certain assumptions regarding the future trends in mortality and fertility. As these assumptions vary, the figures presented in each of these projection studies differ from one another. All three have assumed a decline in mortality. The Registrar-General's assumed decline is the smallest, Selvaratnam's is the largest while the United Nations one has not been inconsiderable. Because death rates are still highest among infants and very young children, occasioned by a morbidity that could be controlled, it is not unreasonable to assume a further decrease in the death rate. But how long it would continue to fall without maintenance and further improvement in health and living standards must at the present moment remain a matter of conjecture. It has been estimated that with no further improvements to the health services, the health bill of the country would be Rs. 293,000,000·00 in 1981.[20] Can the country afford it ? This is the vital question.

TABLE XVI

Distribution of the Labour Force in the different types of occupations 1946—1953

Type of Occupation	1946	1953
Agriculture, Forestry, Hunting and Fishing	52.90	54.06
Mining and Quarrying	0.35	0.56
Manufacture	8.77	10.00
Building and Construction	1.77	2.52
Commerce, Banking and Finance	7.85	10.23
Administration, Professional and other services	24.41	17.40
Others (Unproductive)	0.35	0.57
Total Employed	2,611,524	2,132,650*

Source : Census Reports.

*Exclusive of 146,090 persons whose occupation was inadequately described and consequently not classifiable.

Note. Occupational categories used are the broad categorisations used in the 1953 Census. Occupations were regrouped to make the 1946 categorisation comparable to the 1953 one.

As far as fertility is concerned, the projections have been made for different trends—a rise in fertility, a constant fertility, a slow fertility decline and a rapid fertility decline—all likely eventualities. But here again, what the exact situation will be in years to come is unknown. Fertility will be discussed more fully later on.

Translating the anticipated population changes into economic terms, it has been recommended that by the year 1981, the education bill assuming only maintenance of present standards, would be Rs. 894,000,000·00 and the total cost for the social services for that year (education, health and housing) would be Rs. 2,864,000,000·00.[21] Here again the vital question is the ability of the country to foot the bill. Population changes, it has been further estimated, would increase the work force of the country to 7·1 million in 1981. If

17. Department of Census and Statistics: *Statistical Abstract of Ceylon.* 1957 (Colombo: Ceylon Government Press).
18. United Nations: *The Population of Asia and the Far East.* Population Studies No. 31, New York, 1959.
19. S. Selvaratnam, op. cit.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.

socio-economic conditions are so changed that this entire force could find employment, the financing of the social services may not be a formidable problem but if such a situation does not obtain, not only would it be difficult to maintain the services at their present level, but the country would be saddled with the additional problem of large scale unemployment.

The population of a country could be its greatest asset. It could well be its biggest liability. What it actually is, is dependent on the extent to which the available talent is exploited to improve the economic development of the country. In the so-called underdeveloped countries, the rate of economic development is relatively slow. The rapid increase in population have consequently posited themselves as seeming impediments to progress. The advantages that accrue from the economic changes that are occurring fail to register themselves as appreciable changes in the standard of living, so much so that the efforts of the country to improve existing standards appear futile. Two methods are available to reduce the disjuncture that exists between economic development and population growth. The one, dependent on a change in the values of the people, is a dramatic reduction in the rate of population growth; the other, dependent on the existence of capital, manpower, technical know-how, and raw material, is a dramatic increase in the rate of economic growth. What course of action should be and could be followed in any one country depends on the prevailing conditions and the peculiar genius of its people.

PART V

Crude Death and Birth Rates

The growth of the population is dependent on the natural increase and the migration difference. In the nineteenth century migration played a large part in the population growth of this country but its contribution to the increase has gradually reduced though Ceylon continued to remain an immigrant-recipient country till as late as 1955. The contribution made by migration now is so small that the present increase in population may be looked upon as solely dependent on the balance between births and deaths.

TABLE XVII

Intercensal Increase, Natural Increase and Migration Difference 1871—1953.

1	2	3		4	
Period	*Intercensal Increase*	*Natural Increase*		*Migration Difference*	
		Number	*Proportion*	*Number*	*Proportion*
1871—1881	359,358	119,792	33.3	239,556	66.7
1881—1891	241,051	144,260	59.8	96,791	40.2
1891—1901	656,165	225,406	34.4	430,759	65.6
1901—1911	449,396	356,147	79.2	93,249	20.8
1911—1921	392,255	319,410	81.4	72,845	18.6
1921—1931	808,266	656,950	81.3	151,316	18.7
1931—1946	1,350,468	1,280,916	94.8	69,552	5.2
1946—1953	1,440,556	1,363,175	94.6	77,381	5.4

Source : Column 2 from Census Reports.
Column 3 from Administration Reports of the Registrar General of Ceylon.
Column 4 from Statistical Abstracts of Ceylon.

TABLE XVIII

Crude Death Rate 1900—1960

Year	*Rate*	*Year*	*Rate*	*Year*	*Rate*
1900	28.6	1920	29.6	1941	18.8
1901	27.6	1921	31.2	1942	18.6
1902	27.5	1922	27.8	1943	21.4
1903	25.9	1923	30.6	1944	21.3
1904	24.9	1924	25.7	1945	22.0
1905	27.7	1925	23.9	1946	20.3
1906	34.3	1926	24.7	1947	14.3
1907	30.1	1927	21.7	1948	13.2
1908	29.4	1928	24.8	1949	12.6
1909	30.3	1929	24.9	1950	12.6
		1930	25.4		
1910	27.3	1931	22.1	1951	12.9
1911	34.8	1932	20.5	1952	12.0
1912	32.4	1933	21.2	1953	10.9
1913	28.4	1934	22.9	1954	10.4
1914	32.2	1935	36.6	1955	11.0
1915	25.2	1936	21.8	1956	9.8
1916	26.8	1937	21.7	1957	10.1
1917	24.7	1938	21.0	1958	9.7
1918	31.9	1939	21.8	1959	9.1
1919	35.6	1940	20.6	1960	8.6

Trend Line Equation. Y=22.7—0.3132 X when X is 0 in 1930 and in one year intervals.

Source: Administration Reports of the Registrar General of Ceylon.

The death rate has shown a considerable reduction during the period 1900—1960. This reduction, however, has not been uniform. During the first quarter of the century, it has remained more or less constant, with occasional fluctuations, around the level of 30 per 1000. During the next 20 years the death rate fell to the level of 20 while in the post-world-war II period the death rate fell still further till it now stands around the level of 8 This dramatic reduction in the death rate, unprecedented in the annals of world demography, has been occasioned mainly by the eradication of malaria—a major cause of morbidity and mortality in by gone years—the use of antibiotics, better health facilities, improved sanitation and other public health measures. In the occidental countries such a reduction was slow, and, as the technical know-how necessary for the improvement of the health services could not be borrowed but had to be developed, the reduction was usually associated with an improvement in the socio-economic standards of the country. Following the fall in the death rate was a fall in the birth rate in these countries, so much so that the rate of increase of the population was not inordinately high. In Ceylon, on the other hand, there has been no significant fall in the birth rate. It has remained more or less constant since the turn of the century—around the level of 37·5 per 1000. The 1900—1960 trend line shows very slight downward slope for the country as a whole.

When the provinces and districts are considered the picture is a little different. Table and Chart 2 show the relative figures. The rates vary from district to district. It was lowest in the Chilaw, Colombo and Kalutara districts. In the Galle, Puttalam, Nuwara Eliya and Jaffna districts, the rate was slightly higher but still lower than the average annual birth rate for the country as a whole. Slightly higher than the average Ceylon rate were

the rates for the Mannar, Kegalle, Kandy, Trincomalee, Matara and Hambantota districts. The rates in the other districts—Matale, Vavuniya, Batticaloa, Kurunegala, Anuradhapura, Ratnapura and Badulla districts—were even higher.

As far as the changes are concerned, the birth rate has remained more or less constant during the period under consideration in the Colombo, Kandy and Badulla districts. In Colombo and Kandy the trend has been a slight decrease while in Badulla, it was a slight increase. Rates declined in the Jaffna, Kurunegala, Ratnapura, Chilaw, Matara, Kegalle, Kalutara and Galle districts. They increased in the Mannar, Trincomalee, Batticaloa, Matale, Hambantota, Puttalam, Vavuniya, Anuradhapura and Nuwara Eliya districts. On the basis of the changes that have occurred in the birth rate, it is possible to divide the districts into the following groups :

I. Where the average annual birth rate was low, and

(*a*) Decreasing — Chilaw and Kalutara.
(*b*) Constant — Colombo.
(*c*) Increasing —

II. Where the average annual birth rate was moderate, and

(*a*) Decreasing — Galle, Jaffna, Kegalle and Matara.
(*b*) Constant — Kandy.
(*c*) Increasing — Puttalam, Nuwara Eliya, Trincomalee, Mannar and Hambantota.

III. Where the average annual birth rate was high, and

(*a*) Decreasing — Ratnapura and Kurunegala.
(*b*) Constant — Badulla.
(*c*) Increasing — Matale, Vavuniya, Batticaloa and Anuradhapura.[22]

In general it may be said that the birth rate tended to be higher in the sparsely populated areas than in the densely populated areas. In the former areas the birth rate has increased since the turn of the century while in the latter areas the birth rate has decreased.

An interesting feature about the changes that have occurred in the crude birth rate is that these changes are not reflected in the changes that have occurred in the total population. As birth is one of the methods by which people are added to the population, it is natural to expect the most population growth in areas where the increase in the birth rate was greatest and the least in areas where the reduction in the rate was most. But this is not the case. In the Puttalam District, for example, the crude birth rate showed a phenomenal increase though no extraordinary population growth was recorded. Again, in the Ratnapura District, the population grew at an exceptionally high rate while the birth rate decreased. Differential death rates (Table 21) account in part for this discrepancy; internal migration also makes its contribution. Changes in the crude birth rate are not reflected in the population changes, probably because these changes, though categorisable in terms of increases or decreass, were not marked. The crude birth rate increased most during the period 1900—1960 ine the Puttalam District— 56%—and decreased most in the Kalutara District—by 23%—over the 60 year period.

22. The terms low, moderate and high, employed in this categorisation are used in a relative sense and in the context of the Ceylon data.

TABLE XIX

Crude Birth Rates by Province and District 1900—1960

Year	*W.P.*	*Colombo*	*Kalutara*	*C. P.*	*Kandy*	*Matale*	*N'Eliya*	*S. P.*	*Galle*	*Matara*	*H'tota*	*N. P.*	*Jaffna*	*Mannar*
1900	36.5	34.4	39.8	34.8	36.4	44.3	24.9	42.6	44.0	41.8	40.9	39.5	39.0	41.8
1901	32.8	32.0	35.1	32.4	3.25	41.1	24.3	41.0	40.1	42.5	40.3	42.5	42.9	37.9
1902	35.5	34.7	37.8	36.1	37.3	43.5	28.9	44.3	43.5	45.1	44.8	38.3	36.6	39.6
1903	36.2	35.2	39.1	37.4	38.5	43.1	31.1	44.1	42.7	45.5	44.8	38.2	38.3	36.8
1904	34.0	33.1	36.6	36.7	37.5	43.9	30.3	42.2	38.9	43.2	48.0	35.9	35.1	40.9
1905	36.9	35.8	40.2	36.2	36.4	46.3	29.4	45.1	44.2	46.0	45.4	38.6	39.1	30.8
1906	33.8	32.9	36.4	37.4	38.4	43.0	31.8	38.4	37.6	38.4	40.7	41.3	41.3	42.0
1907	31.8	30.6	35.3	32.4	32.5	36.1	29.3	37.1	37.1	36.9	37.6	32.5	32.2	36.2
1908	37.2	36.6	39.1	41.0	41.3	52.2	33.5	42.4	41.0	44.4	47.3	40.2	38.9	40.2
1909	35.5	33.9	39.1	37.7	38.0	31.5	36.0	38.8	38.9	38.1	39.8	39.5	38.8	46.8
1910	34.5	33.7	36.8	38.4	38.9	44.8	32.6	43.2	41.3	44.6	45.2	37.3	37.0	38.2
1911	34.3	32.6	39.2	39.7	39.4	42.4	39.1	41.1	40.9	43.5	36.5	37.5	37.4	37.5
1912	30.5	28.2	37.0	36.2	36.4	33.1	37.6	38.9	41.7	39.4	30.0	34.2	35.1	26.7
1913	36.2	35.5	38.2	40.3	40.2	42.2	39.1	40.7	38.4	43.1	42.3	35.4	34.9	40.5
1914	37.0	36.0	40.0	41.6	42.5	36.4	42.8	43.4	41.8	44.5	45.6	35.2	34.4	39.3
1915	36.1	35.0	39.3	40.3	40.1	41.7	39.7	40.8	38.2	42.5	44.5	32.2	32.0	32.4
1916	35.2	33.7	39.7	44.0	43.8	47.4	42.2	43.3	39.7	44.4	51.0	40.3	39.7	45.2
1917	37.9	36.4	42.1	45.9	44.8	51.8	44.9	43.6	42.6	44.5	44.7	38.3	37.7	41.1
1918	33.9	32.5	44.8	45.9	45.5	46.0	46.9	42.3	37.6	43.6	52.9	37.0	36.1	42.6
1919	33.1	31.8	40.3	40.2	40.3	41.1	39.3	36.9	36.3	36.7	38.9	32.4	32.9	38.7
1920	32.5	31.9	33.9	39.9	39.3	43.2	39.3	32.8	32.4	30.4	38.8	35.3	34.9	37.0
1921	38.3	37.8	39.6	40.5	39.6	42.4	41.5	40.0	38.6	45.1	47.8	38.5	38.0	38.7
1922	35.9	34.7	39.2	44.7	44.1	43.7	46.8	40.2	40.3	41.8	36.8	35.9	35.9	33.2
1923	34.9	33.6	38.4	45.5	45.6	41.9	47.5	41.6	41.6	42.1	40.8	35.1	35.0	39.5
1924	32.1	31.8	33.4	43.2	42.9	39.8	46.1	40.2	38.2	41.0	44.2	37.8	38.4	34.3
1925	33.4	33.3	33.6	43.6	43.2	45.9	43.4	44.4	40.8	45.6	52.3	38.5	38.4	38.7
1926	35.9	34.8	38.1	51.2	52.2	47.4	51.1	44.7	42.7	45 5	48.4	37.4	36.7	40.4
1927	34.7	34.2	35.9	46.6	48.4	46.0	42.3	42.7	40.9	43.6	45.6	36.9	36.6	37.5
1928	36.2	36.0	36.8	47.4	48.2	46.3	46.0	46.3	43.3	46.7	53.7	39.2	38.9	36.8
1929	32.6	31.8	34.8	45.6	46.3	43.7	45.0	43.1	41.9	44.0	44.1	33.0	32.7	32.2

