

THE NATIONAL MUSEUMS OF CEYLON
HISTORICAL SERIES VOL. I.

THE PYBUS EMBASSY
TO KANDY, 1762

TRANSCRIBED WITH NOTES

By

R. RAVEN-HART

Editor

P. E. P. DERANIYAGALA ; *Director of National Museums, Ceylon*

PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS CEYLON.

Obtainable at the Colombo National Museums

Postage : 35 cents

954.9301
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THE PYBUS EMBASSY
TO KANDY 1883

EXAMINED WITH NOTES

BY THE EDITOR

THE NATIONAL MUSEUM, SINGAPORE



Mr. Pybus' Report was printed at Colombo in 1862. The transcription is not acceptable by modern standards, words being added or altered with no indication that this has been done : at the same time, few serious errors occur.

The MS is in the Madras Record Office, "Military Sundries Vol. XVII". The handwriting of the copyist is very clear, except for his 'r' which much resembles an 'i,' so that for example 'rr' can be read as 'n,' 'ri' as 'u,' and vice versa. But his punctuation is erratic: as a rule that of the 1862 transcriber (hereinafter referred to as "T") has been followed, except where it obviously alters the sense of the original. The copyist's spelling is frequently odd, but has been respected in this edition : the symbol * indicates spellings that are incorrect or unusual today, and has been used to avoid a profusion of "sic". Curiously enough "T" has altered some of Pybus' spellings to forms less acceptable today, for example coconut to cocoanut, Tuticorin to Tuticoreen.

In the notes the following have been referred to in an abbreviated form :

HJ—Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words, Yule and Burnell, London 1886.

Paulusz—Secret Minutes 1762, trs. and ed. J. H. O. Paulusz, Colombo 1954.

Schneider—Map 1882 (Survey Collection 81).

Valentyn—Keurlijke Beschrijving . . . , Dordrecht and Amsterdam 1762.

In the notes all places in Ceylon mentioned are located as far as possible, with latitude and longitude (abbreviated, "8/40, 80/18/30" to be read as "8° 40' North, 80° 18' 30" East") and the name of the Survey sheet on which they figure.

My sincere thanks are due to Mrs. Meilink-Roelofsz of the Hague Archives, to the staff of the Ceylon and Madras Archives, to the Rt. Revd. Dr. Lakdasa de Mel, Bishop of Kurunegala, the Rt. Revd. Dr. Edmond Pieris, Bishop of Chilaw, and to the staff of the Colombo Museum.

R.R.-H.

The first part of the book is devoted to a general introduction to the study of the history of the English language. It is divided into two parts, the first of which deals with the history of the English language from its origin to the present time, and the second with the history of the English language from the present time to the future.

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FOREWORD

IN 1762 A.C., the British Government at Madras despatched an Embassy to the Court of His Majesty King Kirti Sri Rajasinha, with the object of entering into an alliance with Ceylon. John Pybus, a Member of the Madras Council, was selected to lead the Embassy, which left Trincomalee on May 5, 1762, and reached Gannoruva near Kandy 13 days later. Pybus' mission was unsuccessful, but his journal has handed down to posterity a comprehensive description both of Sinhala Court etiquette and of the condition of Ceylon at that period. The original manuscript, which is preserved by the Madras Government, was published in Colombo in 1862. Part of the volume consists of Pybus' Report addressed to the President at Fort St. George, Madras, the remainder includes the diary he maintained on this trip.

Major R. Raven—Hart, who has already contributed to the Ceylon National Museums Translation Series a very interesting volume entitled "Germans in Dutch Ceylon", has prepared the present one after studying the original manuscript at Madras. This with its various additions and alterations is a great improvement on the publication of 1862, which is almost unprocurable today, and this labour of love by him will be of much value to students of Ceylon's history.

P. E. P. DERANIYAGALA,
Director of National Museums, Ceylon.

Colombo, 15th December, 1958.

FORWARD

In 1921 the British Government of Madras proposed to
transfer the Government of the Madras Presidency to the
United Provinces of India. This proposal was based on
the fact that the Government of the Madras Presidency
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THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
LONDON, 1921

REPORT

To THE HON'BLE GEORGE PIGOT, Esq., President and Governour,* & the Gentlemen of the Select Committee at Fort St. George.

HON'BLE SIR, & SIRS,

Your Honour &c. having judged it necessary, in consequence of application made to you by the Emperor of Ceylon, solliciting* our assistance against his enemies, the Dutch, to send a Person from hence to that Prince's Court ; and having done me the Honour of making choice of me for that purpose, and furnished me with your Instructions under date the 6th. April last, for my Guidance on that Service, I shall now lay before you an Account of my proceedings, and comply, as fully as the Information I was able to obtain will admit, with what you have been pleased by those Instructions to recommend to me.

I have already advised you under date the 23rd. May, with my arrival at Gunnoor¹, within a few Miles of Candia, the Capital of the Island of Ceylon, and where the Emperor usually resides. I did not then think it necessary to enter into any particulars relating to my Journey on the road, nor shall I in this place trouble you with such a Recital, as it would to* much interrupt the thread of the Narrative I am about to lay before you touching the most important Points of the Commission I have been honour'd with. But your Honour, &c., will find annexed to this address, by way of Journal, all such Remarks and Occurrences as appeared to me deserving your Notice or Information, from the time of my leaving the Squadron in Trincomalay Harbour, to my Return thither, and which do not immediately relate to the Execution of the Business I was sent upon. I shall therefore, without further digresion*, proceed to inform you, that the 24th. of May, being the day after the dispatch of my letter above mention'd, I had the Honour of being introduced to his Majesty. The Ceremony

¹ Gannoruwa, but at the river, not the village (7/16/15, 80/36/15, Kandy sheet).

attending my Introduction you will find very particularly related in my Journal. I had very little reason, I must confess, to be satisfied with this visit, which proved only a visit of Fatigue ; not could I, from the distance I was situated at from Candia, the difficulty, uncertainty, & Ceremony which attended getting access to his Majesty, added to the very tedious and tiresome manner in which I found it was customary to converse with him when admitted, entertain much hope of concluding any Business in time to return with the Squadron. I therefore very strenuously solicited* being accommodated with a house in the town of Candia, which was accordingly promised me in two or three days ; but it was the 3rd of June before this promise was complied* with. The next day, to my great satisfaction, I found the King had appointed a sort of Council composed of the Principal Officers belonging to the Court, to meet and discourse with me upon Business, who were to report to him the Result of our Conferences, to whom I was that Evening, and frequently afterwards, introduced at the Palace, where an Apartment was provided for our Accommodation.

It would be needless to enter here into a minute detail of all that passed between us at our several meetings, relative to the Commission I was charged with, having been very circumstantial in this particular in my Journal. I shall only, therefore, in this Place remark, That, adhering strictly to the Tenour* of the second Article of your Instructions, I avoided, though not without much difficulty, making any conclusive Promises, Engagements or Agreements, subjecting every proposal of mine, and demand of theirs, to your final Resolutions & Determination. And notwithstanding you were pleased to recommend, in the 15th. Paragraph of your Instructions, that I should solicit* being put in Possession of some Port or Place upon the Island, I did not think it prudent to urge that Point, as I found the[y] expected, in return for any Indulgences or Priviledges* granted to us, that we should assist them, both by Sea & Land, against the Dutch, which was not only contrary to your declared Intention, in the 2nd. Article of those Instructions, but Inconsistent likewise with the Treaties subsisting between the two Nations ; and it was with Pleasure I found, by a Letter received from the President on my return to the Squadron, that my Conduct in this particular corresponded with your Intention.

I[n] answer, therefore, to the Assistance they seemed to require at our hands, I pressed them to inform me what Priviledges* his Majesty was disposed to grant us, should you determine upon Affording him such Assistance ; but they declined explaining themselves upon this Point, urging that as they had made me acquainted with what his Majesty demanded from us on his Part, it rested with me to let them know what Indulgences we expected in return. This appeared but reasonable ; and though I saw the very little Probability there was of entering into Treaty with them on such a footing, and your Honour, &c., had furnished me with no directions on the subject, I had no other alternative left but of declaring my real Sentiments, or of making some proposals that might carry with them the Appearance of an Intention on our Parts to cultivate an Alliance and Friendship with them, which last I rather chose as seeming the most consistent with the design of my Expedition, declaring, however, at the time of making them, that they were not to be considered, or in any respect construed, as a treaty or agreement finally concluded or entered into, but subject to such alterations or Additions as you might see proper. This being premised, I ventured to propose the following Articles to be communicated to the King, for his determination, viz. :—

ARTICLES

1st.—That the English East India Company shall have Permission to establish a Settlement or Settlements in the Bay of Cottiarum¹, in the River of Mattu Cullapay or Batacal, or in the River Chilaun, in the Districts of Annawolandane, or at any other place on the Sea Coast of the Island of Ceylon, as they shall hereafter find most convenient for carrying on their trade, which now is, or shall hereafter be in the Possession of the King, giving notice to the King of their Intentions of establishing such Settlement, before they erect any Buildings there.

2nd.—That the English East India Company shall have liberty to Provide, and his Majesty shall issue out orders to his subjects to

¹ “Cottiarum” is Koddigar Bay (8/29, 81/15, &c., Trincomalee). “Mattu Cullapay or Batacal” is Batticaloa (7/43, 81/42, Batticaloa). “Chilaun” is Chilaw (7/34/30, 79/47/30, Chilaw) : “the River” more probably means the outlet of the lagoon, now silted up, than the Deduru Oya. “Annawolandane” is the Anaivilundan Pattuwa (7/42, 79/51, &c., Battulu Oya).

furnish them with Cinnamon on the same Conditions they Provided it to the Dutch, and with such a Quantity as they shall have Occasion for, to be at such Settlements as shall be hereafter agreed upon ; and his Majesty is requested to issue out his orders for collecting, with as much dispatch as possible, a quantity of Cinnamon at Matucullapay, in readiness for a Ship which may be sent for it in September or October.

3rd.—That no Pepper, or Beetle Nut (commonly called Cotah Paukoo¹) shall be sold by any of his Majesty's Subjects to any other but the English East India Company, to whom they shall be Obligated to deliver those Articles on the same terms as they were deliver'd by them to the Dutch.

4th.—That his Majesty's subjects shall have free liberty to bring their goods, from any Part of his Majesty's Dominions to the English Settlements, without receiving any Molestation or Interruption from any Person or Persons Whatsoever.

5th.—That his Majesty's Subjects shall be prohibited from carrying on any trade with, or carrying any of their Commodities to, any other Settlements or Places but those of the English East India Company.

6th.—That his Majesty, on Application being made to him, shall issue out his orders to the Subjects to furnish, on being paid for them at reasonable rates, such Timber, Stone, or other Materials, as may be wanted for erecting Forts, Warehouses, or any other Buildings, at such places as the English may hereafter find it convenient, and have the King's permission to settle at, and to supply likewise such a Number of workmen as may be necessary, who shall be paid for their Labour.

7th.—That in case the English should find it necessary at any Place or Places, where they shall have his Majesty's permission to settle, to pull down or remove any House or Buildings that may be near or upon the Spot which they shall think most convenient for erecting their Fortification, Warehouses, or Buildings on, the Inhabitants or Proprietors of such Houses or Buildings shall be obliged, on proper notice being given them, to pull them down

¹ Arecanut, Tamil Kottai-p-pakku, the nut dried without boiling, or the raw nut.

and remove the Materials at their own expence*, having first the grant of another spot of Ground of equal dimensions with that they shall have removed from, to erect such Houses or Buildings on, if they see proper.

8th.—That any European belonging to any English Settlement, Ship or Vessel* ; any Person that shall have been guilty of any Crime or Offence ; any Servant or Slave belonging to the English or Inhabitants living under their Protection and Government, that shall have deserted or run away from any of their Settlements into the King's Territories, shall, on application made to his Majesty by the Govr. of the Settlements from which they shall have deserted or run away, be deliver'd up as soon as possible after such application has been made ; and in the like manner any of his Majesty's Subjects, who have been guilty of any crime or Offence, and have made their escape to an English Settlement for Protection, shall, on proper application being made, be deliver'd up.

9th.—That the English, at all Places where they may have Settlements, shall have the Priviledge* of trying and punishing by the Laws of their own Country (of whatever kind the nature of the offence shall be) all persons of what Nations soever who shall live within their Limits and under their Jurisdiction.

10th.—That at any time when it shall be found necessary for the English to assi[s]t his Majesty with Troops, his Majesty shall oblige himself to furnish the necessary draft and Carriage Bullocks for transporting the Artillery, Stores, and Baggage of the Army, and to provide the Troops with Provisions at his own charge, so long as they shall be employed in the Field upon his Service.

11th.—That such Officers as shall be employed with the Troops in the Field upon his Majesty's Service, shall have the liberty of travelling either in Pallankeens* or on Horseback to or in any part of his Territories when they shall be employed upon such Service.

12th.—That the same Allowance of Batta¹ shall be paid by his Majesty to the Officers of the Troops while in the field as are allowed them on the Coast of Coromandel.

¹ Batta—(1) Extra allowance, Hindi bhata, as here ; (2) Agio, discount, Hindi batṭa, as in Pybus' Accounts. (HJ).

13th.—That all Sorts of Military or other Stores which shall be expended, broken, or lost on the King's Service, shall be paid for by his Majesty.

14th.—That in consideration of the great expence* which will attend erecting Fortifications, Warehouses and other Buildings at such Places as the English may settle at, and for maintaining a Military Force for taking the Field whenever the King shall have occasion for their Service, his Majesty shall make over to the English East India Company for their sole use and Benefit, and as their property for ever, certain Countries or Districts from whence they may be enabled to reimburse themselves for such heavy Charges.

I could have added some others relative to the Ceremony of receiving any Ambassadors that might hereafter be sent thither, but this I rather chose to leave to be settled by you, having made it a Rule at every Conference to let them know, that they must not expect any Englishman coming to his Majesty's Court in that Character in future, would submit to those customs which I, who was an entire stranger, had been under the Necessity of conforming to. The foregoing Proposals having been explained, and the Substance of them taken in the Cingalese* Language, were communicated to the King, in whose name and before any answer was given to them, the Council I have before spoken of pressed me very earnestly to declare whether or no, if the King should grant every*thing I had proposed, I would take upon me to assure him that the Governour* & Council would assist him against the Dutch, to which I replied* only in general terms, that his Majesty might be assured the English were very desirous of cultivating his Friendship and Alliance, but that I was not empowered to enter into any Particular engagements with him, nor could I take upon me to say how far you might approve of the Proposals I had made, or what others you might have to make. These evasive answers I found afforded very little satisfaction, and seemed to give rise to some unfavourable suspicions by the Argument they made use of in reply ; That as the Govr. & Council of Madrass*, in consequence of a representation made to them by his Majesty's Vackeel¹ of the Situation his Affairs were in with the Dutch, and that he

¹ Attorney, authorised representative : Arabic wakil (HJ).

wanted our Assistance, had thought proper to send me, a member of their Council, to treat with him, it appeared somewhat surprising that I was not empowered to enter into any Agreement or give any Possitive* assurances whether he might depend upon our assistance or not. This method of reasoning carrying with it some weight, was only to [be] answer'd in the General manner I have before recited, and that you consider'd it as a matter of too much consequence to leave to the management of one Person. Little satisfied, as they had reason to be, with such inconclusive answers, I gave them no others, which I have much reason to suspect was the cause of my being so long detained after having communicated my Proposals, before I got my audience of leave ; which, after many pressing Importunities, urging the necessity of my speedy return least* I should be too late for the Admiral, who could not answer waiting for me when his ships were repaired, I with much difficulty obtained of his Majesty the 23rd. at night, & set out the 24th. of June in the morning. It may not be improper here to take notice, that a few days before my departure the Generals desired a meeting, to communicate and explain to me the King's answers to my proposals, which was accordingly done. I thought it unnecessa[r]y entering into any discussion of the objections I found the King had made to some of them, observing only in general that they [the] whole was submitted to your final determination, which being now before you for that purpose, any further Remarks of mine thereon in this Place are needless.

Having now given a summary Acct. of my proceedings during my Residence at Candia, which are more minutely related in my Journal, I shall in the next place endeavour to comply with what you have so particularly recommend'd to me in your Instructions, touching the Trade, Government, Manners, Customs & Produce of the Island, as far as the Information I was able to obtain will admit.

But it will be necessary first to observe to you, and your Honour, &c., will readily conceive, that as no one was suffered to come near the House where I lodged but such as had the King's permission ; no Person allowed to converse with my Servants in the Malabar Language but the Linguist appointed by the King to attend twice a day, when the Officers paid their visits ; and neither myself or Servants were permitted to go out of the House

after my removal to the Town of Candia but when sent for to the p[a]lace on Business—It must have been very difficult, under such circumstances & such Government, to have procured any Intelligence or Information that could be depended on. Such, however, as has come to my Knowledge I shall here communicate, beginning with the Trade carried on to & from this Island by the Dutch East India Company, the most important Branch of which being the Article of Cinnamon, deserves to be the first spoke* of.

This valuable spice grows chiefly* on the South end of the Island, Columbo and Matura. The people who collect and cure it are of an inferior* Class, and are distinguished in the Cingalese* Language by the name of Shaliah¹. It is reckoned not only a very laborious but dangerous Business, from the number of Elephants, Wild Buffaloes, Tygers*, and other Beasts with which the Woods in those Parts abound, and where those People inhabit in small Villages. The Dutch keep Register Books at Columbo, Galley, and Matura, of the sev'l Villages in each district, and every Man's name belonging to them. This Business is superintended by one European and one head Debash², who reside constantly in the Country where the Cinnamon is collected, and Visit the different Villages as often as they se[e] proper. The Dutch have Warehouses at several Places by the Seaside adjacent to the Countries where the Cinnamon is collected, and Conicopies³ at each to receive it from the Shaliah people as they bring it in ; and about a Month before the annuals* dispatch of the Ships for Europe, the European Superintendent visits these Warehouses to examine what quantity has been received at each. From hence it is transported to Gauley or Colombo by sea in small crafts, where it is shipped for Europe, for which purpose it is packed in Bales or Bundles of about 200 English pounds each ; and of these, their annual investment is computed to be from twelve to fourteen thousand Bales. It is invoiced as well to Europe as every part of India at twenty-five rix-dollars per Bale. The terms on which they procure the

¹ Chalia, Sinhalese : Cinnamon-peeler community.

² *Debash*—Interpreter, Hindi dōbāsi (HJ s.v. Dubash).

³ Native Clerks or writers, literally "Account-men", Tamil kanakka-pillai (HJ).

Cinnamon are these : Every man is allowed $7\frac{1}{2}$ fanams¹ (of which there are 12 to a rix-dollar) and one parrah² of rice monthly, and two Pieces of Ordinary Salampores³ yearly, for which he is obliged to furnish four Loads of Cinnamon of 50 English pounds each, within the year. The Superintendent & Debash are appointed to the Payment of the Allowance[s], who issue them to the Head Man of each Village (whose allowances are double) for as many as his Village contains, the distribution of which is left to him. It is reckoned that the Dutch employed about twelve thousand People in this Business ; But since the commencement of the present troubles, which broke out about the middle of the Year 1760, the Shaliah People, by express orders from the King, after destroying all the Cinnamon they had collected, quitted their habitations in the Woods and came up to Candia, and are now employed in the Villages thereabouts as labouring in their Paddy Plantations ; nor could I learn that the Dutch had been able, since that time, to procure any Cinnamon, except a small quantity from a few trees which grew within three or four Miles of Columbo ; but these have lately been cut down and destroyed.

