AN APPEAL

TO THE

BRITISH GOVERNMENT,

IN BEHALF OF

THE BRITISH COLONY AND PROVINCE

OF

CEYLON:

WITH AN APPENDIX

CONTAINING VARIOUS NOTICES OF THE ISLAND BY AUTHORS AND TRAVELLERS OF THE EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES,

BY

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"The blessing of JUDAH and ISSACHAR will never meet; that the same People or Nation should be both the Lion's whelp and the Ass between burdens." BACON.

THE SECOND EDITION WITH ADDITIONS.

FRANCFORT O. M.

PRINTED BY H. L. BRŒNNER.

1836.

"A free System of Government and the absence of all restrictions on Industry can overcome almost every obstacle; can convert the standing Pool and Lake into rich Meadows; cover the barren Rock with Verdure; and make the Desert smile with Flowers."

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APPENDIX.

AN APPEAL

TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT

IN BEHALF OF

THE BRITISH COLONY OF CEYLON.

I.

THE PRESENT STATE OF CEYLON.

With a great and much more than ordinary proportion of natural advantages — with infinite varieties of soil, climate, and situation — with so many vegetable and other indigenous productions, as excellent in quality as they might be redundant in quantity — with navigable rivers, safe and commodious harbours, and every facility of internal and foreign communication—whence comes it to pass that Ceylon should continue poor and degraded?—

That its Population should be so scanty?—Its Commerce so contracted?—Its Agriculture so depressed?—The answer is obvious: Misgovernment—a long-continued system of blind monopoly and arbitrary exaction. *This* has been the true cause, the deep and wide-spreading root, of the evil; *this* has been the prescriptive bane, the hereditary curse, of the Colony; overshadowing all its prospects and blighting all its hopes—checking the wholesome germs of agriculture—blocking up the avenues of commerce—and destroying every incentive to individual industry and national improvement.

It is true that the System has been greatly modified and amended since the Island fell into our hands. Many abuses have been corrected, many reforms introduced; Trial by Jury has been established, Law improved, Justice more duly administered, Slavery more than half extinguished, and compulsory Labour, and the Delivery of goods, at arbitrary prices, altogether abolished.

But though much has been, much more remains to be, done. Relics of Dutch barbarism yet abound;

destructive Monopolies and obnoxious Imposts are still suffered to exist; retarding the march of enterprize, and opposed to the obvious policy and best interests both of the Colony and of its Mother-Country.

Of many of these exactions it is impossible to speak but in terms of unqualified condemnation and regret—of some, as being, in themselves, altogether impolitic and unjust; and of others, as having been rendered so either by the exorbitancy of their amount or by the harrassing mode of their enforcement. Thus, in a country superabounding with Salt, no one is permitted to enjoy that prime necessary of life, but at a price of from 800 to 1000 per cent, above the cost of its production:— thus, in districts overrun with woods and wild-beasts, and where the destruction of either is a positive boon to the community, no man can fell a tree or shoot an elephant without a purchased licence from the Government-Collector. Then there are Land-assessments and Fish-rents, farmed out to speculators and collected by them

in kind; heavy Duties on imported food and clothing; still heavier ones on the export of all articles of native growth or manufacture; vexatious Tolls upon goods transported from one part of the island to another; Capitation taxes; Stamps on all legal proceedings; Licences for carrying on particular trades, and for gaming, etc. etc.

To some few of these it is the writer's most anxious wish to call the attention — the sober and unprejudiced attention — of the British Government; and knowing of none more generally felt, or more grievously complained of, than the SALT-MONOPOLY, he will begin by endeavouring to expose in its true colours that most odious and impolitic exaction.

II.

SALT-MONOPOLY.

One of the first facts, that arrest our attention in entering upon the ungrateful inquiry, is the comparatively trifling amount of revenue resulting from the tax. Though the price which

the Government charges for its salt, is so exorbitant, being (as I have already stated) from 800 to 1000 per cent, above the natural cost, yet have the *net* receipts from the sale of it never, I believe, exceeded £ 21, or at most £ 22,000 a year. In other words, the profit, accruing to the government in receipt of the tax, bears not the most distant relation to the privations endured by the people that pay it. This is a fact, which ought, I think, to satisfy every reflecting and unprejudiced mind of the extreme folly (to say the least concerning it) of such an imposition—proving (as it incontrovertibly does) one of two things — either that the great body of the people are grievously curtailed in this most necessary article, or, else, that they have been driven to supply themselves with it by illicit and demoralizing recourses.

But it has, in fact, proved productive of both these evils—corrupting hundreds, and stinting and oppressing thousands *. — Such, however, is the

* The number of prosecutions in Ceylon, under the Fiscal Laws, has been known to exceed 250 in the course

inevitable result, such must ever be the consequence, in all cases of extortionate and unjust taxation, — in all cases where the price of any necessary is thus made so disproportionately to exceed the cost of its production. Is there a Government that requires evidence of the fact?—Let it turn to the history of taxes in all countries, and especially to the history of the English and French salt-duties.

In England and Wales during the continuance of that tax, the annual sale of duty-paid salt did not exceed 50,000 tons, which (taking the population of that period at 12 millions) constituted an allowance of 9⅓ pounds, for each individual. The remainder, therefore, in use (for, that very much more was consumed, no one doubts) must have been smuggled.

of one year. It is in seasons of drought and scarcity that offences against them are most common, for it is then that the supply of salt is most abundant; and as the facility of exchanging it for grain in the interior is very great, who can wonder that the poor natives should yield to the temptation, and avail themselves of the means and opportunities thus proffered them of providing for their starving families?—

But the system has been best illustrated in France; for there (as we learn from M. Necker) there, whilst the consumption of salt, in the Gabêlle districts, never exceeded 9¾ pounds a head; in the Pays redimées or Provinces partly exempted from the tax, it was nearly double, being at the rate of about 19 pounds for each person. Thus, as Arthur Young justly observes, a considerable reduction of the duty might have taken place in the Gabêlle districts, without any diminution of the general revenue — an act, which (besides increasing the comforts of the People) would have released the Government from the ungrateful office and expence of surrounding whole provinces with cordons of troops, and of sending thousands of its subjects, every year, to the prisons or the galleys.

On the mischiefs of the existing Monopoly in Ceylon it is unnecessary to dilate. It has proved not less detrimental to the Exchequer than oppressive to the People; it has interfered (as every one, at all acquainted with the Colony can testify)

as much with the pecuniary interests of the former, as with the physical comforts and moral happiness of the latter. Whilst restricting the necessary use of the article for the cure of fish, and for all culinary purposes, at home, it precludes it altogether from being sent in any way abroad. In the mean time fraud, and smuggling, and evil habits increase; the salt collected is frequently of an inferior quality, and, when otherwise, is subject to perpetual adulteration in retail. And for what are all these evils incurred? — For an income, in the gross, never exceeding £ 28,000, and which, after deducting the expences of collecting, storing, and various contingent circumstances, can rarely amount to £ 22,000, a year — a poor and inadequate return for all the miseries inflicted on the People, and all the unpopularity and reproach sustained by the Government, in consequence of the exaction. But in this, as in frequent other cases affecting our Colonies, we act the part of Montesquieu's savages—cutting down the tree to get more quickly at the fruit—or, like the fool

in the fable, who, in his impatience for the golden eggs, rips open the body of the poor bird that laid them. *

It is to be regretted that the present low state of the revenue in Ceylon should preclude the immediate, total repeal of this obnoxious duty. But, if it cannot be instantly repealed, it may be greatly mitigated and reduced, and the article rendered accessible, for all ordinary purposes, to the People. And this may be done, not only without loss, but with positive gain, to the Exchequer.

When the natural price of any commodity is so high, that it can be only purchased by the wealthier classes of society, no reduction of tax will greatly extend its consumption; but it is far otherwise with those comforts and conveniences,

* "Planting countries" (says Bacon) "is like planting wood; for you must account to lose almost twenty years profit, and expect your recompense in the end; for the principal thing, that hath been the destruction of most plantations, is the base and hasty drawing of profit in the first years. It is true, speedy profit is not

whose prime cost is so low as to leave them within reach of the great mass of the people. *Here*, a reduction of the duties will extend the consumption, and, without diminishing the revenue, add largely to the comforts and enjoyments of the community.

And such happily is the case with regard to the salt of Ceylon. Almost every where along the coasts — from Jafna and Manaar to Chilaw in the north and west, and from Tangalle through Mahagampattoo and Baticaloa on the south and east — owing to the peculiar dryness of the atmosphere at certain seasons, and the rapid evaporation which always takes place after rain—formations of salt abound. From the Deposits or "Leways" of Hambantotte alone — where it chrystallizes spontaneously and is of the purest quality — any quan-

to be neglected as far as it may stand with the good of the plantation, but no further." — No one, however can reproach the English with any "base and hasty drawing of profit" from their colonies. How much soever we may injure them, we take most especial care not to benefit ourselves.

tities might be collected, sufficient to supply, not only the whole of Ceylon, but, as in former times, the greater part of the Malay islands. The cost, too, of collecting it is trifling. In the Tangalle district it is only 1⅛ d. a parrah [from 52 to 55 pounds] and with carriage and other expences does not exceed 4 d.; — at Colombo the united charges amount to 6½ d.; — at Trincomalee, to 11 d.; — and at Jafna to only 3 d. —

Under these circumstances col. Colebrooke (to whose able and interesting report on this, as on other subjects connected with Ceylon, the country is so largely indebted) has recommended that the trade should be at once thrown open, and an excise duty substituted for the present monopoly, every one desirous of engaging in the trade being allowed to take out a licence for that purpose. "The revenue (he continues) would then be derived, partly from annual fees on the licences, and partly from the customs, augmented by the increase of trade from the export of salt and salt-fish. The inhabitants could collect and carry it for them-

selves at a trifling cost; there would be less inducement for adulteration; and those, who had taken out licences, would be interested in preventing evasions of the duty by others."

On a subsequent occasion (in a letter of the 20th of Novr. 1833, addressed to the Rt. Honble. E. G. Stanley, then secretary for the Colonies) colonel Colebrooke says—"The high price of salt throughout India is not only the occasion of much distressing privation to the inhabitants, but has led to great adulteration, the salt retailed being often a mixture of earth and other impurities. Even to purchase this the people are obliged to live on dry rice, and to forego the use of cinnamon and other condiments. Salt, which was formerly given to cattle and used in agriculture, can now no longer be afforded. *

"In the salt districts of Ceylon, the formations

* For an account of the Salt-Monopoly in India, I would refer the Reader to Mr. Crawfurd's able Pamphlet on "the Monopolies of the E. I. Company", and to the speeches of Mr. Wilbraham in the House of Commous, on the same subject.

are most abundant in the driest seasons, and when the crops are most liable to failure. *The inhabitants, if allowed, could supply themselves with grain either by exporting salt or sending it into the interior. Indeed this is the only resource that offers to them, and owing to successive droughts and to the restrictions on the salt trade, some districts, which were once populous and thriving, are now nearly deserted. Even the fishermen are prevented from preserving their fish with the salt, which they could gather at their own doors.*

"After the government has collected what it requires for its own limited sales at 800 or a 1000 per cent, above the natural price, THE REMAINDER IS ANNUALLY DISSOLVED BY THE RAINS, GUARDS BEING APPOINTED TO ENSURE ITS DESTRUCTION.

"It is unnecessary to describe the feelings of the people towards a Government, which thus deprives them of the principal resource bestowed on them by nature, punishes with fiscal severity any attempt to avail themselves of it even in seasons of scarcity, and exacts an exorbitant pre-

mium on a scanty supply of this necessary of life, often so adulterated by retailers as to be unfit for use. *Even the Dutch E. I. Company whose government was organized on a system of rigid monopoly, that led to its ruin, did not restrict the free use of salt to its native subjects, or cause a wasteful destruction of the natural supply.* The abandonment of this monopoly which is at once so impolitic and unjust, is, therefore, due from the British Government, *by which it was created*, and when, by a reduction of expences or the substitution of other taxes, that upon salt can be altogether repealed, I should strongly recommend its abolition.

"Having considered the whole of the evidence on the subject, and judging also from the result of my own personal inquiries and observations in Ceylon and India, I am of opinion that if all restrictions on the trade were to be immediately removed, and if salt were allowed to be freely imported into Bengal from Ceylon and other places, at a duty, in the first, instances not exceeding 2shs a maund

[about 82 pounds] or 100 per cent, on the price of Bengal salt, and that, if a similar duty were imposed on manufactured salt, the revenue would be effectually sustained.

"A taste for manufactured salt prevails among some classes in Bengal, and the supply to this extent would not be interfered with by an open trade; but a large proportion of pure and cheap salt would be imported from Ceylon and the Peninsula, partly for culinary consumption, and partly for the curing of provisions, etc. etc.

"On this salt the duty would be collected without additional charge through the custom houses, and, being moderate, the penalties against smuggling would be more effectual than they are at present.

"The revenue, now raised in Ceylon, on the consumption of salt, is too inconsiderable to be an object of the least importance, compared with the advantages, that would arise from an open trade. The monopoly should, therefore, be abandoned, and the duties, at Ceylon, reduced to a

rate not exceeding 100 per cent, in the salt districts. This duty in Ceylon would be about 3d a parrah, or 4½ d. a maund, and it should be repealed as soon as an equivalent revenue could be derived through the customs by an extension of the general trade of the Island.

"By destroying the salt monopoly throughout India, a prodigious stimulus would be given to the inter-colonial trade; and, under a system of moderate duties, large quantities would be exported to Bengal, for the consumption of many millions of people, now inadequately supplied. It would be used by them in curing provisions, in fertilizing lands, and in feeding stock; and, as they would pay less for it, they would enjoy many comforts which they cannot now afford, besides having a ready market for their cheap grain. Tobacco is largely exported from Ceylon to the continent, and, with the populous nations subsisting on rice, cinnamon and other condiments would again be in general use. It is also not improbable that salt would be again largely exported to the eastern

Archipelago, and might constitute a part of the cargoes of shipping engaged in the Tea trade.

"These are objects of importance even to the commercial interests of this country; but I would rather advocate the question *on behalf of those, who, having no voice in the legislature, look up for justice and protection to the British Government.*

"Considering, — *that the charges of the salt monopoly have been estimated at 25 per cent, on the gross revenue — that the adulteration of this necessary of life has become general — and that an artificial scarcity has been created of that which nature has bestowed in the greatest purity and abundance — it is hardly possible to conceive a more objectionable tax, or one, from which the profit to the state is so disproportional to the injury occasioned to the people.*" . . . . . .

. . . . . .

I have but little to add on the subject. In estimating the mischiefs of this monopoly as we ought, it is not to its mere immediate pressure or first

cost that our consideration should be confined. We must look not only at what it draws out of, but what it prevents from going into, the pockets of the people. An unjust or improvident tax (the truth cannot be too often repeated) may be detrimental to a country in various ways and to an extent very far exceeding any direct amount, which it either takes from the payer, or brings in to the receiver. It may quench the soul of enterprize; it may shackle the hands of industry; it may preclude the growth of capital; and thus, by undermining or narrowing the resources of individuals, may cut off the supplies and paralyse the powers of the State. A rich and thriving People will make a rich and thriving Exchequer. Let money but get into the coffers of the former, and it will soon find its way out again in sufficient quantities for every just purpose and demand of the latter.

It is not then alone the first cost of the monopoly, however exorbitant and unjust; it is not merely the £ 27, or 28,000, paid by the people, or the £ 21, or 22,000, a year, received by the state,

which we have to consider, but the consequences of the monopoly — its ulterior effects on the character, comforts, and condition, of the People — on the agriculture, commerce, fisheries, revenues, and general welfare, moral as well as physical, of the entire Colony.

If it be shewn (as I confidently submit it has been) that the salt-monopoly is directly opposed to all these interests; if it be shewn that the amount of duty charged so far exceeds the intrinsic value of the article supplied as to hold out the strongest inducements to fraud; that it interferes with the enjoyments of the people (with the employment of many and with the subsistence or comforts of all); that frustrating the kind boons and wishes of Providence, and rendering vain every advantage of natural produce and situation, it has swamped the fisheries, blighted agriculture, and dried up the richest sources of commercial enterprize and public revenue; — if it be shewn that these, or one half of these, evils have resulted from the monopoly — I ask, whether that mono-

poly ought to be longer tolerated? Whether we can doubt — whether we should delay, another hour, in relieving our colonial brethren from so unnatural, so unpopular, so unprofitable, an imposition?

If I speak strongly on this subject, I speak feelingly; I speak from what I have myself seen of the sad, the desolating, effects of such exactions; I speak from what I myself know of the comforts, the blessings, which have followed their abolition in that part of England, with which it has been my lot to be most familiar. If there be any one act — save and except the great measure of Reform — I say, that if there be any one act of the Legislature, which, more than another, has contributed to the increased comforts and improved character of the inhabitants of Cornwall, it is the act, which relieved them from the duty on salt. *

* The repeal of the salt tax — besides removing one of the most fruitful sources of smuggling — has put the labourer into the enjoyment of many comforts to which he had been, for years, a stranger. *Previously*, if a poor man killed a pig, he had to sell one half in order to procure salt for the preservation of the other: *Now*, almost

III.

LAND-ASSESSMENT.

This is an impost which stands in need of revision and amendment. It is, in fact, a tithe of the gross produce of all lands in grain, annually farmed out to the highest bidder, and by him collected in kind. The tax has been objected to, as both invidious and oppressive — invidious from its partial nature, being confined to one species of produce, and oppressive from the manner in which it is farmed out and oftentimes collected.

The first of these objections it is impossible to obviate. Government cannot (nor indeed ought it to be called on to) abandon the tax altogether, and there exist insuperable difficulties in the way of its extension to other products, cultivated, as

every poor family has its pigs, and is enabled to lay up a good store of bacon and fish for its winter's fare. Add to this that the salt not only gives an agreeable savour, but also a more healthful and nutritious effect to the potatoes and other vegetables which are in such abundant use among the peasantry of Cornwall.

many of them are, on the faith of a proclamation exempting them from all duties*.

The second complaint, however, is more susceptible of relief.—Let the Government, at once, without any intervention of middle men, treat with the landholders themselves, granting them leases for 7, 14, or 21, years, at fixed rents; or, else, converting their tenths into a redeemable land tax — redeemable either at once or by degrees — in whole or in part — according to the means and inclinations of the several proprietors. Such a plan (there is experience for believing) would be most successful. It has been already tried and found so in some districts, where the rent which, in many cases, amounted to a 5th or even a 4th, has been, in this manner, reduced to a 10th, as it existed in other parts of the Island.

* By proclamation of the 20th Decr 1830 it is declared that "no claim shall be made by the government on any coffee, cotton, sugar, indigo, opium, or silk, the growth of the island or its dependencies, for 12 years, and that the aforesaid articles may be exported from the island, free of duty."

In the view which I have taken of this, as well as of various other questions of Ceylonese policy, I rejoice to think that I have with me the opinions of many intelligent and enlightened men, intimately acquainted with the colony, and more particularly of col. Colebrooke, to whose judicious and able reports on these subjects, I have more than once had occasion to refer. *He* considers the present land tax — from its undue pressure on one particular branch of agriculture — from the extent and expence of the establishments required for its collection — and from the vexatious interference of the revenue farmers and native headmen — as most objectionable, and recommends its commutation into a fixed rent, calculated on the average produce of the three preceding years. As the markets, however, are not sufficiently established to admit, everywhere, of *money* payments, an option, he thinks, should be given to the landholders, of paying *either in money or in produce.* In addition to this, he recommends, that they should be allowed to redeem, at an equitable rate and by instalments, the

amount of rent thus chargeable on their lands. By these means a reduction in the collector's establishments, as well as in the profits which they derive from farming the tax, would be effected; agricultural industry would be encouraged; and the revenue improved, especially the customs, dependent, as they are, on the increasing resources of the country and the extension of trade. — In support of this opinion—*viz*—that the redemption of the land tax by instalments would lead to an immediate augmentation of the revenue, — col. Colebrooke adds, that, during the progress of a similar measure in the Colombo district (where, as I have already noticed, all the tax above a 10th has been redeemed) the contributions from the Lands were as large, as when a 5th or even a 4th of the produce was levied on them, and that the increase of the Customs had kept pace with the reductions in the land-assessments *.

But if further proofs be wanted of the advantages consequent on a fixed and stable system of

* See Colebrooke's Report p. 36.

taxation, let us turn to the Provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. In 1793 the land tax, in those Provinces, was limited in perpetuity and rendered invariable, like the land tax in England.—And what are the Results?—The whole Revenue has been more than doubled, and the indirect taxes multiplied in value more than twelvefold. The land tax, which, before the permanent Assessment, formed almost 70 per cent., amounts now to little more than 40 per cent.; private property, which was then unsaleable, is now worth 16 years purchase; the Population, which, in 1793, did not exceed 24 Millions, was found, in 1822, to contain 34 Millions. This state of things may be contrasted with that of "the ceded Districts" under Madras, where the Revenue has been in a constant state of fluctuation and decline; where the land still remains unsaleable; and where the Population has received, in 16 years, an augmentation of no more than 5 per cent.,—a rate of increase infinitely smaller than that of the old and densely peopled Countries of Europe *.