TABLE XIX

Crude Birth Rates by Province and District 1900—1960 (*Contd.*)

Year	*W.P.*	*Colombo*	*Kalutara*	*C.P.*	*Kandy*	*Matale*	*N'Eliya*	*S. P.*	*Galle*	*Matara*	*H'tota*	*N. P.*	*Jaffna*	*Mannar*
1930	33.5	32.6	36.0	40.4	41.0	40.9	38.7	43.8	43.3	44.9	43.0	34.5	34.3	34.6
1931	30.9	30.3	32.8	38.7	38.3	42.0	37.8	41.1	38.9	42.2	45.0	34.8	34.5	36.6
1932	29.8	29.1	31.8	38.3	38.0	42.6	36.7	41.0	37.2	42.5	48.8	33.4	33.9	24.5
1933	32.3	31.4	35.0	39.4	38.9	42.6	38.8	43.3	40.5	45.5	46.9	35.6	35.4	34.7
1934	29.6	29.1	31.0	36.9	33.4	43.6	36.9	39.8	36.5	40.7	47.7	35.8	34.6	46.1
1935	28.6	26.9	32.0	35.9	34.2	35.5	40.4	41.1	38.5	43.0	44.1	33.6	33.6	32.8
1936	30.3	29.5	32.5	33.2	31.7	34.2	36.4	38.7	37.8	39.0	40.3	34.1	33.5	41.9
1937	32.2	31.4	34.3	39.2	38.8	44.9	37.1	39.6	38.9	39.5	42.3	34.7	34.3	36.9
1938	30.6	30.2	31.8	36.7	35.9	42.2	35.9	38.6	36.1	40.1	42.7	36.8	36.6	39.3
1939	31.0	30.6	32.3	36.4	35.6	41.2	36.1	37.4	36.4	37.9	39.9	35.2	34.8	44.4
1940	32.2	30.4	34.3	37.5	36.9	41.6	37.2	35.3	36.8	32.6	37.2	35.8	34.8	44.1
1941	32.1	31.3	34.4	38.9	37.5	45.1	39.5	34.6	36.4	31.7	36.4	32.5	31.6	36.5
1942	30.5	29.5	38.8	37.8	36.6	47.1	36.4	36.5	35.0	37.6	44.3	37.0	36.9	43.0
1943	38.1	37.7	38.4	39.1	38.5	48.7	36.2	43.2	42.5	41.8	49.4	35.9	34.9	41.5
1944	35.0	36.1	36.7	36.1	34.6	45.3	35.4	40.0	38.5	40.3	43.9	32.5	35.1	30.2
1945	31.8	31.6	32.3	41.6	41.6	43.7	41.6	36.7	33.9	38.2	41.6	32.4	32.2	32.5
1946	37.8	37.7	38.3	42.1	43.2	38.2	41.4	40.7	42.0	40.8	36.3	35.2	35.1	30.2
1947	35.3	36.1	33.0	45.0	44.0	49.3	44.7	38.2	38.6	39.3	40.5	37.2	36.9	34.5
1948	35.5	35.9	34.4	44.3	42.6	47.4	47.1	41.9	38.0	42.8	52.1	38.3	37.2	43.9
1949	37.2	38.3	34.0	42.4	40.9	46.5	44.0	37.6	34.7	37.2	48.0	36.0	34.7	40.1
1950	35.2	36.0	32.7	42.4	40.5	48.5	43.7	39.7	35.5	39.7	52.4	39.0	37.6	45.4
1951	34.8	35.4	33.0	44.2	43.2	50.0	43.5	39.5	34.7	40.4	52.4	37.5	35.7	35.7
1952	32.9	33.9	29.9	42.7	41.6	50.6	41.0	40.3	33.3	41.9	58.1	36.5	34.5	46.8
1953	37.2	37.8	35.5	39.8	39.1	43.3	39.4	41.7	37.2	43.3	50.2	35.5	34.0	40.6
1954	31.9	32.1	30.1	38.2	39.1	42.2	33.5	35.7	31.4	36.2	45.8	32.1	30.5	38.0
1955	32.8	33.8	29.4	39.8	38.8	44.3	39.4	38.4	32.9	39.4	51.0	36.3	34.5	41.0
1956	31.5	32.1	29.5	38.3	37.4	43.2	37.8	37.4	33.4	38.2	45.7	33.7	32.4	39.4
1957	33.2	34.3	29.8	37.0	36.6	40.4	36.0	36.5	31.9	39.8	41.5	32.5	30.9	37.8
1958	30.1	30.6	28.5	39.0	37.5	42.4	40.9	35.7	32.9	36.9	42.7	35.1	33.0	42.0
1959	37.0	34.7	29.0	37.2	35.9	43.6	36.9	35.3	29.9	37.5	44.4	37.4	35.6	44.6
1960	32.3	33.5	28.1	39.1	38.9	42.2	37.5	35.5	32.0	35.9	43.0	34.5	32.1	40.8

TABLE XIX

Crude Birth Rates by Province and District 1900—1960 *(Contd.).*

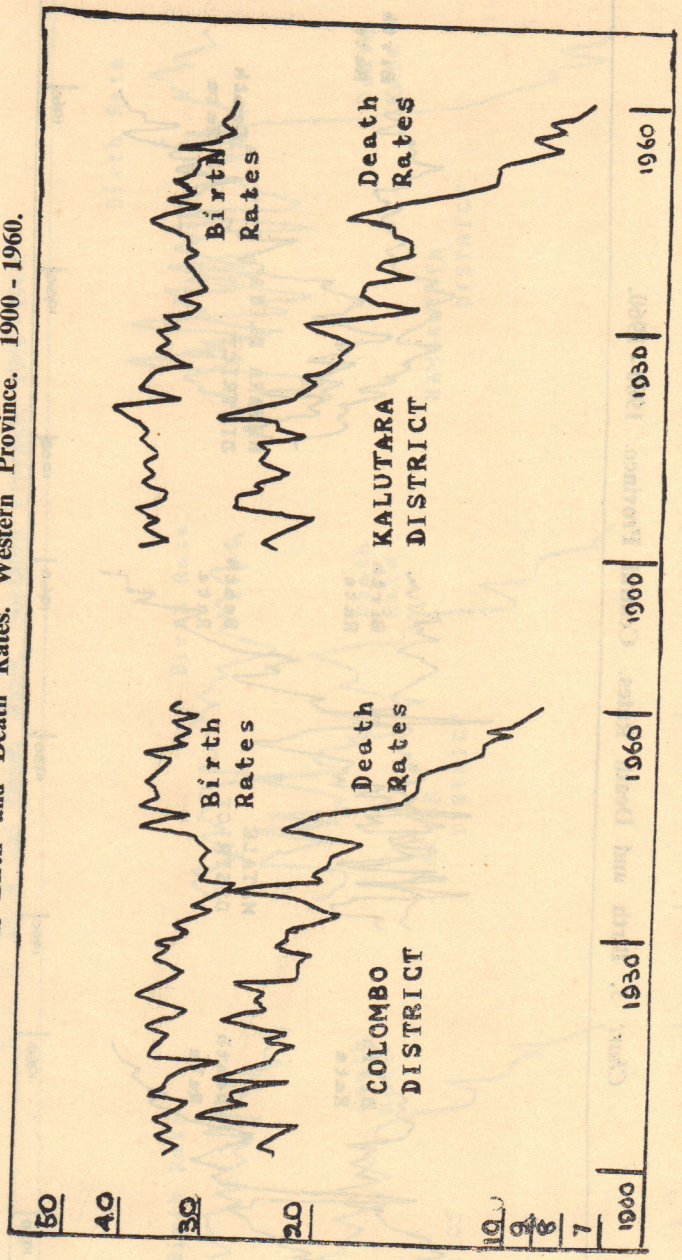
Year	*Vavuniya*	*E.P.*	*B'caloa*	*Trinco*	*N. W. P.*	*K'gala*	*Puttalam*	*Chilaw*	*N. C. P.*	*A'pura*	*Uva*	*Badulla*	*Sab.*	*Ratnapura*
1900	45.4	42.2	43.5	35.5	39.1	40.8	34.7	28.4	40.2	40.2	39.6	39.6	42.0	45.1
1901	43.5	43.2	42.9	44.6	41.2	43.6	36.2	34.5	47.9	47.9	39.8	39.8	39.2	42.0
1902	36.8	44.6	45.9	38.0	41.3	44.1	32.6	35.3	3.81	88.1	42.6	42.6	41.4	40.8
1903	38.6	47.1	48.4	40.3	44.6	47.6	35.5	38.3	38.5	38.5	44.2	44.2	44.0	43.7
1904	44.8	46.0	46.2	45.3	45.2	48.8	37.5	36.6	42.6	42.6	43.5	43.5	41.2	40.8
1905	41.3	40.7	40.8	40.5	45.0	48.9	35.4	35.4	43.6	43.6	38.8	38.8	42.8	41.4
1906	40.5	41.0	40.7	42.4	34.5	36.5	27.9	30.2	36.7	36.7	40.7	40.7	41.1	39.9
1907	32.9	39.2	39.6	37.2	34.6	35.8	34.5	30.6	40.0	40.0	37.9	37.9	37.2	37.0
1908	42.9	39.1	38.0	40.2	48.5	52.4	37.4	39.6	43.2	43.2	44.5	44.5	49.9	49.4
1909	46.3	43.9	44.8	39.2	36.3	37.1	35.9	34.0	41.1	41.1	45.6	45.6	43.8	45.0
1910	40.3	40.5	40.1	43.0	40.0	42.2	28.7	37.5	41.0	41.0	41.8	41.8	40.5	39.8
1911	38.9	44.4	44.5	43.8	36.9	39.6	28.5	31.2	46.1	46.1	39.0	39.0	36.9	39.3
1912	27.4	40.4	41.4	34.9	27.1	27.5	22.1	27.9	30.3	30.3	39.4	39.4	31.7	35.1
1913	38.0	40.5	41.0	37.9	41.7	44.0	30.9	38.5	34.1	34.1	42.5	42.5	44.8	44.1
1914	43.8	34.1	34.7	30.8	35.5	35.7	30.1	36.9	36.8	36.8	40.0	40.0	42.0	42.9
1915	36.5	38.0	38.0	38.0	36.2	38.3	24.1	34.3	37.4	37.4	42.7	42.7	43.1	45.7
1916	45.2	45.7	45.5	46.3	41.9	45.2	29.0	36.6	41.7	41.7	46.7	46.7	43.8	47.5
1917	47.3	43.1	42.1	48.2	44.0	46.9	35.2	38.1	51.9	51.9	46.0	46.0	47.0	50.7
1918	47.8	44.2	43.8	46.2	43.4	47.4	32.4	34.9	49.5	49.5	50.3	50.3	50.8	51.8
1919	29 1	40.0	40.9	34.9	34.6	37.1	24.3	30.8	32.8	32.8	41.0	41.0	44.9	49.5
1920	37.0	44.7	44.9	44.1	42.0	39.2	33.6	33.0	42.0	42.0	41.2	41.2	41.3	40.3
1921	38.7	45.2	46.1	40.7	42.5	44.3	42.0	41.8	42.5	42.5	42.0	42.0	41.5	41.2
1922	39.1	42.3	43.9	34.7	35.2	35.7	34.8	33.7	36.7	45.3	45.3	45.3	43.4	43.4
1923	31.0	39.4	40.6	33.7	37.4	38.8	33.7	33.7	38.6	38.6	44.8	44.8	41.8	44.2
1924	37.1	40.8	41.8	35.6	39.1	41.6	31.0	35.3	38.6	38.6	44.6	44.6	44.1	42.3
1925	42.2	43.3	43.5	42.5	45.5	48.4	40.6	37.5	43.6	43.6	48.6	48.6	43.5	45.0
1926	46.6	46.3	46.6	44.4	43.0	45.1	35.8	38.2	43.0	43.0	49.1	49.1	47.9	51.6
1927	40.7	48.7	49.1	46.6	44.8	47.9	37.2	36.7	50.9	50.9	50.7	50.7	46.1	48.4
1928	47.0	45.1	44·9	45.6	41.9	44.8	35.7	34.2	47.9	47.9	51.6	51.6	46.1	50.3
1929	40.0	45.9	46.9	41.1	35.6	38.0	30.6	29.1	43.3	43.3	45.5	45.5	43.1	47.6

TABLE XIX

Crude Birth Rates by Province and District 1900—1960 (*Contd.*).