The article of Beetle*-nutt⁴ is the next most considerable export this Island affords, which not only yields a very large Revenue to the Dutch Company, but is one of the Principal Emoluments annexed to the Governments of Colombo, Galley⁵, and Calpentyn, at which Settlements only this Trade is carried on ; but at each under different Duties and Regulations. At the former, the Dutch company receive from the country people at three Rix-dollars p. Amanam⁶, which is usually reckoned twenty-four thousand ; but by the measure as it is received here, an Amanam will turn out from twenty-eight to thirty thousand nuts. One of the company's Servants has the Charge of this Business, who

¹ *Fanam*—Small coin, value about 2d., 24 to a star-pagoda, Tamil and Malayalam panam, "money" (HJ).

² 40 Dutch lb., or say 43½ English (Paulusz, Valentyn). Compare Sinhalese bera.

³ *Salampores*—A kind of chintz, formerly exported from Bombay, Surat and Madras (HJ s.v. Piece-goods).

⁴ Arecanut.

⁵ Galle (6/02, 80/13, Galle) ; Kalpitiya (8/14, 79/46, Kalpitiya).

⁶ *Amanam*—Sinhalese : measure, usually of grain, 8 parras or say 329 English lbs. (Paulusz).

allows the Govr. twenty-five p. Cent. on all he receives. It is re-sold to the Choliars¹ and other trading People on the Company's account, at 9 rix-dollars one Fanam, or $\frac{1}{12}$ p. Amanam ; besides which, the Governour* is allowed 2 dollars, & the Governour's Debash² $\frac{1}{2}$ a rupee, on every amanam. The purchaser pays likewise to the Person who measures it to him, at the rate [of] $7\frac{1}{2}$ Dollars on every hundred amanams, and he receives a surplus of half an Amanam on every hundred he purchases. The Measure it is sold by is called a Walley³, and is estimated at a quarter of an Amanam or Six Thousand Nuts ; but seldom turns out by Tale more than five thousand. It is made Conical, and is not heaped up, but struck off in measuring. The Nut which is brought to Colombo is in general reckoned the best, though I could not learn on what account. The quantity sold here annually is computed as between fifteen & twenty Thousand Amanams. At Gauley the Prices and Fees are the same as at Colombo, but the exports from thence are limited* to three thousand Amanams Yearly. The Nut which is brought [to] Calpentyn (a Settlement on an Island of the same name, situated on the Westside* of the main Island, from which it is devided* only by a very narrow Passage) is reckoned of an Inferior quality to that sold at Colombo & Gauley ; and is Chiefly brought by the Choliars¹ from the Natives at Putelan, who bring it thither from the Northern & Inland Part, and exchange it with these Choliars either for money or Cloth, at about $1\frac{1}{2}$ dollars p. Amanam of thirty thousand, who are then Obligated to carry it to the Dutch Factory at Calpentyn, where it is paid for at the rate of 2 dollars p. amanam on the company's Account, and re-sold at Six ; but it is exempt from all other Fees except one Dollar p. Amanam to the Govr. The Annual exports from hence are computed at six or eight thousand Amanams.

Pepper is the only other export of any consequence which the Dutch company reserve to themselves ; and of this the Quality [quantity] of late years has not been very considerable, nor can

¹ *Choliars*—Name given in Ceylon and Malabar to a particular class of Mahomedans (HJ s. v. Choolia).

² *Debash*—Interpreter, Hindi dōbāsi (HJ s.v. Dubash).

³ T refers this to a type of steelyard, but by the context it is obviously a measure of bulk, not weight : Tamil valli.

it be with any certainty depended on, as they purchase it in small Parcels* from the Country People, as they choose to bring it to the Scale, at the rate of one and a half Rix Dollars p. Maund¹ of 24 Dutch Pounds ; and what is wanted for the consumption of the Inhabitants, they retail out of their Warehouses again, at 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ fanams p. pound, or 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ Rix Dollars p. Maund. The remainder is sent to Europe, Bengall*, China or other Marketts*, according to the directions they receive from Battavia*.

This Article, a few years ago, was brought into them on Contract by a Choliar Merchant, who obliged himself to furnish them yearly with 250 Candies², to be delivered at Batacolo, Colombo, & Calpentyn in equal Proportions, but at what Price I could not learn ; who, as an Indulgence, was to be allowed to Export 500 Amanams of Beetle* Nut Yearly at the same price it was paid for by the Company. The Merchant complied with his contract the first Year, within ten or twelve Candies, which was made a Plea for denying him the promised Indulgence of Beetle* Nut. The next Year he delivered ten Candies more than his Contract, but still found himself, on some Pretence or other, disappointed of his Beetle* Nut. Convinced by this Conduct how little he could depend on their Promises, he quitted Colombo in disgust and returned to Candia. Since that time, they have been only able to procure it in the manner I have before recited.

The Trade Carried on by the Dutch in Elephants, with which this Island abounds, may properly be considered among its Exports, and is one of those, I believe, which yeilds* a very considerable Advantage to that Company. But as the King reserves to himself the sole Prerogative of catching these Animals, the Dutch are Obligated, as a Matter of Form, to make application to him annually for his permission for this Priviledge*, which is always granted them under a Restriction not to exceed such a number, which is generally limited* to between Twenty & thirty. Little regard is however paid to it ; and I am informed that at Matura, Colombo, and Jaffnapatam, where these animals only are hunted for, the Dutch do not catch less than 150, and sometimes 200, in one Year. They

¹ *Maund*—About 25 lb. at Madras (HJ).

² *Candy*—About 500 to 600 lb., Mahratta khandi (HJ).

pay the People who hunt for them, for their trouble in catching and taming them, at the rate of 50 Dollars each for those with teeth, & 25 for those without. Such as are caught at Colombo and Matura are sent to Jaffnapatam for sale, which they find to be the best market for them over to the Coast ; But at what rates they are usually sold there, I could not learn. Indeed, that must always depend on the Size.

The foregoing Articles spoken of as Exports, are those the Dutch Company reserve to themselves, but there are some which the Choliars and others are allowed to trade in. Among these, the Beetle* Nut¹ Reeper, so much made use of among the Natives of this Country in their Buildings, is by far the most considerable, of which between fifty and sixty thousand are annually exported from this Island. There [are] no settle[d] prices for purchasing these, as they must ever differ according to their qualities ; and I could not learn that any duty was paid on them to the Company. But [what] are wanted for their use they choose out of those which are brought in from the Country, and pay for them at the rate [of] 1½ dollars p. hundred. They are chiefly* exported from Gauley and Colombo. Wax, Elephants Teeth, & Wild Cardamums*, are likewise sometimes to be procured, but in such small quantities* as scarcely to deserve being noticed here.

Having spoken above of the Information I was able to obtain relating to the exports from the Island, I shall proceed in the same manner regarding the Imports, which consist in Silk, Teas, Sugar Candy, China-ware, and Japan Copper from Batavia ; Iron & Steel from Europe ; & Peice* goods from Bengall* and the Coast.

The China goods are Cheifly* for the consumption of the European Inhabitants at Colombo, Gauley, and other Principal Settlements, and for Presents to the King and the Officers of distinction about his Court ; for as these are the only People of Substance residing at Candia, who are supply'd with all they can have occasion for of such Articles gratis, there is no Inland demand for them.

Jappan* Copper: a small quantity goes off among the Inhabitants at the Principal Settlements for making Utensils for the Service of their Families.

¹ Arecanut.

Iron & Steel, there is a very great consumption of, as the Natives make use of them for Knives, Mamotys¹, Musket Barrels, Launces*, &c. The price of Iron out of the companies* Warehouses at Colombo, is one Pagoda² p. Maund, and of Steel, two.

Of Bengall* Peice* Goods, the Ordinary Sort of Cossaes³ are most in demand ; and of those a Considerable quantity will go off to advantage. Piece Goods from the Coast, such as Blue cloth, Morees⁴, Long Cloath*, and other white Goods, both fine and ordinary, the Company reserves the Importation of to themselves, for which the demand at Colombo, where the Warehouse is every day open, is very considerable. The Importation of ordinary Goods, such as clouting, Handkerchiefs, Paintings, Combos⁵, &c., is not restrained, but they are liable to a duty of 15 p. Cent., notwithstanding which the Choliars find a pretty good Market for these Assortments at Putelan & other places on the West side of the Island, by way of barter with the Country People for their Beetle* nut & Reepers ; for money they have but little among them.

Thus, having gone through the Articles of Export and Import, I shall next speak of the Revenues, by which I mean only those that are farmed out by the Dutch company at Colombo, consisting of the Pearl Fishery in the Bay Tuticorin ; the Priviledge* of digging for Precious Stones at Matura and Colombo ; and selling Arrack at the Latter.

These Farms are sold by outcry to the best Bidder ; but the Fishery for Pearl has not been sold these last Seven or Eight years.

¹ *Mamooty*—A digging-tool in the shape of a hoe, Tamil manvetti (HJ).

² *Pagoda*—Coin of 42 fanams at Madras, in 1818 3½ rupees (HJ) ; but variable from place to place as in Pybus' Accounts. The Dutch official rate was 4 fl. 10 stivers, but on the open market usually 2 rix-dollars (4 fl. 16 stivers), or even more (Hague Archives 3063).

³ *Cossaes*—Piece-goods formerly exported from Bengal (HJ s. v. Piece-goods).

⁴ *Moree*—Piece-goods formerly exported from Madras and the Coast (HJ s. v. Piece-goods).

⁵ *Combos*—Piece-goods formerly exported from Bengal (HJ s. v. Piece-goods). A sort of kilt or skirt of white calico worn by Singhalese of both sexes, much in the same way as the Malay sarong (HJ s.v. Comboy).

It was first Farmed out about twelve years ago and sold the first Year for no more than 20,000 Dollars, the Farmer making a very large Fortune by it. The next year, it was run up to two hundred Thousand ; but the purchaser was ruined. The 3rd Year it went for a hundred thousand Dollars ; but the purchaser still losing Considerably, it fell, the 4th. year, to 32,000, which was the last sale made of it ; and, as far as I could learn, it afforded no Profit even at that Rate ; by which it should appear, it will not turn to account as an annual Fishery.

The Farms for holding the Priviledge* of digging for Precious Stones at Matura & Colombo have been represented to me as so very inconsiderable, that I am somewhat scrupulous of mentioning them ; but the reason the rent is so very small is, as I have been told, the very great expence* which attends searching for them, and little chance of meeting with any other kinds than the common Zeylon* red and brown pebbles.

Sapphires, Toepasses*, and Rubies, are some time found, but this so very rarely happens, that the Chance is hardly to be reckoned on. The Matura Farm sells for between two and three hundred Dollars, and that of Colombo for about half as much. The Places where these Stones are dug for are within three or four Miles of those Settlements.

The Priviledge* of retailing arrack is let in two separate Farms, one for selling within, the other without, the Fort. The Former generally lets for about four thousand, and the latter for 2000 thousand [sic] Dollars a year. There may be, & doubtless are, other Farms or Revenues, as well at Colombo as other Dutch Settlements on this Island. Some indeed I have heard of ; but as I could not get such Information relating to them as I thought might be depended on, I choose rather to be silent on the Subject.

Your Honour, &c., will doubtless remark, that the Observations I have made relating to the Trade to and from the Island are chiefly* confined to Colombo, the reason of which is that the Person I received my Information from was a Choliar Merchant, who had resided seven years at that Settlement, and whom I therefore considered could not but be well acquainted with the Trade carried on there, and so far, I believe, his Information may be depended on ; but I found him as utter a Stranger to what passed at any of the

other Settlements possessed by the Dutch as if he had been born in Pekin, and as little acquainted, indeed, with any other Part of the Island, except the road he had travelled in his journey from Candia to Colombo and back again. [He] was a Brother of the Vackeel¹ who was sent here from the King, and being appointed on my arrival at Gunnoor² to remain there with me as Chingalese* Interpreter, I had an Opportunity of learning from him the foregoing Particulars, though not without some persuasion and promises of making him amends for any Information he might give me, which I would have done before I left Candia ; but he declined accepting of anything, advised there*to by his brother, who represented the fatal Consequences which would attend them should it by any accident be known to the King. On my removal to Candia, He was not permitted to continue in the House with, or come near me at any other time than when the Officers paid their daily visits of Ceremony from the King, to enquire after my Health, and how I was supplied* with Provisions.

I come now to treat of the Government of this Island, and such other matters (as well from the Information I have been able to get, as the observations I have made) as are deserving your Notice, which I shall be under a necessity of doing in a General way for want of Opportunities of obtaining so particular a Knowledge of the many Points recommended by your Instructions to my enquiries as I could have wished ; the reasons for which I have before hinted at, and will more fully appear in my Journal. But to proceed upon this Relation, imperfect as it is, I am to acquaint you, that the Government of this Island is perhaps as absolute and Despotic as any in the Universe. The King's Commands are Subject to no controul*. He has the Power of Life and Death over all his Subjects, who on this Account treat him with the most abject submission, and approach him with a respectfull* kind of Homage rather due to a Deity than a human being. No person, of what rank soever, under his Jurisdiction throughout the Island, has the Priviledge* of wearing Shoes or any other sort of covering for the feet, keep a horse, or ride in a Pallankeen* with an Arched Bamboo, but

¹ Attorney, authorised representative : Arabic Wakil (HJ).

² Gannoruwa, but at the river, not the village (7/16/15, 80/36/15, Kandy sheet).

himself ; and on the Candia side of the River Ganga¹ no one is allowed to ride even in a Dooley², except in cases of extreme Illness, and when a removal is absolutely necessary ; and so Jealous is he of his Officers and People of distinction about his Court, that to be seen at each other's Houses or talking together in the street, should they chance to [meet] there, or should any two of them, when at the P[a]lace upon Publick* Affairs, be seen to walk apart from the rest and hold any conversation together, it is a great chance but that their Lives are the forfeit. The Present King, who has three Daughters and a Son, is the first of four succeeding ones who has had any issue, in default of which the Queen's Brother or nearest Relation succeeds to the Throne ; and as it is a custom among them to have their Wives from some part of the Coast of Coromandel, & of the Gentoo³ cast[e], who are brought from Madura, Tanjore, or Mysore Countries, their Kings have ever been of Gentoo Race ; but I could [not] trace by what means this custom came to be established. The Person who at present fills the Throne is from Madura Country ; and when a child of four years of age went over with his Father, Mother, and other Relations, at the time his Sister came to be married to the late King. He is between thirty and forty years of age, and has three Wives, all from the Coast, whose Fathers, Brothers, & Relations came over with them as usual ; but the Brothers have since been sent back to their own Countries, on the discovery of a Plot laid against the King's Life by the Father of one of his Wives, in favour of his Son.

I could only learn of one Polligar⁴, whose Country lies on the North End of the Island, but of no great extent, and his Place of Residence Chittikowlampet⁴, who does not acknowledge himself Subject to the King of Candia's Jurisdiction. But he finds it to his Interest to keep upon good terms with him, and, since the

¹ Mahaweli. "River Ganga" is of course tautological.

² *Dooley*, and cf. *Palanquin*—"Covered litter or rudimentary palanquin . . . a cot or frame suspended at the four corners from a bamboo pole, Hindi *doli*" (HJ s. v. *dhooly*), whereas a palanquin (HJ) is "a box-litter, Sanskrit *palyaṅka*, bed". Cf. also page 54.

³ *Gentoo*—Hindus generally, Telugu-speaking Hindus especially, Portuguese gentio, "gentile" (HJ).

⁴ Cf. Cheddikulam, 8/40, 80/18, Murunkan sheet. Polligar : subordinate feudal Chief, Tamil Pālaiyakkāran (HJ).

Troubles with the Dutch, has assisted him for sovereign. [Candia]¹ is divided into four distinct Governments or Commands, which are given in charge to four of his General Officers, who are each to furnish a Certain Revenue, Payable, Part in Money and Part of Grain ; but what this might amount to, I could by no means learn. But the Inhabitants of the Village[s] I passed through in my Journey up to Candia informed me, that every Family paid to the General who had the charge of each district, half a Pagoda, or a Piece of Cloth of that value, Yearly.

There are several parts of the Island under the King's Jurisdiction, at which Guards are constantly kept, where Saphires, Topasses*, &c., are to be found ; but they cannot be dug for without the King's express orders, and all that are found are reserved for his use.

I could not by any means obtain an Account to be depended on, of the number of Forces the King had in his Service, in what manner they were paid, or how armed. Those I saw at Candia, who did duty at and were quartered about the Palace, consisting of about seven or eight hundred Men, a Party of which mounted Guard at the House I was lodged in, were very well provided with good Europe* arms ; they received no pay but were Subsisted from the Adjacent Villages ; and, as far as I could learn, the Country where the Troops were at any time [in] Service was obliged to furnish them with provisions.

There is nothing like a Fortification throughout the whole Island ; nor did I see any Building that had either Brick, Stone or Tyle* in it, till I came to Candia.

What Artillery is with the Troops in the Field, I cannot pretend to say ; but I saw nothing of that kind except a few Harquebusses* & Patoraroes², which might carry a half Pound Ball ; and of these only eight or ten, which the General who met me upon the Road had brought with him as his Field Train. I took notice, indeed, when I went to the Palace, of two small Field Pieces, which

¹ The MS has the meaningless "for sovereign, and is". "Candia" is T's reading, in the sense of "The Kingdom of Kandy", the area round the capital.

² See NED s. v. "Pedrero" ; gingals are obviously meant, small cannon for 4- or 8-ounce balls, mounted on swivelled forks. One such is still in use in Kandy, to give the starting-signal for the great Perahera.

were mounted on Carriages large enough for twenty four Pounders, placed in verandoes* on each side of the Door I entered at, where I suppose they have stood ever since the Palace was built.

Thus much, nevertheless, is certain, that however indifferently provided these People seemed to me to be for carrying on war against a European Enemy, they have succeeded so far in the dispute with the Dutch, as to Possess themselves of Matura, one of their fortified Places upon the Sea Coast, and of Gauley¹, a Factory about twenty miles inland of Colombo, where the Dutch had some servants & a small Military Force ; both of which they demolished, and put every European found in them (except two Officers who are now Prisoners in the Country) to the Sword. But the General who reduced the Former Place, thinking himself very formidable with the number of great guns he had found in it, and [that] he should be able to maintain his Ground, posted himself on the Sea Coast, within a few Miles of Matura, where he was soon after surprized* by a Detachment of two Hundred Europeans, which were landed in the night from some Ships sent thither from Colombo, who poss[ess]ed themselves of all his Cannon, and then entrenched themselves till a Convenient opportunity offered of removing them again to Matura, which they did soon after, and are now in possession of that Place in the ruinous Condition it was left by the Cingalese*, who continue so to harass them, as well here as at Gauley and Colombo, that they are in a manner [confined] within their Fortifications, and cut off from all kind of communication with the Country.

The Cingalese* manufacture Powder at Candia ; & I have been assured that Saltpetre² is produced on the Island, though I could never learn in which part ; but Brimstone* must be imported ; that which they make use of at present is from a Stock collected some time ago.

Your Honour, &c., will find in my Journal my Remarks on the Country as I passed along. I shall therefore only observe here, that in its present State, for near a hundred and fifty Miles from the

¹ "Gauley" here is an obvious error for Hanwella (6/54, 80/05, Avissawella), captured by the Sinhalese in 1761. The prisoners from Matara were not killed, but released in 1763 (Ceylon Archives 4892, 23/2/63).

² According to Ceylon Archives 4882, 30/3/1766, it was made near Matale (7/28, 80/37, Kurunegala) from "the dung of certain bats and human urine".