* See Crawfurd on the Colonization of India.

IV.

FISH-RENTS.

These are a Tithe of all Fish caught or landed on the Island, and, like the Land-Assessments, are annually farmed out to speculators who collect them in kind. From the perishable nature of the commodity and the prohibitions which the fishermen are under to dispose of or cure their cargoes until the Revenue-Farmer has taken out his part, the Tax may be easily conceived to have operated in many cases most oppressively. Indeed from this and other restrictions—particularly the Salt-Monopoly — the fishermen of the neighbouring Continent have been able to come over and carry on their occupations along the coasts with greater facility and advantage than the natives of the Island. But I will say no more on this subject, having reason to hope that the tax, ere this, may have been greatly modified, if not altogether repealed.

V.

THE CUSTOMS.

These may amount, on an average, to about £ 65,000, a year, nearly two thirds of which arise from imports, and the remainder from goods exported or carried coastways.

Of the Imports more than three fourths consist of grain and cotton cloths, the Duties levied on which amount to about 14½ per cent *.

The Exports, subject to duty, consist of articles of native growth or manufacture, and have to pay about 35 per cent. One article (Areka Nuts) has been charged as high as 75 per cent *.

VI.

CINNAMON.

Since 1832, the Cinnamon Monopoly has been abolished; and that commodity may be now exported at a duty of 3 shs a pound, on every sort,

* See Colebrooke's Report, — p. 49.

without distinction of quality *. As the cost of its production rarely exceeds 5d a pound, the duty, thus charged on it, may be estimated at more than 600 per cent. — How far (looking at the precarious state of the markets, at the increasing cultivation of Cinnamon in some parts of the East, and the extent to which, of late years, Cassia has been substituted for it) how far it was advisable to impose so high a duty, and whether a more moderate one (by enabling Ceylon to regain some of the markets lost through the late monopoly) would not eventually be more productive to the revenue, let common sense and consideration determine.

The Cinnamon Monopoly had been rigorously upholden by the Dutch, the general object of whose policy in the East, was not to extend Commerce, but to exclude competition; not to carry on an extensive trade with reasonable profits, but a limited one with exorbitant profits. Thus, the Cinnamon, which cost them, at most, 4d or 5d a

* The object of this was to encourage the growth of the superior kinds which are almost peculiar to Ceylon.

pound in Ceylon, they sold at 11 or 12shs a pound in Europe; and the better to secure their monopoly and to preclude all others from the market, they not unfrequently burned all the spiceries which a fertile season had produced beyond what they themselves expected to dispose of, at the accustomed profit.

But this was a System, which could not last—which carried within itself the seeds of its own destruction.—Competition, in spite of every effort to prevent or strangle its birth, sprang up and went on increasing; Malabar Cinnamon, or Cassia, from its superior cheapness, began to vie with, and at length to supplant, the finer products of Ceylon; and the annual cargoes, exported from that Island, were, by degrees, reduced from upwards of 1,000,000, to less than 500,000 pounds *.

* It appears from some of the early Reports of the Dutch E. I. Company to the States General, that the quantity of *fine* Cinnamon exported from Ceylon into Europe, amounted in 1662 (six years after they had been in possession of the Colony) to 363,520 pounds; in 1663, to 516,800 pounds; and in 1664, to 569,920 pounds. In the

A similar fate has befallen other monopolized and overtaxed Articles in the Colony. In consequence of the exorbitant duty on Areka Nuts (75 per cent.) they are now, though of an inferior quality, procured, in large quantities from Sumatra, and the revenue, levied on them in Ceylon, had declined, since 1825, from £10,329 to £5,301;—from the same cause the revenue on the export of Chawa Roots had fallen from £2000 to £200;—and that on the Chank Fisheries, which formerly amounted to more than £600, is now reduced below £50, a year.

VII.

EXCLUSION OF FOREIGN SHIPS.

Amongst various prohibitions and restraints, all, more or less, affecting the welfare of Ceylon, there is one by which all foreign ships, containing certain goods, are excluded from the Ports of the

following century it rose to above 1,000,000, but eventually fell below 500,000 pounds.—One of the enlightened expedients for encouraging trade, resorted to by the Dutch and afterwards adopted by the English, was to *limit* the

Island. Thus French Wines and many other commodities, instead of coming direct from the places of their production, must first be landed in India, to be conveyed from thence in vessels of that country to Ceylon *. This is a serious disadvantage to the latter. Were foreign ships allowed at once to enter and to dispose of their cargoes in the ports of the Island, not only would the prices of foreign goods be diminished to the consumer, but the Trade and Agriculture of the Colony would be generally benefitted by the increased facility thus afforded to its Inhabitants of disposing of their Cinnamon and other products in exchange.— This exclusion, too, is the more invidious and unjust, as it is confined to Ceylon, the Ports of the neighbouring Continent being altogether exempted from its operation.

consumption of Cinnamon, in the Island, to 12 pounds per annum for each individual.

* Colebrooke's Report, p. 48. — See Appendix M.

VIII.

HIGH DUTIES ON EASTERN PRODUCTS.

Another disadvantage under which Ceylon labours (though this she shares in common with her Indian Neighbours) is the heavy duty imposed upon every species of oriental produce, when imported into the British Markets. Thus, Pepper and Cardamons pay 1 sh., Coffee 9 d., and Tobacco 9 shs a pound; — Arrack, 15 shs a gallon; — Sugar, £ 1. 12 shs a cwt.; — Teak-wood, £ 1. 10 shs a load; etc. being, in some instances, a third, and in others, one half and upwards beyond the duties charged on similar articles coming from our Colonies in the West. This anomaly—so alien to all sound principles of commercial legislation, and probably first adopted in subservience to the factious clamour and intrigues of Individuals who either had, or fancied they had, an interest in such tortuous policy * — will be, I trust, very soon removed.

* Adam Smith complained, in his time, that,—of the greater part of the regulations concerning the Colonial Trade the Merchants, carrying it on, had been the prin-

None can be more sensible of its absurdity; none, I am sure, will be readier to acknowledge its injustice, than our present enlightened and liberal Ministers. If we wish to see our Colonies what they may, and ought to, be—flourishing and contented within themselves, and sources of strength and advantage to the Mother-Country—we must treat them as integral parts, as children, of that country; dealing out equal justice to all, and ceasing to legislate for any one place, or caste of men, or description of interest, at the expence of another. The benefit of justice and impartiality amongst Individuals is questioned by none. How irrational

cipal Advisers! No wonder then (he adds) if, in many of them, the interest of individuals has been more considered than either that of the Colonies or that of the Mother-Country. *B. IV. Ch.* 7.—And Napoleon, according to M. Say, was misled by a similar class of advisers in regard to St. Domingo and his deplorable measures for the reduction of its Inhabitants. *Economie Politique* — 4*me Partie* —*Ch. XXIII.* . . . . One of the most notable specimens of Legislation now remaining on the English Statute Book is the act for encouraging the importation of wretched Canada Deals to the exclusion of the superior Wood overspreading the North of Europe.— *Quousque tandem?*

to presuppose their inefficiency in affairs of State, and to imagine (after the fashion of Spain, Portugal, and Holland), that we may set up in their stead—as rules of Colonial policy—our own purblind views and selfish notions of ever-shifting expediency!

IX.

ANCIENT PROSPERITY OF CEYLON.

That a country, circumstanced as Ceylon has been and subject to ages of extortion and misrule, should have declined both in Agriculture and Commerce, is nothing more than might have been anticipated in the ordinary course of human events. Previously to the discovery of a passage round the South of Africa *, and the Portuguese Conquests in the Indian Ocean, the central situation of Ceylon

* Or rather, *Re-discovery*—for that Africa had been circumnavigated by the Egyptians, more than 2000 years before, it is difficult to conceive how any one can entertain a doubt unless predetermined "to appropriate to the Moderns all the functions and powers of nautical discovery."—See Rennel on the geographical system of Herodotus; and Larcher's Notes on the same. Melpom. XLII.

had made its Harbours much frequented by the ships of the East. "Ceylon, Serendib, or Taprobane," (says the Historian of declining Rome) "was divided between two hostile Princes; one of them possessing the mountains, the elephants, and the luminous carbuncle; and the other, the more solid riches of domestic industry, foreign trade, and the capacious harbour of Trinquemale, which received and dismissed the Fleets of the East and West. In this hospitable Isle, at an equal distance (as it was computed) from their respective Countries, the Silk Merchants of China, who had collected in their voyages, Aloes, Cloves, Nutmeg and Sandal-Wood, maintained a free and beneficial Commerce with the Inhabitants of the Persian Gulf." *

Nor does the Tale—as far indeed as regards the Commerce of Ceylon—rest on the sole authority of oriental evidence and popular tradition. Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, Arrian, and other unprejudiced

* Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Ch. XL.—3.—and see Cosm. Ind. L. XI.—and Appendix C.—D.

Inquirers, have all spoken of the various traffic of the Island—of the Pearls, precious Stones, Ivory, Tortoise Shell, and fine Linens, with which it supplied the Indian Markets. *— But a later Writer, the Egyptian Cosmas—(better known by the name of Indicopleustes, or the Indian Voyager)—who flourished under the Emperor Justinian in the VIth Century and had himself visited the Island, has left us the most interesting particulars respecting its former Commerce. The Merchants of Ceylon, he assures us, were in the habits of intercourse with various and distant Nations—with Chinese, Indians, Persians, and Inhabitants on either side of the Arabian Gulf. From China and its neighbourhood they received Silks, Aloes, Cloves, Sandal-Wood, and whatever else might be peculiar to those regions; from Malabar, Pepper; from Bombay, Copper, Wood of Sesamine, and various stuffs; from Scind, Musk, Castoreum, and Spikenard. All these, together with the Spiceries and Hyacinths, for

* Strabo, L. III. Plin. Hist. Nat. L. VI. c. 24. Arrian. Periplus Maris Erythraei—and See Append. A. C. G.

which the Island itself was so celebrated, they transported to the farthest shores of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean.—The same Traveller uniformly speaks of Ceylon, as being, from its central situation, the great Emporium of Eastern Commerce—[Ἐξ ὅλης δὲ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς, καὶ Περσίδος, καὶ Αἰθιοπίας, δέχεται ἡ Νῆσος πλοῖα πολλὰ, μεσήτις οὖσα, ὁμοίως καὶ ἐκπέμπει.—And again, Αὐτὴ οὖν Σιελεδίβα, μέση πῶς τυγχάνουσα τῆς Ἰνδικῆς, ἐξ ὅλων τῶν Ἐμπορίων δέχεται, καὶ ὅλοις μεταβάλλει .... καὶ μέγα Ἐμπόριον τυγχάνει—Cosm. Christ. Topog. L. XI.] *—The Persian Traders, residing in the Island, must have been numerous, as they had a Church there (probably, as Montfaucon suggests, of Nestorian Christians) the Clergy of which received ordination in Persia — [Ἐκκλησία Χριστιανῶν ἔστιν ἐκεῖ, καὶ κληρικοὶ, καὶ πιστοί—L. III. and in L. XI. Ἔχει δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ Νῆσος καὶ Ἐκκλησίαν τῶν ἐπιδημούντων Περσῶν Χριστιανῶν, καὶ Πρεσβύτερον ἀπὸ Περσίδος χειροτονούμενον, καὶ Διάκονον, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἐκκλησιαστικὴν Λειτουργίαν. Οἱ δὲ

* See Appendix C.

Ἔγγωρίοι καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀλλοφύλοι εἰσι.] — One portion of the cargoes occasionally brought by these merchants consisted of Persian Horses for the King.

The accounts which have reached us from succeeding Travellers—from the two Mahometans, who visited the Island in the IXth Century, * and from Benjamin of Tudela, Haitho the Armenian, Marco Polo, Ibn Batuta, ** and others, who were there in the XIIth, XIIIth and XIVth Centuries—all bear testimony to the ancient prosperity of Ceylon. It appears to have continued for ages the great central mart of Oriental Commerce, and the resort of numerous Merchant-Strangers—of Jews, Manichaeans, Mahometans, and Christians—the King permitting the free exercise of all religions. It is true that from intestine wars and foreign invasion the agricultural prosperity of Ceylon had

* See their Travels translated from the Arabic into French by the Abbé Renaûdot.

** Ibn Batuta's Travels have been recently translated into English by the Rev^{d}. S. Lee.

been declining, and its ancient Capital, Anarajhapoora, abandoned, as far back as the end of the XIIIth, or the beginning of the XIVth Century; but the external Commerce of the Island was not materially affected until the Portuguese established a Monopoly of its Productions, and by their bigotry, even more than their avarice, interrupted the maritime relations which had so long subsisted between its Ports and those of the other Eastern Nations.

To the Portuguese, within a period of 150 years, succeeded the Dutch; but the unhappy Ceylonese reaped no benefit from the change. What was wanting on the part of their new masters, in the intolerance of fanaticism, was amply supplied by their excess of mercantile cupidity and extortion. The conduct both of the Portuguese and of the Hollanders was at variance with every principle of rational and just Government, and tended alike to alienate the affections, and to impair the prosperity, of their Subjects.

From the British Government a more magnani-

mous policy and wiser course of action might have been anticipated; but it is melancholy to reflect—after a possession of nearly 40 years—how inadequately these expectations have been fulfilled. The reforms, introduced into Ceylon by its present possessors, are still far, very far, from satisfying what Justice and sound Policy demand, and in one measure—I refer to the Salt-Monopoly—we have even outdone our predecessors in cruelty and extortion.

X.

PRESENT STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

Ceylon, with an area of 24,664 square miles, and a Population scarcely exceeding one million, does not grow food sufficient for its own consumption. Yet are its soils, with partial exceptions, more or less fertile or, at least, capable of easy cultivation, and the magnitude of ancient works, for the purposes of irrigation and drainage, sufficiently attests that the Country was once populous and productive.

In the Province of Seven Korles, and in many of the wide Districts spreading from the River Walloway in the South to the vicinity of Trincomalee in the East; and from thence across towards Mantotte and Manaar in the Northern Division of the Island, the Country abounds on all sides with evidences of this description, many of them (especially at Kandelay and Mineray, and across the Aripo,) of colossal size, connecting hills, and forming extensive Lakes of several miles in circumference. These are now, almost all, in a state of ruin or decay, whilst the Rivers, which once supplied their basons, and experienced their controul, now destitute of their accustomed vents and embankments, and no longer distributed in refreshing streamlets over the neighbouring plains, are suffered to overflow and run waste—to stagnate into Marshes and engender rank vegetation and disease.

XI.

PROPOSED REMEDIES.

But how are these Evils to be remedied?—In the present state of the Colony and the scarcity of private Capital, it is vain to expect either the cultivation of new, or the restoration of old, Lands to any extent, from the Inhabitants themselves.

The first and obvious policy of the Government, therefore, is to encourage Settlers from other Countries. Hitherto COLONIZATION has been unsuccessful, not from any natural causes or impediments, but from fiscal regulations, Government monopolies, restrictions on Trade and Agriculture, and, above all, interference with the free disposal of labour. Some of these obstructions (particularly the last) have been recently withdrawn, and the others, it is to be hoped, will soon follow, and thus, will new fields be opened to foreign enterprize, no less than to native industry and speculation. By the removal of remaining obstacles—by grants of Lands on liberal and just

terms—by relaxing all exclusive principles of Government—and by throwing open the public service to all Classes, according to individual qualifications, and without distinction of caste, colour, or condition—by these, and like encouragements, strangers might be tempted from other lands, and many Tracts in Ceylon, now sterile and neglected, might be brought into a state of productive cultivation. *

Still, however, this would be a work of long time and patience, and to be effected only at intervals or by very slow degrees. In order to expedite the task in a manner not unworthy of its vast importance, something further is requisite;

* The settlement of Emigrants from Malabar as Agriculturists, would lead to a wider cultivation of Grain, whilst the Husbandmen of China might be serviceable not only in that employment, but in clearing Jungles and Marshes, or in any other work requisite for the improvement of the Island. The industry of the latter, when stimulated by proper hopes of reward, is proverbial. Give them a piece of waste-ground to cultivate for their own benefit, and they will soon convert it into a garden.—Of this abundant proofs may be seen in Ceylon, Java, and other parts of the East. Genl. Van den Bosch, when

Government must itself come forward, and open the way to improvement by its own active influence and example.

As a general proposition, indeed, it might be affirmed that such interference is more frequently attended with prejudice than advantage to the objects of its care, Individuals themselves being the best Judges of their own interests—being best acquainted with the soils, sites, and resources, of their respective neighbourhoods, and with the modes of culture most adapted to each. But the case of Ceylon is obviously an exception to the general rule. With its vast untrodden Solitudes—with whole Provinces, once cultivated and flourishing, but now relapsed into arid wilderness and stagnant marsh—where is the Capital, where are the means, to be found adequate either to open the one, or to re-

in Java some years ago, having observed that with all his labour and care (and he had made Agriculture his particular study) he could not equal the crops of his Chinese Neighbours, took lessons from them, and such was the successful result, that he has more than quadrupled the value of his Farms both in Java and Holland.

store the other?—The Repairs of some of the embankments and reservoirs alone—from the gigantic size and dilapidated state of the Works—would be an enterprize far beyond the reach of private Hands, and to be effected only by the combined powers and resources of the State.

Here then the assistance of the Government is demanded; here it may step forward and prepare the way for an improved order of things by its own cheering cooperation and example. Neither would the risque of the undertaking be great, nor the probable recompense small. All, that is required of the Government, might be accomplished by it at a comparatively trifling cost, and with the surest prospect of speedy reimbursement and ultimate reward. The Lands, thus laid open or renewed, would be eagerly sought by the Natives of Malabar and other populous Regions of the East—assessed as many of these are, in their own Countries, at a *third*, or perhaps, one *half*, of their agricultural produce—whilst the money expended by the Government on these improvements, might be repaid

to it, with ample interest, by means of a fixed Rent or redeemable land tax, equitably apportioned and distributed over the tracts that had partaken of the benefit. Grants of land, in reward of superior merit or long service, might be also made to our native and other troops in the East, the only condition attached to the tenure being, that they should keep their allotted gifts in the requisite and due state of cultivation.

Thus might Jungles be cleared; Marshes drained; whole Provinces, now depopulated and difficult of access, brought under cultivation; and Ceylon, instead of being compelled, as at present, to import grain, at an enormous price from Tanjore, might itself become, ere long, a vast field of agricultural production and export. *

* Formerly Ceylon exported Grain and Provisions to the Coromandel Coast; now she is compelled to import them from the same quarter. Father Pierre de Jarrick, speaking of former times, says "Les champs foissonnent en *Ris* que les habitans appellent *Bate;* et à ceste occasion un Royaume de l'Isle a esté appellé *Bate-caloa,* pour cause de la grande abondance de Ris qu'il porte." *Histoire*

XII.

SURVEY OF THE ISLAND.

As a first step, however, towards the attainment of these objects, a minute and careful survey should be made of the several districts and divisions of the whole Island, in reference to soil, climate, and situation, and the best means of improving either—of qualifying their defects, or of

des Indes jusque à l'an 1600,—*publiée en* 1608.— And Is. Vossius calls Rice "foenum Taprobaniticum", adding "tantâ illic copiâ Oriza provenit, ut elephantis aliisque animalibus in pabulum cedat"—*Observ. ad Melam. L. III. c* 7.—For a long time, however, the Island has not grown grain sufficient for its own consumption, but has been supplied with it from other Countries—in the times of the Dutch from Java, and subsequently from Tanjore—Countries, which contain infinitely denser Populations, and where Rice is raised by the same artificial means as in Ceylon.—For these supplies, too, the Inhabitants of the Island have to pay a double duty, 1st on the exportation of the Cargo from Tanjore; and 2dly on its importation into Ceylon.

The annual quantity of grain imported into the Island for 12 years — from 1816 to 1828 — amounted, on an average to 1,251,680 Parrahs (equal to 870,734 Bushels or 108,84¾ Quarters) consisting principally of Paddy or

turning their powers to the surest advantage. A comparative Estimate might thus be formed of the probable cost and profit of any plans, now or hereafter, in contemplation for their culture or improvement; and the Government would be in a situation to decide what should be undertaken by *public*, and what left to *private*, enterprize and speculation; it would have the means of classing, and affixing appropriate Rents on, the different soils, according to their respective sites and qualities; and finally, by the knowledge of the several districts thus obtained, and by carefully comparing them with lands similarly circumstanced in other quarters of the globe, it would be enabled to ascertain and point out how best they might be improved—what plants and crops might be most

Rice; while the quantity, annually imported by the Dutch, was 320,000 Parrahs or less than one 3rd of the quantity now imported; the cost of which has, of late years, exceeded £ 150,000 per annum. In 1818, a year of scarcity, the Rice imported into the Island was valued at £ 374,852.

The Parrah contains from 30 to 33 pounds of Paddy; and from 42 to 46 pounds of Rice.

advantageously cultivated—and what course and modes of Husbandry pursued with least cost and fairest prospect of success—

Et quid quaeque ferat Regio, et quid quaeque recuset:
Hic Segetes, illic veniunt felicius Uvae;
Arborei Foetus alibi, atque injussa virescunt
Gramina etc. etc.