Year	*Vavuniya*	*E.P.*	*B'caloa*	*Trinco*	*N. W. P.*	*K'gala*	*Puttalam*	*Chilaw*	*N. C. P.*	*A'pura*	*Uva*	*Badulla*	*Sab.*	*Ratnapura*
1930	37.6	43.1	43.9	39.4	39.3	41.5	32.9	33.5	39.0	39.0	43.8	43.8	42.9	41.6
1931	38.2	45.6	47.2	38.6	38.9	40.0	34.5	32.5	43.4	43.4	43.2	43.2	40.2	42.1
1932	36.4	44.1	44.4	43.0	41.5	44.2	38.0	33.5	42.2	42.2	43.5	43.5	39.1	40.6
1933	39.9	43.1	43.2	42.4	41.1	44.2	32.0	32.0	43.1	43.1	43.8	43.8	41.3	43.0
1934	45.1	44.3	44.4	43.8	44.1	46.9	45.8	33.8	54.4	54.4	44.4	44.4	38.5	39.2
1935	34.1	43.3	44.5	38.5	29.5	30.7	31.6	25.0	42.6	42.6	42.5	42.5	33.9	38.2
1936	36.2	39.3	39.4	39.0	34.8	37.1	37.0	25.9	51.8	51.8	38.5	38.5	31.7	35.8
1937	40.2	39.0	39.0	39.5	41.3	43.8	38.5	33.6	48.9	48.9	45.0	45.0	39.8	38.5
1938	38.4	41.2	39.8	48.0	35.7	38.0	35.0	28.3	42.6	42.6	40.2	40.2	38.0	38.2
1939	40.5	44.3	43.5	48.4	38.8	41.4	37.3	30.1	49.4	49.4	40.5	40.5	36.0	35.9
1940	46.1	44.3	43.2	49.6	36.1	36.7	41.0	32.8	47.3	47.3	37.9	37.9	36.0	36.7
1941	45.5	40.6	40.1	43.0	39.0	40.6	39.6	33.5	44.1	44.1	43.1	43.1	39.5	37.7
1942	39.7	37.4	38.6	31.9	44.2	46.8	43.6	35.3	43.0	43.0	41.4	41.4	38.4	36.4
1943	50.1	40.1	43.7	29.3	38.2	39.2	33.3	48.8	48.9	48.9	37.5	37.5	43.5	42.5
1944	44.0	43.7	42.9	47.3	38.8	39.3	45.1	35.1	37.9	37.9	37.3	37.3	38.9	32.2
1945	35.6	40.1	43.7	29.3	38.2	39.2	33.3	36.1	29.6	29.6	46.1	46.1	38.5	39.5
1946	43.8	39.3	42.0	31.6	31.3	30.1	38.6	33.1	38.9	38.9	39.8	39.8	38.4	41.8
1947	44.9	39.1	42.6	28.8	41.9	43.2	43.3	36.9	41.3	41.3	41.3	41.1	41.3	42.1
1948	49.1	41.2	45.1	35.9	43.3	44.9	45.6	37.6	44.6	44.6	48.1	48.1	40.3	43.2
1949	54.1	40.5	42.1	36.1	44.9	47.0	47.4	36.8	48.8	48.8	41.2	41.2	41.4	45.0
1950	54.8	43.7	47.6	34.1	47.7	50.2	52.1	37.7	53.6	53.6	44.7	44.7	39.9	43.6
1951	58.4	42.6	46.7	32.7	45.3	47.7	50.9	35.5	60.4	60.4	45.1	45.1	41.5	43.4
1952	58.5	43.0	47.3	32.8	45.5	47.4	56.2	35.6	59.3	59.2	45.7	45.7	38.6	40.5
1953	49.0	40.9	41.8	39.4	42.1	43.7	43.9	35.6	44.2	44.2	40.8	40.8	38.7	39.8
1954	47.7	43.9	45.0	40.4	39.1	40.2	46.0	32.9	46.6	46.6	40.1	40.1	36.8	39.1
1955	54.3	43.9	43.9	44.1	42.2	44.6	44.6	32.4	46.6	46.6	44.2	44.2	36.1	37.8
1956	44.5	45.7	45.7	46.0	38.6	39.9	42.0	32.4	45.4	45.4	41.8	41.8	34.9	36.7
1957	46.7	46.3	46.0	47.2	38.5	39.6	43.3	32.4	45.7	45.7	41.1	41.1	35.0	36.3
1958	53.6	46.3	46.4	46.0	36.8	38.5	42.4	28.1	44.8	44.8	42.7	42.7	33.7	35.8
1959	52.9	50.2	51.1	47.4	38.3	39.7	43.9	30.6	45.7	45.7	43.8	43.8	34.7	37.2
1960	57.3	48.6	49.5	46.0	36.7	37.8	42.1	30.2	47.9	47.9	42.2	42.2	34.3	36.4

Chart 2. **Birth and Death Rates. Western Province. 1900 - 1960.**



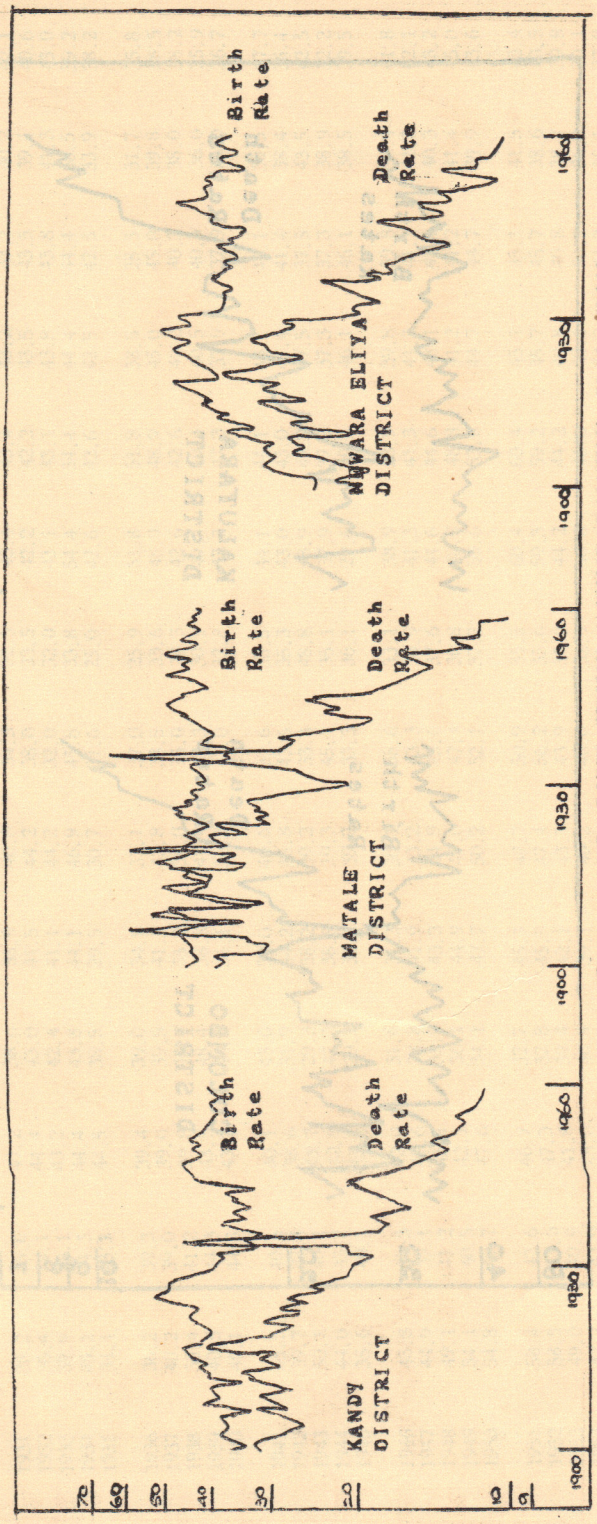
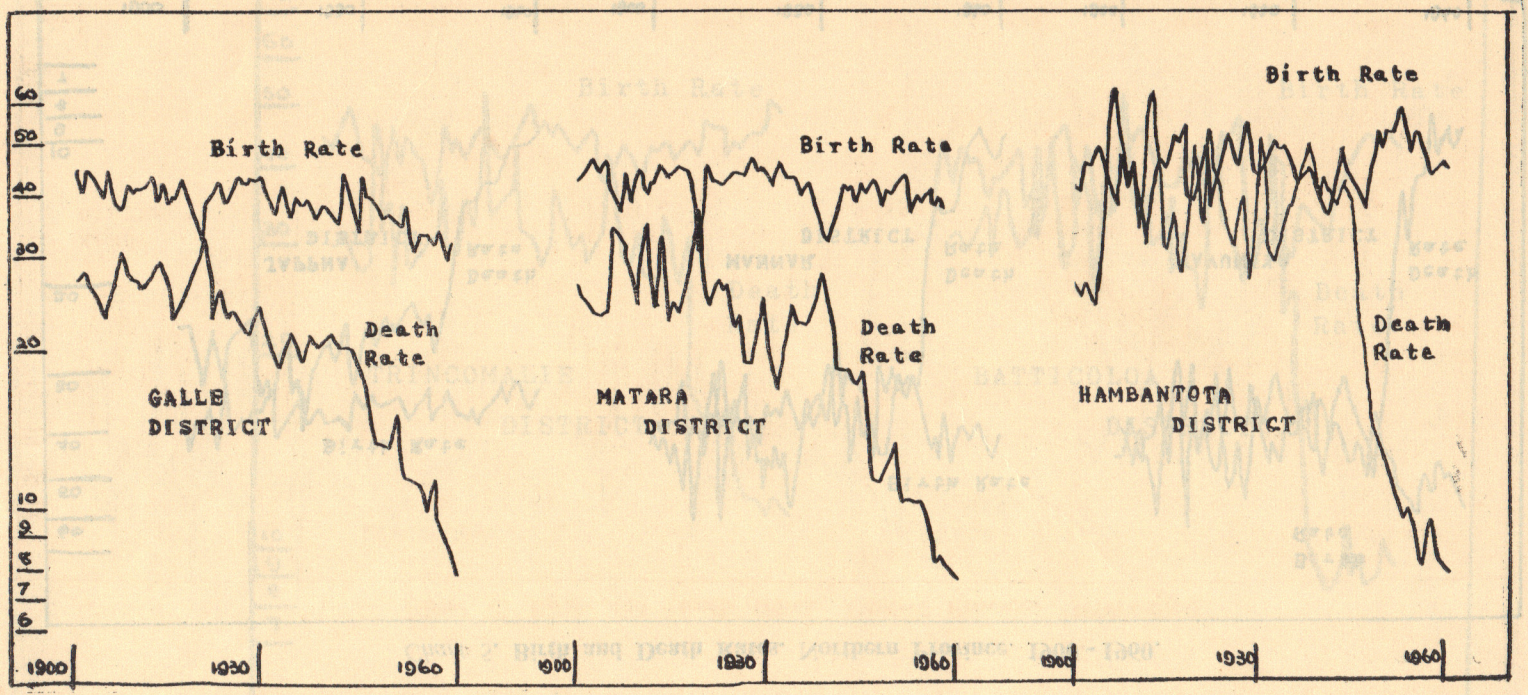


Chart 3. Birth and Death Rates. Central Province. 1900 - 1960.

Chart 4. **Birth and Death Rates. Southern Province. 1900 - 1960.**



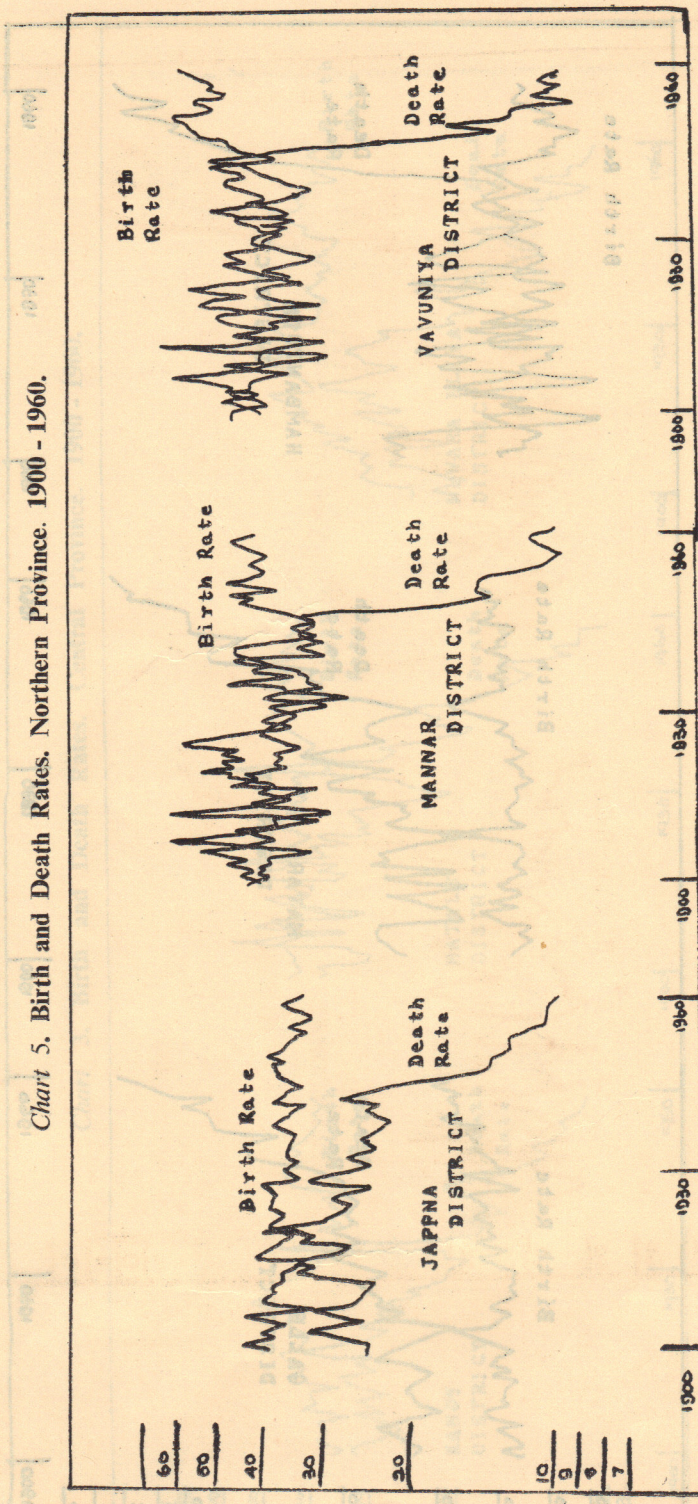


Chart 5. Birth and Death Rates. Northern Province. 1900 - 1960.