Seaside, or, more properly, of the Road I travelled, it is little better than one Continued Wood ; so much so, that in many Parts it was with difficulty my Pallankeen* could pass. The Villages are few, poor, & miserable. The Inhabitants have a few Black cattle & Buffaloes, but no more Paddy Pla[n]tations than just sufficient to support themselves ; And not a Goat or Sheep through the whole Country ; and the only ones I saw, the two Months I was upon the Island, were two that were sent as Presents during my Residence at Gunnoor¹. The west side of the Island, I am told, is much better cultivated and inhabited ; and indeed I am inclined to believe there may be some truth in it, for as it reaps the advantage of the Monsoon of this Coast in November, it must be much better supplied* with water than the East side, which receives no Benefit from the Malabar Coast Rains, as I had an opportunity of being a Witness off* ; for although it rained almost night & day at Candia for a Month before I set out, I had not travelled above fifty miles on my return, before I found the Country so much distressed for want of rain, that there was hardly water to be got ; and the Inhabitants told me they did not expect any rainy weather till the Northerly Winds set in. But was the Country better inhabited*, and the [Inhabitants] encouraged to Industry, the two Branches of the Mavelly Ganga River which run through an extent of Country of near two Hundred Miles, & employ [empty] themselves, one at Mattucullapay or Batecalo², the other on the southside of Trincomalay Bay, and which during the rain in May, June & July, which are blown from the Malabar Coast, overflow their Banks ; These Rivers, I say, by an Industrious People, might be made as advantageous a use of, as the Coleroon river, at the same Season of the year, is in the Tanjour Country, which, it is well known, is the Principal source of the immense Revenues that Country affords. But, I believe, the Policy of former Princes of this Island, since the expulsion of the Portugueze*, and which seems to have been adopted by all succeeding ones, has been to endeavour to render the interior Parts as difficult of access as possible ; and therefore they have not much encouraged either the cultivation or peopling the Country at any distance from their Capital ; for within forty or fifty Miles of Candia, you find large and Populous

¹ Gannoruwa, but at the river, not the village (7/16/15, 80/36/15, Kandy sheet).

² "Mattu Cullagray or Batecalo" (7/43, 81/42 Batticaloa).

Villages, and I may say almost as well cultivated as so mountainous a Country will admit. Indeed, the Villages between the Hills afford the most beautiful landskapes* that can be conceived. Fruits of all sorts which are to be met with on this side of India are here in great abundance, and very excellent in their Kinds.

The inhabitants are a strong-body'd, hardy People, capable of enduring great Fatigue ; and when their Service is required on the King's Business, they are obliged to attend without Pay or any other consideration, and to find themselves with Provisions, which was the case with those who were employed to carry me and my Baggage on my Journey to and from Candia.

Their religion is a Mixture of the Gentoos, and Siamese. Their Priests wear the same habit as the latter. But there [is] no distinction of Cast[e]s among them ; neither do they wear any mark on their Foreheads, as is practiced* by the Gentoos and Malabarsons* on this Coast.

The manner[s] and customs of the Natives in general I had no opportunity of seeing much into, or getting any particular knowledge of, as I was not permitted to visit their Villages, or have any Intercourse or Conversation with them but by what I could judge, the Account which has been published of them by one Knox¹, an Englishman, who was detained upon the Island near twenty years, may be depended on. [I may add,] in this Place, that the behaviour of them about the Court, with whom only I had any Transaction, was very ceremonious ; that they affected much State and Dignity, made many professions of Friendship, Goodwill, & Esteem (with, I believe, very little Sincerity) ; seemed to be great Proficients in Dissimulation, and a People not much to be confided in : for, although I am convinced the King himself entertains an Implacable Enmity against the Dutch, and would almost submit to any terms to induce us to assist him in driving them off the Island, yet I strongly suspect, that they still have a powerfull* Interest with some of the Principal Officers about his Court, who would be glad to see matters accommodated, and be ready to promote it, if they durst discover their real Sentiments.

¹ " An Historical Relation ", London 1681.

The Disorders most frequent among them are fluxes, Agues, and Fevers ; the last of which, from the very heavy rains which fell during the whole time I was at Candia, every Servant I carried with me from hence was severally attacked with it ; but I escaped myself.

The Country abounds throughout with Plenty and great Variety of Timber of a very considerable Size ; but the Jack Tree, which grows to a very moderate¹ Height and size in this Country, may be reckoned among the largest this Island affords, both as to Height & Circumference ; indeed, so amazing appeared the growth of them to me, that had I not seen the Fruit on them, I could not have believed them to be the same tree so common with us here. The Natives make great use of the Timber of this Tree in all their Buildings.

They have no Carts or wheel Carriages of any sort whatever, so that they are obliged either to carry any Timber they have Occasion for upon their Shoulders, or pull it along the Ground by main Strength.

Their Rivers are so full of large Rocks & Stones, and in general so very shallow, that they afford them no Convenience of Water Carriages ; nor can their small canoes go any distance up from the sea on hose a counts. There are a number of small branches of fresh Water Rivers all over the Country, which the Inhabitants depend on for supplying themselves with Water ; for I do not remember to have seen either a well or Tank in any Village I passed through. But there are two of the finest natural Reservoirs² of Water I ever saw, about six Miles distant from each other, and between seventy & eighty inland, which are form'd by Hills which surround them, and by a little Art are capable of being made to hold Water sufficient to supply a vast extent of Country. I have noticed them in my Journal, and shall therefore say nothing further of them here.

¹ T has altered " moderate " here to " immoderate ", apparently thinking that " this country " means Ceylon, whereas Pybus was writing in (and of) India.

² They are of course artificial.

I endeavoured to procure Copies, or an Explanation, of the Treaties subsisting between the King of Candia & the Dutch, and to Obtain a particular Account of the cause of the present Troubles ; but without success. I am satisfied, however, that there is no other treaty existing than a Treaty of exclusive commerce; and that the Dutch have never exercised any Kind of Authority or Jurisdiction in any Part of the Island, except such Limits as have been granted to them contiguous to their Principal Settlements ; but that the King still maintains the Authority of a free and independent Sovereign Prince, and does actually exercise such Authority in the most absolute manner in every other part of his Dominions, the Metropolis of which, being the town of Candia, whereas [wherein] I was lodged upwards of three weeks, although in a State of Imprisonment, it will be expected I should give some Account of.

I have therefore introduced here the following short description of it. And although in a former part of this Address [I] observed there is nothing throughout the whole Island which bears the least face of a Fortification ; Yet, this being the Capital, I though[t] it not improper in giving this Sketch of it, however imperfect it may be, to add here, that then [there] not only is no Fortification near or about it now, nor is there the least Appearance of there having ever been any ; although the reason of which I conclude is, that its Natural Situation has been thought sufficiently strong without it ; which is upon an Island¹ of about twelve or fourteen miles in Circumference, as nearly as I could judge, formed by the Mavelly Ganga River, which is about an hundred yards over, hardly ever fordable, and in the time of the Rains runs with great rapidity. It has no Bridge over it ; but for the Convenience of Communication with the main Island there are small canoes placed to go backwards & forwards at three Passes² which lead towards the Colombo, Putelan, and Matucullapay Roads, by which names they are distinguished. When I paid my visit to the King & removed to Candia, I crossed at the former, which I compute to be near seven Miles from the Town, tolerably good ;

¹ "Island" is incorrect.

² The three crossings are respectively that at Gannoruwa, Katugastota for Puttalam, and Lewella for Batticaloa.

but on my return I crossed at the Putelan Pass, not above two miles from it, but a very rocky troublesome Road to pass.

The Town of Candia¹ is built in a kind of Valley, formed by Hills in a manner which surround it. The two Principal Streets run North and South, in [one] of which I was lodged, and of this only I can, with much certainty, speak. It is near a mile long, but the Houses are not so well or uniformly built at the extreme ends as those toward the Centre, which are most of them tiled*. There are some cross Streets running East and West, but of no great Length, which the distance between the Hills will not admit of. The Palace stands in a manner detached from the rest of the Houses at the south end of this Valley², and is a large, lofty, Spacious Building, containing a number of Apartments, and seemingly well constructed; but as I [was] never admitted there till night, I cannot be very circumstantial in my description of it. There is a large Garden inclosed* with a High Wall in the north Front of it, and close on the other side of it, to the south, are Hills & thick Woods. Most of the Houses are built near the Foot of the declivity of the Hills which surround the Town, and in* six or seven Feet from the Streets*, which are Spacious & clean, from whence you go up to them by a long Flight of brick or Stone steps. They are constructed after the manner of Building in this Country, but not so well finished. An Excellent Custom is established here for preventing disorders in the Streets at night, by the ringing of a Bell through every Street at about eight aClock*, or so soon as Business is over at the Palace, to give warning that whoever shall be found in the Streets after the ringing of that Bell, without a

¹ A poorly-drawn Dutch plan of Kandy town as it was in 1765 is to be found in Paulusz, opposite page 108. From this and statements in the text there on pages 107 and 109 it is concluded that Pubus was housed in what is now Trincomalce Street (then Nāgaha Vīdiya) although this runs approximately East and West, not North to South as Pybus writes. (But his compass-points are confused: see the next note.) The second long parallel street mentioned by him is not shown in this plan, which, incidentally, shows "Batteries" (more probably breastworks) to the East of the Palace, in refutation of Pybus' statement (page 28) that there "is no Fortification near or about it now".

² Pybus has oddly got his compass-points reversed: the Palace is at north end of the town. (But cf. page 76 below, where he gets them right). Similarly, the "large garden", the grounds of the Natha Dewala, are south of the Palace, and the "Hills and thick woods" to the north of it.

large light in their Hand, shall be sever[e]ly punished. The Town is tolerably well inhabited, and they have Plenty of good Wells in it.

The Cinguliese* discover no Inclination for Trade or Navigation. Indeed, as they chiefly inhabit the inland Parts of the Island, they are not much in the way of either ; but they have excellent Artificers among them, such as Gold & Silver Smiths, Jewellers, Turners, Blacksmiths, & other Handicrafts ; and I have seen some of their Performances in this way that shew them to be an ingenious People. Such Trade as the Island affords, exclusive, I mean, of what the Dutch reserve to themselves, is carried on by Choliars¹, of whom there are great numbers at all the Principal Settlements belonging to the Dutch, and along the Sea Coast ; Many at Candia, and others interspersed in Villages in different Parts of the Country.

Having now complied* with every part of Your Instructions, as far as has been within my Power, I shall only further observe, that if my Information touching the several points you were pleased to recommend to my Notice, is not so circumstantial and particular as you may have expected, it has been owing, and I hope you will impute it, to the difficulties I laboured under from the constitution of the Government with respect to procuring the Intelligence I could have wished for ; and although I have not, in any part of this Address, taken Notice of the Conduct of the King's Vackeel who accompanied me from hence, Yet I cannot help here remarking to you, that it would have been greatly in his power to have Assisted my Enquiries, had he been so inclined, but he not only manifested every Contrary disposition himself, but took all the means he could to prevent others from doing it, and behaved, after the first three or four days of my Journal [Journey], with a great deal of Insolence and Impertinence towards my servants & the People about me, and, indeed, with very little Respect or Attention towards me, the whole time I was upon this Service.

I have hereunto annexed an Account of my disbursements during this Expedition, from the Money advanced for my Expences*, wherein you will please to observe I have made no other charge

¹ *Choliars*—Name given in Ceylon and Malabar to a particular class of Mahomedans (HJ s. v. Choolia).

than what I paid to the Linguist who accompanied me, and to the Admiral's Servants & others belonging to the Ships, for landing myself, the King's Vackeel,¹ our Baggage and Attendance* ; in which I hope you will not think I have been too profuse. For my own part, as I was provided with every*thing throughout the whole Course of my Journey, by the King of Candia, and consequently could not [be] at any expence* I have made no charge ; and if, after the Trouble, Fatigue, Mortifications, and, I may say, Indignities, I have gone through & been obliged to submit to, I have the pleasure to find my conduct on this Occasion has been to your Satisfaction, I shall think myself amply rewarded ; as I beg leave to assure you, that to obtain the Approbation of your Honour, &c., has been and ever shall be my constant attention and care, convinced that I cannot otherwise hope for or expect the favour and good Opinion of my Hon'ble Employers.

I am, with much Respect,
Hon'ble Sir & Sirs,
Your very Obedient humble Servant,
JOHN PYBUS.

Fort St. George,
October, 1762.

¹ Attorney, authorised representative : Arabic wakil (HJ).

Dr. John Pybus in account with the Hon'ble Company on Account of the Expedition to Candia *Cr.*

	<i>Pags.</i>	<i>Pags.</i>
1762		
April To Cash received, an Advance of Current Pags. ..	1,000	
Battia of 4 per cent. on the Exchange of them		
into Negapatam pags. ..	40	
<i>By</i> Expedition to Candia, for the following Disbursements,		
viz;—		
Paid the Linguist who accompanied me ..		200
Gave Admiral Cornish's Servants on my leaving the Ship		30
Gave to the Long Boat's crew carrying ashore the Vackeel, his Baggage & Attendance, to the Southside of the Bay		10
Gave to the Boat's Crew carrying myself & Servants to do. ..		8
Gave to the Boat's Crew carrying myself, Servants and Baggage aboard, on my return from Candia ..		8
Gave to the Boat's Crew bringing the Gen. and his atten- dants who accompanied me from Candia on board the Admiral, & carrying him ashore again ..		18
		<hr/> 274
<i>By</i> balance now paid in ..		766
		<hr/> 1,040
		Negapatam Pags. .. 1,040

Fort St. George, October, 1762.
(Errors excepted)

JOHN PYBUS.

DIARY of Mr. PYBUS'S Journey to and from the City of Candia, the Capital of the Island of Ceylon and place of Residence of the Emperor ; with an Account of his Proceedings and Transactions at that Prince's Court, from the Time of his leaving the Squadron in Trincomalay Harbour to his Return.

May 5th.—Left the Ships in Trincomalay Harbour at 3 aClock* in the morning, and landed at about $\frac{1}{4}$ past 5 at a Village called Moodoore¹, about a Mile up the Mouth of Cottiar River, which is the name of this District. It has 64 Villages belonging to it. It has 3 Head Men, who have the Management for the General to whose Government it belongs, who resides at Candia. The Inhabitants, Choliars and Mallabars. These Head Men assemble the People from the different Villages to assist in any business of the King's, who are to accompany those who demand them on such Service to the end of their district, where they are exchanged or relieved by others summoned by the Head Men of the next district for that purpose, & this is practiced* in each district you travel through. The Inhabitants at Cottiar have a few Cattle belonging to them, and some Ground cleared for Paddy Plantations (but it has not been cultivated these three years) of about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a Mile extent.

Here the Vackeel², who came ashore last night, waited for me, & we set out at 40 Minutes past 6, and travelled thro' Woods till $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8, when [we] came to a small Village named Perriavelly³, distant about 7 miles. This village has a fine large plain to the Southward of it, which used to be cultivated for Paddy, but has been made no use of these 3 years, owing to the want of rain, and not being able to get any Paddy to plant, the crops they planted having failed for want of water ; This Complaint general throughout this district. Saw several antelopes in this Road. About three-quarters of a mile from Perriavelly came to a Village called

¹ Mutur (8/27, 81/14/30, Trincomalee) on the Koddियar Aru.

² Attorney, authorised representative : Arabic wakil (HJ).

³ Periyaveli (8/23/30, 81/16, Trincomalec), about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles only.

Malledeve¹. Here too is a plain to the Southward, about half a Mile or more square, uncultivated. The Village[s] are for this reason almost abandoned ; a few coconut & Beetle*Trees² in them. From Malledeve we came to the Village of Meangamo³, thro' Woods, distant 4 miles. From thence to Clevetty⁴, where we arrived at 11 oClock*. I found the People appointed to carry my Pallankeen* had never been accustomed to that Business, and complained to the Vackeel of it, who assured me that I should have better at the next Stage, and that after tomorrow's Journey we should have no more Woods, which Affords me some Consolation for having been obliged to walk the greatest part of this day's Stage ; and finding the woods very troublesome, I do not like the first Appearance of my Expedition, which, Although I am told will not be above five or six days at farthest, I am afraid, by what I can judge from the outset of it, will be very tedious. The Vackeel this afternoon dispatched a Messenger to Candia, to advise of our being landed & arrived at this Place. The Village of Clevetty pleasantly situated, having a small Lake to the South which supplies it with water. It has an extensive Plain to the Eastward, but uncultivated ; and a few Plantations of Paddy to the Westward. Here we found some Choliar People who had brought from the Country some Gingely seeds ; a kind of a Bead called by the Mallabars roodarachum⁵ (which are worn by Bramans* in a Religious manner and by Malabars and Gentoos⁶ as ornaments which they set in Gold) ; and some dried* coconuts, to sell among the Inhabitants of the Neighbouring Villages. I and my Attendants were furnished by the People of the Village with Rice, Fowls, and other Provisions, which I find is customary to all those who travel on the King's Business ; and I am told that this will be the case during the whole course of my Journey ; and a little Mallabar House, hung round with white Cloth, which is a Compliment always paid in this Country to People of distinction who travell*,

¹ Mallikaitivu (8/23, 81/16, Trincomalee), the distance correct.

² Arecanut.

³ Menkamam (8/22, 81/16, Trincomalee), but only 2 miles.

⁴ Kiliveddi (8/21, 81/16, Trincomalee) on Allai Tank, one mile only.

⁵ Tamil Rutraksam, seeds of the Wild Olive, *Elaeocarpus serratus*. "Bramans" is Brahmins.

⁶ *Gentoo*—Hindus generally, Telugu-speaking Hindus especially, Portuguese gentia, "gentile" (HJ).

was provided for my Reseption*. I slept here, on account of the long woods we were to pass through to our next Stage¹.

6th.—Set out from Clevetty at 5 in the morning with fresh People, and after having travelled about a Mile, we entered the Woods, and saw only one little abandoned Village, called Temmungalay², and some Elk and Wild Buffaloes on the Borders of the Woods, till we arrived at the Banks of the Mavalay³ Ganga River at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 oClock*, where we waited for People from the otherside* to carry over our Baggage, as the Cottiar district ends here. But after waiting till 12, there came a Message from the Head Men to request those from Cottiar would bring us and our Baggage over, as they had not been able to assemble their People from the different Villages. This they complied* with, and brought us by one oClock* to the Village of Songa Valley⁴, on a discent* all the way, through Woods, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ Miles from the Banks of the River, which at this Season is fordable but in rains must be very deep and rapid ; it is here about 200 Yards over, has a fine sandy Bottom, and empties itself on the South side of Trincomalay Bay, within about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a Mile of that I call Cottiar. This Village has only five or six Houses. They have about fifty or sixty head of Cattle belonging to them, small Plantations of Natcheny⁵, and in the rainy season plant Paddy likewise. The inhabitants are Chingalese*. The Country we are now in is called Tommangany⁶, and has sixty Villages belonging to it. I have seen as yet little but Woods. The Inhabitants are few, Poor, and miserable. There seems to be plenty of good Timber. I slept at Soongavaley under a little thatched Choultry⁷, hung also with white Linnen*, for want of People to bring us on⁸.

¹ By addition his total for the day is $14\frac{1}{2}$ miles, but in his tabulation at the end only 13 : it is in reality about $8\frac{1}{2}$.

² " Temmungalay " has not been identified, nor does T locate it.

³ The Mahaweli was probably crossed at Kandakadutorai (8/04, 81/09, Vakaneri sheet).

⁴ Sungavila, (8/04/15, 81/06, Polonnaruwa sheet) about 3 miles from the river. It must have been uphill from the river, not "on a discent* all the way": cf. note 3 at page 39.

⁵ Tamil naccini, kurrakan, Eleusine coracana.

⁶ Tamankaduwa.

⁷ The Indian word for the Sinhalese " Ambalam ", in HJ as " a hall a shed, or a simple loggia, used by travellers as a resting-place ".

⁸ His total for the day of 23 miles is about correct.