With the varieties of Soil and Climate to be found in Ceylon, there are few vegetable Productions—from the Vines of Southern, to the Corn and Turnip Crops of Northern, Europe *—that might not be made to flourish, and with amplest interest to repay the cost and labour of the cultivator.

XIII.

FUNDS FOR THE UNDERTAKING.

But from whence, in the present state of the Revenue, from whence—I may be asked—are we

* In the vicinity of Newera-Ellia and Maturatte, Wheat, Barley, Turnips, etc. grow as luxuriantly as in any parts of England.

to draw the funds requisite for the accomplishment of our projects?—To this I would reply 1st—that there are savings which might be effected in the civil and military expenditure of the Colony, and particularly in the annual charges incurred for the collection of the Revenue:*—2ndly that under a better system of taxation and by the abolition of all Monopolies and Restrictions on agricultural and commercial industry, the revenue itself might be considerably augmented.—But, without reckoning on supplies which, I shall be told, are tardy and precarious, I would rather, at once, say—Let us, in the first place, raise by Loan a sum sufficient for the repairs of some of the principal Dams and Reservoirs now in a state of ruin or decay; charging the *interest* of the money

* See the Report of a select committee of the House of Commons with the attached minutes of evidence, on our "Colonial Expenditure"—7th August 1834—also Col. Colebrooke's Report of 1832.—The charge for collecting the Revenue, during the continuance of the Cinnamon Monopoly, exceeded 20 per cent, and cannot, at present, be much below that amount.

borrowed, on the Rents of the reclaimed Lands, and the *principal* on the Lands themselves.—The amount payable by each Individual, in consideration of the costs and responsibilities thus incurred by Government, should be determined—*not*, like the present Land-Tax, by the quantity or value of the grain alone—*but*, by that of all the different Crops, growing upon the estate. In fact, every one partaking of the benefit should be charged in proportion to its extent, without reference either to the nature of the Produce, or to the existence of any previous assessment, on the Land. The Tax should moreover be, in every case, redeemable—either at once or by degrees—in whole or in part—in money or in produce—according to the various means and inclinations of the several Proprietors; *whilst the Sums accruing from such redemption, should be either immediately applied, or carefully set apart to form a Fund, in liquidation of the Debt.*—What Ceylon stands chiefly in need of is Capital for the execution of public Works, for the repairs of its Tanks and Watercourses, and the

clearance of its Swamps and Jungles. A very moderate, a comparatively trifling Sum *judiciously* applied to these objects, would give new life to Agriculture, extend Commerce, and, by augmenting the Revenue (especially the Customs, so dependent on the industry and resources of the People) soon bring forth fruits, ten, twenty, fold to the State. *

* A very sensible Man, well acquainted with the Island, and duly calculating and considering all these matters, has assured me, that, in very few cases, the expence ought to exceed 30 shillings an acre, and that in some Provinces, large Tracts might be reclaimed at from 10 to 20 shs an acre, at the utmost. Col. Colebrooke, likewise, is of opinion (judging from the cost of the Kirime Canal which was executed in the Tangalle District, in 1825) that from 20 to 40 shs an acre would be generally adequate to the construction of *new* Works, and that the repairs of the *old*, might be accomplished at a much less cost.— As divided responsibility is generally synonymous with no responsibility at all, whatever money is devoted to this purpose ought to be under the direction and disposal of the Governor, who should himself be held personally responsible *for the fair, useful, and judicious application thereof.*

XIV.

CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE.

The Ceylonese have been drawn by many Writers in the darkest and least attractive colours. They have been described as a feeble, indolent, and faithless Race—physically no less than morally degenerate—and destitute of every improveable or redeeming quality either of body or mind.* The picture, though partially correct, is, as a whole, most lamentably defective and overcharged. Dreary as the prospect may, at first sight, appear —though "Shadows, Clouds, and Darkness, rest upon it"—it is not all barrenness and gloom; it is not without its green spots and intervening sunshine. Experience has amply shewn that the natives of Ceylon form no exception to the great mass of their species; that they are alive to the same feelings and influenced by the same motives

* The learned Bochart says—"Chingali vel Chingari per contemptum appellantur. — Arabice, enim, *Chingar* significat Virum timidum et ignavum." Phaleg. Vol. II. p. 695.

that sway their fellow-men under happier auspices and more propitious Governments. They are grateful for benefits, easily led by kindness, and when freely trusted without suspicion or reserve, have been found neither inadequate to the duties imposed, nor unworthy of the confidence bestowed, on them by their friendly Employers. If, as Slaves, they have inherited many of the vices incident to Slavery; if, as a Nation, having never tasted the sweets of Freedom, they are strangers to the higher Virtues that adorn that noble state,—ought we to wonder or despair? *

* An old Writer, whom I have before cited, having compared the Island "à un beau Jardin ou Vergier, si remplie elle est d'Arbres fructiers et aromatiques, les quels (he adds) elle produit plùstot de sa nature que par l'industrie de ceux qui la cultivent"—says, by way of apology—"car comme en ce Pais les Rois sont Héritiers de leurs Vassaux, et prennent toute leur chevance lorsqu'ils viennent à mourir, sans en donner aux Enfans du Défunct, si non autant qu'il leur plaist, les Pères ne se travaillent pas aussi beaucoup de cultiver, n'y de planter pour leurs successeurs." *Hist. des Indes à l'an* 1600, *par le Père, Pierre de Jarrick.*—And a Countryman of our own, who was in the Island 50 or 60 years later,

But whatever be the present character of the People—however sunk and degraded their moral and physical condition—it is long oppression has

after speaking in like manner of the indolence of the Inhabitants, goes on to say—"Yet in this I must a little vindicate them, for what indeed should they do with more than food and raiment, seeing that as their Estates increase, so do their Taxes also; and although the People be generally covetous, spending but little and scraping together what they can, yet such is the Government they live under, that they are afraid to be known to have any thing, lest it be taken away from them."—*Knox's Ceylon.* Such was the condition of the Ceylonese under their native kings. What it was under the Portuguese and Dutch we have also seen. Indeed these latter, like the Spaniards in the West, seem never to have admitted the thought that Nature could have formed their Colonies for any other end than the sole benefit of the Mother-Country. Accordingly Foreigners and foreign Ships were jealously excluded; Monopolies rigidly enforced; and no productions encouraged or even allowed, but such as seemed calculated to bring immediate wealth into the pockets of the Governors. The consequences of the system were what any man, not blinded by narrow selfishness, might have foreseen. Both Portuguese and Hollanders lost by tyranny and extortion those treasures which, under a milder and more equitable system, would have flowed voluntarily into their coffers.—The late Lord Melville (then Mr. Dundas) speaking of Ceylon, just after it had

made them what they are. They appear before us, not as Nature cast them, but worn, cankered, and debased beneath the grinding hands of their worldly Masters. Yet the gold, however, alloyed, is not altogether lost; the Divine Impress, though partially obscured, has not been for ever defaced or destroyed. All might be restored; the accumulating Dross and Rust of Ages might be purged away; and the precious Coin, preserved, purified, and renewed, might again shine forth in native lustre and redoubled worth.

But the existing character and condition of the Ceylonese can afford no just extenuation or excuse for British misgovernment and neglect. In

fallen into our hands, says, in reference to the Portuguese and Dutch Governments there, that, under both the Island "had been so woefully mismanaged, that it would be long before its Trade, Agriculture, and interior Economy, could be restored to that prosperity of which they were capable."—Who then, taking all these circumstances into consideration, can wonder at what the People are, or that having been, for ages, deprived of the means and power, they should, at length, have lost, in some degree, even the wish, of emerging from their abject lot?

proportion as *they* have been afflicted and brought low, so much the more earnestly ought *we*—(standing in the relation which we do towards them—the self-constituted guardians and voluntary umpires of their fate) —so much the more strenuous should be *our* endeavours, to repair their wrongs, to improve their fallen state, to enlighten and invigorate their minds, and to prepare all Castes, Classes, and Conditions, by the means which God has entrusted to our dispensation—(by liberal policy, just laws, mild administration, religious precept, and moral example)—to prepare them not only for the better enjoyment of present freedom, but for an earlier participation in those high privileges, which have been extended to the other Inhabitants of our Eastern Empire, and which, it is to be hoped, will not be much longer withholden from those of Ceylon. *

* By the Great Charter of India (one of the many Acts which must exalt and endear the memory of Earl Grey's Administration to the wise and good of all ages) it is enacted that "no person by reason of his Religion,

XV.

EDUCATION.

Whatever may have been the Crimes and Follies of the Dutch E. I. Company in regard to their Colonies (and it would be difficult to deny or to extenuate either) that of neglecting the education of the native Inhabitants is not to be charged in the number. The Schools, established by them in Ceylon, were both numerous and well-regulated —possessing competent Masters—and subject not only to frequent visitations from the neighbouring Clergy, but to the especial care and inspection of Superintendants expressly appointed by the Government for that purpose. *

On the expulsion, however, of the Dutch in 1796, unhappily these Institutions were suffered to languish and decay; and though our honest and enlightened Governor, M^r North, afterwards suc-

place of birth, descent or colour, shall be disabled from holding office under Government."

* See Valentyn's, Le Bruyn's, and Cordiner's Accounts of Ceylon.

ceeded in restoring, and even in improving many of, them, yet were his efforts soon paralysed by the miserable and misplaced economy of the British Government at home, which—whilst lavishing unheeded Millions in European warfare and destruction—could grudge the most insignificant trifle for the moral welfare and happiness of its Indian Subjects. By express mandate (will Posterity believe the fact?) by an express mandate from England in 1803, the School Expenditure of Ceylon, never exceeding £ 4,600, was reduced to the paltry allowance of £ 1,500, a year. *

With regard to the present state of Education in the Colony, the Writer is unable to speak with the confidence which he desires, his latest authentic accounts not extending beyond the end of 1832 or the early part of 1833. These, however, (he regrets to add) were any thing but satisfactory. The number of the Government Schools amounted to about 100; but many of them were in an

* See Cordiner, Lord Valentia etc. etc.

extremely defective condition, their Masters being altogether ignorant of the English language, and, in other respects, utterly unqualified for their situations. Out of the whole population of the Colony, numbering a million human Souls (notwithstanding the cordial and effective cooperation of the American and British Missionaries) there did not appear to be more than 14, or 15,000, at the utmost, receiving the benefits of education, and of these not one in ten had been instructed in the language of the Mother-Country.

To render Education what it ought to be, and to extend its blessings in the manner and degree which the worldly, no less than the moral and religious, interests of the Colony have long required, the number of Schools must be increased, fitter Masters found, the English Language every where taught, * and competent Superintendants appointed, whose especial duty it should be, to

* Valentyn tells us that, in the Schools established by the Dutch, the language of the Mother-Country was uniformly taught. Indeed so anxious was the Govern-

watch over these Establishments, and to report upon the conduct and character of the Teachers, no less than on the progress and capacities of the Scholars. The latter part of the task might be performed by the Clergy and Missionaries of the several Provinces, as in the times of the Dutch. *

ment for its diffusion throughout this as well as all their other Colonies, that, by way of distinction and encouragement, they allowed such of their Slaves, as could speak it, to wear long hair — a privilege (in the estimation of those poor Creatures) of no mean value.

The influence of language over national Manners must be obvious to all. So sensible were the Romans of the fact, that it was their constant endeavour to extend, with the progress of their arms, the use of the Latin Tongue.— See Gibbon's Decline and Fall Ch. II.—with the authorities there referred to.

* Among the Books for the more juvenile Schools I know of none that might be more profitably introduced than the admirable Selections of Scripture, which have been compiled by the Protestant and Catholic Arch-Bishops of Dublin for the use of our National Schools in Ireland.

I do not know the numerical proportion of Protestants and Catholics in Ceylon. According to Col. Colebrooke, the number of the former in the District of Colombo, five years ago, amounted to 83,756, — that of the latter to 38,155.

XVI.

CASTES.

One of the great obstacles to all improvement in the East—to the growth of intellect and to the progress of Liberty—has been the Institution of Castes. Though the distinctions of this kind, existing in Ceylon (except amongst the Malabar Inhabitants of the Northern Provinces) are of a civil, rather than of a religious, nature, yet being hereditary and rigorously enforced, they must have contributed, in some degree, to the prolonged bondage and degradation of the People. From habit and prejudice, no less than from self-interest, the system has been upholden by the Headmen, who, not unfrequently, by their artifices and influence counteract every endeavour of the subordinate Castes to throw off the yoke and improve their condition.

Of the height to which the popular prejudices have been excited on this subject, many instances are recorded by Lord Valentia and other Tra-

vellers, which, considered by themselves alone, would appear simply ridiculous; but, as connected with consequences and as pulses of the public mind, are calculated to awaken more serious feelings and reflections.—Yet how is this spell of ages to be broken?—"No custom"—says a Philosophical Historian of our Country—"no custom, how absurd soever it may be, if it has subsisted long or derives its source from the manners and prejudices of the age in which it prevails, was ever abolished by the bare promulgation of Laws and Statutes. The sentiments of the People must change, or some *new* power, sufficient to counteract it, must be introduced." * — That Power—the only power, which can effect the required change and root out or counteract the prevailing prejudices of the age—is Education. It is by increased knowledge alone—by the diffusion of English language and literature—and by the influence, direct and indirect, which the Christian Religion will be

* Robertson's Progress of Society.

thereby enabled to acquire over the popular Mind—that the Custom of Castes can be abolished and the long reign of hereditary error dissolved.

XVII.

OPPORTUNITIES OF DOING GOOD.

No Nation ever possessed more singular facilities for the *peaceful* propagation of its language, its literature, and its religion, than are enjoyed by the English, at the present moment, in Ceylon. We enjoy—what neither Portuguese nor Hollanders could ever attain—the sovereignty of the entire Island. Let us not abuse or neglect the trust; let us not throw away the rare and precious opportunity, thus offered us by Providence, of "Doing Good"—of pursuing a course of policy dictated by the purest reason and justice, and calculated not less to enhance the character and welfare of Great Britain than to forward and consolidate the best interests of the People committed to her care.

A modern Traveller in Ceylon (Dr Davey) has

observed that, "in ascending the mountains of the Interior, we find—according to the degrees of elevation—the average temperature of every latitude between India and England, and enjoy, amidst the finest scenery, the purest and most refreshing atmosphere"—adding that he "cannot help anticipating the time when these Mountain Tracts—many of them of surpassing beauty in their wildness and now merely charming Deserts—will be cultivated by Europeans, and become nurseries, not only of our plants, but of our arts and sciences, of our virtues and of our religion."—Soon, very soon,—(will every British heart respond)—soon may his benignant anticipations be realized; soon may the glorious vision of his wishes, in all its fairest features, be fulfilled —

Roll on, ye Hours! Oh, haste, auspicious Morn,
On healing wings, to Ages yet unborn!
Chas'd by thy breath grim Superstition flies,
And Order, Science, Mercy, Truth, arise.
Where scowling Famine curs'd a blighted Soil,
And Stripes and Death repaid the Peasant's toil;
See Industry lead forth her smiling band,
And Arts and Commerce bless a grateful Land.

'Scap'd from the Tyrants' lure, the Bigot's fire,
See pure Devotion from the Soul aspire;
Whilst Man, all-conscious of th' aetherial flame,
That slept too long within his fetter'd frame,
Shall stand erect, in new-born freedom brave,
And vindicate the rights which God and Nature gave.

I have already shewn from Records of the Past (and many an indication remains to give colour and consistency to the tale) that Ceylon was once rich, powerful, and respected; the seat of Agricultural Industry; the Centre of Chinese, Indian, and Arabian Commerce. I do not say that she promises to become all this again, or that she is destined under any circumstances of freer Government and improved Institutions to recover her lost greatness and to lift up her head, as of old, among the Nations of the East; but this much I would venture to predicate—that she might be soon rescued from her present forlorn and degraded state; that she might be rendered comparatively great; rich and happy within herself, and an increasing source of honour and advantage to the Mother-Country.

In preparing the way, however, for such results, much, I repeat, very much, remains to be done. The whole system of Government must be liberalized; Education extended; Monopolies extinguished; Taxation revised; many Fiscal Regulations altered or removed; and the heavier Duties, more especially those on exported Produce and Manufactures, progressively reduced, and, perhaps, ultimately abolished.—Thus would expansion be given to Intellect; Encouragement to Colonization; Life and Enterprize to Commerce; Skill and Industry to Agriculture; whilst the Revenue, long weighed down, and weighing, with its Monopolies and exactions on a depressed People, would be daily gathering fresh accessions and means of improvement, would go on from strength to strength, and advance with the advancing welfare and happiness of the Country.

I may be deemed over-sanguine, or even visionary, by many, in these my views and anticipations. Indeed it is difficult for thoughtless or prejudiced men—for those, who have never soberly examined

or reflected on these subjects, and who only judge from first impressions and mere outward appearances—to appreciate, as they ought, the capacities of a Country in the present circumstances and situation of Ceylon.—Yet, in truth, there is hardly an objection or argument, which they can oppose to my speculations, that might not, with equal plausibility, have been urged against the early Civilizers of Britain, or Gaul, or any other, once barbarous, but now flourishing and enlightened State. *

XVIII.

ANCIENT COLONIES.

It is not my province to detail or enlarge on the progress of Government and manners in particular Nations either of ancient or of modern

* Allow of this principle as applied to Ceylon, and I ask (in the language of Mr Pitt) why it might not also have been applied to ancient and uncivilized Britain?—Why might not some Roman Senator, pointing to British Barbarians, have predicted, with equal boldness. "*There* is a People that will never rise to civilization—*There* is

times; still, it is difficult to refer to them without noticing the singular contrast which they present to each other in their Colonial policy and the treatment of the Provinces which they had peopled or subdued.

The earliest Colonies, of which we read, were so many independent States; * enjoying their own Governments, enacting their own Laws, electing their own Magistrates, and administering their own affairs in the way which they judged most congenial to their own interests. Though considered as Children and living in reciprocity of kindness and good offices with their Parent Coun-

a People destined never to be free—a People without the understanding necessary for the attainment of useful arts; and depressed by the hand of Nature below the level of the human Species." Pitt's Speeches. Vol. II. p. 80.

* Indeed, the very name assigned to them by the Greeks (a name, for which we have no corresponding or adequate term in our language) denoted their independence.—While the Latin word (*Colonia*) signifies simply a Plantation; the Greek word (Ἀποικία), on the contrary, imports a separation of dwelling — a departure from home — a going out of the House. See Wealth of Nations—Book IV. c. 7.

try, they were nevertheless emancipated Children, and, having outgrown the care, had ceased to be amenable to the authority of any guardian or superior power. Such were the Colonies of Egypt, Phoenicia, and Greece, which emigrating from their own narrow or over-peopled Territories and establishing themselves in Attica, Argos, Lesser Asia, and the Coasts and Isles of the Aegean and Mediterranean Seas, so rapidly rivalled, and even, in some instances, surpassed the Cities of their birth.

But when the Flood of Roman greatness arose, Independence vanished even to the name. Powers, Kingdoms, Principalities, haughty Republics, and lowly Provinces, were swept away into one vast Ocean of Empire, which overspread the World. But the form of Government established in the different Provinces, though severe, was regular, and served to maintain public tranquillity. The Inhabitants gradually participated in the privileges of their new Masters; and it is a fact not less honourable to the Conqueror than indicative of

the happy state of the Conquered, that many of their most-splendid and flourishing Cities were indebted, for their origin or renown, to those peaceful periods during which they occupied the subordinate, though honourable, rank of Roman Colonies. * — But let the eloquent Historian of those ages himself narrate the exemplary tale— "It is not" (says he) "it is not alone by the rapidity or extent of conquest, that we should estimate the greatness of Rome. The Sovereign of the Russian Deserts commands a larger portion of the Globe. In the seventh summer after the passage of the Hellespont, Alexander erected the Macedonian Trophies on the banks of the Hyphasis. Within less than a century, the irresistible Zingis and the Mogul Princes of his race spread their

* Palmyra (amongst many others) flourished more than 150 years as a Roman Colony, and it was during this repose (how ill exchanged for a Moment's glory and independence under Odenathus and Zenobia), that those Temples, Palaces, and Porticoes, arose whose ruins, scattered over a vast and pathless desert, still attract the curiosity, and command the admiration, of successive Travellers. See Gibbon Ch. XI.

cruel devastations and transient Empire from the sea of China to the confines of Egypt and Germany. But the firm edifice of Roman power was raised and preserved by the wisdom of Ages. The obedient Provinces of Trajan and the Antonines were united by laws and adorned by arts. They might occasionally suffer from the partial abuse of delegated authority; but the general principle of Government was wise, simple, and beneficent. They enjoyed the Religion of their Ancestors, whilst, in civil honours and advantages, they were exalted, by just degrees, to an equality with their Conquerors. . . . . .

"The narrow policy of preserving, without any foreign mixture, the pure blood of the ancient Citizens, had checked the fortune, and hastened the ruin, of Athens and Sparta. But the aspiring genius of Rome sacrificed vanity to ambition, and deemed it more prudent, as well as honourable, to adopt Virtue and Merit for her own, wheresoever they were found, among Slaves or Strangers, Enemies or Barbarians.