Chart 6. **Birth and Death Rates. Eastern Province. 1900 - 1960.**

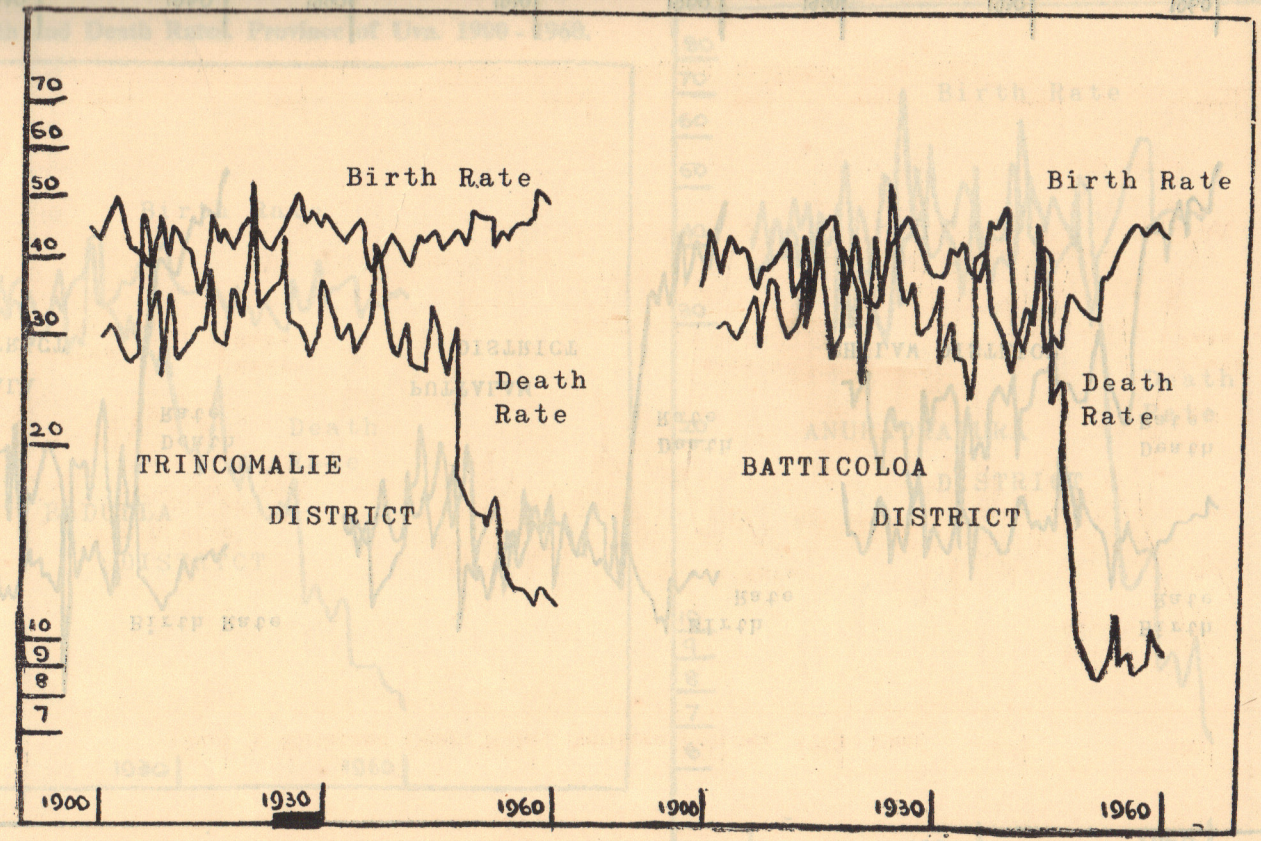


Chart 7. **Birth and Death Rates. North Western Province. 1900 - 1960.**

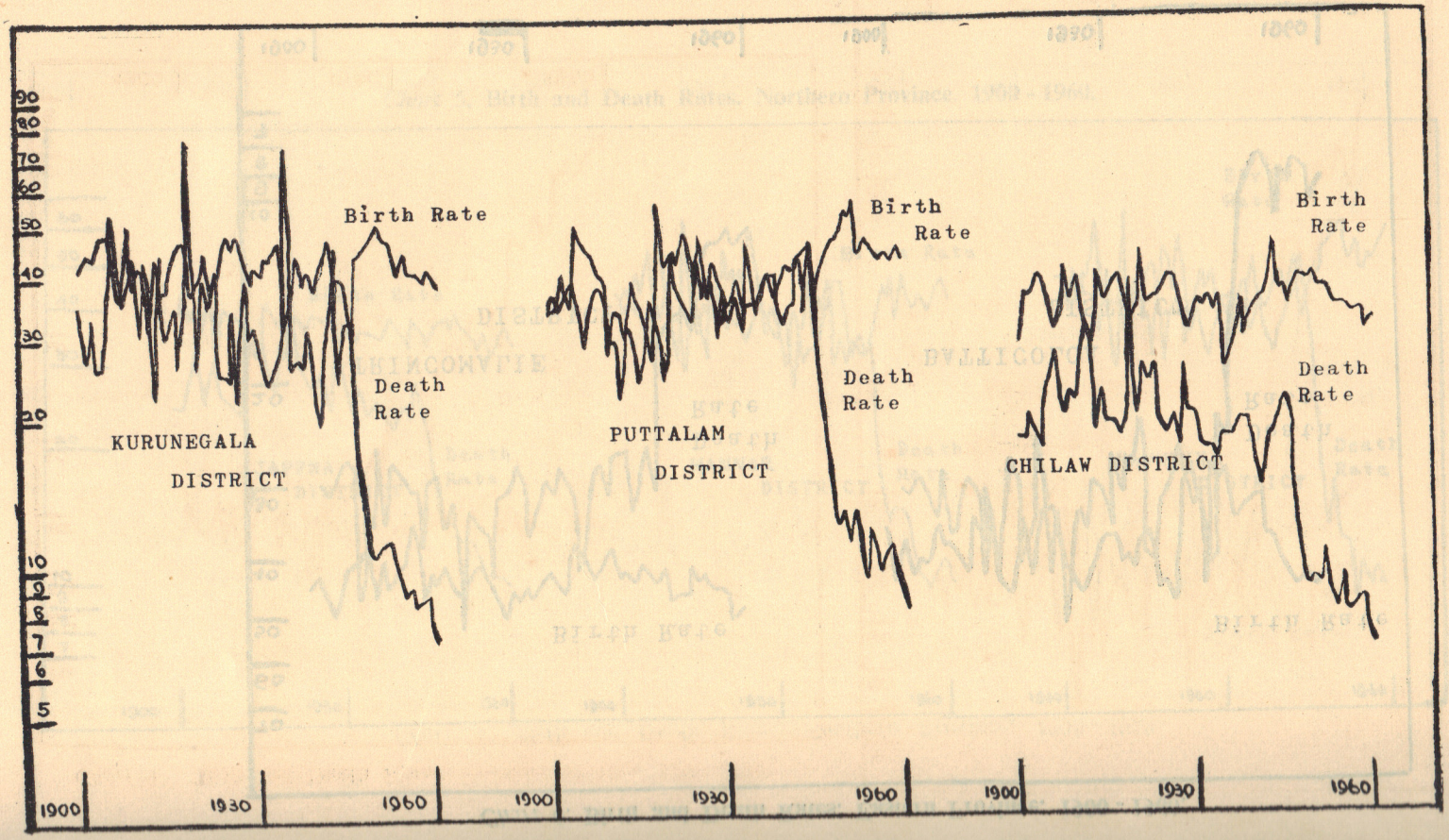


Chart 8. **Birth and Death Rates. North Central Province. 1900 - 1960.**

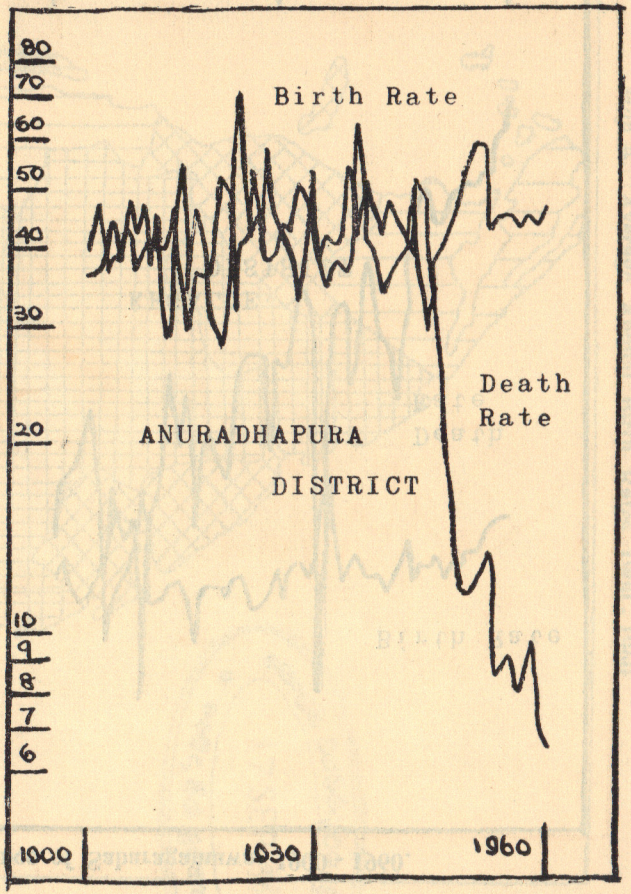


Chart 9. **Birth and Death Rates. Province of Uva. 1900 - 1960.**

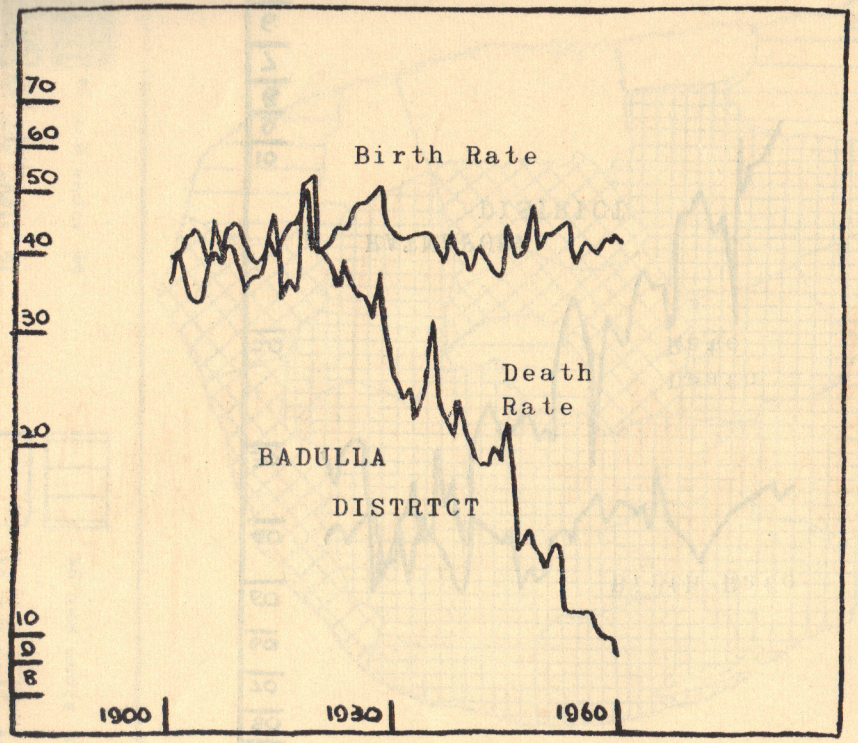
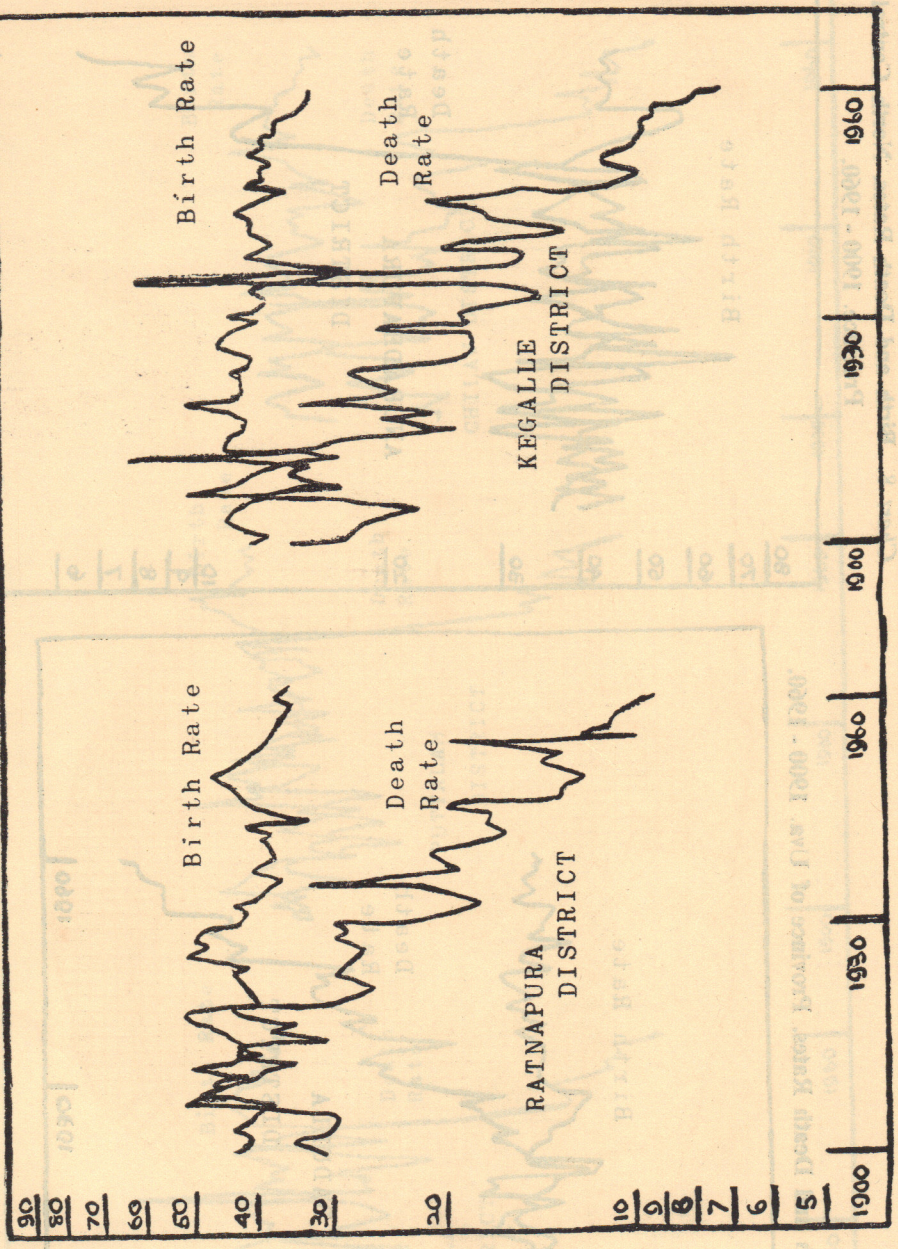


Chart 10. **Birth and Death Rates. Province of Sabaragamuwa. 1900 - 1960.**



Map 4. **Average Annual Birth Rates 1900 - 1960**

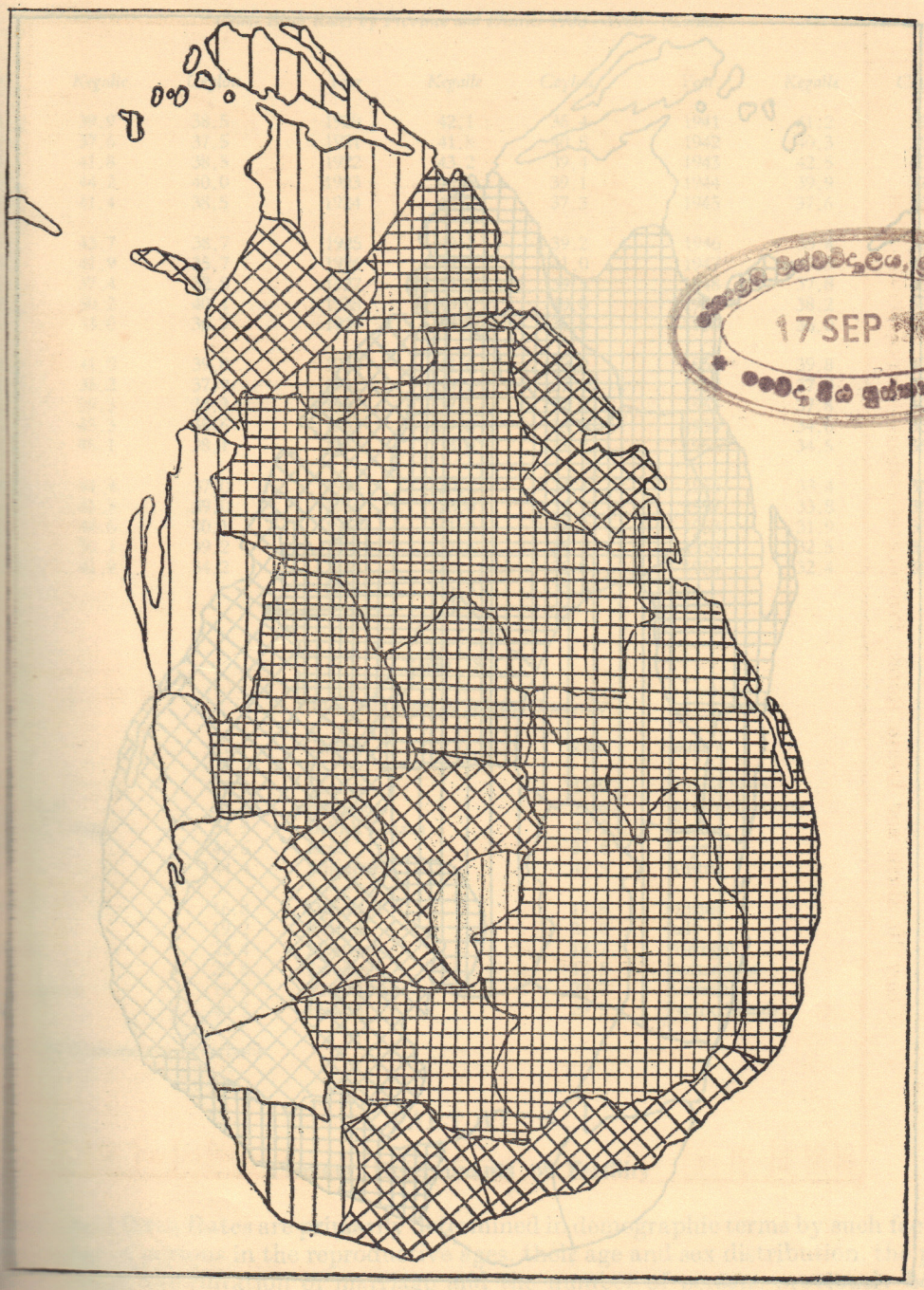


TABLE XXI

Crude Death Rates by Province and District 1900—1960

Year	*W. P.*	*Colombo*	*Kalutara*	*C. P.*	*Kandy*	*Matale*	*N'Eliya*	*N. P.*	*Jaffna*	*Mannar*	*Vavuniya*	*S. P.*	*Galle*
1900	23.6	23.1	24.2	29.9	32.1	37.3	19.9	26.0	24.2	40.4	38.2	27.0	27.2
1901	22.6	22.9	25.2	30.1	32.5	36.2	20.4	26.1	23.5	47.7	42.7	26.2	27.6
1902	22.9	23.5	23.8	29.4	29.8	37.5	23.5	27.0	25.7	35.9	40.2	25.4	26.2
1903	22.1	23.0	22.9	25.1	25.4	30.0	21.3	35.2	32.8	37.8	46.8	24.1	25.4
1904	20.3	21.2	20.5	23.5	24.0	29.2	18.8	36.4	35.9	42.0	39.5	23.2	22.6
1905	23.9	25.6	23.0	26.3	26.2	32.8	22.3	26.8	24.0	48.3	50.7	25.5	24.0
1906	29.3	30.3	28.4	37.0	36.1	57.8	27.9	29.1	27.2	45.7	42.5	33.6	26.5
1907	24.3	24.8	27.5	28.0	27.1	33.1	27.0	33.1	30.5	50.8	60.8	37.5	31.0
1908	25.0	27.1	25.4	32.1	30.3	48.8	26.4	27.9	25.1	44.4	46.1	31.2	27.4
1909	25.2	26.7	26.9	33.0	32.1	45.7	27.6	26.3	24.6	40.1	41.2	30.2	26.9