7th.—At $\frac{3}{4}$ past 11 in the morning, from Soongavaley went back about a Mile of the road we came yesterday, to get into the proper road for our Journey ; travelled through Woods about 3 Miles and a half, when a large plain opened to us, with some Ground for Paddy Plantation, but uncultivated ; of Cattle grazing, chiefly buffaloes, fifty or sixty Head. A very small village on the Right of the Road called Adambun¹ ; four or five very mean houses in it. Woods again, about six or seven Miles ; the Country then not so woody. Crossed some large plains, but entirely uncultivated. Saw many wild Buffaloes. At 5 in the Evening passed a small Village with some of the finest Paddy I ever saw ; the leaf of the plant remarkably wide, & stem large and tall. It is called Ridduvily² ; some Cattle belong to it, and it consists of six or seven Houses. From hence we travelled through very pleasant Shady lanes with cross Paths, as if leading to other Villages, but I could hear of none ; and at Sun*set arrived at the Village of Pangarane³, inhabited by Choliars. It consists of about a dozen Houses, has some Paddy Plantations & fifty or sixty head of Cattle, mostly Buffaloes. It is pleasantly situated, having a small branch of a river called Cowdaly³ running close to it, which furnishes them with excellent water for use and [for] their Paddy Grounds. This River³, they tell us, broke its Banks seventy or eighty years ago, and has never been repaired. Here they weave a few Pieces of ordinary cloth for their own wear, and each family is obliged to pay a tax of a Peice* of cloth to the Governour* of the Province, who resides at Candia. They value it at $\frac{1}{2}$ Pagoda p. peice*. I cannot help remarking, that I have not yet seen anything like a Carriage yet. I slept here in the same kind of Lodging as at

¹ Possibly Adampan Kulam : see note ³ below.

² "Ridduvilly" has not been identified, nor does T attempt to locate it.

³ Pangurana (8/06/30, 81/15/30. Kaudulla sheet). His total for the day is 21 miles : this is quite inexplicable unless he was led round and round, as the distance from Sungawila to Pangurana is barely 3 miles : compare his return journey where he did three of the outward stages in two days. A branch of the Kaudulla river ("Cowdaly") is shown near Pangurana on the quarter-inch map, as in the text, though on the one-inch sheet it is the "Kahambiliya Oya". There is another Pangurana at 8/09/30, 81/10/30 on the Kathiraveli sheet, with "Adampan Kulam" to the north of it : if these are the places of the text, Pybus was led even more astray.

As noted by T, the breach of the banks mentioned in the text must refer to the Tank and not the river.

Soongavaley. They tell us that a Person setting out from hence in the morning of one day would reach Battacola the evening of the next. Not a Brick or Tyle* to any House or Building I have yet seen. The Inhabitants very ignorant of the Country, and the Vackeel¹ who is with me seems to know very little of it³.

8th.—Remained here the whole day for want of People to carry us on, those from Soongavaley having returned last night.

9th.—At $\frac{1}{2}$ past seven a.M. set out from Pangaranny, thro' woods and water, occasioned by the freshes from the Country, where there must have been heavy rain although we have yet had none. The Bounds of Pangaranny Village end on Crossing the Branch of the Cowdaly in the Woods, distant about four Miles. It is the same which runs close to the Village. The freshes, I am told, come from that River. Came to a fine Square plain laid out in Paddy fields, as on the Coast, though not now cultivated, nor do not seem to have been for some years. Here a Parcel of near a hundred very fine Black Cattle, but small. The same reason given for not cultivating the Paddy grounds here as at Cottiar ; but I am of Opinion, it is entirely want of Industry, which in this Country meets with no Encouragement, the labouring People being, I am told, oppressed to a very great degree by the Governours* of these districts. Here we passed another small branch of the same River, which overflowed the Country so much all around us, that it was with difficulty we could pass. About a Mile on the otherside* of it is a Village called Nottombay², consisting of about twenty Houses, but entirely abandoned. The Inhabitants, for what reason I could not learn, are removed to a Place about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles further in the woods. Rested here about a quarter of an hour. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11 set out again thro' Woods, and [at] $\frac{1}{4}$ past 12 met some people from the Villages of Nungadamanah³ and Tritolay⁴, the latter of which, about fourteen miles distant, we

¹ Attorney, authorised representative : Arabic wakīl (HJ).

² "Nottombay" does not figure on the modern maps : T suggests "Nellebbe Potane" on the Kaudulla river, also absent from those maps.

³ Nagahadamana (8/01, 79/57, Polonnaruwa sheet).

⁴ As T suggests, "Tritolay" is almost certainly Giritale (7/59, 79/54/30, Polonnaruwa sheet) : not however at the present village but "at the S.W. end of the lake". T also reads the text sometimes as "Tritolay" and sometimes as "Tutolay" ; but in every case (except possibly one) the former reading is acceptable.

intend for this Evening[’s] Stage. The People joining us, we travelled thro’ very pleasant openings of fine Pasture land among the Woods, which are but thinly interspers’d, till two aClock* ; distance I reckoned about Six miles ; then more Woody for about two miles, when we came to a fine large plain, now uncultivated. A great number of Buffaloes & black Cattle grazing here, from the Villages abovementioned. The Extent of the Plain about a Mile & $\frac{1}{4}$, and breadth about $\frac{1}{2}$ a Mile. Then we entered Woods again for about 4 Miles, when [we] crossed a Branch of a River formed by the overflowing of a Lake, which [is] yet some distance off. Here are four beautifull* cataracts, occasioned by a parcel fo huge Stones which lay* across the bed of the River, and a small Island, not above five or six yards over, which lyes* in the River. The Principal branch lyes* directly N. The rocks lye* a*cross N.E. & S.W., which give a turn to the Stream and form a bed for the River in a S.E. direction. The fall is, I believe, fifteen or sixteen feet, very sudden, and excessively rapid. The People who are with me say these Rocks and Stones were laid a*cross by the Portuguese, as a kind of Dam to prevent the River’s overflowing here ; but this, by their Size, must I am sure be fabulous. Here some of the People belonging to Pangaranny, who had [been] prevailed on to come so far with us, refused going further and returned ; and we were obliged to leave some People of [? at] a Choliar¹ Village of ten or a dozen Houses, on the banks of the River, called Nungadamanah, and I with my Palankeen* and Servants and Vackeel pushed on for Tritolay at four oClock*, as that was the Stage appointed to stop at when we set out in the morning. The Palankeen* Bearers are willing, but being little accustomed to such Business² I make a miserable piece of Work of it, and I have been obliged to walk a good Part of the way from my first setting out, and so I expect I must do to my Journey’s end, notwithstanding the Vackeel’s fair Promises ; Unless, when we approach the Capital, the King should furnish me with some of his Bearers from thence. The Country still continues Woody, and my Journey will not be quite so short as I at first was made to believe. Towards Tritolay passed a few Paddy Plantations

¹ *Choliars*—Name given in Ceylon and Malabar to a particular class of Mahomedans (HJ s. v. Choolia).

² For “Business I Make” read “Business, Make”.

belonging to the above Village, on the southside* of the road ; very pleasant Shady Lanes. The name of the Place, Villowanay¹ ; but no Inhabitants here. Travelling this Road, saw a Hill² distant about four Miles, which is the first I have seen since I came out. I reckon myself now about four Miles from the Banks of the River since passing which we have travelled up Hill³ all the way. Passed some more Paddy Plantations on the Northside* of the Road, just made, and soon afterwards a fine run of Water, gravelly Bottom ; from hence about $\frac{1}{2}$ a Mile up a very steep Hill, the stones of which seem to be of a fine white marble. When you are on the top of the Hill, you see Tritolay Lake through the Trees, which, when you go down on the otherside*, you have a very beautiful Prospect of it as a fine reservoir of Water formed by Nature⁴, being surrounded entirely by Hills ; and would upon the Coast, where Industry prevails, be a very Valuable Treasure. When full, I suppose it 2 Miles & $\frac{1}{2}$ in length, and about a Mile in breadth, in the Widest part of it. You travell* by the side of it about a Mile & $\frac{1}{2}$, to the Village which is at the South West end, where we arrived at Sunset ; and a meserable* Place it is. Here we were obliged to wait for People to carry us on⁵.

10th.—At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 P.M. set out from Tritolay, and having passed the lake, travelled through Woods till $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5, when we came to a Village called Paduputtah⁶, fronting Minary Tank on the N. East end, which now opens to us. Paddy Plantations here & plenty of Cattle. We passed along the side of this Tank, Lake, or River, for I do not know which to call it ; but it is a very large extent, and surrounded with Hills, so that I rather suppose it to be a large body of water which runs from the Hills during the Rains and lodges there, from whence several small Rivers may take their Rise. I saw a Hill in the Country about twenty or thirty Miles off, which

¹ "Villowanay" has not been identified, nor does T make any suggestion for it.

² Probably that on which "Giritala No. 1" Bench Mark is erected.

³ Compare note 4 at page 35.

⁴ They are of course artificial

⁵ The distance for the day of 30 miles given in the tabulation is about correct.

⁶ "Paduputtah" is not on the Survey maps, but is located by the text "on the N. E. end" of Minneriya Tank, or say 8/04, 80/54, Polonnaruwa sheet.

I take to be Fryar's Hood¹. Travelled by the side of the lake to a Village called Vistugalloo², on the Borders of it, where we arrived about $\frac{1}{4}$ past 6 aClock. There is a nearer road from Tritolay to this Place, but the Woods being difficult to pass, they brought me this way on Account of my Pallankeen* ; and I found it much easier to walk all the way than ride, so very meserable* were the Pallankeen* Bearers. On our arrival here we found three Hircarabs³, with a Letter from one of the King's Secretaries* in answer to that sent from Trincomalay giving an Account of our arrival ; at which [he] expressed great satisfaction, and recommended landing at Cottiar. He assures the Vackeel the King has not made peace with the Dutch ; advises of there being Generals with some Troops waiting our Arrival at Mattacullapay and Matura [Matale], the former of which would have orders to join us on the Road as soon as he hears of our Setting out. These People left Candia yesterday morning, and about two hours after they came away, met the Person we dispatched from Clevey⁴, with news of our being landed ; so that, the Vackeel tells us, we may expect to meet some People from the King, to assist in carrying our Baggage, &c., the day after to*morrow ; and that by the 14th, in the evening, we may be able to reach Candia, which the Hircars call thirteen Malabar leagues, which is nearly equal to one Hundred and thirty English Miles⁵.

11th.—At 8 this morning, the Hircarabs returned with an answer from the Vackeel to this Letter. We are oblig'd to wait here for People all the day. The Village is Choliar ; plenty of Cattle, but otherwise very miserable as to Houses, &c., not above six or seven.

¹ "Fryar's Hood" is near Batticaloa, as *e.g.* on the Dutch map, No. 36 of the Survey collection, and thus some fifty miles from here. It might well have been Sigiriya Rock (7/57/30, 80/45/30, Polonnaruwa sheet) though only twelve miles distant ; and the shape suggests Pybus' false identification.

² "Vistugalloo", elsewhere "Vishegalloo" &c., is not on the modern maps, but is located by the text as "on the borders" of the Tank. Why Pybus was apparently led all round the Tank is not clear ; or did he get this compass-points reversed as at Kandy ? The obvious route would be from Giritala Tank to the *south* end of Minneriya, and his "5 miles" would fit this better.

³ Messengers, couriers, Hindi harkāra (HJ).

⁴ Kiliveddi (8/21, 81/16, Trincomalee)

⁵ His table of distances makes it 118 miles to Kandy.

Plenty of Wild Fowl on Minary Lake. Its greatest extent about seven Miles, and Breadth in many Places two.

12th.—At $\frac{3}{4}$ past 7 in the morning set out from Vishegalloo by the side of the Lake, about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile ; then entered Woods ; passed a small River, a branch from Minary, about a Mile and $\frac{3}{4}$ after setting out. A little further a fine Spot of Paddy Plantations half grown, belonging to the Village we left, now waste, but very fine Pasturage. Near this another fine run of water from the Minary. At $\frac{3}{4}$ past 8 came to a branch of Minary, which spreads over a good deal of low ground, and in the rains, I suppose, forms a kind of River. The Road here very rocky & Stoney*, but seems to be of a fine kind of marble. The Country now begins to be very mountainous ; and the Hills we are now passing, I do suppose, as well as many others, would afford very fine Quarries* of marble¹, were there people who know how to work them. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9, another branch of the Minary ; and at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 entered the bounds of Mateli² district. But I find I must wait my arrival at Candia before I can get any Account to be depended on, how these districts are governed ; what Revenues they produce ; how many Villages they consist of, &c. ; as the Vackeel³ either knows nothing of the matter, or at least will not tell me himself, but prevents my getting any account from the country People, by not suffering them to talk Malabar to my Servants ; but, indeed, the People I meet with are in general excessively ignorant. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 12 stopp^t* by the side of a small lake between Hills. They tell me it communicates with Minary. Great Plenty of Rattans in the Woods we pass through here, till [at] $\frac{1}{2}$ past 1 we crossed a small branch of a River they call the Pollar⁴, which runs in to Minary lake ; its bottom gravelly and many pieces of large Rock lying in it. From hence we travelled till 3 oClock*, all the way through thick woods and over Stony Roads. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 P.M. arrived at our Stage. The Village is

¹ Actually a sort of crystallized limestone, too coarse to be regarded as marble.

² At this period "Matale" was the name of a district, and there was no town of that same name : see *e.g.* the account of the Dutch 1766 campaign in Ceylon Archives 4912. Even in 1834 there was still no "Matale" town ; see Casie Chitty, Gazetteer, Kotte, of that year.

³ Attorney, authorised representative : Arabic Wakil (HJ).

⁴ T identifies this as the Kiri Oya (7/57, 80/48, &c., Polonnaruwa sheet) "in Tamil Pālaar".

called by the Cingalese Negavatowany¹, and the Malabars Nawtchytolum ; and a vile, dirty, mean hole it is, inhabited by Choliars. There are about seven or eight little holes of Houses, and they have thirty or forty head of Cattle belonging to it. Here, although they must have had notice of our coming two days at least, there was no place prepared for our Reception. My patience began now to be almost exhausted, being fatigued with walking in the Heat of the day ; & when I rode to relieve myself, it was without the Pingaree of my Pallankeen, the Roads being so very narrow. I then complained much to the Vackeel² of having been deceived by him in the representations he gave me of the Country before I left Madrass*, and the manner in which I should be accommodated on the road, who heard me with a great deal of composure ; and I found it was too* little purpose to remonstrate ; so I took up my Quarters in a wretched dirty thatched Cow-house, and being very heartily tired, found that Relief in Sleep which too much Sensibility when awake would not admit of.

13th.—Set [out] from hence at 2 P.M. thro' Woods, till $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3. Then an Opening, with Hills on both sides & before us, with some Paddy Plantations on the right of the Road. Here, for the first time, saw some Bamboo Trees. Crossed this small Opening into Woods again ; and at about $\frac{3}{4}$ past 3, to my great surprize*, I saw my Pallankeen* turn out of the road down a bye* Path into the Woods, where, being advanced about fifty or sixty Yards, I found a little Shed under the Trees, covered with coconut Leaves, by the side of a little Brook, without the least appearance of a House or living Soul near it ; and here I am to take up my Residence till to*morrow morning, to which I am obliged to submit. The name of this Solitary Retreat is Gonagy³ ; and here I slept all Night.

¹ Nikawatawana (7/35, 80/45, Polonnaruwa sheet) : Pybus now appears to be following the route shown by Schneider (and others), Minneriya Tank—Peikkulam Tank—Makarayawala—Nikawatawana. The total tabulated for the day as 23 miles seems somewhat exaggerated, but not excessively so.

² The word has not been traced, and is not in HJ ; but from the context was obviously the arched bamboo awning-pole of a palanquin, the item which distinguished it from the straight poled dooly.

³ Gonawela (7/51, 80/45, Polonnaruwa sheet) : Schneider's route is still being followed. The distance of 6 miles shown by Pybus in the tabulation (page 78) for this day is about correct.

14th.—As soon as I was up this morning, the Vackeel informed me he had received advice in the night that a General, who was dispatched by the King to attend us, was at a Place called Caravetty, which he computed about 35 Miles¹ off, to whom he had sent Messengers to know whether he intends coming further, or that we should come on; and at about 11 came People from the General with the same Message to us; so that I perceive I am likely to take up my Lodging in the Woods another Night. At about 3 in the afternoon arrived with us three Chubdars², who had been dispatched express by the King, to issue out Orders to all the Villages on or near the Road, to furnish us with People or whatever else we might have Occasion for on our Journey; so that I begin now to think we shall in time reach Candia. They had been with the General, who very wisely intends to remain where he is, and we are to set out to pay our Respects to him to morrow morning.

15th.—At $\frac{1}{2}$ past Nine we set out; and I was able to travel with the Pingaree³ on my Pallankeen*, as the Passage thro' the Woods is pretty Clear. The Country very Hill[y], but the Roads pretty good, here & there rocky; the Woods not so thick as before. About 1 crossed a fine Plain of Paddy Plantations. The[y] belong to a Village called Wurmavaley⁴, by the side of the Road in the Woods, which we did not see. Hills on both sides at a little distance, some barren and sandy, others covered with Trees. At half past one crossed a river, which seems to take its Rise from the Hills, and then entered Woods again. Country very mountainous, but a fine Stiff soil in the Valleys. The Wind from E. to S.E. blew very fresh, and weather very threatening. At 2 past* another fine run of water from the Hills, and some Paddy Plantations on the side of the Road. Plenty of Iron Stones along this day's road, from whence the Country People Extract a great deal of Iron⁵. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 crossed a run of Water, with a kind of Stone

¹ Tabulated as 30 miles: for "Caravetty" see page...

² Literally "Stick-bearer", Persian chobdār (HJ s.v. chobdar).

³ See note 2 at page 42.

⁴ Schneider's route is now through Ereula (7/50/45, 80/45, Polonnaruwa sheet) Kalogahaela Wewa (7/48/30, 80/41/30, Nalanda sheet), Walagam Wewa (7/47/15, 80/41/30, Nalanda sheet: possibly this is Pybus' "Wurmavaley", which T identified with the unlocated "Monerowelle").

⁵ The existence of slag-heaps there today confirms the statement, though the ore is so low-grade as not to be exploited now.

Dam laid across it, in tolerable Order ; on the S. W. side of which was a thatched Choultry¹, with four plain square Stone Pillars about 12 feet high & eight or ten asunder, and a plat*form round, with Stones on the outside about three feet from the Ground, but gone to decay. This I remark as the first building I have seen that a handfull* of straw² would not destroy in five minutes. On the N. E. of the road Paddy Plantations belonging to a Village called Navelly³, which we did not see. From $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 to $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 the Road in some parts very muddy & dirty, and in others very Stony & Rocky, up & down a Hill with thick wood on both sides, and on the W. side of a River called Nawlundy⁴, a very Strong Stream in it about up to the middle. There seems to have been [a] kind of Bridge across it, by the Appearance of the Stones on each side ; a few Yards below which is a Natural spring in the midst of the Bed of the River, which keeps constantly bubbling up like the Boiling of a Pot. Crossed this River ; and about a Mile & $\frac{1}{2}$ on the otherside*, or nearer 2 Miles up a Stony road & lanes, is the Village of Cravetty⁵, where we arrived about $\frac{1}{4}$ before Six. I walked a good part of the way, and passed through a kind of Guard which is [a] small inclosure* with a Mud [wall] on one side & two or three small Houses on the other. Here lay an Old Iron 3-Pounder. How it came there I could not learn ; I suppose it, however, some Portugueze* Prize. They told me

¹ See note 7 at page 35.

² The phrase "handful of straw" is definite in the text : possibly he meant by fire ?

³ Naula. (7/42/30, 80/39, Nalanda sheet) : this again fits Schneider's route through Nayakumbura (7/46/15, 80/41, Nalanda sheet) and Karawilahena (7/43/30, 80/40, Nalanda sheet).