"From the foot of the Alps to the extremity of Calabria, all the natives of Italy were born Citizens of Rome. Their partial distinctions were obliterated, and they insensibly coalesced into one great Nation, united by language, manners, and civil institutions, and equal to the weight of a powerful Empire. The Republic gloried in her generous policy, and was frequently rewarded by the merits and services of her adopted Sons. Had she always confined the distinction of Romans to the ancient Families within the walls of the City, that immortal Name would have wanted some of its noblest ornaments. Virgil was a native of Mantua; Horace doubted whether he should call himself an Appulian or a Lucanian; it was in Padua that an Historian was found worthy to record the majestic series of Roman victories. The patriot Family of the Catos emerged from Tusculum; and the little town of Arpinum claimed the double honour of producing Marius and Cicero. . . . .

"The same salutary maxims of Government which had secured the peace and obedience of

Italy, were extended to the most distant conquests. A Nation of Romans was gradually formed in the Provinces, by the double expedient of introducing Colonies, and of admitting the most faithful and deserving of the Provincials to the freedom of Rome.

"Wheresoever the Roman conquers, he inhabits" is a very just observation of Seneca, confirmed by History and Experience. The Natives of Italy, allured by pleasure or interest, hastened to enjoy the advantages of victory, engaging themselves, for the most part, in the occupations of Agriculture, Commerce, and the farm of the Revenue. But when their Legions had been rendered permanent by the Emperors, the Provinces were peopled by a race of Soldiers; and the Veterans, whether they received the reward of their services in land or in money, usually settled with their families in the country where they had honourably spent their youth.

"Throughout the Empire, but more particularly in the Western parts, the most fertile

districts and the most convenient situations were reserved for the establishment of Colonies; some of which were of a civil, and others of a military nature. In their manners and internal policy, these Colonies formed a perfect representation of their great Parent; and becoming soon endeared to the Natives by the ties of friendship and alliance, they effectually diffused a reverence for the Roman Name, and a desire, which was seldom disappointed, of sharing, in due time, its honours and advantages. * The municipal Cities insensibly equalled the rank and splendour of the Colonies; and, in the reign of Hadrian, it was disputed which was the preferable condition, of those societies which had issued from, or of those, which had been received into, the bosom of Rome.

"The right of Latium, as it was called, conferred

* Twenty five Colonies were settled in Spain (See Plin. H. N. L. III — 3, 4 — and IV — 35); and nine in Britain of which London, Colchester, Lincoln, Chester, Gloucester, and Bath, still remain considerable Cities. See Richard of Circenster — p. 36. — and Whittaker's Hist. of Manchester. — L. I. c. 3. —

on the Cities, to which it had been granted, a more partial favour. The Magistrates only, at the expiration of their office, assumed the quality of Roman citizens; but as those offices were annual, in a few years, they circulated round the principal families. Those of the Provincials, who were permitted to bear arms in the Legions; those, who exercised any civil employment; all, in a word, who performed any public service, or displayed any personal talents, were rewarded with a present, which, though diminished in value by the increasing liberality of the Emperors, was even in the age of the Antonines (when the freedom of the city had been bestowed on the greater number of their subjects) accompanied with very solid advantages. The bulk of the People acquired, with that title, the benefit of the Roman Laws, particularly in the interesting articles of Marriages, Testaments, and Inheritances; and the road of Fortune was open to those whose pretensions were seconded by favour or merit. The grandsons of the Gauls, who had besieged Julius Caesar in

Alesia, commanded Legions, governed Provinces, and were admitted into the Senate of Rome. Their ambition, instead of disturbing the tranquillity of the State, was intimately connected with its safety and greatness." *

Sensible of the influence of language over national manners, another serious care, on the part of the Conquerors, was to extend, with the progress of their arms, the use of the Latin Tongue; and in most of their Provinces, except where the Greek prevailed, they were successful. "The Western Provinces' (continues the Historian) were civilized by the same hands which subdued them. No sooner were the Barbarians reconciled to obedience than their minds were opened to new impressions of knowledge and politeness. The language of Virgil and Cicero, though with some inevitable mixture of corruption, was so universally adopted in Africa, Spain, Gaul, Britain, and Pannonia, that the faint traces of the Punic and Celtic idioms were preserved

* Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Ch. II.

only in the mountains or among the peasants, Education and study insensibly inspired the natives of those countries with the sentiments of Romans; and Italy gave fashions, as well as Laws, to her Latin Provinces. They solicited with more ardour and obtained with greater facility the freedom and honours of the State; supported the national dignity in letters and arms; and, at length, in the person of Trajan, produced an Emperor whom the Scipios would not have disowned for their Countryman." * . . . . . .

"Domestic peace and union were the natural consequences of the moderate and comprehensive policy embraced by the Romans. If we turn our eyes towards the Monarchies of Asia, we shall behold Despotism in the centre, and Weakness in the extremities; the collection of the Revenue, or the administration of Justice, enforced by the presence of an army; hostile Barbarians establish-

* Spain alone produced (besides the Emperors Nerva and Trajan) the following eminent men, *viz:* — Columella, the Senecas, Lucan, Martial, and Quinctilian.

ed in the heart of the Country; hereditary Satraps usurping the dominion of the Provinces; and Subjects inclined to rebellion, though incapable of freedom. But the obedience of the Roman World was uniform, voluntary, and permanent. The vanquished nations, blended into one great people, resigned the hope, nay even the wish, of resuming their independence, and scarcely considered their own existence as distinct from the existence of Rome. The established authority of the Emperors pervaded without an effort the wide extent of their Dominions, and was exercised with the same facility on the banks of the Thames, or of the Nile, as on those of the Tyber. The Legions were destined to serve against the public Enemy, and the civil Magistrate seldom required the aid of a Military Force. In this state of general security, the leisure as well as opulence both of the Prince and People, were devoted to improve and to adorn the Roman Empire." *

* See Appendix N. —

Such is the representation, which Gibbon has given us, of Rome and her far spread Provinces, during the best days of the Empire, and though suspicions may be suggested by the brilliancy of colouring and the air of imagination which occasionally pervade the picture, yet have we but to consult the testimony of contemporary or early Writers to be assured of the general fidelity of the outline, and that, beautiful as is the Copy, it has not exceeded the genuine features of the Original. Indeed, if there exist, in the annals of mankind, any one period from which, more than from another, the modern Statesman may learn lessons of Government, and more particularly of Colonial Government, it is, without an exception, that dazzling but alas! transient interval which elapsed from the downfall of Domitian to the accession of Commodus.

XIX.

POLICY OF ENGLAND IN REGARD TO CEYLON.

But to return to Ceylon. It is by no wild extremes of action; it is neither by immediate emancipation and independence, like that of the early Phoenician and Greek Colonies—a state of things, for which not even M. Say would contend that she is yet prepared, * nor by a continuance of the

* Let me not be considered as dissenting from the general tenour and principles of this enlightened Author's observations on the subject of Colonies and the best mode of rendering them prosperous within themselves and sources of the greatest advantage to their parent States. At the same time I cannot help thinking that he has overlooked certain exceptions which might have been made to, and which would have added strength to his arguments in support of, the general Rule. See his *Economie Politique—I Veme Partie. Ch.* 22, 23.—M. Say is, perhaps, above most men of his age, entitled to the epithet of "enlightened," because he sees his way in the midst of surrounding darkness.—With a few distinguished exceptions in her larger cities, and some of her Merchants and Wine growers in the Southern Provinces (whose interests are too palpably identified with sound principles to admit

present Yoke, which would preclude her from ever becoming prepared for it,—that any real and lasting benefit can be conferred on this Colony. Our Policy should rather be like that of the Romans;

of further blindness and misapprehension) I scarcely know a Country where denser ignorance and prejudice prevail on questions of political Economy than in France. This reign of error and delusion has been, in no small degree, strengthened and prolonged by Napoleon's patronage of home grown Tobacco and Beet-Sugar and other ill-judged efforts to make France (what no single Country can ever really be) wholly independent of its Neighbours and Mankind for all the luxuries and conveniences of life. As one, amongst many existing proofs, of the privations and evils to which a System of this kind must subject the great mass of the People, we may refer to a fact recorded by Humboldt in his Essay on new Spain, viz that the Isle of *Cuba* alone, with its less than half a Million of free Inhabitants consumes at least a fourth part as much Sugar, as the entire of *France* with a Population exceeding 30 Millions! — For much interesting information on French Commerce, see *Edinburgh Review. Vol. L. p.* 48. — *Messrs. Bowring's and Villiers's Report presented to Parliament in* 1834; — *and the abridgement of the latter contained in the Companion of the British Almanac for* 1835; — the extreme accuracy and truth of all which Publications in their most material parts, I have had many opportunities of ascertaining.

inducing the conquered (as far as may be physically and morally and equitably possible) to adopt the laws, language, and manners of the Conqueror,—in short, to become Englishmen. What also is wanted in this, as in many other Colonies and Countries, is that Nature should have fair play; being assisted indeed where assistance is clearly requisite or beneficial, but emancipated from those trammels, and no longer subject to that supererogant tutelage and restraint, by which falsehood and prejudice have in every age retarded her career to the desired goal. *

One of the first benefits which would follow in the train of liberal Government and free Institutions, in a country like Ceylon, would be increased and increasing Commerce—a benefit which, in her case, it is almost impossible too highly to appreciate;

* Adam Smith, in one of his oldest M. S. now extant, complains of Statesmen and Projectors for not letting Nature alone, and giving her fair play in the pursuit of her own designs, adding that little else is requisite to carry a state from the lowest barbarism to the highest degree of opulence, but peace, easy taxes, and a tolerable

for—applying to this Island more particularly what has been said by a distinguished Statesman (the late Lord Grenville) of India in general, we may be assured, that, "by Commerce Commerce will increase, and by Industry, Industry. So it has ever happened; and the great Creator of the world has not excepted *Ceylon* from the common law of our nature. The supply first following the demand will soon extend it. By new facilities new wants and new desires will be produced; and neither Climate, nor Religion, nor long-established Habits, nor even Poverty itself, the greatest of all present obstacles, will ultimately refuse the benefits of such an intercourse to the native Population. They will derive from the extension of Commerce (as

administration of justice; all the rest being brought about by the natural course of things. Governments" (he continues) "which thwart this natural course, which force things into another Channel, or which endeavour to arrest the progress of Society at a particular point, are unnatural and to support themselves are obliged to be oppressive and tyrannical." — *See* Stewart's Biographical Memoirs of Smith, Robertson, and Reid.

every other People has uniformly derived from it) new incitements to industry, and new enjoyments in just reward of increased activity and enterprize." . . . . . .

XX.

JAVA AND SIR STAMFORD RAFFLES.

I may add in further support of my views and opinions, that what is now the case of Ceylon was, in many respects, only with deeper shades and more cruel aggravations the case of Java when that Island first fell into our possession. It would be difficult, indeed, to pourtray any thing more forlorn or disheartening than the aspect and state of affairs as they then existed in that Country.—Agriculture and Commerce at their lowest ebb—vicious Institutions — corrupt and oppressive Functionaries — a demoralized People — a repudiated and worthless Currency — extortionary but unprofitable Taxes, taking much from the People though yielding little to the State. Such

was the aspect, such the condition, of affairs in Java.

Under these circumstances, so difficult and so appalling, what was the conduct of the benevolent and enlightened Individual, who, happily for the interests of humanity and the honour of the British name had been called to the helm of Government? What was the course pursued by Sir Stamford Raffles, and what the result of his administration in Java?—To many indeed—did there not exist undoubted Evidence of the facts—the tale would appear incredible. By a systematic course of liberal policy and equitable Government; by instituting inquiries and ascertaining facts; by consulting and attending to the customs, manners, and feelings, of the natives, mixing with the more respectable and better-informed, and being easy of access and kind to all; by abolishing Monopolies, forced Labour, and arbitrary Exactions; by putting an end to the farming System, and letting out the public Lands on just and liberal terms; by throwing open the Ports and emancipating the Commerce,

no less than the Agriculture, of the Island from the galling fetters in which they had been so long confined by the blind selfishness and perverse tyranny of the Dutch; by giving the People an interest in the efforts and fruits of their own industry; by fostering their virtues, judiciously restraining their vices, disarming or softening their prejudices, and teaching them "to consider the connection with England, as founded on principles of *mutual* advantage, and to be conducted in a spirit of kindness and affection"; * — by these, and like liberal and just and enlightened, measures— he rescued Java from the depths of misery, degradation and despair, won the cordial confidence and cooperation of all Classes of its Inhabitants, raised their characters, multiplied their comforts and resources, extended their Commerce, advanced their Agriculture, augmented their wealth,—and,

* From the Proclamation of Lord Minto, the enlightened Viceroy, by whom (in preference to many Individuals of greater interest but inferior merit) Sir Stamford Raffles was appointed to the Government of Java.

finally, left a revenue—which, under Dutch extortion, had rarely exceeded four millions of rupees—amounting, at the time of his departure, to no less a sum than thirty millions.

SUCH

ARE THE BLESSED FRUITS

OF

LIBERAL POLICY

AND

JUST GOVERNMENT!

APPENDIX.

[A]

CEYLON—called by its ancient Inhabitants *Lanka*, *Nagádipa*, and *Singhala*; by the Greeks, *Taprobane*; by the Indians, *Hibenaro*, *Tenarisim*, and *Sielendiba*; and by the Arabians, *Serendib*. ["Dans les Ecrivains Mahometans on lit communement Serendib pour Selendib, mais on doit savoir que la mutation de *l* en *r* est une de plus autorisées par l'usage." *Eclaircissements géographiques sur la Carte de l'Inde, par M. d'Anville.*]—Ptolemy has distinguished the Island by the additional names of *Simundu* or *Palaesimundu*, and *Salice*. *Πάλαι Σιμούνδου*—[*Παλαι-σιμούνδου*;]—*νῦν δὲ Σαλικὴ, καὶ οἱ κατέχοντες αὐτὴν Σάλαι*—L. VII —c. 4.

But a learned Writer of our Country contends that Simundu is not the same as Taprobane, [with which it has been, as he thinks, improperly confounded by Ptolemy and other ancient Authors] but a *Delta*, lying within or contiguous to, the kingdom of Ariace, and formed by the Mouths of the River Nanaguna. "Regio certè erat Indiæ Ariace, vel saltem Ariacæ finitima.... Insulam enim faciunt Nanagunae fluvii, e monte Vindio oriundi, ostia (ut a Ptolemæo describuntur), cujus latus alterum clauserit ostium, proprio Nanagunæ nomine appellatum; alterum Gnosis fluvius seu Bindæ; in quos influit Nanaguna. Ita certè credidisse veteres ostendit Asiæ tabula X^ta^ Ptolemaica. Et pari jure *Insula* appellanda erat Regio, Nanagunæ ostiis inclusa, quo et Patalene, Indi duobus ostiis similiter inclusa." *Henrici Dodwell Dissertatio de ætate et auctore Peripli maris Erythræi.* — The principal arguments, on which Dodwell labours to establish his opinion, are 1st the existence of a place called *Hippocuru* being within or near to Ariace, and corresponding, he thinks, with the Port of *Hippuri* mentioned by Pliny; 2dly the evident discrepancy existing between Pliny and Ptolemy in reference to the names and situations of many of the Towns and Rivers described by them as belonging to the Island. Now as to any faint similitude of pronunciation or sound in the two

words—when we recollect the liberties and mistakes in which both Greeks and Romans (and especially the former) were in the habit of indulging with regard to foreign names, which they generally altered so as to render them significant in their own languages—[see *Gossellin sur la géographie des Grecs*]—very little importance, I think, ought to be attached to that part of his arguments. Neither is the remaining portion of them deserving of more attention; for, admitting any discrepancies which may exist between Pliny and Ptolemy to the fullest extent, yet—when we consider the state of geographical knowledge in those days and that the Authors in question had neither visited the Island themselves nor, perhaps, even conversed with any very intelligent Travellers who had—the inconsistency is not difficult to be accounted for and can weigh but little in opposition to the many positive testimonies that remain to identify Ptolemy's Simundu or Palaesimundu with the Taprobane of the Greeks. Amongst the Authorities, that go to establish the fact, will be found the names of Artemidorus who flourished more than two centuries before Ptolemy, and of the inquiring and accurate Arrian who wrote immediately after. *Fragmenta Artemidori in Stephano Byzantino, περὶ Πόλεων;—et Arriani Periplus Maris Erythraei*—also *Agathemeri Lib. II. c. 6.* and *Marciani*

Heracleotae Lib. I. p. 2, 9, 26. Another circumstance not unworthy of notice in regard to the accounts of this Island, left us by Pliny and Ptolemy, is that into whatsoever errors either of those Writers may have been occasionally betrayed, they were, at least, correct in one material and prominent feature of their description, namely, the situation of the place, which they both concurred in fixing near Coliacum or Cory, and at the Western Entrance of the Bay of Bengal. See *Plin. H. N. Lib. VI. c.* 24. and *Ptol. L. VII. c.* 4.

With respect to the origin and import of the more ancient names belonging to the Island, *Lanka* is said to signify Holy Land;* *Singhala*, Blood of the Lion; *Hibenaro*, fruitful Country; *Tenarisim*, place of delight: *Nagádipa*, Isle of Naga, being derived from *Naga*, a Race of Demigods or Heroes so called, and *Dipa* or *Diba*, an Island. See *Voss. ad Melam L. III. c.* 7. and *Preface to Vol. II.* of Clough's *Singhalese Dictionary*.—Ptolemy makes mention of the City of Nagádiba and of its Inhabitants, the

* Lancab vel Lanca—quod terram sanctam interpretantur Malabarri, Taprobanensium Aborigines. Nomen id Insulae impositum a Vagiaraiâ, primo ipsorum Rege, qui creditur quingentis ante Christum annis floruisse. *Is. Vossius.*—

Nagadibians, but no where applies either of the names to the entire Island or the mass of its population.

As to the names of *Taprobane—Simundu* or *Palaesimundu—Salice—Serendib* or *Sielendib* (from which last the more modern name of *Ceylon* is evidently derived) M. d'Anville says that there remain no traces of their origin. The learned Vossius however thought that he had ascertained the derivations and meanings of them all.—"Insula ea dicta fuit *Ilanare*, aut juxta alios *Tranate*, significans Regnum insulare. A postremo hoc vocabulo videntur Graeci Taprobanem suam formasse. Iterum deinde mutatum est Insulae nomen, nempe postquam Sinae eâ potiti sunt, ac dicta *Παλαισιμούνδου*, uti est apud Ptolemæum, Auctorem Peripli, ac Marcianum Heracleotam, licet alibi *Σιμούνδου* simpliciter appellatur. Prius, ut opinor, fuit *Παλουσιμών*. *Palon* vel *Polon* Indis est *Insula*. *Παλουσιμών* itaque Siamensium—hoc est—Sinensium Insula. Persae addiderunt *τὸ διου*. *Diu* vero Persis idem quod Indis *Polou*. Multis hoc Insulis contigisse, ut ab aliis gentibus alia vocabula idem significantia addita fuerunt, nemo est qui nesciat. *Salicem* quoque postea appellatum fuisse, e Ptolemæo et aliis constat, a Populis *Salis*, qui vulgo *Sale* ab indigenis nuncupantur. Novissima, denique, hujus Insulæ appellatio, quæque etiamnum ob-

tinet, est *Seilan* vel *Seren*, additoque Persico *Dib* vel *Diu* (quod Insulam denotat) *Serendib*..... *Seren* (the same Commentator afterwards tells us) was, according to the Ceylonese annals, a name acquired by the Island in consequence of its intercourse with China, the Inhabitants of which were sometimes distinguished, on account of their silk manufactures and exportations by the appellation of Seres or Silk-worms. Whether this was the origin of the Island's name it is difficult to decide; though, with regard to the Trade, said to have been subsisting between the two countries, there can be no doubt, the tale resting not merely on native tradition and authority, but having the concurrent testimony of the earliest Historians and Voyagers, (Greek, Latin and Egyptian) who had occasion to refer to the subject. *Plin. H. N. L. VI. c.* 24.— *Procopius de Gothis. L. IV. c.* 17. *Cosmae Topog. Christiana L. XI.*—*Garc. ab Horto L.* 1. *c.* 15. * As to the word *Taprobane* which Vossius (as we have already seen) derives from Tranate, the learned Bochart has assigned it

* Garcias ab Horto says that the Chinese were early in the habit of exchanging their silk and other products for the Cinnamon of Ceylon, which they afterwards retailed to the Eastern Ports. Hence Cinnamon was frequently known by the name of *Dâr Tzini* or Chinese Wood. *Garc. L. I. c.* 15.— *Texeira L. I. c.* 35. —*Flora Sinensis, p.* 25. *Celsii Hierobotan. Pars II.*

a very different, though probably not more satisfactory, origin, contending that Taprobane was no other than the *Parvaim* of Scripture [2 *Chron.* III. 6.] and that the name was derived from פַּרְוַיִם Parvan and תָּפַח Taph. "*Parvan* (he adds) est Syrâ inflexione quod Parvajim, et *Taph. Parvan* est littus Parvan seu Parvajim. Itaque Aurum Parvajim idem est cum Taprobanensi." *Phaleg. Praefat.* p. 41. and *Lib.* II. 28.