1910	22.4	21.7	22.7	26.8	27.3	30.7	22.5	25.2	24.2	35.0	29.2	26.8	25.9
1911	28.6	28.9	25.3	35.4	34.5	49.1	28.3	24.7	23.0	37.0	38.6	33.2	26.2
1912	24.6	24.5	25.7	31.3	30.9	41.2	25.6	35.6	33.0	51.1	64.4	35.7	27.4
1913	22.8	22.6	25.4	30.8	29.9	38.6	28.0	31.1	29.9	45.6	34.5	28.7	28.5
1914	23.2	23.0	25.9	35.2	33.0	48.4	32.6	36.4	35.3	45.0	44.5	31.7	27.9
1915	20.7	21.4	21.5	27.5	26.5	33.0	26.4	33.3	32.4	45.1	33.2	24.3	23.2
1916	23.1	23.6	24.0	32.2	31.1	39.5	30.5	29.1	27.5	46.9	34.6	26.7	24.2
1917	22.1	22.0	24.4	30.0	29.7	33.5	28.2	27.3	25.8	47.8	28.9	25.0	25.1
1918	25.9	25.6	29.7	43.4	40.3	56.7	42.9	36.5	33.3	72.5	48.1	29.7	27.4
1919	27.8	28.0	28.1	39.1	39.5	48.7	37.9	31.1	28.1	59.9	52.7	53.8	28.6
1920	23.6	24.1	23.8	33.0	33.4	33.8	31.2	37.8	36.7	47.0	43.6	32.6	32.2
1921	24.2	25.1	22.1	34.3	34.4	40.7	29.4	34.7	32.9	49.4	46.5	31.2	27.8
1922	23.0	24.0	20.5	27.5	26.6	32.0	26.5	29.0	27.8	40.4	36.3	26.9	22.9
1923	25.0	26.6	21.8	32.0	30.4	42.3	29.3	29.7	27.2	44.3	55.6	28.8	25.3
1924	19.9	20.8	19.6	30.2	28.8	28.8	34.9	28.6	25.9	50.5	50.7	26.1	22.7
1925	20.3	21.4	19.3	28.1	26.9	30.9	29.1	27.3	25.9	41.4	34.9	23.6	22.6
1926	19.8	20.8	19.1	29.3	28.3	33.9	28.2	28.6	27.6	36.1	39.6	25.2	22.0
1927	18.9	20.1	18.0	26.9	26.4	28.1	27.2	26.1	24.1	49.0	33.8	21.1	20.6
1928	21.3	22.6	18.4	28.2	28.4	34.4	27.9	23.8	22.6	37.6	29.1	21.7	21.7
1929	21.1	22.0	20.6	24.9	23.6	32.9	23 7	32.1	30.6	47.4	39.1	27.1	24.0
1930	21.3	22.0	21.7	23.5	22.4	34.4	20.1	28.7	27.3	41.8	38.8	28.2	22.7

TABLE XXI

Crude Death Rates by Province and District 1900 - 1960 - (Contd.)