⁴ Nalanda Oya According to T the remains of the bridge described in the text still existed in 1862 : today they have disappeared, but local tradition preserves the site as about a quarter of a mile to the east (downstream) from the present bridge. Such a spring as that of the text still exists, but to the west (upstream) of the present bridge, about 100 yards distant, in contradiction of the text.

⁵ Caravetty is "Gravet", corruption of the Sinhalese word kadavata, guard-house. Its site is near that of the old bridge, the local name (not on the Survey maps) of "koṭagoḍālla" preserving the tradition. Nawlundy is Nalanda (7/39/30, 80/38, Nalanda sheet). Local people say that the "iron cannon" is that now in Matale Park as is confirmed by the inscription "Nalanda 1762" on the base : According to the Royal United Services Institution in London it is a trade-gun of the 16 or 1700's and certainly not early Portuguese, To judge by photographs.

two others had been lately taken away to fight the Dutch. About 8, the General did me the honour of a Visit ; and upon my desiring him to sit down, he begged to be excused, having some*thing to say to me in the name of the King ; and I find no one is allowed to transact any Affairs, or discourse upon any Business in his Name, Sitting, without his particular leave. What he had to offer consisted chiefly* in Enquiries concerning my Health, the Reseption* I had met with on the road ; how I had left the Govr. & Council of Madrass*, the Admiral, and the Gentlemen of the Navy ; and concluding with assurances how highly pleased the King his Master was with the Gentlemen at Madrass* at the confidence they had placed in him, by sending a Person into his Country on the Verbal representation only of a Messenger of him, without any Letter from him. Some Compliments passed between us on this Occasion ; which done, he was prevailed on to sit down ; and after a short conversation he got up again and said he had some*thing more to mention, which he hoped I would not take amiss ; and upon coming to an Explanation, I found it was to acquaint me that, as an Arched Bamboo to a Pallankeen* was not allowed to any but the King, he was under the Necessity of desiring me to take off mine, and offering to furnish me with a Strait* one which he had brought with him, for tomorrow's Journey, making many Apologies & Excuses for being Obligated to propose such a thing to one who had come so far on the King's Business. This, with some Reluctance, I consented to, not choosing to ask of the General an Indulgence which, I thought, he had no Power to grant ; and to have insisted on it might either have brought him into trouble at Court, or have impeded my Journey ; but I hope to get this Point Settled on my Arrival at Candia. We then parted, and he sent me soon after a Present of several kinds of Fruit, Sweetmeats, & Victuals dressed after the Country method, but not very palatable to an European Taste. This Village is pretty populous, but very Stragglng ; no regular streets. It may have, I believe, a Hundred Houses. There are some very good Paddy Plantations & Plenty of Cattle belonging to it, with Jack, Plantain, Poppoyah⁶, Coconut, Beetle*, and other kinds of usefull* Trees about it⁷.

⁶ *Poppoyah*. papaw, *Carica papaya*.

⁷ The 30 miles of the tabulation is about double the actual day's distance.

16th.—Early this morning the General sent me a strait* Bamboo for my Pallenkeen*, with Iron, &c. [and] People to fix it; and at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 A.M. I went to him, who waited for me just without the Town with his Cannon, consisting of Eight or ten Patararoes¹ on forked Swivels, & about Seventy or Eighty People by way of guard, armed, but indifferently and variously; and after a few Compliments we set out, the General in his Dooley² and I in mine, he leading the way, but I soon lost sight of him. We travelled a very good Road, the Country excessively mountainous & overgrown much with underwood; but Villages on each side, which, though not to be seen, seemed to be populous by the number of people who thronged out from them to see us pass. Plenty of Cattle grazing, chiefly Buffaloes. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 came to a Stone fixt* in the Ground mark'd ☺ with some writing underneath, which was explained to me by an Exemption to the Inhabitants from paying the usual duty to the Genl. of the Province, on clearing the woods away for making Plantations; and to prohibit any Person's taking more than fifty p. Cent. for 6 Months for any Money or Grain they might lend the Inhabitants for carrying on their Plantg.* This stone was fixed up by order of the present King, about seven Years ago, but from the face of the Country, it does not seem to have been attended with any good Effects. Along this road the most remarkable Jack Trees I ever saw, for Height & Size; they seem also well loaded with Fruit, which is small in proportion to the Size of the Tree. Plenty of Black Cattle grazing on this Road, but no Plantations. People from the Villages still flocking near the Road as we passed. At four came to some Paddy Plantations, and passed a Branch of a River called Pallahput³, which had a thatched wooden Bridge over it for the convenience of Passengers. On the other side of this Bridge

¹ See note 2 at page 23.

² See note 2 at page 22.

³ Schneider's route is now through Ehelepola (7/37/30, 80/37, Nalanda sheet), Paldeniya (7/36/30, 80/36, Nalanda sheet) and Imbulandanda (7/33, 80/37/30, Kurunegala sheet) to Palapatwela (7/32, 80/37/15, Kurunegala sheet) which T identifies as the "Pallahput" of the text. The "thatched wooden bridge" of the text is a most unusual feature for Ceylon, unless possibly the bridge was combined with an Ambalam (note 7 on page 35). T adds that the location "is still called Aedanda Kadawela, indicating, that once a foot bridge . . . existed there".

were some Choliar Merchants, with Twenty or thirty Oxen belonging to them, loaded with double Bags of Grain, which they had received in the Country (and were now carrying it to the Sea Coast) in exchange for Salt, now very Scarce¹, at 2 Measures for one ; the usual rate, when salt is plenty, is measure for measure. All this time down Hill² a fine Road ; Hills all round us, some very near ; valleys overgrown with small Shrubs ; villages on each side and Cattle Plenty. No large Trees except Jacks, which they plant in Clusters. The sides of the Hills low down in many Places, set off by Inclosures*, but not cultivated. At 5 past thro' a Village of a middling Size called Punnamo³ ; some very fine Paddy Plantations belonging to it, & Coconut Trees about their Villages ; those near the Hills grow to a very great Height, but have a small Inclosure*, with Beetle-nut*, Beetle*, and Pepper Veins* growing in them ; some have Plantains, Jacks, Limes, &c. The face of the Country here has some appearance of being inhabited. Passed along the side of Hills ; the Wind very High and Weather lowering ; and at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 came to a Valley, where was a Place at which they desired me to get out of my Dooley⁴ and walk, pretending it to be a Place of Worship. I very readily complied*, and as eagerly looked out for this Place, expecting to see a Handsome Pagoda, or some such Building ; but to my great Surprize*, as we passed three or four large Trees, not unlike the Asp, called by the Portugueze* "Rayoo de Galloo" which grew close to the road, I saw the People make a very respectfull* Reverence⁵ towards them ; and on Enquiry found that a few Stones pil'd up together under these Trees was what they paid this Respect to. There are Platforms, faced on the outside with Stone, raised round the Trees about two feet from the Ground. At $\frac{3}{4}$ past 5 P.M. arrived at our Stage in a Village called Oulang Gamee⁶, where the General had been some time before us. Here I found a very convenient Place made for my reception, with Talipot, Coconut, and other Leaves

¹ "All this time down hill" in the text is incorrect : the route is undulating.

² The scarcity was due to the Dutch cutting off supplies.

³ Pannagama (7/28/45, 80/37, Kurunegala sheet).

⁴ See note 2 at page 22.

⁵ The "reverence" was of course to the bo-trees, *Ficus religiosa*, sacred to the Buddhists because the Buddha attained Enlightenment under one ; and not to the stones.

⁶ Hulangamuwa (7/27/30, 80/36, Kurunegala sheet).

& Branches of Trees ; and the Head Man of the Village, soon after my Arrival, brought me plenty of different kinds of Fruits.

The General sent his Compliments to enquire how I did after my Journey, & would wait on me if I had any*thing particular to say to him ; which not being the case, I only returned my Compliments. The People were remarkably civil. It is a pretty large Village, seems populous, & there is Plenty of Cattle belonging to it. The Mountains to the Eastward of our road very High, & cover'd with Woods¹.

17th.—At 20 minutes past 10 set out from Oulang Gamee, the General going before as yesterday ; but I did not see him this morning. About a Mile from this Village passed some very fine Paddy Plantations, and a branch of a River called Pulang Gamee² ; there was a Wooden Bridge across it, nearly carved with Images, &c. Villages being now to be pretty Plenty. The Houses are hid by Trees, but the Inhabitants who throng to the Road side to see us pass, speak them populous. The Road now up and down steep Hills, which put me to the Necessity of walking. The Valleys are most beautifully Cultivated. We had here a prospect of a fine Cascade from one of the Hills to the Eastward of us, about halfway up, distant about ten Miles³. At 12 oClock* came to a most stependous⁴ Hill, which I was obliged to walk up every step of the way ; and it was so very steep & Rocky, that I found it difficult to get up without crawling. It was cover'd with thick Woods, which was indeed fortunate enough, considering the time of the day we were to pass it. At about $\frac{1}{4}$ before one, with much difficulty I reached the summit of it. We stopt* under a great Tree on the Top of this Hill, which they tell terminates Mathili Districts⁵, and enter'd* those of Hawseput, belonging to Candia ;

¹ The tabulation shows 25 miles for this day, in reality about 18.

² The river is probably that shown unnamed near the vihara just outside the Town limits : Pulang is almost certainly the copyist's error for Oulang. T states that "The abutments of this Bridge are still partially preserved, though the bridge itself . . . has disappeared. The people still talk of the carvings with which it was decorated". It was not possible to confirm these statements.

³ More like five, by my estimate.

⁴ His route was up beside the headwaters of the Sudu Ganga, to the west of and far below the present motor-road, giving a "stependous" climb to reach the col of Balakaduwa Pass at 7/25, 80/36, Kurunegala sheet.

⁵ And the boundary between Matale District and Haris Patuwa.

and at $\frac{3}{4}$ past 3 we arrived at the end of our Journey for this day to my no small satisfaction, being most heartily Jaded and tired. Here my Friend, the General, waited to receive [me] at a large square Building capable of containing two hundred Men, which had been erected for my Reseption*, with different Apartments for myself, Attendants, and Baggage. He conducted me to my Apartment, with Apologies for the Badness of the Road, & then left me to repose myself, and took his leave; having first introduced me to an Inferior kind of Officer, whom the King of Candia had sent to see this building completed, and who, on my Application, was to supply me with whatever I might have occasion for; but there was no need of this, for I found myself furnished by the Inhabitants from the neighbouring Villages, with Fowls, Rice, Fruit, &c., in Abundance. On the Top of the High Hill I have given an Account of, I got a branch of a Cinnamon Tree which grew in the Woods, as we passed. The name of the Place we halted at is Canvetty¹. Some of the small Hills by the sides of which we passed, were intirely* cleared of Woods, and cover'd with a fine turf², with cattle grazing on them³.

18th.—Waited here for the King's leave to proceed (not being above fourteen Miles⁴ from the river Mavali Ganga) till 40 minutes past 11 A.M., when we set out, my Friend the General going on before, whom I have not seen to day. This day's Journey up and down Hill, and the Road so very troublesome that it was hardly possible to travel in my Dooley, especially with such wretched Bearers, as I was in hopes I should have been better furnished with as I approached the Capital, but to my great Mortification find myself disappointed. The Hills, for about ten Miles clear of Woods, and cover'd with fine Pasturage² with Cattle grazing. Villages interspersed, & Valleys beautifully cultivated. Several fine runs of Water from the Hills through the Valleys. At about two came to the Banks of the Ganga. Here the Woods began to be thick

¹ T identifies "Canvetty" as "Kahawatta . . . on the high road to Matele", though both by the maps and local information it lies today to the west of this, on another road.

² Probably patana.

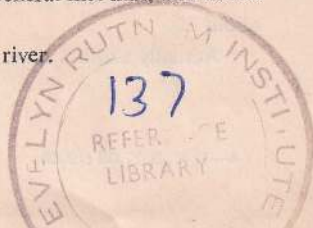
³ The tabulation gives the distance for this day as 15 miles, in reality about 10.

⁴ Actually about 5 miles.

again ; and about 3 we came to a very steep Stoney* Hill¹, which having with some difficulty passed, about $\frac{1}{2}$ a Mile on the other side I found the General waiting for me, in order to introduce me to four other Officers belonging to the Court, whom the King had sent to conduct me to the Place intended for my Residence, and who waited for us at a little distance. And upon my coming up to [him,] the Genl., after sending Notice to the other Officers, walked with me towards, and introduced me to them. Their Questions consisted in General of Enquiries in the King's Name; how I found my Health after the length of my Journey ; how I was treated on the road ; how I left the Great Men at Madrass* and those belonging to the Squadron ; which having answer'd, we all walked together, with several People before us with different kinds of Flags, thro' a double row of Men under Arms to the number of about two hundred, most of them tolerably well armed, to a large square Building with Mudwalls* covered with thatch, having a Spacious Area in the middle with several different Apartments on the East and West side of it, and two large Rooms on the Right & Left coming in, for putting the presents in, which the Dutch always bring with them ; this being the Place where they are quarter'd. Upon our arrival here, I was conducted by my Friend the General to my Apartment, accompanied by the other four, where, after many Speeches made concerning the indifference of Lodging, I was given to understand that the King would let me know when it would be convenient to him to see me ; to which I answer'd I should wait his Pleasure ; and the General, having appointed two of the four who attended us to take care I had every* thing I wanted and to visit me every day, told me he was going to pay his Respects to the King, & asked me to accompany him to the Riverside², which is about one hundred Yards from the house; which having complied with, I returned to my Lodgings, where there is a Building in the middle of the Area, on purpose for placing the Letters in which may be brought for the King ; where I accordingly lodged mine, folded in a Piece of Muslin, and laid it upon a kind of Tadle fixed there for that Purpose. In the Evening

¹ From Katugastota the route was over the "steep stoney hill" to Haloluwa (7/17, 80/36/30, Kandy sheet) where the General met him, and thence along the river.

² This fixes the "Gunnor" of the text as near the river.



the Inhabitants from the Villages adjacent brought, as is customary, Rice, Fowls, Fruit, Curry Stuff, &c. The Vackeel¹ who attended me took his leave, to go to pay his Respects to the King, and see his Family ; and a Brother of his was appointed to continue with me as an Interpreter. Four Cingulese* were appointed to attend, for bringing wood, Water, & for other services of the House, and a guard of six men was placed at the Entrance, to prevent any Person's coming to me, but such as had liberty from the King².

19th.—About ten in the morning the two Officers who had been appointed yesterday to visit me sent me word that they waited to attend on me, if agreeable ; & being told it was customary, I went out to meet them about fifty Yards from my Door, when they walked with me to my Lodgings, where they acquainted me they were come by the General's Orders to make Enquiry after my Health, and whether I wanted for any*thing ; which being only matter of compliment, I answer'd in the same strain, & they then took their leave. I attended them again as far as I went to meet them, & then returned. The Inhabitants, both morning and Evening, brought their Supplies of Provisions ; but I have no Message from his Majesty.

20th, 21st and 22nd.—Nothing Particular. The Officers pay their Visits & Inhabitants bring their Supplies as usual.

23rd.—The Inhabitants bring their Supplies as usual ; the Officers waited on me in the morning, and having heard nothing from the King, I desired they would apply for Hircarahs³ to carry Letters for me to the Admiral, & Govr. & Council at Madrass*, who would be impatient to hear of my Arrival ; which they promised to do, and in the Afternoon sent to acquaint me the Hircarahs are ready to set out with my letters, which I immediately sent to them to dispatch, desiring the Head Man of the Cottiar District might be ordered to forward them to Admiral Cornish, & the Hircarahs who were sent with them to wait for an answer. At 5 in the Evening the Officers came again to let me know, that a Person of distinction from the King was come to visit me, and waited for me on this side the River. I thereupon walked to meet him, as I was informed

¹ Attorney, authorised representative : Arabic Wakīl (HJ).

² The tabulated distance of 12 miles is actually about 8.

³ Messengers, couriers, Hindi Harkāra (HJ).

it was customary to one of his Rank, which was that of General. From hence we walked together to my Lodging, where he acquainted me he was order'd by the King to make Enquiry after my Health; The Health of the Governour & Council of Madras*, the Admiral & Gentlemen of the Fleet; and whether I was civilly treated upon the Road; and the Inhabitants had supplied me, since my being here, with every*thing I wanted. Having satisfied all these Questions, he gave me to understand, as his own Opinion, not as a Message from the King, that he believed I should be sent for the next day; to which I replied*, the sooner the more happy I should be, and that I awaited that honour with eager Impatience. He then desired leave to go, having nothing further to communicate, and I attended him to the River*side again, & then took my leave. It has rained very hard all this day, and blown fresh at S. W.

24th.—The People bring their supplies in the morning as usual, but no Officers to pay their usual visits. Intelligence from the otherside*, by report of Passengers only, that my Introduction to his Majesty is intended to day. The Weather tolerably fair in the morning, but the Afternoon very heavy rain; and about half past five P.M. the Officers came to acquaint me that one of the Head Generals and others of Distinction were come to the otherside* of the river from the King, & desired I would get myself ready to meet them as soon as they came on this side, giving me to understand that I was to be introduced to the King this Evening. It still continues to rain very hard. About six, a Message being brought me, that these Officers were come over the River, I went out to meet them, who accompanied me to my Apartments, where, after the usual Compliments of enquiring about my Health, &c., they acquainted me the King had sent them to attend me to Court this Evening; to which I made answer that, notwithstanding the weather was so bad, as his Majesty had done me the honour to send Persons of their distinction to introduce me to him, I was very ready to accompany them. They then asked if I had any Letters, to which having answered in the Affirmative, they asked whether it was for the King or the Generals, & whether from the Governour* only, or all the Council. Upon my acquainting them from the Governour* only & for the King only, they asked whether it was signed and sealed by him, and

in what Language it was wrote* ; which having answered, they made many Apologies for having been so particular in their Enquiries, giving for reasons, that if it had been from the Govr. or the whole Council to the Generals, it was to be received by them ; if from the Govr. only, or the Govr. & Council, to the King, it was to be deliver'd by me to the King. I then desired they would acquaint me whether any, and what Ceremony was to be observed in carrying this Letter ; which readily consenting to, they conducted me into the room where the Letter was lodged, and producing a Silver Salver, which they had brought with them for the purpose, cover'd with two or three Pieces of fine Muslin, they desired I would deliver them the Letter ; which having done, they laid it upon the Muslin, covering it again with as many folds More, and over all a square Piece of Silver Tissue, with large Silver Tossels* at each corner, and then deliver'd the Dish into my Hands, which, by their directions, I carry'd* out a few Steps from the Room, white Cloth being spread on the Ground as far as I was to walk with it, holding it a little above my head, where a Person received it from me and placed it upon his Head ; two People holding a Canopy over it made of China Silks such as are used by the Moors¹. While this was doing, two drums & some Country Music, which had been brought for that purpose, began to beat, and eleven Guns were fired from the otherside* of the River ; and in this manner, they told me, it was to be carried before us all the way to Candia, where, after entering the King's House, I was to receive it and present it to his Majesty ; and this [was] all the Ceremony, which, though trifling and ridiculous as it appear'd, I made no objection against complying with. Accordingly, we set out about Seven oClock*, heavy rain still continuing, Drums beating, Country Musick* playing, and a number of Lights before us, as we marched. We halted on the side of the River, and there stood, till all the people who were with us had passed over which as there was only one Cannoe* or Ferry Boat, & a Strong stream in the River, was tedious. The Letter passed over with us ; and a Quarter pass'd* 8 we were landed on the otherside*. The weather being

¹ Moor : " A Mahomedan ; and so, from the habitual use of the term (Mouro) by the Portuguese in India, particularly a Mahomedan inhabitant of India " (HJ).

bad & road consequently dirty, I had given hints, before I left the House, of my Intention of going in my Pallenkeen*, or rather Dooley¹ (for, finding many Objections were made to my very frequent Importunities for applying to the King for liberty to ride with my crooked Bamboo, I rested satisfied as to that matter) ; but they made answer, as they were come from the King to attend me, and were themselves obliged to walk, they hoped I would accompany them in the same manner ; with which I found I might as well comply, or I should have got no*body to have carryed* my Pallankeen* over the River, which I was very sollicitous* about, that I might if possible get liberty to ride home. This matter being settled we began our Procession ; the Letter before us, with the Drums and Musick* further advanced & abundance of Guards, the General & I walking hand in hand through a very dirty road ; and at ten oClock* we came to a little shed erected purposely for the occasion, where they told me I might Stop and Shift my Shoes and Stockings, if I pleased, as we were not far from the King's House, and must wait for his leave to proceed. This, as I was pretty well bemired, I was glad to do, hoping to get Permission to ride the rest of the way ; but all I could say on that Subject was to no purpose. After waiting here about a quarter of an Hour, a Messenger was dispatch'd to us, with leave to advance ; and before I got to the King's House, which was not till half past 11, I was as dirty as ever. The Streets were all illuminated with Lamps on each side on the Pials² before the Houses, which was never known to be done before on any other occasion than when the King went abroad ; and when we came within about two hundred Yards of the King's House, we stop't again, till leave came from the King to proceed. The General who was with me then desired the Interpreter to acquaint me, that I must kneel when I appeared with the Letter before the King, which I peremptorily refused to comply with, and accused them with having dealt very disingenuously & unhandsomely by me, as I had desired before we set out, that they

¹ This makes the distinction clear (and see note 2 at page 22) : with the crooked pole he could sit upright, with the straight one only half-lie, half-sit.