[B]

SITUATION AND EXTENT OF CEYLON.

Ceylon lies at the W. entrance of the Bay of Bengal, between the 6th and 10th Degrees of N. Latitude, and from 80° to 82°, of E. Longitude. In extreme length it is 270 miles from N. to S.; in extreme breadth, 145.; in average breadth, about 100; and in superficial area, 24,664 square miles,—being almost half as large as England, and three 4ths of the size of Ireland.

[C]

IMPERFECT KNOWLEDGE OF THE ANCIENTS CONCERNING CEYLON.

Though much has been written, little seems to have really known, concerning this Island by the Greeks and

Romans, most of whose Geographers (as Gibbon truly observes) "continued for ages, to magnify above fifteen times the real size of this new World, which they extended as far as the Equator and the neighbourhood of China." Ovid speaks of the place as almost beyond Fame's reach, and the limits of human intercourse—

> Quo tibi, si calidâ positus laudêre Syene,
> Aut ubi TAPROBANEN Indica cingit Aqua?
> Altius ire libet?—Si te distantia longe
> Pleiadum laudent Signa, quid inde feras?
>
> Epist. ex Pont. I. 5.

The first mention, which we find of Ceylon by Greeks or Romans, is in a work ascribed to ARISTOTLE, where it is referred to as being not inferior in extent to the Britannic Islands, Albion and Ierne — [*Νῆσοι βρεταννικαὶ Ἄλβιον καὶ Ἰέρνη. . . . τούτων δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττων ἡ Ταπροβάνη* Arist. de Mundo. c. III.]. Any knowledge, however, which this Writer and others of his age might have possessed concerning Ceylon, its nature and situation, was probably derived from Officers who had served under Alexander and Seleucus in the East, and—judging of it, as we not unfairly may, from the fragments preserved by later Authors—was neither very accurate nor extensive. "Taprobanen

alterum orbem terrarum esse diu existimatum est, Antichthonum appellatione. Ut liqueret Insulam esse Alexandri Magni ætas resque præstitere. ONESICRITUS, classis ejus Præfectus,* Elephantos ibi, majores bellicosioresque quam in India, gigni scripsit: MEGASTHENES, flumine dividi Incolasque Palæogonos appellari, auri margaritarumque grandium fertiliores quam Indos." *Onesicrit. et Megasth. apud Plin. H. N. L. VI. c.* 24. Onesicritus (according to Strabo) has placed the Island at twenty days sail from India,** and makes it 5000 stadia in extent, but without distinguishing between its breadth and length. He is said to have made a voyage there. Whether Megasthenes did

* Arrian accuses Onesicritus of falsely assuming to himself, in his History of Alexander, the rank of Admiral of the Fleet, when he was, in fact, nothing more than Commander of the Royal Galley. *Τοῦ μὲν δὴ ναυτικοῦ ναυτὸς Νέαρχος ἐξηγεῖτο. τῆς δὲ αὐτοῦ* [i. e. *Ἀλεξάνδρου*] *νεὼς Ὀνησίκριτος, ὃς ἐν τῇ ξυγγραφῇ, ἥντινα ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου ξυνέγραψε, καὶ τοῦτο ἐψεύσατο, ναύαρχον ἑαυτὸν εἶναι γράψας, κυβερνήτην ὄντα.* Arrian. Exped. Alexand. L. VI. c. 2.

** Ancient Authors differ widely about the distance of Ceylon from the mainland, each of them apparently reckoning, *not* by the width of the intervening strait, *but* by the time consumed by himself or Informants, in their voyage from some particular Port of the Indian Continent. See *Gossellin sur la géographie des Anciens. Tome III. p.* 292.

the same, or satisfied himself with the information acquired from the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Continent during his frequent visits at the Courts of kings Porus and Sandracottus, does not appear. *Onesicr. et Megasthen. apud Strabon. L.* XV. *p.* 690.—*Arrian. de Exped. Alexandri L.* V. *c.* 6; and *Hist. Ind. c.* 5.

From the liberties taken by the Greeks with all foreign names, it is not always easy to identify the nations and places referred to by ancient Writers. The People, however, whom Megasthenes has designated by the appellation of *Palæogoni* were probably (as indeed the word imports) no other than the aboriginal or early Inhabitants of Ceylon. The River, by which he describes the Island as being divided, is evidently the *Mahaville Ganga*, which taking its rise in the Mountains of Kandy, and crossing more than half the Country, falls at last into the Bay of Trincomalee.

Eratosthenes, who flourished upwards of a Century later than the Macedonian Captains, but whose writings, like theirs, are only known to us through succeeding Authors, describes the Island as being 7, or 8,000 stadia in length (Pliny cites him for the one and Strabo for the other) and 5,000 in breadth, and at the distances of seven days sail from the mainland. Those, who ventured on the voyage, not being able to steer by the stars as the North

Pole was no longer visible, carried birds with them, which they let loose at intervals, in order to ascertain by their flight the nearest direction towards the land. *Eratosth. apud Strabon. L.* XV. *p.* 690; et *apud Plin. L.* VI. *c.* 24.

Yet notwithstanding these testimonies, so much uncertainty still prevailed as to the site and extent of the Country, that many, and amongst them, no less an authority than HIPPARCHUS, continued to doubt whether it was an Island or the commencement of a new Continent. "Taprobane, aut grandis admodum Insula, aut prima pars orbis alterius, Hipparcho dicitur." *Hipparch. apud Pomp. Melam. L.* III. *c.* 7.—

The account left us by DIODORUS SICULUS, and derived from one Iambulus, who pretended to have been carried away—first, by a band of robbers in Arabia—next, by Æthiopians into Africa—and then, being turned adrift from thence in an open boat, to have arrived at, and passed seven years in, Ceylon—the whole account (like that of our impudent Countryman Sir John Mandeville, so many ages after) is manifestly a fable, tempered indeed with a few probabilities here and there, and set off with such occasional facts as happened to be rife in the East, concerning this obscure region—

"Some truth but dash'd and brewed with lies"—

He describes the climate as delightfully temperate, subject to no fierce extremes either of heat or cold, and lavishing its golden fruits at all times and seasons of the year—

Εὐκαιρότατον δ' εἶναι τὸν ἀέρα, ὡς ἂν κατὰ τὸ ἰσημερινὸν οἰκοῦντας, καὶ μήθ' ὑπὸ καύματος μήθ' ὑπὸ ψύχους ἐνοχλουμένους καὶ τὰς ὀπώρας δὲ παρ' ὅλον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀκμάζειν, ὥσπερ ὁ Ποιητής φησιν—

Ὄχνη ἐπ' ὄχνῃ γηράσκει, μήλου δ' ἐπὶ μήλῳ,
*Αὐτὰρ ἐπὶ σταφύλῃ σταφυλή, * σῦκον δ' ἐπὶ σύκῳ—*

He speaks, amongst other things, of the slender figures and flexible limbs of the Natives; of their longevity and exemption from disease; of their addiction to Astrology,** and habit of living with Wives and Children in common. *Diod. Sic. L.* II.

* Other—and comparatively modern—Writers have spoken of the Vine as once flourishing in Ceylon. See *Garcias ab Horto. L.* I. *c.* 15.; *and Baldaeus p.* 418.

** According to ancient Travellers, the study of the stars seems to have been, from remotest ages, a favourite occupation with the Ceylonese. "That the science was cultivated in Ceylon long before the introduction of Buddhism" (says the Author of the Singhalese Dictionary) "we have, I apprehend, sufficient data to prove; but whether the system was indigenous—whether introduced by the Arabians from the shores of the Red Sea—or whether adopted from the

Strabo has himself added nothing to our information respecting Ceylon; the little, which he narrates, consisting wholly of fragments from preceding Writers. Like Aristotle, he seems to have considered the Island as about the size of Britain. [*Ἐν τῇ νοτιωτάτῃ Θαλάττῃ κεῖται Νῆσος, οὐκ ἐλάττων τῆς Βρεττανικῆς, ἡ Ταπροβάνη.*] *L.* II. XV. XVII.

Dionysius, in his Periegesis, thus notices the distant Region—

> *— — — Ἠωλιάδος μεγάλην ἐπὶ Νῆσον ἰκοίο,*
> *Μητέρα Ταπροβάνην Ἀσιηγενεῶν Ἐλεφάντων...*
> *Αὐτὴ δ' εὐρυτάτη μεγεθὸς πέλει. ἀμφὶ δὲ πάντῃ*
> *Κήτεα θῖνες ἔχουσιν, Ἐρυθραίου βοτὰ πόντου,*
> *Οὔρεσιν ἠλιβάτοισιν ἐοικότα*—V. 592.—

The mention of the whales, or large fish, in these seas seems to have been suggested to the Author by a circumstance recorded in the Journal of Nearchus, who states,

Hindus—are subjects for inquiry which, if fairly brought to view, would throw much light on the early history of Ceylon."—*Clough's Singhalese Dict. Vol.* II. *p.* 12.—Benjamin of Tudela, who is supposed to have visited the Island in the XIIth Century, says that "the Children of Cush" (by which I understand him to mean the subjects of Arabia whether from the Eastern or the Western shores of the Gulf) who had settled in Ceylon as Merchants, were much given to Astrology. *P.* 105. *Edit.* 1633, and see *Knox Part* IV. *ch.* 10.

that, on the passage of the Macedonian Fleet from Cyzicæ, the sea was seen, all at once, to spout up, in large volumes, as if under the impulse of sudden whirlwinds. The oars dropped from the hands of the affrighted mariners, nor did the panic altogether cease, until the fleet having advanced, by command of the Admiral, with loud shouts, clanging trumpets, and splashing oars, as if rushing into battle, the whales (for such these agitator-monsters were stated by the Pilots to be) sank quietly down into the deep, nor reappeared until the vessels had passed forward on their way. *Nearchi Paraplus ex Arriani Hist. Ind. c.* 30.

Pomponius Mela, after telling us (as I have before observed) of Hipparchus's doubts as to whether Ceylon was a large Island or the beginning of a new world, adds—"sed quia habitatur nec quisquam circumeasse traditur, propè verum est." *Lib.* III. *c.* 7.

But the fullest account of Ceylon on ancient record has been left us by the elder Pliny. Under the reign of Claudius (as he tells us) the Freedman of one Annius Plocamus, who farmed the customs of the Red Sea, was driven by the winds on this strange coast. He conversed, for six months, with the natives; and the King of Ceylon, who then heard for the first time of the power and justice of Rome, was induced to send an embassy to the Emperor.

Many of the details, however, stated by the Historian to have been derived from this source, seem not less exaggerated and irreconcileable with subsequently ascertained facts than the fables of Iambulus or Sir John Mandeville, and would go far towards discrediting the whole narrative, were we not aware, how much even the simplest tale received, at first, from Interpreters half ignorant of the language they affect to expound, and then, circulated through long successions of hearers and reporters equally confident and uninformed, is sure in the end to be perverted and misunderstood. *

The Ambassadors are represented as having spoken of the Gold, Silver, Pearls, and precious Stones, of the Island; of the longevity of its Inhabitants, of their Arabian dress, worship of Hercules, popular Government, Election

* Dodwell says: "Quæ habet de hâc Insulâ Plinius, ea, cum ad imperium Claudii spectent, e libris illius principio de vitâ suâ eum hausisse suspicor. In illis missas ad se Legationes, et suscepta jussu suo itineraria, et coeptam patrocinio illius Mercaturam adeo lucrosam Alexandrinis, ipsum Claudium complexum fuisse consentaneum est. Atque hinc effectum arbitror, ut memoria Claudii adeo cara fuit Alexandrinis, ut libri ejus publicè recitarentur in Musæo, quod novum ille addidit Alexandrinis.— *Dissert. de ætate et auctore Peripli Maris Erythræi.*

of Kings, and exemption from servitude, quarrels, and law-suits; also, of their Elephant and Tiger Hunts, their delight in Fishing, their Industry and successful Agriculture, and Commerce, particularly with the Sercs,—a People of large stature, red hair, and blue eyes, dwelling beyond the Emodian Mountains, etc.—They boasted of their own greater riches, but did the Romans the justice of acknowledging that they better understood the use of wealth. "Ipsorum opes majores esse dicebant, sed apud nos opulentiæ majorem usum." *Plin. H. N. Lib.* VI. *c.* 24.

In one of the Towns described by Pliny under the name of Palæsimundum, d'Anville thought that he recognized Jafnapatnam.—"Par diverses circonstances de la situation de cette ville, et entre autres d'un grand lac voisin, on croit reconnoître qu'elle ne peut convenir qu'à celle, qui dans le nord de l'isle se nomme Jafnapatnam." *Tome* II. *p.* 35. and *see Gossellin sur la géographie des Anciens. Tome* III. *p.* 297—300. And Bochart has endeavoured to shew that the Port of Hippuros, where the Freedman of Annius Plocamus first landed, was no other than the Ophir of Scripture so famed for the Gold, the precious Stones, and the Algum Trees, with which it supplied the Fleets of Kings Solomon and Hiram. "Græci pro Ophir *Ἱππουρον*, Hippuron scripserunt. Ea vox in

Plinio legitur et in Solino." *Phaleg. Præfat. p.* 41. Neither the Seventy nor Josephus, however, have made use of any such expression, but uniformly render *Ophir* into Greek by the word *Σουφιρ* or *Σωφιρ*.

Ptolemy is the next Writer after Pliny from whom we have any account of Ceylon; but he seems, notwithstanding his extensive geographical researches and knowledge, to have been in some respects, (and particularly in regard to the size of the Island which he has exaggerated beyond all measure) more misinformed than many of his predecessors. He speaks of the Rice, Ginger, Honey, Beryls, Hyacinths and metals with which the Country abounded, and records the names of its principal rivers, mountains, and towns. In one of these—*viz*—"Phasis," Bochart fancied that he had discovered the golden Uphaz of Holy Writ. See *Phaleg. Præf. p.* 41.—and *Jerem.* X. 9.—and *Daniel* X. 5.—The name of "Malea," which Ptolemy assigns to a mountain of the Island is (according to d'Anville and Gossellin) a generic term, applied by the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Continent to many of their hilly Districts. In like manner "Galiba" and "Ganges"—the first also signifying *Mountain*, and the latter, *River*—are general expressions, though employed by the geographer in the designation of particular mountains and rivers.

"Nagádiba"—a name which he has applied to one of the towns—was (as we are told by the Buddhist Historians) the ancient name of the whole kingdom. "Anourigrammon" and "Naagrammon," the former of which he designates by the title of "Royal City," and the latter by that of "Metropolis," were, in the opinion of d'Anville, the Cities afterwards known under the names of Anurogrammon [Anarajhapoora?] and Kandy. The first of these has been, for ages, in ruins. *Ptol. L.* VII. *c.* 4. and see *Gossellin sur la géographie des Anciens Tome* III. *p.* 299—306.

ARRIAN, in his Periplus of the Erythræan Sea, has described the situation of Ceylon with his accustomed accuracy, placing it near Cape Comar, and in the same latitude with a part of Azania. He enumerates Pearls, precious Stones, Tortoise shell, and fine Linens, amongst its productions, and represents the northern shores as much frequented by foreign ships, and not in a bad state of cultivation. *Periplus Maris Erythræi p.* 35. *Oxon. Edit.*

ÆLIAN speaks of the number and beautiful order of the Palm Trees that adorned the shores of the Island; of the Turtle and large Fish, frequenting its bays; and of the Elephants annually exported by its Inhabitants to the King of the Colingæ. *Ælian. de Animal. L.* XV. *c.* 17, 18.

Ammianus Marcellinus has noticed an embassy which was sent from Ceylon and the neighbouring Isles to the Emperor Julian [abusque Divis et Serendivis] *L.* XXII. c. 7. And a later Writer, Procopius (the faithful secretary and historian of the gallant Belisarius) records the memorable fact that it was in this Island, amidst the concourse of Eastern Nations frequenting its marts, two Persian Monks acquired their first knowledge of the Silk Manufacture, which they afterwards, by means of the Insects' Eggs, were enabled to introduce into Europe. — *Χρόνου γὰρ κατατρίψαι μῆκος ἐν χώρᾳ ἥπερ Ἰνδῶν ἔθνη τὰ πολλὰ εἰσιν, ἥπερ Σηρίνδα ὀνομάζεται· ταύτῃ τε ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἐκμεμαθηκέναι ὁποίᾳ ποτὲ μηχανῇ γίνεσθαι τὴν Μέταξαν ἐν γῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων δυνατὸν εἴη.* Procop. de Gothis. L. IV. c. 17. and see Is. Voss. ad Melam. L. III. c. 7. and M. de Guignes Mémoire sur le Commerce, avant les Croisades.

I have already referred to the Travels of Cosmas. The following is his account of the Island more at large. *Αὐτὴ ἐστὶν ἡ Νῆσος ἡ μεγάλη ἐν τῷ Ὠκεανῷ, ἐν τῷ Ἰνδικῷ Πελάγει κειμένη· παρὰ μὲν Ἰνδοῖς καλουμένη Σιελεδίβα, παρὰ δὲ Ἕλλησι Ταπροβάνη· ἐν ᾗ εὑρίσκεται ὁ λίθος ὁ ὑάκινθος. περαιτέρω δὲ κεῖται τῆς χώρας τοῦ πεπέρεως. πέριξ δὲ αὐτῆς εἰσί τινες Νῆσοι μικραὶ πολλαὶ πάνυ, πᾶσαι δὲ γλυκὺ ὕδωρ ἔχουσαι, καὶ ἀργέλλια. Ἔχει δὲ ἡ*

Νῆσος ἡ μεγάλη, καθὼς φασιν οἱ ἐγχώριοι, γαύδια τριακόσια εἴς τε μῆκος ὁμοίως καὶ πλάτος, τουτέστι μίλια ἐννακόσια. Δύο δὲ βασιλεῖς εἰσιν ἐν τῇ Νήσῳ ἐναντίοι ἀλλήλων· ὁ εἷς ἔχων τὸν Γυάκινθον, καὶ ὁ ἕτερος τὸ μέρος τὸ ἄλλο, ἐν ᾧ ἐστι τὸ Ἐμπόριον καὶ ὁ Λιμήν. Μέγα δὲ ἐστι καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐκεῖσε Ἐμπορίων. Ἔχει δὲ ἡ Νῆσος καὶ Ἐκκλησίαν etc. etc. Ἱερὰ δὲ πολλὰ ἔχουσιν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Νήσῳ· εἷς ἐν δὲ Ἱερὸν αὐτῶν ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ κείμενον, ἐστὶν ἐν Γυκίνθιν, ὡς φασί, πυρρόιεν καὶ μέγα· ὂν, ὡς στρόβιλος μέγας· καὶ λάμπει μακρόθεν, μάλιστα τοῦ Ἡλίου περιλάμποντος, ἀτίμητον θέαμα ὄν. Ἐξ ὅλης δὲ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς καὶ Περσίδος καὶ Αἰθιοπίας, δέχεται ἡ Νῆσος πλοῖα πολλὰ, μέση τις οὖσα, ὁμοίως καὶ ἐκπέμπει.

Καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἐνδοτέρων, λέγω δὴ τῆς Τζινίστας καὶ ἑτέρων Ἐμπορίων, δέχεται μέταξαν, ἀλοὴν, καρυόφυλλον, τζανθάναν, καὶ ὅσα κατὰ χώραν εἰσί· καὶ μεταβάλλει τοῖς ἐξωτέρω, λέγω δὴ τῇ Μαλὲ, ἐν ᾗ τὸ πέπερι γίνεται, καὶ τῇ Καλλιάνᾳ, ἔνθα ὁ χαλκὸς γίνεται, καὶ σησαμινὰ ξύλα, καὶ ἕτερα ἱμάτια· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴ μέγα Ἐμπόριον. Ὁμοίως καὶ Σίνδου, ἔνθα ὁ μόσχος ἢ τὸ καστορὶν, καὶ τὸ ἀνδροστάχην· καὶ τῇ Περσίδι, καὶ τῷ Ὁμηρίτῃ, καὶ τῇ Ἀδούλῃ· καὶ πάλιν τὰ ἀπὸ ἑκάστου τῶν εἰρημένων Ἐμπορίων δεχομένη, καὶ τοῖς ἐνδοτέρω μεταβάλλουσα, καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἅμα ἑκάστῳ Ἐμπορίῳ ἐκπέμπουσα. —Christ. Topogr. L. XI. p. 336.

Montfaucon, in his Preface to the Christian Topography, referring to his Author's account of Ceylon, says "Sieledivam Insulam accurate describit, in duoque regna distributam esse ait: quorum aliud ab Hycintho perinsigni, qui ibi quodam in Delubro, edito in loco, servabatur, Hyacinthi Regnum vocabatur; aliud verò reliquam Insulæ partem obtinebat... Trecentorum milliarium Insulæ circuitum esse dicit: hodierni geographi ducenta tantùm millia ambitûs Insulæ ascribunt: verùm ut plerisque in locis observavimus et a doctis viris antea notatum, *breviora milliaria veteres numerabant, quam recentiores.* Cætera ad eam Insulam spectantia tutè, lector erudite, in hoc opere nec sine voluptate percurras." *Præfat. c.* III. 5.