Year	W.P.	Colombo	Kalutara	C.P.	Kandy	Matale	N'Eliya	N. P.	Jaffna	Mannar	Vavuniya	S. P.	Galle
1931	19.0	19.7	18.2	21.4	21.0	24.8	20.4	25.5	24.4	33.6	36.0	21.8	20.1
1932	16.8	18.0	14.9	20.0	19.9	22.9	18.7	27.2	25.4	42.7	39.6	19.6	18.1
1933	18.8	20.3	16.9	19.4	18.7	23.1	19.2	27.7	27.0	32.5	35.2	22.4	19.8
1934	19.9	21.0	18.8	22.4	21.0	28.0	20.6	25.2	24.4	32.2	32.3	23.9	21.2
1935	24.7	28.2	18.8	43.1	46.0	63.9	25.3	26.0	24.0	39.0	49.3	25.3	21.2
1936	17.3	19.0	14.7	19.6	18.5	27.6	18.6	27.2	25.1	43.2	48.7	23.2	19.2
1937	18.6	20.1	17.1	18.7	17.7	24.4	18.3	25.3	23.7	41.7	37.1	25.0	21.0
1938	17.8	18.9	16.6	17.4	16.0	25.1	17.0	24.5	23.3	35.4	35.3	25.8	20.7
1939	17.8	19.0	14.8	19.1	18.0	27.7	17.4	22.6	21.9	28.0	30.1	25.4	19.5
1940	17.5	18.6	15.4	16.9	16.4	21.1	16.8	23.0	22.6	30.8	34.3	26.1	20.7
1941	16.2	17.4	15.2	14.7	14.3	19.2	13.5	25.1	23.7	36.5	40.8	23.8	21.4
1942	16.4	16.9	16.2	15.5	14.9	23.3	13.1	23.9	22.6	31.2	40.9	21.4	19.6
1943	18.5	19.8	15.6	17.8	17.2	26.9	14.3	28.3	26.7	29.6	50.1	22.6	20.2
1944	20.6	22.6	18.5	18.1	17.8	25.4	15.3	24.9	23.3	37.1	44.8	21.8	19.6
1945	19.6	20.8	16.5	21.5	20.9	28 6	19.0	23.6	22.4	31.3	35.1	19.5	19.0
1946	17.3	18.5	14.7	19.7	18.9	28.6	16.2	18.5	17.0	32.1	26.3	21.2	17.4
1947	13.8	14.9	12.6	14.4	14.2	17.2	13.6	15.7	15.3	17.8	19.9	13.9	14.2
1948	13.6	14.3	11.4	14.5	14.0	15.0	15.8	12.8	12.5	15.3	15.8	12.5	13.2
1949	13.1	14.4	11.3	13.1	12.9	13.1	13.8	12.7	12.7	12.7	12.2	12.4	13.1
1950	13.0	14.2	10.9	13.7	13.9	13.6	13.3	12.6	12.5	13.6	14.5	12.4	13.1
1951	13.0	14.2	10.8	14.2	14.0	14.6	14.6	12.1	11.9	13.6	12.3	13.3	14.6
1952	11.4	12.3	9.6	13.1	12.7	14.4	13.2	12.4	12.3	14.1	12.3	11.0	11.7
1953	10.4	11.2	8.7	12.7	12.6	13.5	12.4	11.6	11.7	11.8	10.1	10.3	10.8
1954	10.4	11.1	9.1	11.5	11.6	11.6	10.9	10.9	11.2	10.1	8.7	10.2	11.0
1955	10.5	11.2	9.8	12.7	12.2	12.3	14.3	10.4	10.4	10.2	11.0	10.4	11.4
1956	99.5	10.2	8.4	11.5	11.4	11.7	11.8	10.2	10.3	9.2	10.5	8.7	9.8
1957	10.3	11.0	9.0	11.5	11.4	11.1	11.9	10.0	10.0	10.3	9.3	9.6	10.7
1958	9.2	9.8	8.1	10.8	10.8	11.2	10.9	10.2	10.1	10.7	10.5	8.9	9.4
1959	8.9	9.4	8.0	10.4	10.4	9.7	10.9	10.1	10.0	11.0	10.3	8.1	8.8
1960	8.2	8.6	7.6	10.3	10.3	9.8	10.7	9.5	9.5	10.5	9.1	7.2	7.3

TABLE XXI

Crude Death Rates by Province and District 1900 - 1960. (*Contd.*)

Year	*Matara*	*H'tota*	*E. P.*	*B'caloa*	*T'malie*	*N.W. P.*	*K'gala*	*Puttalam*	*Chilaw*	*N. C. P.*	*A'pura*	*Uva*	*Badulla*
1900	27.4	26.0	30.9	30.6	32.6	32.8	36.0	33.0	17.9	36.8	36.8	35.5	35.5
1901	25.1	25.1	32.0	32.2	31.0	25.7	26.8	34.0	18.3	38.3	38.3	40.6	40.6
1902	23.7	27.0	30.2	29.7	32.4	30.5	32.7	39.3	19.8	42.7	42.7	36.3	36.3
1903	22.5	24.1	27.7	27.3	30.2	24.7	25.5	36.3	17.5	44.9	44.9	33.9	33.9
1904	23.0	25.1	29.9	29.4	32.3	34.3	25.5	34.4	16.7	37.5	37.5	33.9	33.9
1905	23.5	33.1	46.7	49.0	34.6	35.0	36.8	49.0	23.5	48.3	48.3	36.4	36.4
1906	34.1	50.4	31.9	33.4	28.6	47.5	53.9	45.1	27.1	43.9	43.9	45.8	45.8
1907	33.0	63.3	36.1	35.8	37.7	33.1	35.8	43.5	20.6	47.8	47.8	39.1	39.1
1908	29.2	45.2	28.0	26.1	38.1	33.8	37.4	39.9	19.7	38.2	38.2	42.3	42.3
1909	27.7	44.7	35.2	35.6	32.9	39.0	44.6	39.2	21.7	44.5	44.5	41.0	41.0
1910	24.0	34.7	28.6	28.4	29.8	27.7	29.5	26.6	21.4	28.8	28.8	34.9	34.9
1911	32.1	53.9	29.9	29.7	31.4	39.4	43.0	32.5	29.8	33.0	33.0	37.1	37.1
1912	34.8	60.5	32.9	30.9	43.6	35.7	38.4	33.1	27.7	54.5	54.5	37.4	37.4
1913	24.1	39.4	31.0	30.6	33.3	28.8	21.5	29.2	19.4	34.6	34.6	41.3	41.3
1914	32.7	40.0	39.5	38.6	44.4	39.5	45.0	37.6	21.9	47.2	47.2	46.6	46.6
1915	22.9	30.5	31.0	30.1	36.3	28.3	30.2	34.4	19.4	40.5	40.5	33.9	33.9
1916	23.9	40.0	28.5	28.6	27.6	30.5	33.9	30.6	19.3	30.8	30.8	36.3	36.3
1917	23.4	28.3	34.8	35.5	31.1	24.4	26.2	26.8	17.6	27.6	27.6	35.0	35.0
1918	26.7	43.3	33.2	31.4	42.7	32.7	36.3	35.1	19.9	39.6	39.6	51.6	51.6
1919	33.8	49.4	51.3	54.1	36.4	65.3	75.4	54.4	37.3	72.9	72.9	53.6	53.6
1920	33.1	32.7	31.5	32.8	25.7	26.0	26.0	41.4	20.3	41.2	41.2	40.5	40.5
1921	25.3	52.1	36.3	34.4	45.2	36.6	39.3	43.4	24.9	54.6	54.6	38.5	38.5
1922	23.9	43.6	35.5	36.0	33.2	33.3	35.4	41.0	23.4	29.5	39.5	34.7	34.7
1923	26.9	42.2	40.4	37.3	55.3	38.0	41.0	47.4	24.7	58.5	58.5	39.6	39.6
1924	26.4	34.2	43.0	44.4	36.2	24.8	25.1	39.6	18.8	46.7	46.7	37.0	37.0
1925	22.1	29.7	31.7	31.3	33.5	24.1	24.7	37.0	17.9	42.7	42.7	34.5	34.5
1926	23.0	38.4	31.8	30.8	36.7	31.4	33.6	47.0	19.2	41.4	41.4	35.2	35.2
1927	19.1	27.0	28.3	27.8	30.6	22.1	22.3	35.9	17.1	32.9	32.9	32.3	32.3
1928	18.8	28.2	30.2	30.4	30.6	36.1	39.4	40.1	23.9	37.2	37.2	37.8	37.8
1929	23.6	43.6	35.7	35.6	36.4	28.2	29.5	29.0	20.4	53.6	53.6	30.7	30.7
1930	25.4	50.5	33.5	34.6	28.4	28.7	30.6	35.8	19.8	39.5	39.5	26.1	26.1

TABLE XXI

Crude Death Rates by Province and District 1900 - 1960. (*Contd.*)

Year	*Matara*	*H'tota*	*E. P.*	*B'caloa*	*T'malie*	*N.W. P.*	*K'gala*	*Puttalam*	*Chilaw*	*N. C. P.*	*A'pura*	*Uva*	*Badulla*
1931	20.4	30.2	28.6	27.9	31.7	26.0	27.3	31.9	17.4	35.2	35.2	24.3	24.3
1932	17.4	29.2	31.5	32.3	28.1	23.0	23.6	35.2	16.9	38.6	38.6	25.3	25.3
1933	20.8	33.7	27.6	27.5	28.3	23.6	25.2	30.2	15.9	36.9	36.9	21.6	21.6
1934	22.4	35.3	29.1	30.3	23.5	37.0	29.1	33.7	17.6	37.9	37.9	23.7	23.7
1935	25.0	49.1	34.3	32.9	40.8	63.9	73.8	33.7	34.7	64.0	64.0	32.3	32.3
1936	21.8	39.9	42.6	41.9	41.9	24.4	25.8	34.0	16.9	44.1	44.1	24.4	24.4
1937	21.7	45.3	34.1	34.3	32.8	26.1	27.1	39.1	19.2	40.8	40.8	21.8	21.8
1938	22.9	48.8	30.3	30.0	31.4	25.4	26.3	39.2	18.5	37.0	37.0	21.2	21.2
1939	27.1	40.2	27.6	27.8	26.9	28.6	30.9	34.0	19.4	34.7	34.7	23.5	23.5
1940	26.5	42.6	30.6	30.7	30.3	23.7	25.4	31.8	15.8	38.1	38.1	20.8	20.8
1941	19.9	41.7	28.4	27.3	33.6	19.3	19.7	33.6	14.2	40.3	40.3	19.0	19.0
1942	17.9	36.5	27.6	26.9	30.5	29.6	29.4	42.8	15.5	40.9	40.9	18.8	18.8
1943	18.3	41.5	35.3	33.7	42.8	26.4	45.6	44.0	18.2	51.6	51.6	19.7	19.7
1944	17.6	39.8	32.1	30.1	41.2	24.7	24.0	45.1	18.8	48.7	48.7	19.4	19.4
1945	16.8	27.1	25.5	26.1	24.0	30.3	32.3	35.6	21.4	32.3	32.3	21.7	21.7
1946	17.7	41.3	29.5	30.9	25.5	28.7	32.0	24.7	18.6	27.2	27.2	17.7	17.7
1947	11.5	18.4	17.8	18.2	16.6	15.5	16.2	19.7	11.7	19.5	19.5	13.9	13.6
1948	11.1	13.6	16.0	17.2	12.6	12.2	12.8	12.5	10.1	14.1	14.1	15.1	15.1
1949	11.3	12.7	14.4	16.1	10.3	10.3	10.6	11.9	9.0	12.1	12.1	13.7	13.7
1950	11.6	11.9	14.4	16.4	9.4	10.4	10.5	12.7	9.1	12.1	12.1	13.0	13.0
1951	12.5	11.5	12.8	14.7	8.5	10.7	11.1	11.2	9.0	12.6	12.6	13.7	13.7
1952	10.0	11.6	14.6	16.9	9.2	11.3	11.4	13.2	10.4	13.4	13.4	13.9	13.9
1953	9.6	10.4	12.6	13.1	11.0	9.9	10.3	9.9	8.6	9.7	9.7	11.4	11.4
1954	9.6	9.2	11.3	11.9	9.2	8.6	8.8	9.3	7.8	8.6	8.6	11.0	11.0
1955	9.5	9.8	11.4	11.9	9.8	9.4	9.2	11.6	9.2	9.1	9.1	11.4	11.4
1956	7.9	7.9	11.6	12.4	9.0	8.3	8.3	9.5	7.8	8.3	8.3	10.3	10.3
1957	8.8	8.8	10.9	11.4	9.2	8.5	8.4	10.3	7.9	8.2	8.2	10.4	10.4
1958	8.2	9.1	11.9	12.3	10.6	8.9	8.8	10.8	8.2	9.8	9.8	10.0	10.0
1959	7.8	7.0	11.3	11.8	9.8	7.7	7.7	9.2	7.3	7.3	7.3	10.0	10.0
1960	7.5	6.6	10.9	11.3	9.6	7.0	7.0	8.0	6.6	6.6	6.6	9.1	9.1

the statistical data necessary for such analyses are not available. Birth statistics by age of mother have been published only since 1952. Birth statistics by duration of marriage and order of birth are not being published.

TABLE XXI

Crude Death Rates by Districts 1900—1960. (*Contd.*)

Year	*Sab.*	*R'pura*	*K'galle*	*Year*	*Sab.*	*R'pura*	*K'galle*	*Year*	*Sab.*	*R'pura*	*K'galle*
1900	33.3	31.3	34.8	1920	25.9	29.9	22.8	1940	17.4	20.1	15.0
1901	30.9	35.6	27.7	1921	26.3	27.3	25.5	1941	14.8	17.2	12.7
1902	28.7	30.7	27.2	1922	26.9	25.9	27.7	1942	14.5	15.6	13.5
1903	26.7	29.8	24.5	1923	27.2	30.4	24.7	1943	16.8	17.0	16.9
1904	25.3	30.0	22.0	1924	23.0	28.6	18.8	1944	16.9	16.9	16.9
1905	29.7	34.3	26.5	1925	22.3	28.4	17.8	1945	20.4	19.5	21.2
1906	45.0	52.4	40.1	1926	22.0	27.2	18.2	1946	17.7	18.4	17.2
1907	34.8	43.7	28.9	1927	22.0	27.5	17.9	1947	12.1	13.1	11.2
1908	38.0	45.7	33.0	1928	27.2	29.7	25.4	1948	11.4	12.6	10.5
1909	39.9	47.1	35.2	1929	22.8	28.3	18.3	1949	11.1	12.2	10.1
1910	36.3	40.4	33.5	1930	24.1	29.7	19.4	1950	11.6	12.7	10.7
1911	59.0	51.3	64.3	1931	19.3	20.6	18.2	1951	12.6	14.4	11.0
1912	40.2	43.2	38.1	1932	15.8	17.7	14.2	1952	11.3	12.6	10.1
1913	33.3	38.8	29.5	1933	16.7	18.3	15.4	1953	10.2	19.7	9.8
1914	34.1	42.5	28.3	1934	19.4	21.3	17.9	1954	9.9	10.2	9.6
1915	24.0	30.8	19.3	1935	48.2	33.2	61.3	1955	10.8	12.1	9.7
1916	30.1	38.2	24.6	1936	17.3	19.1	15.8	1956	10.0	10.9	9.2
1917	25.8	33.8	20.4	1937	16.9	19.2	14.9	1957	10.2	11.2	9.3
1918	36.9	42.2	33.3	1938	17.4	19.8	15.3	1958	9.3	10.6	8.1
1919	33.1	44.0	25.9	1939	20.3	20.5	20.0	1959	9.0	10.1	8.0
								1960	8.3	9.4	7.3

Source : Reports of the Registrar General of Ceylon.