² Pials (italicised by T) : raised platforms on which people sit, usually under the veranda, or on either side of the door, Portuguese poyal, " seat or bench " (HJ).

would acquaint me with the Ceremony which was to be used on this occasion, when nothing of this sort was mentioned. I therefore desired some*one might be sent in my name to the King, to request that I might be allowed to present the Letter to him standing ; but this they refused complying with, telling me it ever had been customary to kneel and that it could not be deviated from. In vain I urged that I did not come on the footing the Dutch Ambassador[s]* do ; That I came at the King's particular request that some English Gentlemen might be sent to treat with him ; and that I had not been made acquainted that any such Ceremony was expected of me ; but all I could say had no weight ; comply I must ; and as I was by no means in a Situation to help myself, I could do no otherwise than submit. Here we were met by another General from the King, to give us leave to advance ; and when we came to the door of the King's House, we waited there some time for admittance, when the General who met me at Caravetty¹ came out to introduce us. I shoud* have observed, that I was desired to stand fronting the Door of the House, and after passing² with my hatt* off. We now enter'd the house, and after passing the second door into a square Court, where were Standing three State Elephants and as many horses handsomely ornamented, I was told that the King's Head General was coming out there to meet me, and that I must pull off my Shoes. It was very dirty here, on account of the rain which had fallen, and therefore I told them I objected to pulling off my Shoes till I came to a place where I might walk clean ; upon which I was led within three or four Yards of a little veranda, from whence the Head General came, and here I consented to take off my Shoes (concluding the verando* led to the Room of Audience) and walked with the General, who made some complimentary Speeches in the Name of the King, which, fatigued, hungry, and out of Humour as I was, I gave but very short answer to. From this verando* we passed into another open verando* about eighteen or twenty feet square, where we stopt*, as that led directly into the Hall of State, at the door of which, fronting us, was a Curtain of white Linnen* let down. In this veranda were placed twelve Men by

¹ See note 5 at page 44.

² "and after passing" is probably repeated from the next line, by the copyist's error.

way of Guards, dressed in long white Linnen* Coats, six on each side, with weapons in their hands much like a Serjeant's* Halberd. Here I had the Silver Dish with the Letter given me to hold, and as it was near a quarter of an hour after we were here before his Majesty did us the honour to shew* himself, I was obliged to get the Linguist and some of the King's Officers who were near me to hold it, for I could not. At length, the white Curtain at the Door was drawn up, behind which, a few Yards advanc'd in the Hall, was a red one ; this being drawn, a little further was a White one ; and so on, for six different Curtains, which discovered the End of the Hall, where was a Door with another white curtain before it. A few minutes afterwards this was drawn, and discover'd to us the King seated on a throne, which was a large Chair, handsomely carved and gilt, raised about three Feet from the Floor. Upon the drawing up of this last Curtain I continued standing with the Silver dish on my Head, till I was pulled down by the Skirts of my Coat and forced to kneel upon one knee on the bare Ground, holding the Silver dish above my head. The Generals and other officers belonging to the Court prostrated themselves on the Ground at full Length, Six Several times, each time [saying] in the Chinguliese* Language a few words¹ which I have not been able to get explained, but which I conclude to have been some respectfull* Compliments. The King, I observed, two or three times during this Ceremony, said something to them in very short sentences, which I could not learn the meaning of. They then got up, as I did likewise, and advancing two or three Paces farther, within a few feet of the Steps of the Grand Hall, the same Ceremony was repeated. We then entered the Hall, immediately upon which I was brought down upon both knees, and the Generals repeated the same Ceremony as before. We then advanced a little farther, just to the End of a large Persian Carpet with which the floor was covered, where the Ceremony was again repeated ; after which I was led by two of the Generals to the throne of State, upon the lower Step of which was a little Cushion. Upon this I knelt with one

¹ The salutation made by the courtiers was probably "Pasvā Dahsak Buduvaṇḍa Dēvayanvahansa ! Jayavevā !" "May your Divine Majesty attain to Supreme Buddahood for 5000 years ! Victory be unto you !". If the King made any reply, not merely assenting with an inclination of the head, it was probably "Yahpati !", "May it be well !" (Note by Mr. A. de Silva, Ceylon Department of Museums).

knee, and presented the Letter, which his Majesty immediately received out of the Salver, which was taken from me by one of the Generals, and I retired backwards to the End of the Persian Carpet, where I was obliged to kneel again ; but his Majesty was then pleased to desire that I would sit in such manner as was most easy to me, with which I readily complied*. The Hall is about fifty feet long and thirty broad ; but being very badly illuminated, I had but a very indifferent view of the King, to distinguish particularly his dress ; but the upper Garment seemed an open Robe of Gold Tissue, with a close vest underneath, and a broad belt richly* embroider'd with Gold round his Waist. He had upon his Head a Cap of Scarlet¹ Cloth embroider'd with Gold, much in the form of an Armenian's Cap, upon the top of which was a small Crown set with Precious Stones ; several rings on his fingers ; a short Dagger in his left hand, the Hilt of which was Gold set with Precious Stones ; and on his right side was a large Broad Sword, not Girt upon him but resting against the Chair of State ; its hilt likewise was of Gold richly* set with Precious Stones. His Shoes were made in the manner of the Chinese sandals, of Crimson Velvet embroider'd with Gold, and a Plate of Gold seem'd to run round the outside of the Soles ; and there was a Canopy of White Silk fixed four or five feet over the Chair of State. The Hall had five Arches formed across it with Bamboo or some other kind of wood, which were cover'd with white muslin, intermixed with Pieces of red Silk spotted Bengall* Handkerchiefs*, puffed much in the same manner as a Lady's ruff for her neck. Arches were also turned on each side the length of the Hall, forming a kind of verando* about seven or eight feet from the outside ; and corresponding to these, close to the side, were form'd* [arches], all ornamented in the same manner as the others. The Walls, Ceiling, & floor were all covered with white Cloth, except where the Persian Carpet was spread ; and I should have been well enough pleased with the appearance it made had I been in a more agreeable Situation. On each side of the Hall sat three of the People belonging to the King's Houshold*, with a Cloth about their Heads like the head*dress of an Armenian Women* ; and a narrow Slip of Cloth went from thence just under their mouths, hardly of breadth sufficient to cover their Lips. Of these, some had

¹ *Scarlet*.—a rich stuff, not necessarily red (NED).

Lances, and others Bows & Arrows, in their hands ; they are called in the Chingalese Language Rangavadum¹ or the Golden Arm Bearers, having the Charge of such Arms as are for the King's use, and when the King would make use of any [of] the Arms held by these People, the Piece of Cloth I have taken notice of, is to cover their mouths with when they approach him to deliver them, that they may not defile him with their Breath. On each side of the Door entering into the Place where the King sat in state, was a square wooden Stool with each a wax Candle on it ; and at that on the left hand sat a Secretary, who wrote all the time the King was asking me questions, which I suppose to have been his Questions and my Answers. At the Foot of the throne of State knelt one of the King's Prime Ministers or Secretaries of State, to whom he communicated what he had to say to me ; who, after prostrating himself on the Ground when the King had done speaking, he related to one of the Generals who sat at the same end of the Hall with me ; who, after having prostrated himself in the manner I have before observed, explained it to a Malabar Doctor, who told in it Malabar to my Debash², and he to me. And this Ceremony was repeated on asking every question, which rendered it tiresome and troublesome. They consisted only in Enquiries how the Govr. & the rest of the Council at Madrass* did when I came away ; How I left the Admiral and Gentlemen of the Navy when I went ashore at Cotiarum³ ; How I found my Health after my Journey from Cotiarum ; how they* People had behaved to me on the road ; whether I was supplied with Provisions and every*thing I had Occasion for here, or if I was in want of any*thing. These being Questions of mere Compliment, my answers were of the same kind. The King then observed, he esteemed my being sent to his Court on the Verbal Representation of a Private Messenger from him, as a very great Mark of our confidence in him ; and that as he ever heard the English Nation were remarkable for their good faith, he had long been desirous of their Friendship ; concluding with desiring my Opinion whether the Governour* & Council of Madrass* were his steady and sincere Friends, or not ;

¹ *Rangavadum* is the Sinhalese Rañ āvuda, "Golden Arms".

² *Debash*. Interpreter, Hindi dōbāsi (HJ s.v. Dubash)

³ Koddiyar Bay (8/29, 81/15 &c., Trincomalee).

to which I answered, that although his Messenger had brought no Letter, Yet, as we had no doubt of his being sent by him, we considered the Representations he had made to us in the same manner light [sic] as if they had come from himself, and therefore did not hesitate upon dispatchg.* a Person to his Court, as he had desired ; That I could take upon myself to assure him he would find the English punctual to any Engagements they might enter into with him ; That the Governour* & Council of Madrass*, in particular, were very heartily inclined to be his Steady and sincere Friends, and sent me to let him know so ; and that I should be ready to wait upon him to discourse in Private upon Business whenever he thought Proper. He then desired I might be told that he had not words to express the joy and Satisfaction he felt at what I had said to him. And indeed I believe in this he was sincere ; for I am perswaded* he would grant us any Priviledge* to induce us to settle on the Island, and assist him in driving off the Dutch. But as I observed he had fixed no time, or given any reply with Respect to entering on Business, I desired he might be acquainted that, as the distance I was at from him would render our Conferences upon Business very tedious & troublesome, I should be glad to be accommodated with a House in Candia ; and that as walking so far in mud and dirt was not what I had been used to, I made it a particular Request to his Majesty that I might have Liberty to go backwards and forwards in my Pallenkeen*. My Linguist having explained this to the Doctor in Malabar, and he to the General, they talked together some time upon the Subject, consulting some others who sat near them, and then desired my Debash to acquaint me that they did not think it proper to mention those things in that Publick* Place to the King, but that after we were gone, the General would take an Opportunity of letting him know what I had desired ; telling me at the same time, that as it was very late, I had a great way to return, must be much fatigued, and no Business could be done that night, I might ask leave to withdraw ; which being a very agreeable proposal, I desired they would make it, if his Majesty had no further Commands for me ; and to acquaint him at the same time, that I should be ready to wait on him to discourse upon Business, when*ever he should think proper to send for me. This being signified to him, he gave his consent immediately, and I withdrew. The General made the same

Respectfull* Obeysance* as on our first admittance, and they told me I must do as I had done before ; but I answered that it was so painfull* to me, I could not comply with it, and would sit as I did, which was admitted ; and every time they paid their Respects I sat down. When the Outer Curtain was drawn I walked with the Generals into the Veranda where I pulled off my Shoes on my Introduction ; and there, by the means of my Interpreter, I complained much of having been deceived by the Generals who came to attend me from Gunnoor, that such Ceremonys* would be expected from me ; That I thought myself not handsomely treated, in finding I was obliged to comply with every form the Dutch Ambassador did, who came upon a very different footing ; That I came into this country an entire Stranger to all their manners & Customs, to comply with the King's very earnest Sollicitation* to the English Nation that a person might be sent to him ; and that therefore I did expect I should be otherwise received ; That although I had complied with all these Ceremonys*, because I would not give any Interruption to the Business I came upon, and because I was made acquainted with them at a time when I could not well avoid it, I could venture to assure them, that they were such as the English Nation would never submit to a Compliance* with ; and that had I been acquainted with them before I left Madrass*, they would not have seen me here ; That I should take it as a favour they would let his Majesty know these my Sentiments, & request I might be indulged with the use of my Pallenkeen* ; and if his Majesty intended to enter Seriously into any Negotiations that, with a House, Accomodations* may be provided for me at Candia, for the more speedy dispatch of Business ; upon which the General who met me at Caravetty assured me he would let the King know every word I had said, and acquaint me with his Answer. I delivered the Packages with the Present I carried, into the Charge of some of the Attendants ; and was introduced by the General into a long Veranda, just at the Entrance into the Palace, where he desired I would wait his Return, as he was then going to acquaint the King with all I had said. And after waiting about an Hour, he returned, & told me he had acquainted his Majesty [his] Master with every*thing that had passed ; that he could assure me I had been more respectfully treated than any Ambassadors from any other Nation before ; that, however, as they had now hopes of entering into

close Friendship with the English, and I had informed them those ceremonies would not be complied* with, they should consider the Manner in which our Ambassadors were to be received ; That his Majesty had promised, in two or three days to accommodate me with a House in Candia ; and that, as soon as I got to the End of the Street where the King lived, my Pallenkeen or Dooley should carry me home ; and that one of the Generals was appointed to conduct me to my own House. I thanked him for the trouble he had taken, and the part he had acted on my behalf ; begged he would assure his Master that he might depend on finding the English Nation (who[se] faith in their Alliances and Friendship with the Princes of the Carnatick he could be no Stranger to) his Sincere and Steady Friend when the Terms of our Alliance were once Settled & established. He then presented me to the General, and we took leave of each other, to my no small Satisfaction, being heartily tired, and not a little chagrined at this very troublesome and ceremonious method of visiting. We walked, I believe, about a Mile and a half, or two Miles, to my Dooley, when the General took care on this occasion to let me know that Nobody but the King was ever allowed to be carried in a Dooley on the Candia side of the River, before, unless unable to walk by sickness. I was not in a Humour to make any Reply to this Observation, and getting into my Dooley, they carried me on to the Banks of the River, where the Boat being ready, the General and two other Officers, with myself & servants, got into it, and were landed on the Gunnoor Side about half past 5 oClock* in the morning. We then walked to my lodgings, where this Attendance took leave of me, and I got to bed just at Sun rising, never more fatigued or disgusted with any Jaunt in my Life.

From 25th May to the 2nd June.—Nothing particular. The Officers Pay their Visits, and People bring Supplies of Provisions, &c., as usual. Rainy, Blowing Weather all this time. My Linguist having taken a walk to the River side, tells me he heard from one of the Passengers, that a House was preparing for me at Candia.

June 3rd.—This Morning having received Advice that I was to remove to Candia in the Evening, I prepared accordingly ; and at 5 P.M. came an officer from the King, accompanied by the two who visit me daily, to attend me. We set out immediately

for the River side ; and as it rained very hard, I desired to know if I had liberty to ride when we came to the other side ; to which the Officer replied* (seemingly with much Reluctance) that the King his Master had thought fit to grant me that Indulgence, which I ought to esteem as a very great Mark of Favour, and a particular Honour allowed me. Being now in better Humour and Spirits than when I paid my visit to his Master, I assured him I entertained a very just sense of the King's Favour towards me ; and with much Satisfaction, as soon as we had crossed the River, I got into my Dooley and rode till we entered the Town, when the Officer sent a Messenger to me desiring (as we had not far to go and the Road was clean) that I would walk with him to the House intended for my Reception. This I complied* with, and after walking about five or six hundred Yards through two or three short Streets, the Houses on both sides illuminated as on my first introduction, we came to my Lodging ; which is a small House, built after the Malabar manner, situated in the Principal Street, which is very spacious, regularly built on both sides, and near a Mile long. As soon as we entered the House, the Officer who attended me gave me to understand, that the more myself and Servants kept within the House, the more pleasing it would be to the King ; as, by walking the Streets, my Servants might probably get into some dispute & quarrels with the Chingalese*, which would give the King much uneasiness. I took this as a hint that they were not willing I should be too well acquainted with the Place and its situation, and accordingly promised that I would be careful* my Servants should not be seen in the Streets. They then took their leave, assuring me that I should be supplied with every*thing I had occasion for. I desired my Respects to the King, and that they would assure him how truly sensible I was of the Favour by which he had been pleased to distinguish me. A Guard of ten or twelve People from the Palace, with Europe* Arms, were quartered on the House, which they would have made me believe was meant as a Compliment ; but I am satisfied it was [to] prevent my having any communication with the Inhabitants. And the Vackeel's Brother, who had continued with me all the time I was at Gunnoor, was now forbid* to come, but by particular order when sent for by the Officers who visited me daily, to act as an Interpreter. About 9 oClock* at night heard a Bell ringing through the Streets,

which, upon enquiry, I find is to give warning, that no person is to appear there [after] the ringing of that Bell, without a large light in their Hand, on pain of their being sever[e]ly punished. This is done to prevent disorders which might otherwise happen, and is practised every night about this time, unless there is Business at the Palace ; in which case it does not ring till the Palace gates are shut.