There are other authors of the early ages that might have been also cited for their notices of this Island, as SOLINUS ("Plinii Simia" as Dodwell calls him) — AGATHEMERUS — MARCIANUS HERACLEOTES — STEPHEN OF BYZANTIUM — etc. etc.; but their narrations are nothing more than transcripts from Pliny, Ptolemy, and preceding Writers. The only additional circumstance which I remember to have seen in either of them is the mode which, according to Agathemerus, the natives had of binding up their hair—a mode which, I believe, prevails in some parts of the Island to the present day. *Agath. L.* II. *c.* 6.

[D]

TRAVELLERS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

Ceylon seems to have been the resort and admiration of various Travellers in the IX^th^, XII^th^, XIII^th^, and XIV^th^ Centuries, all of whom (at least of those whose accounts survive) have borne ample testimony to its then existing wealth and importance. THE TWO MAHOMETANS, who visited the Island in the IX^th^ Century, and whose Travels have been translated from the Arabic into French by the Abbe Renaûdot, have enlarged on its vegetable and other productions; on its Gold, Pearl Fisheries, and precious Stones; and even on the number of its learned men, employed in expounding the Laws and History of the Country. BENJAMIN OF TUDELA and MARCO POLO—one of whom was there in the XII^th^ and the other in the XIII^th^ Century—both praise the Country. The latter says that it was considered one of the finest Islands in the World. He has, however, like Ptolemy and earlier Writers magnified its size beyond all existing proportions, making it no less than 2,040 miles in circumference, and adding that it had been, according to popular belief, 3,600; but that the Sea, driven by the force of the North Winds against its shores, had by degrees undermined, and at

length absorbed, a large portion of them in its depths. This opinion—however unfounded it may be deemed by us—appears to have been received from the earliest Historians of the Island, and is supported by Valentyn, a modern Writer of some authority. * Of the Natives Polo tells us that they were Idolaters, went naked except around their waists, and had, for their ordinary diet, Rice, Milk, and a Liquor extracted from trees. They were of peaceful habits and, when constrained to war, took Foreigners—usually Saracens—into their pay. The Country was governed by a King, rich, powerful, and tributary to none. He was said to be possessed of the most wonderful Ruby ever seen, it being a span long and three fingers in thickness, sparkling as fire and without a flaw. He had been offered the value of a considerable Town for it by the great Khan, but declined to part with so precious an Heir-loom. *Lib.* III. *c.* 22.

HAITHO, the Armenian, an almost contemporary Traveller, likewise notices the Ruby, which, he says, was

* Rachias and the Embassadors, sent to Claudius, are reported by Pliny as having represented the Sea on the N. of the Island to be "colore perviridi, praeterea fruticosum arboribus, jubas earum gubernaculis deterentibus." *Hist. Nat. Lib.* VI. *c.* 24.

always borne by the king in procession, on the day of his coronation. *C.* VI. Another Traveller, IBN BATUTA, who visited Ceylon in the succeeding Century, and whose work has been recently translated from the Arabic into our language by the Revd S. Lee, describes the shores of the Island as abounding with Cinnamon-wood, and states that its king had "considerable forces by sea." Amongst the chief Towns he notices "Dînaur" and "Kolamba"—the former of them spacious and inhabited by merchants, but inferior to the latter which was the largest and finest of the Island. *p. p.* 184, 191. etc. As to Sir JOHN MANDEVILLE, who pretended to have visited Ceylon in the same century, his accounts seem to me altogether fabulous and unworthy of notice. The probability is that he never set foot upon the Island, contenting himself with the tales of former Travellers and the dreams of his own vain imagination.

*** I have purposely abstained (as far as possible) from reference to the native Histories and Traditions of the Island, knowing how partial and fallacious such authorities, in a Country circumstanced as Ceylon, are likely to be found.

[E]

POPULATION.

The total Population of Ceylon, including Natives and Strangers, does not, I believe, exceed one million, or about 40 Inhabitants to the square mile. The numbers however, have been increasing, of late years, in the maritime Districts. They were in

1814	.	.	.	475,883
1824	.	.	.	595,105
1831	.	.	.	661,906

making an increase of 66,801, in the last seven, and of 186,023, in the last seventeen years.

[F]

CLIMATE.

The Climate is healthy in many Districts, and would probably be so in all, were the Jungles and Marshes cleared and the Country more widely cultivated. Salubrity of Climate does not depend on parallels of latitude. Even Batavia has become comparatively healthy since the destruction of its sluices and canals, and the removal of the dead animal and vegetable matter which was allowed to putrify there in masses, and to corrupt the surrounding atmosphere.

But Ceylon has the advantage of stronger Monsoons and more regular Land and Sea Breezes than Java. "Le climat de Ceylon" (says Thunberg) "n'est pas moins chaud que celui de Batavia; mais les côtes sont plus hautes et conséquemment plus exposées au vent qui tempère l'extrême chaleur, et contribue à la salubrité de l'air." *Voyages Tome* IV. *p.* 209.

Dr. Davey, a subsequent Traveller, says in his account of the Island, that, "in respect of heat and temperature, no Country is more favoured than Ceylon, its hottest weather being temperate in comparison with the summer heat of most parts of India. This is owing to its insular situation, and exposure to ventilation from both Monsoons. The medium range of the thermometer is inconsiderable, and the extreme not great. Along the coast, in general, the mean annual temperature may be stated at between 79° and 81°; the middle range of the thermometer at between 75° and 85°; and the extreme range at between 68° and 90°..... With respect to the salubrity of Ceylon *nearly the extreme degrees of atmospheric salubrity* are enjoyed on the S. W. Coast and on the loftier grounds of the Inferior:—*nearly the extremes of insalubrity* are felt in the low wooded country between the mountains and the sea, in all directions except towards the S. W.

Coast;—and *the middle degrees* are experienced in the lower mountainous and hilly Districts of the Interior and of the N. and E. shores of the Island."—

These observations are confirmed by Dr. James Forbes, Col. Colebrooke, and other intelligent Writers, and the general conclusion, to be drawn from their details, is, that where the Country is depopulated and overgrown with Jungle, or exposed to the influence of Malaria from uncultivated Marshes, endemic Fever returns at certain seasons, though irregularly, and that at other periods the Country is healthy.

"The maritime Districts and especially those which are most populous, are more healthy than those of the Interior, and hence the Climate of Ceylon may be expected to become more uniformly salubrious, when the Country is more generally cleared and cultivated.—*By draining the marshy grounds in the environs of Trincomalee the climate of that place has been improved; and, on the other hand, the most productive Province of the Interior* (Seven Korles) *has become unhealthy from the numerous Tanks which have recently fallen to ruin, and the consequent growth of Jungle and generation of Marsh Miasmata. The Jungles, which produce Fevers, consist of rank shrubs of rapid and luxurious growth which spring up in marshy*

grounds and over uncultivated tracts. The lands, situated in the neighbourhood of Colombo, are low and subject to inundation from the Mutwell River; but as they are regularly cultivated, the atmosphere preserves its purity.—An uncultivated Marsh, situated to the N. of the town, and which it has been proposed to drain and cultivate, renders the N. Winds, which blow over it, less wholesome."—*Colebrooke's Report. p.* 8.

Owing to the intertropical situation of Ceylon, the quantity of rain that falls there, is very great, though the proportion is much less in the N. than in the S. Division of the Island. "In this respect," says Col. Colebrooke, "the Climate and Seasons are strikingly contrasted. On one side of the Island, or even on one side of a mountain, the rain may fall in torrents, while, on the other, the earth is parched and the herbage withered. The Inhabitants, in one place, may be securing themselves from inundations, while, in another, they are carefully distributing the little water of a former season which has been retained in their wells and tanks."—Hence canals and embankments are not less needed to drain and protect crops in the South, than tanks and watercourses to relieve the droughts which prevail in the northern parts of the Island, and it is to be lamented that so many of these necessary works, in

both divisions, should have been suffered to fall into ruin or decay. See *Knox Part* I. *Ch.* 1.

The following Document, shewing the relative state of the health of our Troops in Ceylon, the Ionian Islands, Mauritius, and Jamaica, may be deemed not uninteresting.

Period	Ceylon		Ion. Isles		Mauritius		Jamaica	
	Troops	Sick	Troops	Sick	Troops	Sick	Troops	Sick
June 1831 . .	3,979	116	3,133	112	1,750	137	2,882	93
Jan. 1832. . .	3,940	120	3,107	75	1,754	169	2,659	118
June 1832 . .	3,827	98	3,069	89	1,714	147	2,797	114
Jan. 1833. . .	3,689	128	2,983	85	1,794	165	2,957	228
August 1833	3,933	117	3,023	120	2,243	182	3,397	225

[G]

SOIL AND VEGETABLE PRODUCTIONS.

The soils of Ceylon are various, but may be said (as far as they are known), with some exceptions, to be more or less fertile, or, at least, susceptible of easy cultivation—

"Vix sterilis locus ullus ita est, ut non sit in illo
"Mista ferè duris utilis herba rubis."—

The most productive soils are—a *brown* Loam, composed of Gneis or Granite, and abounding with Felspar;—

and a *reddish* one, called "Kabook," resulting from decomposition of Clay Iron-stone, and based upon Granite. The most barren are those, in which Quartz predomniates; yet even there vegetation will flourish, as the Cinnamon Gardens at Colombo, and the Cocoa Nut Trees along many parts of the S. W. Coast, most abundantly testify.

In the more elevated lands of Saffragan and Lower Ouvah on the S., and in the mountains above them, the soils are strong and fertile; and the districts of Wallasse and Bintenne towards the E., though now depopulated and difficult of access, contain fine tracts of arable and pasture land. These, as well as many parts of the great Province of Nuwerakalawa in the N., are said to have been once populous and productive; and judging from the number of their ruined tanks and other works of labour and art, we have no reason to doubt the tale.

In the farther North, above Nuwerakalawa, the soil is sandy and calcareous, resting upon Madrapore, and, in consequence of its dryness, favourable to sheep. When duly irrigated and manured, as it is, in some places, by its Malabar Inhabitants, it yields the finest Rice and Tobacco. Cotton, Opium, and various other plants, are not less adapted to the soil and climate, and might be cultivated with equal advantage.

In the more central Districts and in many parts of the Kandyan Highlands, there are extensive plains, with soils and climates suited to almost every species of European Produce, and holding out the highest inducements to European settlers. One of these—Maha-Ellia—which has been recently explored by some British Officers, is described by them as being of the most picturesque appearance, with a fine stream running through its centre, and soils and climate which would favour the growth of almost every variety of European productions. It lies to the S. E. of, and at a distance of about 27 miles from, Newera Ellia, to which station a road might be opened with little difficulty or expence.

But whatever may be the qualities of the different soils, either along the coasts or in the interior parts of Ceylon—whatever their productions—the Island in these, as in most other respects, has been infinitely more indebted to nature than to man. Here and there Improvements may have taken place—particular spots may have been duly cultivated by Malabars or Chinese—occasional skill may have been displayed by the Kandyans in the cultivation of Rice on terraces cut along the sides of the Hills, and irrigated by the mountain streams,—but, in the greater part of the Island, the lands are in no better, if not generally

in a much worse, condition than nature left them, few attempts having been ever made to renew their powers or prevent their deterioration, by either tillage, cleaning, or manure.

Amongst a variety of vegetable productions there are some for which Ceylon stands preeminent. Her Cocoa Nut Trees are perhaps the finest in the world and of infinite value, contributing largely to the subsistence of the people and supporting many useful manufactures. Various articles for consumption and export are made from them, as Arrack, Jaghery, Vinegar, Oil of a valuable quality, Ropes, Brushes, Mats, Rafters, etc. etc. In the northern Districts, where the dryness of the climate forbids the growth of the Cocoa, the Palmyra Palm supplies its place, and is applied to many similar purposes.

Ceylon produces much useful and ornamental Timber, as Teak, Ebony, Iron, Satin, Calamander, and Jack, Woods. The last named Tree is scarcely less serviceable than the Cocoa and Palmyra Palms, affording, as it does, food for the population and useful timber (not unlike Mahogany) for furniture and building.

With regard to the Rice of Ceylon, it is of the best quality, and might, by means of artificial irrigation, be cultivated to any extent [see page 46. note]. Nor are Cotton,

Opium, Tobacco, Pepper, Coffee, less congenial to the different soils and Climates of the Island. Some of these—particularly Coffee—being free of duty [see page 22. note] have increased much in cultivation and value, within the last few years, and promise under European management to become articles of extensive traffic.

But the great staple article of Commerce, and, in its finer kinds, almost peculiar to Ceylon, is CINNAMON. Of this plant Professor Thunberg mentions *ten* different sorts as growing in the Island,—*four* of nearly equal value, being varieties of the *Laurus Cinnamomum*. In addition to the fragrant Bark which these all yield, from the root of one of them (the Capura Curundu, or Camphor Cinnamon) Camphor is obtained. *

* Speaking of the coarser kinds of Cinnamon, Professor Thunberg observes, "Le Laurier Casse (*Laurus Cassia*) me paroît n'être qu'une variété du Laurier-Cannellier (*Laurus Cinnamomum*). Je serois même tenté de croire que cette variété de Cannelle fine et de Cannelle grossière est un effet du climat et du sol. Cette supposition est d'autant plus probable que, dans l'Isle de Ceylon, qui paroît d'être le pays, par l'excellence, pour cette production végétable, elle varie en bonté selon les sites. La plus exquisite croit dans la partie Sud-ouest." *Voyages Tome* IV. p. 235. Garcias ab Horto (who wrote upon aromatics,

Cinnamon grows in sandy as well as in richer soils, where there is sufficient moisture; thriving luxuriantly within the influence of the S. W. Monsoon, from Negombo to Tangalle and in the interior Districts having a western

in the XVIth Century, and who as Physician to the Portuguese Viceroys of India, during a period of more than 30 years, had enjoyed the amplest opportunities of studying his subject) says "Cassia lignea Arabibus, Persis, et Indis, *Salihacha*; a vulgo, autem, Indorum eorum nomine dicitur quo Canella: nullum inter Canellam et Cassiam discrimen faciunt. Neque, ut verum dicam, quispiam Cassiam a Canellâ differentem vidit.—Cæterum quod Canellæ diversa Cinnamomi et Cassiæ nomina indita fuerint, occasionem præbuisse puto Mercatores Chinenses (nam annales urbis Ormuz produnt olim quadringentas naves e Chinâ uno eodemque tempore eò appulisse) qui, cum e suâ regione Aurum, Sericum, Vasa Murrhina (*porcellanas* vocant) Moschum, Cuprum, aliasque hujusmodi merces eveherent, nonnullas ex eis in Malacca vendebant; Sandalum, Nucem myristicam, Macerem, Cariophylla, lignum Aloes, contrà in suas naves inferentes; quæ rursus in Zeilan et Malavar divendebant, *indeque sumebant Canellam, ex Zeilan, videlicet laudatissimam, et ex Malavar, minus selectam; similiter ex Javâ*.... Cum autem, quæ in Zeilan nata esset, Canellam ab eâ, quæ in Malavar et Javâ sumserant, differre conspicerent, diversa illis indidêre nomina, *cum tamen ejusdem generis essent cortices, pro soli cæliquæ varietate differentes*, ut plerumque idem fructus,

aspect. There are many tracts in Ceylon well-adapted to the growth of Cinnamon which are not yet under cultivation. In the High Lands, called "Chenas," which are cleared and cultivated only at intervals of several years,

pro regionum et soli varietate, suavior fieri aut a naturali bonitate degenerare solet .... Quamvis autem Zeilanica reliquis præfertur, invenitur tamen illa interdum ignobilis, qualis est quæ crassiori cortice constat, minusque in tubulos convolvitur, quod non sit ejusdem anni; quo enim vetustior cortex, eo deterior. Quæ verò in Malavar nascitur, tota fere est ignobilis, tantumque a Zeilanicâ differt, ut centenæ Zeilanicæ libræ decem aureos pendant; Malavaricæ verò libræ quadringentæ unum duntaxat aureum." *Aromatum etc. apud Indos nascentium Historia—a D. Garciâ ab Horto Proregis Indiæ Medico. L.* I. *c.* 15.

Celsius says "inter Cassiam et Cinnamomum parum esse discriminis; post Galenum, multi pro re certâ habuerunt. Certè unius generis diversæ sunt Plantæ. Solent, autem, species Plantarum, non aliter ac filiæ, suo quæque modo genus, se matrem, referre, ut sit congeneribus—

— — — — Facies non omnibus una
Nec diversa tamen, qualem decet esse sororum—

Sic Cassia et Cinnamomum non eadem quidem arbor; sed differunt bonitate, alioqui inter se simillimæ. Unde Cassiæ quædam species *Ἰσοκίνναμον* dicta fuit; et de Cassiâ eandem, quam de Cinnamomo ac Cinnamolgo Ave, canunt veteres cantilenam. *Cinnamomum*, igitur, et *Cassia Cin-*

it is observed, that the plants which spring up where the Jungle has been burned, yield Cinnamon of the finest quality.

From the silence of Greek and Roman Authors respecting this Plant, in their account of an Island which has been since so celebrated for its production, many of their Readers have inferred that it was not indigenous in Ceylon, but transplanted there, in later ages, from other regions of the East. This assumption, however, appears to have been wholly gratuitous and unfounded. The fact is (as before observed) that the ancient Geographers and Histo-

namomea dicta duæ sunt *Lauri* species, suffragio etiam veterum, qui inter Cassias, Daphnitim quandam, sc. Daphnoidim, agnoscunt."—

The Word *Salihacha or Salicha* (according to the Arabian authorities cited by Celsius) signifies peeled Bark, being derived from the Arabian verb *Salacha* to peel or draw off. "In Abul Fudli meo (he continues) lego sequentia—Salicha nomen est Arabicum corticis ex stirpe crescente in regionibus Indiæ et in Omanâ; cujus folia similia sunt foliis Lilii cærulei. Et ipsi caudex est crassus super quem cortex itidem crassus, qui ex illo deglubitur" .... Et in Avicennâ—"Salicha cortex est arboris similis Cinnamomo; virtute referens Cinnamomum, sed debilior. Optima verò illa, quæ proximè accedit ad Cinnamomum." *Hierobotanicon pars* II. *p.* 362 etc.

rians knew very little about Ceylon, its commerce, or productions, their almost only information—with the exception of a few vague notices picked up amongst the Indians and transmitted to posterity by the followers of Alexander and Seleucus — being derived from Arabian merchants and mariners, who had an interest in deceiving; who, enjoying (as their ancestors had for ages before them) an unrestrained Monopoly of the Cinnamon Trade, jealously laboured to conceal the place of its growth, and to mislead all those who might, they thought, by any possibility, become their rivals in the precious market.

Cinnamon [קִנָּמוֹן בֹּשֶׂם—*Kinnamon Bosem*—sweet Cinnamon—probably the Penni Curundu or Honey Cinnamon of Ceylon] is first mentioned by Moses, who names it as among the Ingredients of the holy anointing oil of the Tabernacle, distinguishing it expressly from Cassia [קִדָּה—*Kiddah**] which also formed a part in the same composition. *Exod.* XXX. 23, 24. Five hundred years after Solomon celebrates it as among the chief spices and perfumes of

* The same word also occurs in Ezekiel XXVII, 19; but in the book of Psalms XLV, 9, the Hebrew expression is קְצִיעוֹת *Ketzioh*. Celsius suggests that the *Kiddah* might be a superior kind of Cassia, mentioned by Dioscorides under the name of *Κιττὰ—Celsii Hierobotan. pars* II. *p.* 185—360.

his age. *Prov.* VII, 17. *Cantic.* IV, 14. In two subsequent passages of the sacred Volume—namely in *Ecclesiasticus* XXIV, 15. and in the *Apocalypse of St. John* XVIII, 13. it is distinguished in a like manner.