Table 22 shows the Age Specific Fertility Rates and the Total Fertility Rates for the different districts during the periods 1952—1960. The Age Specific Fertility Rates represent the number of the live births per 1000 women in each age group. As the number of births to women under 15 years of age and over 45 years are negligible these rates have been ignored. Most frequently, the most fertile age group was the "25 years and under 30" group. In the Nuwara Eliya, Batticaloa, Puttalam and Badulla Districts, however, the most fertile group was the "20 years and under 25" group, while in the Galle District it was the "30 years and under 35" group. The next most fertile groups were the "20 years and under 30" and "30 years and under 35" age groups, except in the Galle and Matara Districts where the older age groups appear to be more fertile. In these districts the "35 years and under 40" was more fertile than the "20 years and under 25" group and the "40 years and under 45" more fertile than the "15 years and under 20". Generally, the least fertile group was the "40 years and under 45" group.

The general pattern may be said to be, in order of decreasing fertility, "25 years and under 30", "20 years and under 25", "30 years and under 35", "35 years and under 40", "15 years and under 20", "40 years and under 45". This pattern is more or less common to all the districts and has, generally speaking, remained unchanged throughout the period

under consideration. Deviations from this pattern are not worthy of note except perhaps for the tendency to greater fertility in the older age groups in the Galle and Matara Districts and greater fertility in the Vavuniya, Batticaloa, Trincomalee and Anuradhapura Districts.

A noteworthy feature of these age specific fertility rates, is that the rates in each age group vary from district to district. Thus, in the "15 and under 20" age group, the rate was an average of 19 in the Galle District and 229 in the Vavuniya District. Generally, when the rates are high in one age group, they tend to be high in all age groups in that district but there is no uniformity in the magnitude.

TABLE XXII

Age Specific Birth Rates 1952—1960

		15 *and under* 20 *yrs.*	20 *and under* 25 *yrs.*	25 *and under* 30 *yrs.*	30 *and under* 35 *yrs.*	35 *and under* 40 *yrs.*	40 *and under* 45 *yrs.*	*No. Children born per woman by age* 45
Ceylon	1952	64.6	253.3	297.8	231.1	141.3	37.3	5.13
	1953	59.8	249.1	298.5	230.5	142.7	35.6	5.08
	1954	58.1	227.2	272.1	211.5	131.4	33.6	4.67
	1955	63.8	231.3	282.3	224.8	103.0	38.2	4.72
	1956	70.4	230.5	273.4	233.4	142.9	40.7	4.96
	1957	69.3	226.6	269.7	239.8	147.6	41.5	4.97
	1958	67.5	220.1	261.6	241.3	144.4	41.7	4.88
	1959	68.5	225.8	271.2	251.6	153.5	42.6	5.07
	1960	67.5	227.3	261.8	257.5	154.7	43.9	5.07
Western Province	1952	33.9	195.1	263.4	213.2	124.3	32.1	4.93
	1953	31.5	206.1	291.5	234.1	140.7	34.0	4.67
	1954	28.8	172.0	247.5	204.8	118.7	31.0	4.01
	1955	33.4	173.0	249.3	213.7	122.1	33.8	4.13
	1956	40.0	191.1	241.5	215.9	129.0	37.3	4.27
	1957	43.3	194.5	253.3	233.8	139.6	38.7	4.52
	1958	39.9	179.4	223.8	214.0	122.7	33.6	4.07
	1959	44.9	198.7	248.1	238.1	136.9	37.3	4.52
	1960	45.1	194.6	229.1	237.6	135.7	36.7	4.39
Colombo	1952	38.5	206.0	274.1	216.5	122.9	31.8	4.45
	1953	35.6	206.1	291.5	234.5	140.7	34.0	4.71
	1954	32.2	178.5	258.7	210.4	117.8	28.4	4.13
	1955	36.3	183.7	264.1	221.7	123.8	32.6	4.31
	1956	43.6	200.6	248.5	217.1	127.8	35.5	4.73
	1957	43.2	204.5	262.1	240.5	141.4	37.3	4.65
	1958	44.4	186.8	228.4	215.8	119.7	31.5	4.13
	1959	51.2	211.7	257.8	246.5	137.8	36.2	4.75
	1960	51.4	206.7	238.7	246.6	136.5	35.3	4.58
Galle	1952	20.4	161.8	230.3	203.0	128.7	33.0	3.89
	1953	19.7	134.8	262.5	221.7	146.0	38.3	4.37
	1954	18.7	152.0	212.9	188.0	121.4	38.2	3.66
	1955	24.9	140.1	203.7	189.1	117.0	37.3	3.56
	1956	29.3	161.2	218.4	212.1	133.1	42.8	3.98
	1957	29.1	162.9	224.3	212.4	138.8	42.8	4.03
	1958	26.8	156.2	208.5	208.1	132.8	40.0	3.86
	1959	26.3	157.7	215.5	211.3	134.2	40.8	3.93
	1960	26.8	156.8	156.9	208.8	133.0	39.2	3.60

TABLE XXII

Age Specific Birth Rates 1952—1960. (*Contd.*).

Central Province	1952	90.1	281.2	292.7	232.4	149.1	43.3	5.44
	1953	78.2	265.2	278.5	208.4	142.9	33.3	5.03
	1954	74.1	251.6	264.6	202.4	135.6	33.9	4.81
	1955	84.2	257.2	269.4	207.4	140.2	38.1	4.99
	1956	85.8	265.0	276.8	225.5	144.9	45.1	5.23
	1957	79.4	251.2	265.7	230.1	140.8	42.5	5.01
	1958	80.5	259.8	274.0	250.1	151.8	50.6	5.33
	1959	73.9	247.0	267.0	240.5	149.1	44.4	5.11
	1960	82.5	282.6	294.6	267.1	165.7	48.7	5.71
Kandy	1952	78.8	273.0	294.4	231.7	148.6	45.6	5.36
	1953	67.2	255.6	280.1	202.2	134.3	31.1	4.85
	1954	65.7	250.4	275.4	209.6	140.7	34.4	4.88
	1955	73.2	237.6	274.3	208.1	136.5	38.1	4.84
	1956	75.3	251.0	270.6	233.7	146.6	41.0	5.09
	1957	71.1	242.2	266.3	233.2	143.8	43.1	5.00
	1958	69.7	239.4	270.2	253.7	150.9	49.8	5.17
	1959	63.5	230.4	256.3	243.9	147.3	46.1	4.94
	1960	70.4	254.3	275.1	264.2	158.0	47.3	5.35
Matale	1952	137.5	345.6	354.4	269.3	140.4	41.4	6.44
	1953	102.6	323.1	334.2	247.2	145.2	37.5	5.95
	1954	108.4	305.5	312.6	224.2	127.6	35.7	4.56
	1955	118.0	322.7	315.9	242.8	143.6	39.7	5.91
	1956	132.6	311.5	308.6	257.4	154.8	40.4	6.03
	1957	121.6	284.3	281.5	254.0	148.6	43.8	6.67
	1958	122.6	297.1	294.8	271.6	161.0	45.5	5.95
	1959	121.2	297.8	315.5	279.9	178.2	40.3	6.15
	1960	114.0	286.9	301.7	269.8	170.0	45.7	5.94
Nuwara Eliya	1952	93.8	265.4	255.3	214.6	155.6	38.8	5.12
	1953	91.7	357.9	244.6	204.9	164.2	36.7	5.50
	1954	77.6	222.8	211.8	171.8	126.6	31.8	4.12
	1955	95.2	272.5	232.0	188.4	147.2	36.7	4.86
	1956	87.3	275.1	273.7	187.7	135.6	58.4	5.09
	1957	77.7	255.4	254.1	209.1	229.2	40.3	4.83
	1958	84.7	293.0	289.9	227.5	149.0	55.5	5.40
	1959	74.1	260.7	264.8	211.7	137.4	42.3	4.96
	1960	101.0	386.8	361.2	255.1	187.9	55.9	6.84
Southern Province	1952	27.3	225.3	319.0	264.7	178.0	54.1	5.34
	1953	25.3	222.8	314.8	266.3	179.3	52.7	5.30
	1954	21.8	187.6	268.6	230.3	159.8	47.1	4.58
	1955	26.2	192.0	289.9	253.3	177.6	56.6	4.98
	1956	28.9	185.8	292.1	272.0	186.4	61.4	5.07
	1957	25.4	172.9	274.8	280.5	189.3	64.6	5.04
	1958	25.5	167.4	268.6	282.4	108.1	62.5	4.93
	1959	24.8	162.3	264.0	281.5	186.2	61.3	4.93
	1960	24.3	160.9	257.6	294.4	190.2	62.6	4.95
Galle	1952	18.3	175.1	256.7	225.6	158.2	56.3	4.45
	1953	17.1	171.5	257.4	249.7	155.5	52.0	4.62
	1954	14.8	145.8	221.0	204.7	144.8	48.4	3.90
	1955	20.1	145.3	226.9	219.2	147.9	56.2	4.08
	1956	23.1	155.0	252.5	253.5	165.0	57.7	4.53
	1957	19.9	145.8	234.2	246.3	164.2	58.3	4.34
	1958	19.8	141.5	231.5	258.4	164.5	59.4	4.38
	1959	18.5	134.0	216.6	235.8	156.0	54.4	4.08
	1960	19.0	140.7	222.6	269.8	169.4	58.8	4.40

TABLE XXII.

Age Specific Birth Rates 1952—1960. *(Contd.)*

Matara	1952	24.1	223.2	347.3	290.3	196.5	58.4	5.70
	1953	22.1	231.6	242.8	247.2	145.2	27.5	5.13
	1954	16.9	189.1	288.0	241.7	168.4	50.0	4.78
	1955	22.1	195.1	311.5	266.6	194.8	61.2	5.41
	1956	22.0	186.8	322.5	292.6	205.7	68.2	5.49
	1957	21.3	181.0	314.0	325.4	224.1	77.8	5.72
	1958	20.4	171.4	296.4	305.8	192.9	71.3	5.92
	1959	19.2	166.4	293.4	321.4	216.9	4.22	5.46
	1960	18.5	162.0	275.4	312.5	204.5	72.2	5.23
Hambantota	1952	67.0	385.4	239.0	328.8	197.6	36.0	7.27
	1953	62.4	361.3	392.6	295.6	182.8	36.2	5.65
	1954	59.5	313.6	365.5	284.9	187.1	34.0	6.22
	1955	58.4	329.2	426.9	330.2	231.0	49.3	7.13
	1956	68.7	261.1	331.2	280.4	204.0	57.1	6.01
	1957	55.9	224.4	299.5	281.9	183.3	55.3	5.49
	1958	59.3	223.0	306.0	298.3	194.8	51.3	5.66
	1959	61.9	222.4	320.2	320.3	201.3	52.4	5.89
	1960	57.7	207.1	305.4	321.1	214.7	51.9	5.79
Northern Province	1952	67.5	230.0	282.0	202.2	111.8	28.8	4.61
	1953	64.9	222.7	263.9	193.6	107.0	25.9	5.36
	1954	65.0	200.3	235.3	169.3	96.6	22.8	3.95
	1955	72.9	218.8	261.7	204.2	110.2	26.0	4.47
	1956	76.8	227.1	250.6	216.3	121.6	29.6	4.61
	1957	77.6	230.9	247.0	208.8	118.2	24.6	4.45
	1958	79.9	232.7	265.4	230.4	125.2	29.2	4.81
	1959	87.2	241.0	275.4	243.8	145.7	34.1	5.32
	1960	78.3	231.5	245.9	225.9	235.6	32.1	4.75
Jaffna	1952	56.0	211.9	268.7	193.5	105.2	27.6	4.31
	1953	52.7	204.7	245.5	186.8	99.3	24.1	4.07
	1954	52.6	180.4	216.9	160.9	99.0	21.1	3.62
	1955	58.1	196.4	243.3	195.9	103.8	24.6	4.11
	1956	63.9	216.3	239.9	212.0	117.4	28.3	4.39
	1957	64.2	198.1	237.5	201.1	114.1	23.0	4.19
	1958	64.1	215.1	251.3	218.4	119.3	26.5	4.47
	1959	70.7	224.3	263.0	236.3	140.0	33.1	4.84
	1960	63.0	210.5	230.4	210.7	130.2	30.4	4.38
Mannar	1952	156·1	342·3	391·2	253·7	159·5	50·5	6·77
	1953	158·5	312·1	384·1	236·5	178·1	63·4	6·61
	1954	167·2	307·9	350·4	217·7	127·2	45·0	6·06
	1955	196.4	326·5	363·5	254·8	143·8	30·4	6·58
	1956	168·8	290·9	284·4	258·1	158·5	37·6	6·00
	1957	170·7	305·7	272·4	256·5	116·6	31·1	5·77
	1958	139·4	323·4	298·5	287·5	158·4	48·5	6·48
	1959	197·6	340·5	314·9	262·7	190·8	39·6	6·73
	1960	149·0	334·7	283·0	279·8	154·3	45·4	6·23
Vavuniya	1952	206.4	436.4	290.8	310.6	186.3	27.3	7.29
	1953	213.1	457.5	450.5	272.2	174.9	29.9	8.00
	1954	208.1	446.2	428.7	274.2	174.9	32.5	7.83
	1955	242.1	514.1	469.9	309.8	201.5	55.2	8.96
	1956	207.0	299.7	352.0	232.9	146.5	46.0	6.42
	1957	214.5	320.7	342.8	269.7	185.2	58.2	6.96
	1958	249.1	359.0	409.1	345.7	179.7	61.8	6.96
	1959	252.5	347.0	387.0	333.3	185.2	46.5	7.76
	1960	267.0	381.4	396.2	387.4	197.2	48.5	8.39