4th.—People bring their Supplies, and Officers pay their Visits, as usual. At 10 in the morning I was visited by the Officer who attended me from the other side, with a Message from the King, purporting, that as the Business I came about would take a long time in talking over, and as the usual Customs of this Place on being introduced before the King could not be deviated from, and which I seemed unwilling to comply with, his Majesty, to shew* his desire to make every*thing as easy to me as possible, had appointed a Council, consisting of his Generals and other Head Men, to meet and enter into Business with me, who would acquaint him with what I might propose. I readily consented to this Scheme, and returned my Compliments to the King, acknowledging myself much obliged to him for the consideration he seemed to have towards me ; and at 9 o'clock* in the Evening came the same Officer, with two others, to attend me to the Palace (which is not above four or five hundred Yards from the Street in which I am lodged) where I was met & introduced by one of the Generals ; and in the outer court*Yard stood, in great form, all the Generals and Officers of Distinction who are now at Candia, to receive me, Except the Prime Minister who was with the King ; and after taking them all by the Hands, which is the usual ceremony on meeting, The Principal one who had received me at the door of the Palace led me into a large Apartment (five other Generals attending) where, before we were seated, the General who had met me at Caravetty, is a very sensible well-behaved man, a great favourite of the King's, & seems well inclined towards the English, entered upon a long Harangue, of the Ambassadors that had been received here from different European Nations and Eastern Princes, who had brought large Presents, and had been introduced to the King under many more difficulties than I had gone through ; that whatever Business they come upon, they communicated in publick* to the King, and were then dispatched ; that the House they had

prepared for me in Candia, the Privilege* which had been granted me of riding in my Pallenkeen* into the Town, were particular Marks of distinction shewn* to me, and me only ; that the desire the King had to enter into in [an] Alliance and Friendship with the English Nation ; the Regard which had been paid by that Nation to the Representation made to them by a Private Messenger of his only, without any Letter from him—were the reasons why I had been so particularly distinguished by these Marks of Favour. To which I replied*, that I was very sensible of the great Reputation & Character of the King his Master ; of the many Ambassadors who had been sent to pay their Respects to him & Magnificent* Presents which they had brought him ; That the English had never before sent their Ambassadors, and therefore could not be acquainted with the manners, Customs, and Ceremonies of this Court ; That I was not ignorant of the forms & Ceremonies practised at other Eastern Princes' Courts, and expected to find the same in use here ; that, unaccustomed to such Ceremonies, I thought being obliged to conform to them the greater Hardship, more particularly as I had not been acquainted with the least part of them before I left Madrass*, nor by the General who was sent to conduct me from Gunnoor, the first night of my Introduction ; and on the other hand, as I did not consider myself on the same footing with Ambassadors from the Dutch, or any other Nation who came upon their own Business, so I did not expect to have been considered in that light here ; That I came at the King's earnest Solicitations made to the Govr. & Council of Fort St. George, by his Messenger (whose Representations they regarded in the same light as if they had come from the King himself) that a person might be sent to him ; That I was sensible the trifling Presents I had brought were as unworthy of the King's Acceptance as they were likewise of the English Nation to present ; but the uncertainty the Gentlemen at Madrass* were in, whether I should be able to land or not, and if I did, whether I could be supplied with Cooleys* or People to carry me and my baggage, made them unwilling to encumber me with a Number of Packages ; that therefore what I had brought with me was to be considered more in the light of conforming to the Eastern Custom of bringing something in your Hand upon an Introduction to any Person of Rank & Eminence, than as a Present worthy the English to make or his Master to receive. That I was fully sensible of the many Marks of Favour with which the King had been pleased

to honour me, & which I should not fail to make known to the Governour* & Council of Fort St. George on my return. He then acquainted me, that as a further proof of the King's Favour, that I might not undergo the same trouble & inconvenience I did before, and for the greater dispatch of Business, He had appointed the Gentlemen I saw there to talk with me upon that Subject ; and that therefore, If I pleased, we would sit down and begin without any further Compliments or Ceremony ; to which I very readily assented ; and being seated, the[y] acquainted me they were directed by the King to enquire, what particular matters or Business the Govr. & Council of Madrass* had empowered me to communicate to him ; to which I replied, that the Govr. & Council of Madrass*, upon the Representation made to them by the Vackeel, had sent me to hear what Proposals the King had to make to the English Nation, and what his expectations from them where [were]. But they declined giving me any answer upon those points, alledging* that their directions were to hear from me what I had to propose. I then desired to know whether the King was willing to grant the English liberty to settle upon this Island, and upon what footing, or with what Priviledges*. To this they replied* as before, that they could make no Answer to such Questions ; Upon which I observed to them that till something was determined as to those Points, I could not make any proposals. They then desired I would wait till they went out to acquaint the Prime Minister, who was attending the King, with what I had said, not having themselves the Power of giving me any Answer to the Questions I had proposed. They accordingly went out, and in about half an Hour returned ; and being seated, the General I have before spoken of, began by observing that the King had sent a person to Madrass* to represent to the Govr. & Council of Madrass* that the Dutch, who had been settled upon this Island for many Years, had till very lately behaved themselves well towards the King, and complied* with whatever he had recommended to them ; That within this Year and a half or 2 Years they had observed a very different conduct, and shewn* no regard to the King's Orders or Advice ; whereupon he had commenced a War against them, and sent his armies by Land to punish them, which he was sufficiently able to do. But his Majesty wanted to know in what manner, and how far, the English could Assist him, both by Sea & Land, in his Enterprizes* against them. My answer to this was, that I was not Impowered* to make any Promise

or Engagements, and could only in General Assure them, that the English were well inclined to enter into Friendship & Alliance with the King, and that it was necessary, before any*thing was concluded, that the Govr. & Council of Madrass* should be acquainted, what Priviledges* the King was willing to grant them, should they determine upon sending him Assistance ; which I therefore desired they would communicate to me. To this, they told me again they could give no positive answer ; but if I had any*thing to propose, they desired I would acquaint them with it, that they might make the same known to his Majesty ; upon which I observed to them, that as Business of this Nature was of much Consequence, great care should be taken that all Matters were clearly explained, that both Parties might perfectly well understand each other's meaning and Intentions ; that, therefore, I must again observe to them, I should not enter upon this subject with a View that any*thing I might propose should be considered as decisive, but be subject to any Addition or Alteration that the Govr. & Council of Madrass* should think proper to make, without such Alteration being considered as any Breach of Promise or Faith ; That, upon these Conditions, I would communicate to them the substance of such intelligence as I concluded the Govr. & Council of Fort St. George would expect his Majesty to grant, upon their establishing a Settlement, in case they should determine to assist him ; which his Majesty might give such answers to as he thought proper, and likewise commit to writing what he expected the English should do in Return for the Indulgences he might grant them. Upon this footing, I proposed the 14 Articles incerted* in my Address to the Board, which they took down in writing.

I then observed, that I much feared the adjusting the Ceremony of receiving such English Ambassadors as might be here*after sent with Presents or Letters to the King, would be a very difficult matter, which I therefore desired they would recommend to the King's Consideration. This likewise they made a minute of. I then further observed to them, that the little knowledge the English had of the Sea Coast of this Island, put it out of their Power to form any Judgement which would be the most proper place to Establish a settlement at ; That as I was here upon this Business, I should be glad to have it in my Power to give the Govr. & Council of Fort St. George the best information I could obtain upon that Subject ;

and having [seen] Cottiarum¹ when I landed, I should be glad of [the] King's Permission to return by the way of Mathucullapay ; urging again the distress the Ships were in for fresh Provisions, and pressing for an order from the King for their being supplied. I then desired to know, what Treaties were subsisting between the King & the Dutch ; whether I might have the liberty of taking copies of them, or at least have them explained to me. They replied* they would acquaint the King with these my Requests. It was now half past two, and the Generals being most of them asleep, We agreed to adjourn to another Opportunity, when, they said, I should know the King's Answer to my Proposals. We accordingly broke up. The Generals took leave of me at the King's door, and an Officer attended me home. The Vackeel who acted as Interpreter, and the Linguist who accompanied me on this Embas[s]y were not allowed to sit down on this occasion.

5th.—Very Heavy rain all day ; People bring the supplies as usual. At 10 A.M. received a Letter from Admiral Cornish, dated the 30th Ultimo, advising the rec^t.* of my Letter dispatched the 23rd.*, Acquainting me that the Squadron will be ready for the Sea in about three Weeks, and desiring I will let him know when I shall return, that he may act accordingly, Promising to send the "Falmouth" to Batacah to examine that River, and to give Captain Brereton Orders to advice* me by Letter concerning it. The Officers pay their usual Visits this Evening, by whom I sent a Message to the Genl., to request he will press the dispatch of my Business, as I find by the Letter I received, my speedy return is necessary ; and that the Genl. at Matacullapay¹ may have orders to forward any Letter that may be sent a*shore there for me.

6th.—People bring their supplies, and Officers make their Visits, as usual, but bring me no Answer from the General to the Message sent him Yesterday. Very heavy rain all day.

7th.—People bring their supplies as usual. At 7 P.M. received Information from the Vackeel that I was to meet the General again this Evening ; and about 9 oClock* the Officers who attended me before came to accompany me to the Palace, where I was introduced as before to the Generals ; who after the usual

¹ "Cottiarum" is Koddigar Bay (8/29, 81/15 &c., Trincomalee), "Mathucullapay" is Batticaloa (7/43, 81/42, Batticaloa).

² Batticaloa.

Compliments of enquiring in the King's Name, after my Health & whether I was furnished with every*thing I wanted, we sat down ; when, instead of communicating to me the King's answer to the Proposals I had made the last meeting, They several times pressed for a positive answer, whether, if every*thing I had proposed was complied* with, the English would Assist them. To this [I] replied* that I had observed to them before I had not come to determine any*thing conclusive, but to hear what the King expected from, & what Priviledges* he was willing to grant, the English Nation ; that I had only in general mentioned such points as seemed to be of the most consequence ; That the Govr. & Council would probably have Alterations to make to these proposals ; That in Particular the Reseption* of English ambassadors was a matter that must be left to them to determine ; that for these Reasons, I could not take upon me to give any Possitive* Assurances with Respect to the Assistance they were to have from the English ; that I could not deceive them by promising what did not depend on me to perform ; but that, in Genl.*, I was empowered to assure them the English were very well disposed to be their Friends and Allies. They did not seem perfectly satisfied with this Answer, and observed, that it appeared strange, as the Governour* & Council had thought Proper to send me, they had not given me Power to enter into Treaty. They then asked me if I had any*thing further to propose to the King, in behalf of the English ; to which I answered, no ; but repeated, that I could not tell what the Govr. & Council of Madrass* might have further to offer ; and that I must again observe to them, I did not mean, nor would I have them understand, that what I had said upon this subject was to be considered as conclusive or determinate ; that every*thing must be referred to the decision of the Gentlemen at Madrass,* & that I supposed his Majesty would send some one from hence to bring him their determination. They then told me they would acquaint the King with every*thing I had said, and I should know his Answers soon. We then parted, being $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11 and two Officers as usual attended me home. It has rained very hard all day, and wind blown fresh at S. W.

From 8th to 13th.—Nothing particular. People bring their supplies, and Officers pay their visits as usual. Rainy Weather continues without intermission, and with strong S.W. winds.

I have several times made application, since I removed to Candia, to have my Pallenkeen* Bamboo brought to the House where I lodge, as it was left [at] Gunnoor ; but there has always been some trifling excuse made for not doing it ; and I begin to suspect, that Kingly Prerogative of a crooked Bamboo is carried to such a Ridiculous length, that they will not even suffer one belonging to any other Person to be brought to this side the Ganga. They assure me always it is very safe and taken great care of.

14th.—As it is now a Week ago since I last met the Generals, and having heard nothing from them since, I sent a Message to them by the Officers, to acquaint them that the Gentlemen at Madrass* would begin to be very impatient at my long stay, as well as the Admiral, who had acquainted me with the time his ships would be in readiness, and who could not wait for me any longer ; that I must therefore again press my speedy dispatch, as the sooner I returned, the sooner the King's Business would be finished ; and that I desired I might have People to send away with Letters to the Admiral to morrow morning. They promised to acquaint the Genls.* with all I had said, and took their leave.

15th.—People bring their supplies as usual. This morning at 9 oClock* the Vackeel came for my Letter to the Admiral, as Hircarrahs¹ would be dispatched with it immediately, which I delivered him ; wherein I advised the Admiral, that I imagined it would be three or four days before I should be able to leave this Place, and that as I might Probably be ten or twelve on the road on Account the heavy Rains which had fallen, He could scarce expect me before the end of this Month. In answer to the Request of returning by the way of Mathecullapay², the Vackeel acquaints me that as there are three or four Rivers to cross, which at this time of the Year are sometimes impassible* for ten or twelve days, the King thought my going that way would be very tedious & troublesome, and therefore had given the necessary directions for my being accommodated on the Cottiar Road, so that I begin to hope it will not be long before I receive my dispatches.

16th.—People bring their supplies, and Officers pay their Visits, as usual. Very heavy rain all day.

¹ Messengers, couriers, Hindi harkāra (HJ).

17th.—People bring their supplies as usual. The Vackeel came about nine oClock*. Sent a message by him to the Generals, pressing them to hasten my dispatch ; for that, having wrote* to the Admiral that I should set out from hence in three or four days, he would consequently expect to see me soon ; that if I was detained longer, I could not answer for his waiting for me. At about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 in the afternoon came the Vackeel to acquaint me that I should be sent for this Evening, which I was in hopes would have been to introduce me to the King, & that I should have received my dispatches ; but when I came to the Palace, I found it was only an Introduction to the Generals, who, after the usual compliments of enquiring after my Health, &c., desired I would sit down, and they would read to me the answers the King had given to my Proposals ; which being done, I observed that I had no other Remarks to make thereon than that in my Proposals I mentioned, that the English should be allowed the same Priviledges* of Trade, in every Respect, as the Dutch enjoyed ; that I had requested to be furnished with their Original Treaties with the Dutch, or copies of them, which, by what they had read to me, they seemed to have mistaken or omitted. They then made a minute of this upon a separate Cadjan¹ ; and I told them that they must likewise remember, that I had observed to them every* thing I had proposed must be subject to the determination of the Govr. & Council of Madrass* ; & that I could give no answer to any*thing that had been now proposed on the part of the King. To which they replied*, they well remembered I did make such observations, and that they submitted every*thing to the final determination of the Govr. & Council of Madrass*. I then pressed earnestly for my dispatch, setting forth that Mr. Cornish had acquainted me his ships were all ready ; That the distress he was in for fresh Provisions would by no means admit of his continuing much longer at Trincomalay. That, besides, as this was the Season for expecting our Ships from Europe, it was necessary he should be at Madrass* ; that I had wrote* him I expected to set out on the 19th ; that if I was longer detained I could not answer whether he would wait for me or not ; that the Govr. & Council would begin to be uneasy at my long stay ;

¹ Leaf of coconut-palm, but usually one prepared for thatching, "ola" being the term for one prepared for writing on.

that the sooner I returned, the sooner this Business would be concluded ; and that I must repeat my earnest request to be sent away as soon as possible. They told me, the King should be acquainted with what I said, and that they hoped in three or four days to procure me my dispatch. I then took my leave at about half past one in the morning, and was accompanied home by the usual Officers. Weather moderate ; light showers of rain.

18th.—People bring their supplies as usual. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 came the Vackeel, to acquaint me he was going to the Genl., & desired to know if I had any commands. I told him my Principal Business was to request again my speedy dispatch, for the reasons I urged last night, of my having acquainted Admiral Cornish that I expected I should set out to morrow morning, who would consequently expect me ; that as I saw no preparations for my going, it was necessary I should write to him again, and therefore desired People might be ordered to attend me to morrow morning, to carry my letter ; and that I might at the same time be acquainted, for certain, when I should set out, to give him advice accordingly. He promised to deliver this message, and then took his leave. Weather continues moderate, now and then light Showers. At 8 oClock* the Officers who visit me daily came with an Answer to the Message I had sent by the Vackeel, acquainting me, to my Inexpressible satisfaction, that Thursday morning, the 24th, was the time fixed for my departure. I thanked them for their Information, and wrote a letter to the Admiral to be given to the Vackeel to morrow morning, advising him of this Resolution.

19th.—People bring their supplies this morning. At 9 came the Vackeel. Sent my letter to Admiral Cornish, to be forwarded by the Generals. At 6 P.M. the Vackeel's Brother came, to let me know that the Generals would meet this Evening, and that I should be sent for ; and at eleven came the usual officers to attend me. The Business was, chiefly, to explain to me again the substance of the King's Letter intended to be sent to the Govr. & Council of Madrass* that I might be the better able to judge if it was properly translated. They dwelt a long time upon the subject of the Cinnamon Trade ; The difficulties that attended collecting it ; acquainted me with the manner in which the Dutch collected it and with the Method the King proposed [we] should be supplied with it. I desired they would be very particular on this subject

In their letter, which, they assured me, they would. They were desirous of my Opinion, which method I thought would be most acceptable ; but this I declined giving, and observed, as it was a matter of consequence, the Govr. & Council would well consider it and give their Answer. The Substance of the Articles I had proposed were then again read, with their Answers ; and in reply to the objections they make to that of the King's paying all expences* of the Army, such as Stores, Batta¹ to Officers, &c., I could not help setting forth to them, that as no*Body could answer for the fortune of War, should we undertake one in support of the King, it might perhaps continue as long as the War upon the Coast had done, the Expences* of which had amounted to an immense sum of Money ; and that it was not reasonable, if we undertook it, that the Company should bear the Charge of carrying it on, as it would be done at the King's particular Request ; but that, however, on this as well as the several other Articles, as I had before told them it was to little purpose our saying much upon those subjects, as they would be fully & finally answered by the Govr. & Council of Madrass*. It being now past 3 in the morning ,we parted, and I was attended home as usual.

20th.—People bring their supplies. Officers pay their visits, as usual. The Vackeel's Brother came at 6 this Evening, with a Message from the Genls., to desire that I would pack up every part of my baggage that I did not want with me, that it might be sent before ; & the Attendants in the House acquaint my Debash to day that they have received orders to continue only three days more ; so that I begin now to entertain some hopes of getting away by the time fixed. Not a drop of rain all day.

21st.—People bring their supplies & Officers pay the visits as usual. Light showers of Rain. Very heavy Clouds to the southward towards Evening, which make me apprehend more rainy Weather.

22nd.—Hard rain, and the wind very fresh all night, and smart Showers the greatest part of the day. People bring their supplies as usual. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 in the evening, the Vackeel and his Brother came to acquaint me that I shall be sent for to the King this Evening. At about 11 oClock* at night the Vackeel's Brother came with a Message from the Genl.* who met me at Caravetty with eight Bundles of Cinnamon as a present to me, pzg.* about

¹ See Note 1 at page 11.

25 lb. each ; and at $\frac{3}{4}$ past one in the morning the usual Officers waited on me to attend me to the King, to whom I was introduced at half after two, having stayed a considerable time at the Door of the Palace and in the inner Court, for leave to advance. His Majesty sent out a Message, that he would grant me Permission to come before him with my Shoes on ; but I found the Ceremony of Kneeling when the Genls.* paid their Respects, was not to be dispensed with ; & as it was on the occasion of getting my dispatches, I was the less inclined to make difficulties. His Majesty detained me till about five, discoursing on the subject of the Great Friendship he had for the English, the Indulgences he had granted them, and what he intended doing ; and then presented me with a Ring, a sword, a gold Chain with a Breast Jewel hanging to it, two pieces of Bengall Mullinulls¹, to the amount of about 200 Pags.* , & some other trifles ; promising to give me further Marks of his Favour on my Return, and telling me he had given Orders for my dispatch this day. He then gave me leave to withdraw, which I most willingly complied with. When we were returned into the Veranda, the Generals, being assembled, told me the King had appointed the General who had met me at Caravetty & another officer, to attend me as far as Cottiarum. I expressed the sense I had of the Honour done me ; and after telling the General I should wait on him whenever he sent me word he was ready, I took my leave, was attended home as usual, and by six o'clock* I got to bed.

24th.—At $\frac{3}{4}$ past ten came an Officer with a Message from the King to acquaint me that his Majesty had given orders for my immediate dispatch ; that he was come to see my things sent away and to accompany me ; and at eleven we set out through the town to the Northward² ; at the end of which I was desired to get into my Pallenkeen*, which, as it was very hot and the road very rocky, narrow and troublesome to pass, I was very glad to do. About one we crossed the Ganga ; and at 3 came to Caravetty³, where I am to remain until the General who is to accompany me to Cottiarum joins me. A fine day, but blows fresh at S. W., and frequent heavy showers. We crossed the Ganga at the Putilan Pass³ which is much to the Northward of Gunnoor, by which

¹ *Mullimuls*—Muslin, Hindi malmal (HJ s. v. Mullmull).

² He now gets the direction correctly : cf. page 29.

³ "Caravetty", previously "Canvetty", page 49. This "Pass" is Katugastota.

we not only avoided a very troublesome Hill but came a much nearer Road.

25th.—At Caravetty¹ all day, waiting for the General, who is to accompany me.

26th.—People bring their supplies as usual. Waited here all day for the Genl.*, who about 6 in the evening arrived. I walked a little way to meet him, and brought him to my Apartment, where, after the usual Ceremonial Compliments, I desired he would forward a letter I had wrote*, to advice* the Admiral of my being set out, which he promised to comply with directly, but begged I would add to my dispatch ; That, as he had some*thing to say to the Admiral from the King, from whom he had presents for him & the Govr. of Madrass*, and did not choose to go on board his Ship in Trincomalay Harbour, to request the favour of him, to give him a meeting on board one of his Ships on the Cottiarum² side of the Bay. I promised to comply with his Request, and having taken my leave of him, added what he had desired to my Letter to the Admiral, & sent it to him to forward. Rain all day.