Nor are we left in doubt as to the purveyors of the precious Commodity. In the XXXVII^th^ chapter of Genesis it is related that the Brethren of Joseph, when about to leave him a prey to the famine or wild beasts of the desert, were diverted from their purpose by seeing a Company of Ishmaelites approach "with their camels bearing spicery and balm and myrrh" into Egypt, to whom they resolved to sell their brother as a slave.—"Here"—remarks Dr. Vincent —"here, upon opening the oldest history in the world, we find the Ishmaelites from Gilead conducting a caravan of camels, loaded with the spices of India, and balm and myrrh of Hydramaut, and, in the regular course of their traffic, proceeding into Egypt for a market. The date of this transaction is more than 17 Centuries prior to the Christian Æra, and, notwithstanding its antiquity, it has all the genuine features of a Caravan crossing the desert at the present hour." *Vincent's Periplus.* *

* "The sacred story of events, transacted in the fields of Sichem, is, from our earliest years, remembered with delight; but having the territory actually before our eyes,

Upwards of 700 years after Joseph's captivity, we still find Arabia the great storehouse and mart of aromatic wealth. The Queen of Sheba came to Jerusalem with a very great train and with camels bearing the richest treasures. "She gave to the king 120 talents of gold, and of spices a great abundance; neither was there *any such spice* as the Queen of Sheba gave to king Solomon." 1 *Kings* X, 1—9. 2 *Chron.* IX, 1—9. Again four hundred years later, the Prophet Ezekiel, in his denunciations of God's wrath against the Tyrians, recalling the past grandeur and riches of their devoted City, says, that "Cassia and Calamus were in her markets"—and that "the merchants of Sheba and Raamah were her merchants," supplying her "with *the chief of all spices* and with precious stones and

where those events took place, and beholding objects as they were described 3,000 years ago, the grateful impression kindles into ecstasy. — Along the Valley we beheld *"a company of Ishmaelites coming from Gilead," as in the days of Reuben and Judah, with their Camels bearing spicery and balm and myrrh,* who would gladly have purchased another Joseph of his Brethren, and conveyed him, as a Slave, to some Potiphar in Egypt. Upon the hills around, flocks and herds were feeding, as of old; nor, in the simple garb of the Shepherds of Samaria, was there any thing contrary to the notions we may entertain of

Gold"—*Ezek.* XXVII. 19. 22. The chief of all spices, thus referred to, were most probably, as Dr. Vincent observes, the same as had been so distinctly enumerated in the earlier part of the Sacred Volume. *Exod.* XXX, 23. 34. And as some of these are now known to be the produce not of Arabia, but of Malabar and Ceylon, there can exist, I should think, but little doubt as to the antiquity of commercial intercourse between these countries.

The compilers of the French Encyclopædia have expressed their doubts, whether what we now call Cinnamon was the "Kinnamon" of the Ancients, and suppose the substance, so designated in Scripture, to have been a gum or oil, rather than an odoriferous Bark. It is not, however, unworthy of remark that the Honey Cinnamon contains much more oil than any other spice, and that the Ceylonese have been in the habit of extracting it in great quantities. The process is described by Thunberg and others; and it seems, by no means, improbable that the oil

the appearance presented by the Sons of Jacob. It was, indeed, a sight to abstract and elevate the mind; and during the feelings thus awakened by every circumstance of powerful coincidence, a single moment seemed to concentrate whole ages of existence." *Clarke's Travels in the Holy Land. Part* II. *p.* 512.

mentioned in Scripture might have been prepared in a similar manner. *

From Sacred we descend to Profane History; and here, in many of the Fables which it records on this subject, it is not difficult to trace the arts and genius of the Arabians, and the means by which that wily people so long succeeded in preserving their monopoly and in blinding and misleading those who might otherwise have discovered the sources, and divided the profits, of their trade.

Herodotus, who wrote about 170 years after Ezekiel; speaking of Cinnamon, says that the Greeks first learned the name of the plant from the Phœnicians, and that, according to the reports of some of the Arabians, it was brought by large birds out of the country in which Bacchus

* See *Thunberg, Tome* IV. *p*, 242. and *Marshall's Medical Topography of Ceylon. p.* 217. Also *Garcias ab Horto. L.* I. *c.* 15. *Flora Sinensis,* p. 25. and *Celsii Hierobotan. pars* II. *p.* 326. 351. — In an old Report of the Dutch E. I. Company [22. Oct. 1664] I find enumerated amongst the Exports, from Ceylon to Holland, of the preceding year, 200 ℔ of oil of Cinnamon.

That Cinnamon was an ingredient in the oils and ointments of the Ancients, we have numberless authorities for knowing—see, amongst others, *Lucan.* X. 167. *Martial. L.* III. *Epig.* 54. and *L.* IV. *Epig.* 13. etc. etc.

was educated. These building their nests upon inaccessible rocks, the Arabians strewed limbs of asses and oxen below, which, being carried up by the birds and proving too heavy for their nests, fell to the ground, bringing down the Cinnamon with them. *Herod. L.* III. *c.* 3. Aristotle and Antigonus Carystius have called the bird, which was supposed to bring the spice, "the Cinnamon Bird," and relate that the Natives obtained its nests by shooting at them with leaded arrows. *Arist. Hist. Animal. L.* IX. *c.* 20. *Antig. Caryst. c.* 49. * Theophrastus states the popular

* The Fable of the Cinnamon Bird or Phœnix seems to have been very rife, for many ages, as we meet with references to it in Dionysius Periegetes, Martial, Statius, Pliny, Tacitus, Dion etc. etc. It was also adopted by the Jewish Rabbins, and even by some of the Christian Fathers, who quote it as an image of the Resurrection—see *Tertullian. de Resurrectione c.* XIII. *Origen. contra Cels. L.* IV. *Epiphan. Physiolog. c.* XI. etc. etc. Bochart has suggested the following explanation of the Fable—"Fabulam de nidis avium unde Cinnamomum decutitur, quam post Herodotum referunt Aristoteles, Antigonus Carystius, Plinius, Solinus, et alii, totam niti allusione vocum. Phœnicibus קִנָּמוֹן, Kinnamon est *Cinnamomum*, et קִנִּים, Kinnim, *Nidi*—inde occasio Fabulæ." *Phaleg. L.* II. *c.* 3.—Possibly the fable might have been first suggested to its Authors by seeing the edible Birds' nests (the nests of the *Hirundo*

belief to have been that the Cinnamon grew in narrow valleys, guarded by deadly serpents; that the neighbouring Inhabitants, armed hand and foot, descended and gathered it; and then, dividing the whole into three parts, selected one of them by lot for the sun—which portion, on their leaving it, immediately took fire and was consumed by his rays.—*Theoph. de Plantis, L.* IV. c. 5,

Agatharchides speaks also of like perils attending the enterprize. He has drawn indeed a most florid picture of the Country supposed to produce the plant, bearing, however, a much nearer resemblance to some Island of the further East, than to any part of Arabia. Here, amidst Groves —

"Groves, whose rich trees wept odorous gums and balm"

—the Cinnamon flourished, and so abundantly as to be in common use for firing. But no pleasure is without its alloy; and the Inhabitants of those shores (continues

esculenta) so much in request amongst the Chinese, and frequently found in Ceylon as well as in other parts of the East. — The Weed, composing these nests, is the *Sphærococcus Cartilagineus var. setac. aq.*, which, having been eaten by the Bird and softened in its stomach to a jelly, is thrown up and used in forming its nest.—See *Dr. F. J. F. Meyen's Voyage round the World.*

our Author) in every other portion of their lot so blest—*γένος παντοίας κύριον εὐδαιμονίας*—were exposed to the deadly bites of Serpents, which infesting the fragrant Realm forbade its Possessors to enjoy the favours, without sometimes reminding them of the vicissitudes of Fortune. *Agather. de Rubro Mare. p.* 61, 64. — and see also *Theophrast. L.* IX. *c.* 4. — *Diod. Sic. L.* II. *c.* 49. and *L.* III. *c.* 46. — and *Strabo L.* XV and XXVI. *p. p.* 695 and 778. — Yet the last-named of these Writers, though he concurs with Agatharchides as to the abundance of Cinnamon and other spices enjoyed by the Arabians, seems rather to have thought that the greater part of them were produced on the Eastern Coast of Africa, which he frequently distinguishes by the name of "the Cinnamon-bearing Land."

The next Writer, from whom we hear any thing concerning Cinnamon, is Pliny, who after ridiculing most of the prevailing fables on the subject, * concludes by himself adopting one equally destitute of foundation. Cinnamon (he tells us) grew in Aethiopia, and having been

* In doing so, however, he has been unjust to Herodotus, whom he represents as applying to the fabulous *Phœnix* or Cinnamon Bird, what that more accurate Historian had related of the *Phœnician* People. "Cin-

gathered with the consent of Jupiter (whom the people called Assabinus) was sold to the Troglodytes, who transported it in vessels, without oar or rudder, round Cape Argoste to Ocelis, a Port of the Gebanites. The navigation (he continues) was full of dangers and delays, many of those engaged in it perishing by the way, and few ever returning in less than five years. At Ocelis, the king set a price upon the Cinnamon, generally so high, that a pound of it often sold at Rome for 1000 Sesterces, and at one period (in consequence, as it was pretended, of some of the Cinnamon woods having been burned by the Barbarians) for a much higher sum. * So precious was

namomum et Casiam fabulosa narravit antiquitas *princepsque Herodotus* avium nidis et privatim *Phœnicis*, ex inviis rupibus arboribusque decuti."—*Plin. H. N. L.* XII. *c.* 19.—But Herodotus had neither mentioned the *Phœnix* nor expressed any thing like a belief of the tale, which he seems merely to have related as he received it, from the *Phœnicians*. His words are—*Ὀρνιθας δὲ λεγουσι μεγάλας φορέειν ταῦτα τὰ κάρφεα, τὰ ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ Φοινίκων μαθόντες, κιννάμωμον καλέομεν. Herodot. Lib.* III. *cap.* 3.

* No traces of its growth have been found either in Arabia or Africa, in modern times. Garcias ab Horto, speaking on the subject, says "Tam longâ difficilique viâ petebantur olim haec Aromata, ut perfectam eorum notitiam consequi Veteribus haud facile fuerit. Hinc factum ut

the plant esteemed by the Romans, that crowns of it, set in gold, were offered in their temples. *C. Plinii H. N. Lib.* XII, *c.* 19.

In the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea, ascribed to Arrian, though various articles of Indian and Arabian Traffic (and amongst them all kinds of Cassia) are enumerated, there is no mention of Cinnamon. Indeed in all his Writings, I doubt whether the word occurs more than twice—*viz* 1st in his History of Alexander. *L.* VII, c. 20. where he speaks of that Monarch's rumoured inten-

innumerae fingerentur Fabulae.——Qui vero ea ad Græcos deportabant, aut apud se nasci, aut in Aethiopiâ, dicebant. Caeterum neque Cassiam neque Cinnamomum apud Aethiopas aut Arabas nasci, nostrorum Lusitanorum navigatione palam factum est: qui, licet totas illas oras circumlegerint, magnâque ex parte terrestri itinere peragrarint, nullam tamen Cassiam aut Cinnamomum vidisse affirmant." . . . . And again "Nonnulli ex nostris totam Aethiopiam sub Aegypto (quam nunc Guineam vocant) non solum secundum mare, sed et in mediterraneis peragrarunt; alii ab Insulâ D. Thomae usque ad Sofalam et Mozambicam, et inde Goam penetrantes; alii plerique a Promontorio Bonae Spei (cum naufragium passi essent) usque ad Mozambicam et Melindam, ita ut utramque Aethiopiam, supra et infra Aegyptum, perlustrarint; nulla tamen his conspecta est Canella vel Cassia."—*Aromatum etc. apud Indos nascentium Hist. L.* I. *c.* 15.

tion to invade Arabia, ostensibly, because the Arabians had not included him in the number of their Gods, but really on account of the supposed fruitfulness of their Country, and of the Myrrh, Frankincense, Spikenard, Cassia, and Cinnamon which were said to flourish there:—and 2dly in his *Paraplus* of Nearchus.—Hist. Ind. c. XXXII.—where it is stated that, at about 800 stadia beyond Badis in Carmania, the Greeks saw, at the apparent distance of one day's sail from them, a vast promontory which they learned, from those acquainted with the country, was called Maceta, and was the place from whence *Cinnamon* and other spices were sent by the Arabians into Assyria —From passages in the works of the same Author, particularly in his *Periplus*, it is manifest that, long before the discovery of the Monsoons by Hippalus, the whole trade of India was in the hands of the Arabians, whose commodious ports both in Asia and Africa seemed formed, as it were, by nature to be the Emporia of early Commerce and the great links of communication between the East and the West. Speaking of one of these ports more particularly—Arabia felix, afterwards known as Adane or Aden — Arrian says — *Εὐδαίμων δὲ ἐπεκλήθη, ὅτε μήπω ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς εἰς τὸν Αἴγυπτον ἐρχομένων, μηδὲ ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου τολμώντων εἰς τοῦς ἔσω τόπους διαίρειν,*

ἀλλ' ἄχρι ταύτης παραγινομένων, τοὺς παρὰ ἀμφοτέρων φόρους ἀπεδέχετο. Periplus Maris Erythraei, p. 14. 15. and see *Mela, L.* III. *c.* 8. *Hist. du Commerce et de la Navigation par M. Huet, Evèque d'Avranches,* and *Vincent's Periplus.*

Neither Dioscorides nor Galen, though they have both treated of the uses and virtues of Cinnamon, knew any thing of the place of its growth. The former states that the best kind of Cinnamon was distinguished by the name of *Mosylum*, from its resemblance—as he says—to a Cassia called Mosylitis, though more probably—as others have affirmed—from the town of Mosylum, one of the ports in Africa at which the spice was sold. The latter says that true Cinnamon was almost unknown at Rome, and was, on account of its great rarity and excellence, usually deposited in the Royal Treasury. *Diosc. Vol.* I. *Galen. Vol.* XIV. *p.* 63. 64. and see *Bochart's Phaleg. c.* 23. Plutarch also, in his Life of M. Anthony, enumerates Cinnamon, as amongst the most precious treasures of Cleopatra.

Thus, how absurd soever these fictions of the Arabians may sound in modern ears, they had, at least, the merit of being adapted to their age, and of serving the purposes of the Inventors. Even when the mystery of the

Monsoons or trade winds had been unravelled and other nations were participating in that knowledge by the earlier possession of which this subtle people had first acquired their monopoly, they yet contrived, through the favourable situation of their ports and the superior enterprize of their merchants and mariners, to retain no inconsiderable portion of Indian Commerce. "The posterity of Cush" (as they are called by Benjamin of Tudela) were the principal merchants of Ceylon in the XIIth Century; and we still find them there in the middle of the XVIth Century, pursuing the speculations of their fathers, and supplying Europe with Cinnamon and other spices by way of Alexandria, Aleppo, Constantinople, and Venice * — a trade,

* Before the overthrow of Tyre and the foundation of Alexandria, the commodities of India were transmitted by the Arabians to the Phœnicians, and from the Phœnicians to the various nations of the West. They were afterwards in succeeding times, (as I have already stated) conveyed to the People of Europe through other channels. —Gibbon speaking of the trade which was carried on by Rome and her Provinces with Arabia and India, in the earlier ages of the empire, says "Every year, about the time of the summer solstice a fleet of 120 vessels sailed from Myos-hormos, a port of Egypt on the Red Sea. By the periodical assistance of the Monsoons they traversed the Ocean in about forty days. The Coast of Mala-

which they might have maintained to the present hour, but for the discovery of a passage round the Cape of Good Hope and the succeeding conquests of the Portuguese in the Eastern Ocean. See *Maffei Hist. Ind. Lib. VII. VIII. XII. Niebuhr's Arabia. — Vincent's Periplus. — Macpherson's Annals of Commerce. — Texeira de Reg. Pers. L. I. c. 35. Thévénot Voyages aux Indes. Part. III. L. 2. De Guignes Mémoire sur Commerce etc.*

bar or the Island of Ceylon was the usual term of their navigation, and it was in these markets that the Merchants from more remote Countries expected their arrival. The return of the fleet was fixed to the months of December or January; and as soon as the rich cargo had been transported on the backs of camels, from the Red Sea to the Nile, and had descended that river as far as Alexandria, it was poured, without delay, into the capital of the empire. The objects of Oriental traffic were splendid and trifling; Silk, a pound of which was esteemed not inferior in value to a pound of Gold; precious Stones, among which the Pearl claimed the first rank after the Diamond; and a variety of Aromatics, that were consumed in religious worship and the pomp of funerals. The labour and risk of the voyage were rewarded with almost incredible profit; but the profit was made upon Roman subjects, and a few Individuals were enriched at the expence of the public. As the natives of Arabia and India were contented with the productions and manufactures of their own

Having driven out the Moors, the Portuguese engrossed the Cinnamon trade untill 1656, when they were supplanted by the Dutch, who have been since, in turn, compelled to give way to the British.

— — — — Hæres

Hæredem alterius, velut unda supervenit undam.

[H]

MINERAL PRODUCTIONS.

Of the Mineral Wealth of Ceylon little is known. There is Iron in some Districts, and Plumbago in others. The Gulf of Manaar is celebrated for its Pearls; and in many parts of the Island, Gems of various kinds, but of no very great value, abound. Neither Gold nor Silver, Tin

country, Silver, on the side of the Romans, was the principal, if not the only, instrument of commerce. It was a complaint worthy of the gravity of the Senate, that in the pursuit of female ornaments, the wealth of the state was irrecoverably given away to foreign and hostile nations. [Tacit. Annal. III. 52. in a speech of Tiberius] The annual loss is computed by a Writer of an inquisitive but censorious temper at upwards of 800,000 pounds Sterling. [Plin. H. N. XII. 18.] Such was the style of discontent, brooding over the dark prospect of approaching poverty! And yet (continues the Historian) if we compare the

nor Copper, has been found, though a Miner, who was in the Island some years since, thought that he perceived indications of the two latter. That greater mineral riches have not yet been laid open, will scarcely surprise those who are acquainted with mining operations and with the tardy uncertainty of all such discoveries except in cases where either the treasure is superficial, or the interest very immediate and exciting. It is a well known and ascertained fact, that the *Copper* mines of Cornwall, now yielding more than eight 10ths of all the Copper supplied by the British dominions, remained unworked and even unknown for upwards of 2000 years after her *Tin* Works had been in active trial and return. *

proportion between Gold and Silver as it stood in the time of Pliny, and as it was fixed in the reign of Constantine, we shall discover, within that period a very considerable increase. There is not the least reason to suppose that Gold had become more scarce; and it is, therefore, evident that Silver had grown more common; that, whatever might be the amount of the Indian and Arabian Exports, they were far from exhausting the wealth of the Roman World; and that the produce of the mines abundantly supplied the demands of Commerce." *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Chap.* II.

* Cornwall supplied the Phœnicians with *Tin* more than four centuries before the Christian Æra. *Herod.*

Coal (but on what evidence or authority I am unable to learn) has been said to exist in the Island. Nitre and Alum abound there; and its Salt Formations are amongst the most extensive and valuable in the East. "In some places" (says Col. Colebrooke) "it is formed spontaneously, and in others by solar evaporation, in salt pans or fields enclosed with embankments.

The "Leways" or natural Deposits on the Eastern Coast, at Hambantotte, yield the largest supply of the finest Salt. It is cheaply collected, and has obviously, at former periods, been a source of prosperity to the districts around, which are now depopulated. It is not certain whether these Pits are connected with the Sea, but the Salt, formed in dry Seasons, chrystallizes spontaneously, and is of greater purity and more slowly dissolved than that which is artificially prepared." ... Dr. Davey says that, "were the Salt Lakes scientifically managed, they would yield enough for the supply of all India."—In addition to this, "any quantity of Magnesia might be extracted from the residual Brine; and in procuring the Wood-ash required for the preparation, it would be necessary to burn the Jungle,—a work of infinite service in diminishing the unwhole-

Thalia CXV; *Copper* has not been raised there until within the last 200 years.

someness of the atmosphere, and in checking the increase of wildbeasts."

[I]

ANIMALS.

Elephants, Buffaloes, Elks, Deer, Jackalls, and a peculiar species of Tiger, Snakes, Alligators etc. etc.; Fish, saltwater and fresh, with Fowls of various sorts, abound in the Island. Sheep do well in the drier districts, and Cattle of any breed or size might be reared and fed in the deeper pastures. In many Provinces now depopulated and difficult of access, by burning the Jungle, room might be made for flocks and herds, which, with proper care and attention, would, I have no doubt, multiply and ere long supplant the wild Animals that now infest the land. And here I cannot help repeating my regret at a regulation which, it is to be feared, still exists, requiring a licence to fell trees even in private grounds, and imposing a tax of one 10th part of the value on all Timber cut. This unjust and impolitic law operates as a discouragement to the export of timber, and as a serious obstacle to the clearance and improvement of lands.

For an account of the Fishes of Ceylon, I would refer the Reader to Mr Whitchurch Bennett's work on the

subject. It is sufficient for my purpose to say that they swarm on all parts of the coast, and but for the obstacles of the Fish Tax and Salt Monopoly, might be cheaply cured, in any quantities, and soon become a valuable article of consumption and export.

Oh! that Legislatures were aware of the mischiefs of improvident taxation! How much more they often take out of the pockets of the people than they can ever hope to return into the coffers of Government! — How they tempt to fraud—how they affect the means of subsistence and employment—and how they drain and dry up the very sources from which public Revenue, no less than individual Wealth, can be alone derived.—With regard to the taxes in question, I have every reason to believe that a substitute has been found for one of them (viz the Fish Tax) as there will soon be, I trust, for the other.

[J]

MOUNTAINS, RIVERS, AND LAKES.

The highest mountain of the Island is Adam's Peak, which is about 7000 feet above the level of the sea, and forms the centre of a range of Highland Country, of irregular surface, and intersected by Valleys and Ravines.

Farther South is a continuous range or congeries of low hills, at the feet of which several large rivers take their rise. To the East, West, and North, of the Kandyan Districts, the Country is low and flat.