TABLE XXII

Age Specific Birth Rates 1952—1960. (*Contd.*)

Eastern Province	1952	169.2	330.9	297.2	297.8	95.8	19.8	5.17
	1953	148.9	306.7	299.9	202.4	92.4	19.2	5.35
	1954	172.1	324.5	300.0	217.0	107.3	24.7	5.73
	1955	169.7	323.8	311.9	226.1	113.5	23.5	5.83
	1956	191.9	316.1	316.8	249.4	126.9	29.8	6.15
	1957	198.3	325.9	314.4	244.1	135.4	30.3	6.24
	1958	190.3	313.7	325.8	250.7	139.3	33.0	6.26
	1959	202.5	336.7	355.1	277.8	149.9	36.5	6.80
	1960	200.0	325.7	326.0	275.8	153.6	37.9	6.60
Batticaloa	1952	162.7	305.8	287.4	200.3	98.9	20.2	5.38
	1953	145.0	304.5	289.0	200.4	92.5	19.0	5.25
	1954	164.2	327.6	309.1	213.6	103.6	23.0	5.71
	1955	161.5	319.4	301.4	292.2	102.7	22.3	5.55
	1956	185.0	315.3	308.1	243.4	120.2	29.9	6.00
	1957	188.0	320.3	309.1	243.0	126.5	28.3	6.08
	1958	180.3	315.5	321.9	246.0	130.3	32.0	6.13
	1959	192.5	343.4	360.8	273.8	142.9	35.1	6.74
	1960	193.0	330.7	329.8	271.4	150.5	35.8	6.56
Trincomalee	1952	195.0	342.3	330.6	187.9	81.8	17.7	5.78
	1953	164.4	314.2	337.2	210.1	92.2	20.0	6.02
	1954	203.3	313.4	295.3	230.1	124.0	32.5	6.00
	1955	202.4	339.2	345.2	249.5	162.5	27.5	6.63
	1956	217.5	319.0	345.1	271.1	152.8	29.6	6.73
	1957	237.0	244.9	331.7	247.9	169.8	38.7	7.35
	1958	227.5	307.6	338.4	267.7	173.6	37.3	6.76
	1959	240.0	314.1	336.5	292.6	176.7	42.3	7.01
	1960	228.0	308.9	313.8	291.9	165.7	47.0	6.78
North Western Province	1952	78.6	310.5	330.7	229.5	133.5	28.3	5.53
	1953	76.2	303.9	318.6	228.2	128.0	27.2	5.40
	1954	75.0	269.1	302.5	217.1	127.6	26.0	5.09
	1955	82.0	284.2	330.3	236.6	143.1	36.1	5.56
	1956	98.2	247.2	283.2	226.2	123.7	27.3	5.07
	1957	94.9	245.1	277.6	230.2	138.3	30.6	6.08
	1958	93.4	224.6	260.2	224.7	144.9	30.2	4.89
	1959	96.8	230.3	266.2	242.2	154.2	34.3	5.11
	1960	87.3	224.0	245.4	242.8	147.4	36.4	4.92
Kurunegala	1952	83.2	330.5	344.0	230.1	139.3	27.7	5.72
	1953	81.1	321.5	333.7	233.2	135.0	28.3	5.66
	1954	78.0	280.8	314.0	220.2	134.3	27.0	5.27
	1955	88.4	302.8	351.5	253.0	156.2	40.7	5.96
	1956	103.9	247.7	290.0	236.3	139.4	29.5	5.23
	1957	98.2	243.5	282.6	241.6	147.8	33.3	5.24
	1958	98.0	227.5	268.4	237.2	159.3	34.0	5.12
	1959	99.9	230.3	270.8	257.6	167.7	39.1	5.32
	1960	89.7	220.6	247.2	260.5	160.9	41.6	5.10
Puttalam	1952	163.9	403.5	374.3	282.4	154.4	39.0	7.09
	1953	131.6	367.1	311.5	249.8	148.4	34.0	6.21
	1954	163.8	368.4	351.0	164.0	148.9	30.4	6.63
	1955	148.4	378.0	358.7	225.3	148.9	27.0	6.43
	1956	158.7	327.6	303.6	206.5	121.8	23.8	5.71
	1957	158.8	315.6	322.1	230.3	123.9	23.8	5.87
	1958	154.3	302.2	302.7	235.6	136.0	26.9	5.79
	1959	171.9	306.0	305.5	259.4	144.8	30.9	6.09
	1960	168.0	333.5	274.9	224.0	120.2	21.6	5.71

TABLE XXII

Age Specific Birth Rates 1952—1960. (*Contd.*).

Chilaw	1952	41.5	217.9	271.2	210.7	107.1	26.9	4.32
	1953	45.4	227.9	268.8	204.0	96.1	21.4	4.02
	1954	42.2	202.9	248.1	191.7	98.1	21.4	4.02
	1955	43.2	196.3	248.2	183.6	96.8	23.6	3.96
	1956	57.9	217.7	249.8	196.7	112.0	21.1	4.28
	1957	61.8	227.2	214.9	188.6	108.2	23.5	4.05
	1958	56.4	185.6	213.1	174.8	94.4	18.6	3.71
	1959	60.8	203.6	233.8	180.1	107.1	18.7	4.02
	1960	54.3	199.6	227.3	183.6	105.8	23.2	3.97
North Central Province	1952	184.5	476.0	448.2	310.5	182.0	41.9	8.22
	1953	180.0	466.0	426.3	290.5	194.2	37.7	7.97
	1954	203.5	498.4	465.6	307.9	202.7	41.0	8.59
	1955	201.7	467.4	484.2	328.6	223.3	56.9	8.81
	1956	174.4	305.4	337.1	265.1	160.5	42.3	6.42
	1957	163.0	319.5	333.2	267.5	164.4	46.8	6.47
	1958	137.1	304.6	326.6	298.9	167.7	56.6	6.46
	1959	147.1	307.2	240.0	293.0	175.7	43.5	6.54
	1960	142.0	319.5	356.6	327.8	180.9	52.2	6.90
Anuradhapura	1952	184.5	476.0	448.2	310.5	182.0	41.9	8.22
	1953	180.0	466.0	426.3	290.5	194.2	37.7	7.97
	1954	203.5	498.4	465.6	307.9	202.7	41.0	8.59
	1955	201.7	467.4	484.2	328.6	223.3	56.9	8.81
	1956	174.4	305.4	337.1	265.1	160.5	42.3	6.42
	1957	163.0	319.5	333.2	267.5	164.4	46.8	6.47
	1958	137.1	304.6	326.0	298.9	167.7	56.6	6.46
	1959	147.1	307.2	340.0	293.1	175.7	43.5	6.54
	1960	142.0	319.5	356.6	327.8	180.9	52.2	6.90
Province of Uva	1952	107.0	349.6	311.2	243.4	175.0	47.9	6.17
	1953	100.3	327.7	288.2	222.4	157.7	44.1	5.70
	1954	102.7	328.7	288.0	207.0	144.1	43.6	5.57
	1955	114.9	359.2	311.7	229.7	162.1	40.6	6.09
	1956	94.5	309.2	331.8	247.0	142.4	44.1	6.69
	1957	95.9	310.5	304.1	238.8	148.9	43.3	5.71
	1958	93.2	311.1	316.7	274.8	152.5	50.3	6.00
	1959	86.4	326.2	332.2	277.0	159.2	50.5	6.16
	1960	86.6	307.3	318.4	279.2	143.2	52.7	5.93
Badulla	1952	107.0	349.6	311.2	243.4	175.0	47.9	6.17
	1953	100.3	327.7	288.2	222.4	157.7	44.1	5.70
	1954	102.7	328.7	288.0	207.0	144.1	43.6	5.57
	1955	114.9	359.2	311.7	229.7	162.1	40.6	6.99
	1956	94.5	309.2	331.8	247.0	142.4	44.1	6.69
	1957	95.9	310.5	304.1	238.8	148.9	43.3	5.71
	1958	93.2	311.1	316.7	274.8	152.5	50.3	6.00
	1959	86.4	326.2	332.2	277.0	159.2	50.2	6.16
	1960	86.6	307.3	318.4	279.2	143.2	52.7	3.93
Province of Sabaragamuwa	1952	61.6	259.0	312.1	246.1	146.6	34.1	5.30
	1953	56.2	244.2	311.1	238.9	142.2	36.3	5.15
	1954	50.5	237.9	289.5	224.5	140.4	33.9	4.88
	1955	52.9	225.2	282.4	223.6	241.7	36.5	4.81
	1956	61.2	227.8	265.4	238.7	147.9	37.9	4.90
	1957	59.8	223.2	263.7	237.5	154.5	40.5	4.90
	1958	59.8	214.3	250.7	235.6	147.7	31.5	4.73
	1959	56.3	215.6	263.9	244.1	158.3	40.2	4.89
	1960	53.0	217.2	248.4	247.2	163.0	42.4	4.86

TABLE XXII

Age Specific Birth Rates 1952—1960. (*Contd.*).

Ratnapura	1952	73.4	278.7	322.7	263.0	154.7	34.9	5.64
	1953	65.3	266.0	318.8	254.9	153.5	36.7	5.48
	1954	61.6	268.2	312.1	242.5	152.1	38.7	5.38
	1955	64.9	255.8	297.1	235.9	151.7	37.0	5.21
	1956	66.9	252.9	271.7	250.5	151.4	44.3	5.19
	1957	62.6	241.9	275.3	242.7	157.8	44.4	5.21
	1958	62.3	236.9	272.0	242.7	154.0	41.1	5.06
	1959	61.6	241.0	191.1	254.4	163.1	42.7	5.30
	1960	59.2	236.1	270.5	258.3	167.8	48.3	5.20
Kegalle	1952	52.1	242.9	303.2	231.6	139.8	33.4	5.02
	1953	48.9	226.4	304.7	225.1	132.6	35.9	4.62
	1954	58.1	227.2	272.1	211.2	131.4	33.6	4.67
	1955	43.3	200.3	270.1	213.1	133.3	36.1	4.48
	1956	55.6	205.9	259.9	228.4	144.8	32.3	4.63
	1957	57.1	206.7	253.8	232.9	151.6	37.0	4.70
	1958	57.5	194.4	232.4	229.3	142.2	33.5	4.45
	1959	51.1	193.3	240.7	235.0	154.1	38.0	4.56
	1960	47.0	200.6	229.5	237.4	158.7	37.2	4.55

Source : Reports of the Registrar General of Ceylon.

Note : Rates are births per 1,000 women in each age group.

The age specific rates are dependent to a large extent on the age of marriage. The average age of marriage for females, for general marriages in Ceylon in 1957, was 22·73. It ranged from a high of 25·19 in the Matara District to a low of 19·86 in the Vavuniya District. For Kandyan marriages, the average age was 20·75 ranging between 21·47 in the Nuwara Eliya District to 19·74 in the Vavuniya District, while for Muslim marriages, the average age was 18·3 ranging from 21·6 in the Hambantota District to 16·3 in the Batticaloa District. Where the fertility tended to be greater in the lower age groups, such as in the Puttalam, Batticaloa, Vavuniya and Trincomalee Districts, the average age at marriage tended to be much lower than in areas where fertility tended to be greater in the higher age groups. Age of marriage is also related to total fertility—the sum of the age specific fertility rates expressed as the number of children per women. There is a negative correlation (–0·43) between the two. The lower the age of marriage, the greater the number of children born per woman.

The Gross Reproduction Rates—the sum of the age specific rates based on female births—give an indication of the number of daughters a woman would produce in her child bearing period provided she continued to the end of her period and behaved as far as reproduction was concerned as other women in her community. Statistical data, however, are inadequate to compute these rates over a long period of time—a procedure that would enable the identification of trends. Table 24 shows the Average Gross Reproduction Rates during the period 1950—1960 for the different districts. It has varied from district to district and produced the general pattern of a lower rate in the more densely populated south west section of the country and a higher rate in the more sparsely populated areas.

Births and birth rates are limited first by the biological factors that enable only women and women of a certain age group to give birth and then by the prevalent customs and mores which restrict this activity to an even smaller segment. While it is physically