27th.—Set out from Caravetty¹ at $\frac{3}{4}$ past 9 in the morning, and travelled the same way I came. Raining very hard the whole time, which rendered the roads almost impassible*. The Hills³ [Hill] we crossed in this day's journey, which I have taken notice of in a preceding Part of this Journal, was become so very slippery by the constant rain which had fallen, that it was with difficulty I could keep my feet, with the assistance of a Person on each side to support me. My Pallenkeen* Bearers and other Servants fell several times. Walked all this stage. More Paddy on the ground than when I passed before. At three in the afternoon arrived at Oulang Gamee⁴, where we slept this night. Very heavy rain still continues.

28th.—Set out from Oulang Gamee at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 in the morning, having first got liberty from the Genl.* to put my arched Bamboo to my Pallankeen*; and arrived at Caravetty⁵ at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 in the evening. Hard squalls and very heavy Rains the greatest part of

¹ Previously "Canvetty", page 49.

² Koddigar Bay (8/29, 81/15 &c., Trincomalee Sheet).

³ Page 48.

⁴ Hulangamuwa (7/27/30, 80/36, Kurunegala sheet).

⁵ Note 5 at page 44.

the journey. Here the Genl.* , being arrived before me, waited to conduct me to the Place prepared for my accommodation, which I found much more commodious than in my Journey up. He then entered again upon a long harangue, of the many Civilities which had been shewn* me by the King, of the Favours I had received from him, and what further I might expect on my return, agreeably to what he had promised on taking leave. I could have answered these fine speeches of his in a very few words ; but as I was still in their Power, it would not have been prudent. I therefore temporized, by pretending to be perfectly sensible how much favour had been shewn* me, and how happy it would make me should the Govr. & Council of Madrass* think proper to nominate me for a second Embassy to his Majesty. I have no great reason, however, to think he gave much credit to what I said ; but he left me, seemingly well satisfied, and we rested here all night.

29th.—Set out from Caravetty at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 in the morning, and arrived at Gonagy¹, in the Woods, at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 in the Evening. The Country on this side Caravetty parched up for want of rain, not the least appearance of a drop having fallen since I passed this way. Accommodation better than when I called here in my Journey up.

30th.—Set out from Gonagy at seven in the morning, and arrived at Vishgalloo², by the side of Minary Lake, at three in the afternoon. Weather very hot. All the small runs of water taken notice of in the former part of my Journal on this road, dried up, no Rain having fallen this way, The Water in Minary Lake fallen since I passed ; but this is only visible towards the Edges, where it is shallow. Slept at Vishgalloo all night.

July 1st.—Set out from Vishgalloo at 20 minutes past 6 in the morning, and arrived at Pangananry³ at a quarter before five in the Evening. Pallankeen* Boys, Servants and Attendants suffered extremely* in this Journey, from thirst, the weather being excessively hot and not a drop of Water to be met with in the Road after passing that branch of Minary River which I have notice[d] of in a former part of this Journal. I made frequent Application for a Dooley for my linguist, & [the] Genl.* as often promised to furnish him with one, but whether this was thought too great an Indulgence for him, or what other Reason he might have for not

¹ Gonawela (7/51, 80/45, Polonnaruwa sheet).

* Note 2 at page 39.

² Note 3 at page 36.

doing it, I cannot tell ; but the Poor Fellow was obliged to walk every step of the way.

2nd.—Set out from Pangaranny at 7 in the morning. In this road great part of the Country overflowed by the freshes from the Mavele Ganga ; but for want of Inhabitants, and of Industry in the few there are, no use is made of this great advantage. At 2 P.M. we came to the Banks of this River, which run[s] with great rapidity, and had done so, we were told, for the last six weeks. The Passage was very tedious and difficult, as there was only on[e] small Boat to carry us over, with our Baggage & Attendants, At four we got to the other side, & were carried about eight miles in the woods, where three or four sheds, made of boughs of Trees were prepared for our accommodation this night. Not a House within ten miles of us. We reached this place, which is called Chittaur¹, about seven oClock*, and it was with great difficulty I got a little supper by nine. Indeed, I never had more occasion for Refreshment in my life, not having had any since seven in the morning ; and as I had been obliged to walk a great part of this day's Journey, my Spirits & Strenght [sic] were quite exhausted, and I found myself so much [in]disposed, that I had little hopes of being able to proceed the next day.

3rd.—Found myself much refreshed by a good night's rest ; and this being my last day's Journey, set out in good spirits at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6 in the morning. Strong S.W. winds, and weather extreamly* hot ; and at three in the after*noon arrived at [the] Village of Moodoor², to my very great satisfaction. Here I found an Officer belonging to the Admiral's ship, who informed me Mr. Cornish had hoisted his Flag on board the "Falmouth", and was at anchor on the southside* of the Bay, waiting for me ; and at four came a Boat from here with another officer, to enquire whether I was arrived, in which case he was directed to wait on the General, with the Admiral's Compliments, and to acquaint him that, having in Compliance with his request signified to him by me, come over to that side to give him a meeting, he should be glad to see him as early as he might choose to come off. I accordingly went with the Officer to introduce him to the General, who being made acquainted with the Admiral's message, returned a very

¹ "Chittaur" is not identified.

² The three days from Matur to Pangurana of the outwards journey are now two only : cf. note 3 at page 78.

polite answer, and that he would be ready to wait on him sunrise in the morning. We then took our leave, and I accompanied the Officer off, having first promised the General to come on shore again in the morning to attend him ; and at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 got on board the "Falmouth", where I had the pleasing satisfaction of finding, by a letter delivered to me by the Admiral from the Presidt.* dated The 26th June, that by having made no conclusive Promises or agreements in this negotiation*, I had acted consistent with the Plan so strenuously recommended there into* my Observance.

2nd.—At Sun*rise went ashore to meet the General and accompany him off. He was waiting for us ; and about 8 oClock* we got on board the "Falmouth". The Admiral saluted, & received him with great Politeness. The Genl.*, in the name of the King, with many Compliments, presented him with a Ring, a Gold Chain, and a few other trifles of very inconsiderable value ; telling him how much the King relyed* on the Assistance and Favour of the English, and of the great expectations he had of Services from him & his Ships. The Admiral answered only in General Terms, that, as he was going to Madrass*, he should hear from the Govr. & Council there what I had proposed, and the King's Answers, & consult with them upon the measure[s] necessary to be taken for establishing an Alliance and Friendship with his Master ; giving him to understand, at the same time, that he thought himself not well treated, in not having been furnished with fresh Provisions for his Ships, which the Natives were willing to have supplied him with, had they received the King's leave for so doing. He seemed some*what perplexed how to answer this complaint ; but after a short pause he told the Admiral that, if he could stay three or four days longer, he might depend on being supplied. This, he was answered, could not be done, as the Admiral assured him he should get under sail the instant he returned. As he expressed an Inclination to go down below and veiw* the Ship, an Officer was ordered to attend him. He was very particular in his enquiries into every*thing relating to the method of fighting and Navigating, and took the length & Breadth of her on each Deck. His curiosity on these Points being satisfied, he delivered the King's Letter, with three Boxes, to my charge, for the Govr. ; & took his leave about 11 oClock, when he was again saluted ; and we got under way, and stood [out] of the Harbour soon after.

Abstract of the computed distances of each day's stage in the Journey to Candia.

		<i>Miles</i>
From Moodoor to Clevetty .. ..	.. ..	13
Clevetty to the banks of the Maveli Ganga	17	
Banks of the River to Soongavaley	3	20
<hr/>		
Soongavaley to Pangaranny .. ..	.. ..	21
Pangaranny to Tritoly .. ..	.. ..	30
Tritoly to Vishegalloo .. ..	.. ..	5
Vishegalloo to Nautchetolum .. ..	.. ..	23
Nautchetolum to Gonagy .. ..	.. ..	6
Gonagy to Caravetty .. ..	.. ..	30
Caravetty to Oulang-Gamee .. ..	.. ..	25
Oulang-Gamee to Cawvetty	15
Cawvetty to Gunnoor	12
Gunnoor to Candia	7
<hr/>		
		207
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RELEVANT DOCUMENTS

In the Archives at Nuwara Eliya :

1. *Codex 748*, dated 20.6.62.—Dutch protest to Madras (see Paulusz pages 105, 106).

2. *ditto*, 15.7.62.—Extracts from Treaties between the Dutch and British (see Paulusz pages 112–114).

3. *ditto*, 19.7.62.—Report of spies from Kandy (see Paulusz pages 116, 117). The description of Mr. Pybus is pleasant : “ a man of tolerable stature and reddish complexion, very brisk in his movements ”.

4. 2298, 8.7.62.—Amplified report from Rein at Trincomalee to van Eck at Colombo. On May 1st Admiral Cornish arrived with five ships, and asked permission to enter the Inner Bay since some of them needed repairs, which was granted. Soon after it was learned that a Candian Envoy had come in them from Madras, and later that he had been set on land at Coetjaar with an Englishman, and had gone inland. As I had set guards on the shores, and a thony¹ to prevent any small boat leaving the Bay, I did not believe this report, the more so that it was also reported that when the Admiral was asked for help by the Candians, and for powder and shot, he replied that it would cost him his life did he do so without orders from his King, and had besides been very friendly to us, and had punished most severely any excesses committed by his men.

But since soon afterwards Teylingen [at Nagapatam] informed me that a Candian Envoy was on the way with Cornish, I could no longer doubt the report, and doubled the guards and sent out spies, coming to learn that the [English] Envoy was now near the river Kinke [the Mahaweli : *i.e.* at Gannoruwa] and had not yet had an audience. I sent spies there, but they returned without further information, and I had to content myself with giving strict orders to the guards to attempt to intercept him on his return. It was also learned that the Court Dignitaries were disinclined to negotiate with him, but that the King was favourable. Cornish entirely denied the report when I mentioned it to him.

It being then reported to me that an English long-boat had sailed out of the Inner Bay, apparently making for Coetjaar, I sent to advise the Admiral that I hoped none of his men would land there, since the Company had exclusive possession of this Island, to which he replied that he must seek for provisions,

¹ From Tamil *tōni*. An extremely vague term : here probably a small sailing-vessel, perhaps lightly armed.

nothing being purchasable in the Coy's lands ; but that if I would provide his ships with them he would abandon the project—if not, he would carry it out and listen to no further protests. I however made a protest in writing, since the weakness of our fortifications and garrison precluded the use of force.

On the 25th I received a report that the Envoy was about to leave Candia for Coetjaar, with two Mohatiaars¹ and a suite of about 200 men, and therefore sent out more spies and two thonys in that direction.

On the 3rd at daybreak a three-masted English vessel was sighted, the " Falmouth " with Cornish on board sailing out to meet her, and both anchoring near Coetjaar.

Next day Cornish sent his Secretary to take leave of me, and on the 5th he sailed from Coetjaar, followed by the other ships lying in the Inner Bay, except two which are not yet repaired.

Meanwhile my spies reported that the Envoy had come rapidly to Coetjaar and had embarked in one of the English ships there, being accompanied and seen off by the Dessave² of Tamblegam.

5. 4920, 2.8.62.—Further protest from van Eck and Council at Colombo to Pigot at Madras, and advice that no English ships will be permitted to enter Trincomalee Bay until the States General decide on the matter : modified (same date) by orders to Rein at Trincomalee that this of course does not apply to vessels obviously in distress.

6. 748, 13.8.62.—Further reports from spies (Paulusz pages 128, 129).

7. *ditto*, 18.9.62.—Reply from Madras to (1) above, dated August 7 (Paulusz pages 135-137).

8. *ditto*, 6.11.62.—Request to Madras for a reply to (5) above, and acknowledgement of (7), with additional protests (Paulusz pages 155-159 ; also in 4920, 8.11.62, and confirmation of delivery in 4892, 6.1.63).

9. *ditto*, 27.11.62.—Acknowledgement by Madras of (5) above (Paulusz page 164).

10. 2208, 2.12.63.—From van der Hoop at Amsterdam to van Eck. The Commissioners of the English Company admitted that they had sent someone to the King, but that they had refused his first invitation to do so, until he thereat had declared that if they would not come, he would call in someone else. They had then sent someone, but found that he desired their help against the Dutch, and therefore broke off all negotiations with him : their Envoy had already left the Court. We hope therefore that if they keep their word, matters in Ceylon may markedly improve.

¹ A rank between Mudaliyar and Muhandiram, commanding perhaps a hundred men.

² Disāva, Governor of a Kandyan Province.

Encloses letter to the English Company in London, 12.10.63. At our protest, Madras declared that they considered the Prince to be an independent Sovereign, with the right to negotiate with whom he thought fit. Admiral Cornish, who lay in the Bay of Trincomalee for more than two months, and received all possible assistance, took advantage of our indulgence and facilities to set the English Envoy ashore. [And further complaints of English actions there and elsewhere.]

Encloses also copy of letter from Mr. Dorrien to the Earl of Sandwich, dated from East India House, 3.11.63 [in English]. " . . . very extraordinary that the Dutch Company should desire us to send further Orders to prevent Acts of Violence in India " [in view of our previous letter of 2.4.62 to Madras, extract transcribed] " . . . we do positively order and direct that you do not commit any Hostility or act of Violence against the Dutch Company's Agents : on the contrary, you are to use your best endeavours to cultivate . . . a good Understanding with them . . . it being our sincere desire and intention that the Dutch Company shall enjoy Freedom of Trade, Safety, and Protection equally with ourselves."

11. 847, 30.10.64.—Extract of letter from the Lords XVII to the Governo General at Batavia. We have advised H.H.M. of the negotiations between the English Ministers at Madras and the Court of Candia, and of Admiral Cornish's action. H.H.M. has instructed his Minister at the British Court to make the necessary representations, and we have reasons to hope that no further support will be given to the Candian Court, at least openly, since the Directors of the English Company have declared that they have ordered Madras to abstain from all further negotiations with this Prince.

In the Madras Record Office :

The material is surprisingly scanty : there are no records of the discussions which must have followed the arrival of the King's Envoy ; nor of those immediately preceding Pybus' setting-out ; nor any copy of the Instructions to him to which he repeatedly refers ; nor of the letter he took to the King ; nor of the letter to him received on the " Falmouth " on his return. It will be noted that his Report is to the " Select Committee " : possibly this maintained secret archives which have not been preserved.

12. (*Military Consultations XVII*, 7.8.62).—Receipt of Protest (1 above) through Dormieux, Governor of Pulicat. The discussions begin : " As the King of Candy is a Sovereign Prince . . . in no way accountable to [the Dutch]". Reply transcribed, (7) above.

13 (*ditto*, pages 360, 361).—Agreed " that a Letter be wrote* to the Governor & Council of Columbo* acknowledging the receipt of their Letter [5 above] & acquainting them that we have already delivered our answer in Writing dated 7th August to their Protest to Mr. Dormieux [7 in reply to 1] and which will also serve as an answer to their Letter now before us, so far as

the same relates to us. As to what concerns the conduct of Admiral Cornish we cannot take upon ourselves to reply thereto, but will communicate the Contents thereof by the first opportunity. Ordered that Copies of the Protest with our Answer &c. Papers be transmitted to Admiral Cornish by the first Conveyance, as also to the other Presidencies*." [Apparently this reply did not reach Colombo : see the next].

14. (*ditto*, page 363).—Copy of letter dated 16.9.62 [9 above] closely following text of last entry.

15. (*Military Country Correspondence X, pages 259-267*).—Long letter brought by Pybus, dated 24.6.62, from "Vizia Sundara Mantrey, Vizier to the King of Candia [Pybus] arrived at our Capital called Chingana Sylaipitana Sany of Wantinaponey [in reply to the request made by] Moula Moukandara [who] came to you without any letters." Replies to Pybus' Articles : (2) the Dutch-employed cinnamon-peelers "made it a common practice to steal and play tricks in our Villages" and then complained to the Dutch that we molested them—proposed therefore that the English should employ Candian peelers at one Pagoda per month ; (3) Beetle-nut* and Pepper should be freely traded in with the people near the English Settlement ; (4) agreed ; (5) not mentioned ; (6) agreed ; (7) agreed ; (8) agreed "but as to the Blacks it will be difficult to distinguish them" ; (9) agreed ; (10) agreed ; (11) agreed ; (12) not mentioned ; (13) refused, because after the Dutch are expelled, the English will be given "the Fort of Japhnapatam*, and all Guns, Arms, Treasures, & Goods in it" as also "some Countries for the use of the Fort of Trincomalay" ; (14) refused, since trading-profits should suffice. Kandyan Articles proposed are : (1) joint action against invaders in the future ; (2) joint investigation of disputes arising on the frontiers ; (3) Candian ships to be assisted at the English Settlements ; (4) criminals who take refuge with the English to be handed over [already covered by Pybus' 8th Article] ; (5) the English to import what goods are needed by Candia ; (6) [mutilated] ; (7) the English to send a yearly Embassy to the Court, with presents ; (8) the Court to have Agents in the English Settlements.

16. (*Military Consultations XVII, page 371*).—Letter transcribed to Vansittart in Bengal, dated 22.9.62. "A Person some months since arrived here, who informed the President that he came from the King of Candy, that he brought no Credentials with him for fear they should be intercepted, but that he was charged by the King his Master to offer his Friendship to the English, and to desire that a proper person might be sent to the Court to treat with him, promising at the same time in general terms all the advantages we could desire.

We therefore took the opportunity of Admiral Cornish's going to Trincomale with the Squadron to send Mr. Pybus to the Court of Candia, from whence since his return we find there is little or no likelihood of our gaining any advantages considerable for the Company from the King, unless we would engage to assist him against the Dutch, which is a step we should think very improper to take ; and have therefore for the present dropt* any further Negotiations with him."

In the Hague Archives :

When van Eck took Kandy in 1765 the original letter from Madras taken by Pybus was found in the looted Palace. A Dutch translation of it was sent with a despatch to Holland (Ceylon Archives 4880, 13.11.65) but no copy of it kept with the copy of the despatch. The following is from the original of that despatch at the Hague ; but as it has been translated from English into "Malabar", thence into Dutch, and now again into English, it is unlikely to bear much resemblance to the original.

17. Translation of Malabar letter from the Hon'ble George Pigot, Governor of Madras, to the King of Kandia [no date]. To the Highly-revered Emperor, the Excellent, Renowned, Majestic and Powerful Emperor of Kandia. By these Mr. George Pigot, Governor of Sennepatam, reverently and with due respect lets it be known that it was to our great pleasure than an Envoy named Mohandiram¹ Oedejaar arrived here from Kandia and informed us of your circumstances, and of your heartfelt desire to enter into a mutual Friendship with the English. For this purpose we send to you the Councillor named Mr. Pybus, who on his arrival will inform you duly and in detail of all that has occurred here, as also of whatever else may be proposed, and give you explanations. And since your Highness is a righteous Emperor and like a Sea of Goodness, I consider my whole prosperity as already existing thanks merely to the thoughts of our future friendship, further hoping that your Highness may be heartily assured that in all circumstances in dealing with these matters I am true-heartedly and entirely [your Highness' respectful and obedient Servant]

[The last paragraph is almost unintelligible, and the final salutation appears to have been omitted by the Dutch translator. The Dutch text is :]

Dan derwijl UEdele zijt een regtvaardige Keijser en als een zee van Goedheid, agte, Slegts door de gedagten der aanstaande onderlinge Vriendschap mijns gantsche welvaert als reeds aanwezig : verwagend voorts dat UEdele UW Selven hertelijk zult verzeekert houden dat ik in de behandeling van derzelve zaken in alles omstandigheeden met eene trouwhartige volvaerdigheid ben.

¹ Junior Kandyan official : in military service commanded perhaps 50 or 75 men.