The two principal Rivers of Ceylon are the Mahaville-Ganga, and the Kalani-Ganga * or Mutwell, each of which is navigable by boats and rafts during many Months of the year; the former from Trincomalee almost to Kandy, and the latter, for about 50 Miles, from Colombo to Ruenwelle. Along the Coasts, particularly in Baticaloa, on the East, the communication between the different districts is facilitated by means of canals, connecting the Lagoons or Salt-water Lakes with each other. — On the opposite side of the Island, during the S. W. Monsoon, cargoes are frequently landed at Calpentyn, a port in the Gulf of Manaar, and conveyed from thence through canals to Colombo, and thence again, southward, to Caltura.

In the District of Tangalle and in the deserted Provinces of the N. and E., now the resort of the wild Veddahs, who live by deer hunting, are works for the collection and distribution of water, many of them constructed over ravines and valleys, and forming extensive

* *Ganga*, in the Singhalese language, signifies a River.

lakes for flooding the plains in the driest seasons. "The Lakes of Kandelay and Mineray, each of which covers an Area of several square miles, are situated in the plains extending from Trincomalee to Anarajhpoora, the ancient capital of the Island, and from thence across to Manaar and Aripo, in which district a reservoir of great extent (called "the Giant's Tank") was formed and a stone dike constructed across the Aripo River, to divert the current into it. The works are very ancient,—that of Mineray appearing from authentic records to have been constructed three centuries before the Christian Æra." *Colebrooke's Report, p. 5.*

In the Interior are other Rivers and Lakes which, though not equal to those abovementioned, abound with Fish, and are, or might be, most useful for purposes of irrigation.

[K]

HARBOURS.

The principal Harbours of Ceylon are Colombo, Point de Galle, and Trincomalee; the latter, the finest harbour and one of the most important naval stations in the Indian Seas. It is capable of containing whole navies, and is so

situated as to be accessible at all Seasons. Ships of all sorts and sizes may enter or depart from it, during either Monsoon. Its value, too, is beyond measure enhanced by the want of Harbours along the Coasts of Coromandel and Malabar.

All these Ports are favourably situated for trade, and were once much frequented by ships from China, India, and Arabia. And so they may be again—unless Great Britain (after the examples of Portugal and Holland) continue stupidly and perversely blind to her own interests and those of her daughter State.

[L]

ROADS.

There are Roads in various directions, some extending along the coasts, and others communicating with the larger towns and more important stations of the Interior. The new Road from Colombo to Kandy is described as a work of vast magnitude, labour, and utility.

[M]

COLONIAL TRADE.

Adam Smith, in his observations on this subject, has satisfactorily shewn the advantages of a free Trade, and

the injury sustained by Colonies in being prevented by the Mother-Country from selling their produce at the dearest, and buying their manufactures at the cheapest, market. He has shewn that by permitting every Country freely to exchange the produce of its own industry when and where it pleases, the best distribution of general labour will be effected and the greatest abundance of the necessaries of human life secured.

He has further shewn that the Monopoly of the Colonial Trade ("like all other mean and malignant expedients") by impairing the resources of the Colony, impairs also the resources of the Empire, of which that Colony forms a part, and is, therefore, in the end, not less detrimental to the Mother-Country, than to the dependencies whose interests are thus sacrificed.

As one, amongst the numerous examples of benefits resulting from unrestrained Commerce, I might notice the abundance which, during the better times of the Roman Empire, so generally pervaded its extended territories. *

* "Whatever evils either Reason or Declamation may have imputed to extensive Empire, the power of Rome was attended with some beneficial consequences to Mankind; and the same freedom of intercourse, which extended the vices, diffused likewise the improvements, of social life."—*Gibbon.*

Those Famines, which had so frequently afflicted the infant Republic, were seldom or never experienced by the Empire—the accidental Scarcity, in any single Province, being immediately relieved by the plenty of its more fortunate neighbours.—The same was the case in regard to the other comforts and necessaries of life, which each Country was at liberty to raise or import—to buy or sell—according to its own supposed interests, the nature of its Soil and Climate, or the genius and inclination of its Inhabitants.—See *Wealth of Nation. B.* IV. *ch.* 7.—*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Ch.* II.; *Say's Economie Politique IVme partie. Ch.* 22. 23.; *and Edinburgh Review. Vol.* XLII. *p.* 271.

[N]

"Never was any State" (says Bacon in speaking of the true greatness of kingdoms) "so open to receive Strangers into their body as were the Romans; therefore it sorted with them accordingly, for they grew to the greatest Monarchy. Their manner was to grant naturalization (which they called "Jus Civitatis") and to grant it in the highest degree, that is, not only "Jus Commercii, Jus Connubii, Jus Haereditatis," but also "Jus Suffragii"

and "Jus Honorum;" and this not to singular persons alone, but likewise to whole Families; yea, to Cities, and sometimes to Nations. Add to this, their Custom of Plantation of Colonies, whereby the Roman Plant was removed into the Soil of other Nations, and putting both constitutions together, you will say that it was not the Romans that spread upon the World, but the World upon the Romans; and that was the sure way of greatness."

Amongst the many lessons and examples, for good or for evil, which the history of Rome every where offers us, there are none perhaps more worthy of the British Statesman's attention (most especially at the present moment and in the existing situation of Ireland and our Colonies) than those relating to the condition of her subordinate States and Provinces, and their progressive rise from subjection and dependence into all the privileges of Roman citizenship and power.

The FREE-SUBJECTS of Rome consisted, for many ages, of six orders or denominations, *viz* — Roman Citizens, Latins, Italians, Provincials, Colonists, and Freedmen.

I. Of these—the ROMAN CITIZENS (who composed the first order) were of two descriptions — *Cives ingenui* or domiciled Citizens, and *Municipes* or all such other persons as by birth, gift, service, or inheritance, might be

entitled to the freedom of the City; the former being, as it were, Citizens both *de jure* and *de facto*, and as such in the actual exercise and enjoyment of all the privileges of their rank; the latter, only Citizens *de jure*, though capable of becoming also Citizens *de facto*, by transferring their residence to Rome. "Quicunque, adepti Romanæ Civitatis jura, in oppidis suis manebant ii *Municipes* dicebantur. Simul ac vero Romæ fortunarum suarum sedem collocabant, *Cives ingenui* erant, quemadmodum eos vocat Cicero in Bruto *c.* 75. Sic M. Porcius Cato, Tusculanus, quamdiu Tusculi est commoratus, Municeps fuit; ubi vero Romam cum rebus suis commigravit, Civis ingenuus." *Sigonius de antiquo jure Civ. Roman. L.* I. *c.* 1. *Heineccius de antiq. Roman. Adp. L.* I. *c.* 4. *

In the first infancy of Rome and whilst the Population of the rising Republic continued small, it was the policy of Romulus to open wide its gates to all Comers. Ἄνακτι

* Aulus Gellius says "Municipes sunt Cives Romani ex Municipiis, legibus suis et suo jure utentes, muneris tantum cum Populo Romano honorarii participes, a quo munere capessendo appellati videntur, nullis aliis necessitatibus neque ullâ P. R. lege adstricti, nisi, inquam, Populus eorum fundus factus est." *Noct. Attic. XVI.* 13.

τοῖς Ξένοις ἐπεφέψαν τῆς Πόλεως μετέχειν — says Dionysius. Slaves, Strangers of whatsoever country or condition, even Enemies, were not beyond the pale of Roman hospitality and adoption. The Inhabitants of the captured Cities, instead of being delivered over, themselves to the sword and their families to desolation and despair, found securer homes and ampler possessions in the Lands of their Conquerors; whilst Roman Colonists, succeeding to their places in the conquered Territory, served at once, as a check on the remaining Population, and as a frontier of defence against more distant Enemies. Thus did Romulus lay the foundation of that power which was, one day, to give laws to the Universe. "Illud vero (says Cicero) sine ullâ dubitatione maxime nostrum fundavit imperium et Populi Romani nomen auxit, quod Princeps ille, Creator hujus urbis, Romulus, foedere Sabino docuit etiam hostibus recipiendis augeri hanc Civitatem oportere." *Cicero* pro Cornel. Balbo. c. 13, et in Rull. 1; and see *Liv.* I. 8 — 33.; IV, 3.; *and* VI, 4. *Dionys. Hal.* II, 16—49.; *and* IV, 26. *Tacit. annal.* XI, 24.; *and Mémoires de l'Academie. Tom.* IV. *Discours sur les Tribus Romaines par M. Boindin.*

The Example, thus left them by their Founder, was steadily followed by succeeding Governments, both regal

and republican; the freedom of the state was, from time to time, conferred upon all, whether allied Friends or vanquished Enemies, that chose to settle within the Roman territory; until at length, after the destruction of the City by the Gauls, in order still farther to widen its foundations and consolidate its reviving greatness, the privilege was extended to non-resident Strangers; and this not to singular persons alone, but to entire Towns and Communities.—Hence the distinction between CIVES INGENUI and MUNICIPES. *Dionys. Hal.* II. 16. *Liv.* XXVI. 24. *Sigon. de antiquo jure Ital.* II, 6. 7. 8.—*Spanhemii Orbis Roman. Exercit.* I. *c.* 12. *

II. Next in privilege and dignity to the Citizens of Rome were the LATINS — transmuted by conquest and treaty from hereditary Foes into Subjects and Allies of the Roman People, and, as such, endowed by them with what was called *the Right of Latium*. But though participating (according to Dionysius) in something like an

* For evidence of the very solid advantages attending the possession of Roman Citizenship, see Cicero and Livy, *passim*, and St. Luke's Acts of the Apostles XVI, 37—39, and XXII, 25—30. — The Reader, desirous of more ample particulars, may find them collected and detailed in the pages of Sigonius and Heineccius.

equality, they were still Aliens, in many respects both o private and public Right, to the privileges of Roman Citizens. In the Law of Marriage, Testaments, Inheritance, and other Articles of the "Jus Quiritium" the distinction between them and their Conquerors remained broad and unaltered. The same might, with few exceptions, be said in relation to the "Jura Civitatis" or public Rights. — From the "Jus Censûs," and the "Jus Honorum" they were altogether excluded; the "Jus Militiæ" and the "Jus Sacrorum" they enjoyed in a limited and partial degree; and though entitled to the "Jus Suffragii," they might nevertheless, at any instant, be restrained from the Exercise of it by the power of the Consuls to dismiss them from the City. *Liv.* XXV, 3. *Cicero pro C. Sextio c.* 13. — They were, however, exempt from the Capitation and Land Tax (a censu Capitis et Soli); elected their own Magistrates and rejoiced in their own Laws and Institutions. Their Magistrates, moreover, at the expiration of their authority, were entitled to the freedom of Rome; and, as their Offices were annual and consequently in rapid circulation, there were but few, amongst the Members of their principal Families, that had not earned the distinction. *Appian. de Bell. Civil.* II. 26. *Plin. Paneg.* 39. *Spankem. Orb. Roman. Exercit.* I. 8.

III. The ITALIANS, or Inhabitants of the remaining parts of Italy, had acquired, by league with their Conquerors, what was called *the Italic Right;* which, excepting the right of Suffrage and the privileges of the Magistracy (from both of which these States were excluded) did not differ very materially from *the Right of Latium.* They enacted their own Laws, chose their own Magistrates, and enjoyed their own forms of Government. *Sigonius de antiquo jure Ital.* I, 8. *et sq. and Spanhemii Orb. Roman. Exercit.* I, 9. *Heineccii Syntagma. Adp.* I. 3, 96, 97.

IV. The PROVINCIALS, or Inhabitants of the farther Countries in subjection to Roman power, were (as their name denoted) * in a far less enviable condition than that either of the Latian or Italic States. They had neither the Laws nor Magistrates of their own choice; but in these, as in almost all other, respects depended on the will of their Conquerors.—Yet the power of the latter, being in some degree under the controul of established principle or custom, was not, on the whole, very greatly abused. No sooner had the tidings of any new Conquest reached the ears of the Senate, than they assembled to consider what laws would be most applicable to the habits

* "Provinciæ adpellabantur quod Populus Romanus eas provicit, i. e. ante vicit." *Festus sub voce Provinciæ.*

and necessities of its Inhabitants; which being fully discussed and resolved, they despatched ten of their own body, as Deputies, to arrange, with the victorious General, the best means of ensuring their adoption and success. In some, though very rare, instances the newly acquired Province was even left in the enjoyment of its own accustomed Laws and Institutions. *Liv.* XXXIII, 32.39.; *and* XLV, 29. *Cicero in Verrin. et in Epist. ad Atticum passim;*—and see *Spanhem. Orb. Roman. Exercit.* II, 6. 7. 8. 9.

V. With regard to the COLONISTS, whether Roman, Latin, or Italic, their Condition seems to have differed, in no very important particulars, from that of the Provincial Inhabitants amongst whom they were established. Though, in matters of private right, partaking, more or less largely, of the privileges or customs incident to their former state, they enjoyed no prerogatives of a public nature; neither retaining the rights enjoyed by them in their *old* home, nor being indemnified for the loss, by any acquisition of other privileges in their *new* one.

They neither chose their own Magistrates nor enacted their own Laws, but received both at the hands of their great Parent and Protectress, Rome.

The first Colonies, as we have already seen, were

planted by Romulus; the Example was followed by his Successors; and Colonization became, ere long, one of the most powerful and ready resources of the State; serving as a drain for her needy and discontented Citizens, and affording her, at once, an easy means of garrisoning her Frontiers, of coercing her provincial Enemies, of rewarding her hardy Veterans, and of extending, together with the influence of her mighty name, a just desire of sharing, in due time, its honours and advantages. *Appian. de Bell. Civil.* I. 7. *Sigon. de antiquo jure Ital.* II. 2. *Gibbon's Decline and Fall c.* II. *etc.*

Of the importance attached by the Romans to their Colonies we may judge from the pomps and solemnities with which they were conducted. They went forth with their Priests, Augurs, Standard-Bearers, Heralds, and other Officers of civil or religious authority; all in uniform array, and each under its appointed Chief, whose office it was to establish his Followers in their destined Settlement, and to assign the lands and circumscribe the cities, which were to become their future portion and abode. The Ceremony (imposing and solemn throughout, and hallowed by recollections of its great Founder) closed with pious sacrifices and lustrations. *Liv.* IV, 11. 47; VIII, 16; XXXVII, 57. *Cicero de Lege agrar.* II, 12, 13, 35; *and*

Philipp. II, 40. *Appian. de Bell. Civil.* I, 24. *Plutarch. Vita Romuli* XI.

The Military Colonies observed even greater pomp and splendour of array; marching out in whole Legions, with their Tribunes, Centurions, Eagles, and other Ensigns;—a ceremony, the desuetude of which, in later times, is gravely lamented by Tacitus. "Non enim, ut olim, universæ Legiones deducebantur cum Tribunis et Centurionibus et suis cujusque ordinis militibus, ut consensu et caritate rempublicam efficerent; sed ignoti inter se, diversis manipulis, sine rectore, sine affectibus mutuis, quasi ex alio genere mortalium repentè in unum collecti, numerus magis quam Colonia." *Tacit. Annal.* XIV, 27.

In their Institutions, manners, and internal policy, however, these Colonies, civil as well as military, formed perfect, though miniature, representations of their great Parent—"quasi effigies parvæ simulachraque Majestatis Populi Romani."—They had their Duumvirs, Ædiles, Questors, Censors, Decurions, Priests, and Augurs; and, though these, like their Laws, were but the Emanations of Roman power, yet (to the praise of Roman justice be it spoken) so little does that circumstance appear to have chilled their energies or operated to their disadvantage, that we not unfrequently find *them*, no less than their circumjacent

Provinces, rising to wealth and eminence, and vying with each other, and even rivalling the municipal Towns, in every useful and ornamental art.* *Cicero de Lege agrariâ* II, 35. *Plin. Epist.* X. *Sigon. de antiquo jure Ital.* II, 4. *et sq.*—

VI. Last in the list of free Subjects stood the FREEDMEN or emancipated Slaves of Rome. These, by the wise policy of Tullius (himself the Son of a Bond-Woman) had been distributed into four Tribes, and continued, for many succeeding ages, to enjoy all the privileges of Plebeian Citizens. Nor was it until the reign of Augustus that their order was, in any material degree, invaded or depressed. That cautious Monarch (notwithstanding the generous advice of Mæcenas that he should, by one edict, declare all his subjects Citizens) discovering, or affecting to discover some abuse in the law or practice of Enfranchisement,

* In the reign of the Emperor Hadrian, the Cities o Utica, Gades, and Italica, all of them enjoying the privileges of *Municipal Towns*, solicited the title of *Colonies*. Their Example was followed by many others. *A. Gell. Noct. Attic.* XVI, 13. *Spanhem. de usu Numismatum* XIII. Appian, in the preface to his History of the Roman wars, says that he had seen Ambassadors from the fiercest Nations, who were refused the honour, which they came to solicit, of being admitted into the rank of Roman Subjects.

materially changed them both; confining the distinction of Citizenship to such Slaves only as, with the approbation of the Magistrate, should recieve a solemn and legal manumission, and excluding even them from all civil and military honours.* *Dionys. Hal.* IV, 26, 27. *Cicero pro Cornel. Balb. c.* 9. *Suet. Oct. c.* 39. *Dio. Cass.* LI *and* LV, 13. *Ulpian. Fragm.* I, 10, 11. *Spanhem. orb. Roman. Exercit.* I, 2, 3, 15, 16; *and* II, 5. and see *Mémoire sur les Esclaves Romains—par M. de Burigny—Académie des Inscriptions Tomes* XXXV *and* XXXVII.

Such is a very imperfect Summary of the system long observed by the Roman Government in regard to its various Subjects. But a wiser and more comprehensive

* See the *Fusian-Caninian*, the *Ælian-Sentian*, and *Junian-Norban*, Laws. [U. C. 751; 757; and 771.]—The earliest modes of manumission were *per censum lustralem*, as instituted by Tullius; *per vindictam*, supposed to have been derived from Vindex or Vindicius, the Slave, who discovered the conspiracy for the restoration of Tarquin; and *per testamentum*, as established by the Laws of the Twelve Tables. *Dionys. Hal.* IV, 26. *Ulpian. Fragm.* I, 8. *Liv.* II, 5. *Plutarch. Vit. Publicolæ.—Heineccius* I, 4, 5.—Subsequent and less solemn modes mentioned in the Institutes were "aut *sacris constitutionibus*, aut *inter amicos*, aut *per epistolam*, aut *per aliam quamlibet ultimam voluntatem*, aut *Convivii adhibitione*" I, 5.

policy by degrees prevailed.—After a desperate and almost successful effort on the part of the Latian and Italic States to extort by force of arms what had been denied to their just entreaties, the Freedom of Rome, was, at length, by the *Julian* and *Plautian* Laws [U. C. 663, and 666] severally conferred upon them; and victors and vanquished, no longer separated by partial honours or invidious proscriptions, insensibly coalesced into one great People. *Appian. de Bell. Civil.* I, 49. *Cicero pro Balbo* 12; *pro Sullâ* 7, 8; and *pro Archiâ* IV. *Vell. Paterc.* II. 16, 17. *Spanhem. orb. Roman. Exercit.* I. *c.* 10.

Nor did the march of enlightened policy and just principle, linger here. The freedom, which had secured the peace of Italy, was by succeeding and opposite Rulers (by the liberal wisdom of some, and the sordid avarice or capricious bounty of others) successively diffused through the farther Provinces, until—after having been communicated by Caracalla to all the free Inhabitants—it was at length, in the reign of Justinian, permitted once more to descend to the Freedmen, of the Empire. [For a complete History of the progressive admission of the allied states, Colonies and Provinces into the freedom of Rome, see *Sigonius de antiquo jure Ital. et Provinc.; Spanhemii Orbis Romanus;* et *Heineccii Antiquit. Roman. Syntagma.*]

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JAVA.

Among the many political errors, or rather delinquencies, of the late Lord Londonderry was the surrender of this noble Island into the hands of Holland. Seldom has there been an act perpetrated, more impolitic as affecting the interests of the Mother Country or more cruel towards a Colony. The Javanese hated and despised the Dutch Government as much as they loved and respected ours; they had been poor and miserable and degraded under the one; they were, every day, becoming more prosperous and free and happy under the other. See page 86.

Since the surrender of Java back to its old Oppressors, there has been (as might have been anticipated) nothing but discontent and insurrection, all resulting from the grasping avarice and perverse policy of its infatuated masters.

To any, who may interest themselves on these subjects, I would recommend the perusal of Sir Stamford Raffles's History of Java,* and Lady Raffles's account of her Husband's

* I cannot here help noticing the disingenuous and unworthy devices to which the Dutch Government has resorted, in order to veil from Continental Europe the deformities of its administration in Java.—It has published in *French* a pretended Translation of Sir Stamford Raffles's

administration there.—Of that benevolent and enlightened Individual it was indeed the rare and envied lot—

"To scatter plenty o'er a smiling Land,
"And read their history in a Nation's eyes."—

work, in which, besides making various petty additions, all, more or less, calculated to mislead the Reader, it has had the hardihood to omit altogether such parts of the original work as threw any light on, or in any way impeached, the policy and conduct of the Dutch Government in regard to the Island. The Book was printed at Brussels, in 1824, and is intitled "Déscription géographique, historique, et commerciale, de Java, par *M. M. Raffles et John Crawfurd*—Ouvrage traduit de l'Anglais, par *M. Marshall, Ex-employé du Government.*"