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Four Telugu Ola Manuscripts in the Colombo Museum Library.

BY

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FOUR Telugu manuscripts form part of a manuscript collection in the Library of the Colombo Museum, known as the Nevill collection. The late Hugh Nevill was a Civilian in Ceylon from 1869-1897 in which latter year he died in Europe. He was a very assiduous collector of things relating to matters oriental and had also edited "The Taprobanian" for some years. He collected and took to England a large number of manuscripts from Ceylon. Long after his death, a cousin of his, one Mr. Hubert Hall donated them to the Colombo Museum Library where they arrived at the end of the year 1925. They were received, as the Report of the Director of the Colombo Museum for 1926 points out, "damp and mildewed and majority without covers." They are now neat and readable.

I have arranged the matter of these manuscripts in the order of their contents as in the olas and the number within brackets against each subject represents the number of olas that particular subject occupies. I have at present given only a passing review of the matter contained as I had not the time necessary for a detailed study of them. The details about the ragas, thalas and the types of the musical compositions in it are beyond the scope of this article. I shall only be too glad to publish them for any South Indian Telugu journal or any

musical journal that may be interested in them, because the store of information contained in these olas is so varied and interesting. I take great pleasure in thanking my friend Mr. A. E. Jayasinghe of the Colombo Museum Library, but for whom I should not have come across these manuscripts at all.

I. OLA MANUSCRIPT No. 6/G-2—107 Olas—Size 18 in. x 2¼ in.

The manuscript is well written and in a good state of preservation. It deals with the Indian art of dancing called "Bharatham" and with other kindred musical subjects. The copyist gives marginal contents throughout. He seems to have Buddhist leanings also as inferred from the opening invocations and the concluding benedictions for every new topic. The author who might also have been the copyist (?) describes himself as one efficient in composing in Telugu and seems to be a South Indian well versed in South Indian Music and in court manners. This view is strengthened by the fact that he addresses the King as "Lankendra Saheb"—the word "Saheb" being a respectable form of address to a noble from one who seems to be acquainted with the South Indian Mahratta court at Tanjore. Further the diction suggests, at times, that the composer may have been a Naidu who had come to the Kandyan Court seeking patronage from the king who was himself a Naidu. It is also possible that he had come to the court of Rajadhirajasinghe, that great scholar-King, writer and patron of letters, to exhibit his skill in dancing and music in his immediate presence. He addresses the King as "Simhalendra," "Lankendra" and so on, in every composition. This would also mean that the compositions in the manuscript date from somewhere after 1780. The contents of the manuscript are as detailed below:—

Bharatham—33 Olas—the famous Indian classical Sanskrit treatise on dancing. It begins with the invocatory stanzas on Vigneshwara and deals with various lakshanas. The latter part includes "Navagrahabinayam," "Dwadasadityabinayam" and other topics.

Sukla-Bharatham—26 Olas—being a continuation of the previous treatise. The three benedictions at the end of this part are noteworthy—"Sri Gurubyonnamah," "Sri Ramajayam" and "Buddhaswamisahayam."

Thalamanjari—8 Olas—Starting with an invocation to Siva, it deals with various thalas and their nature and has a verbatim translation from Sanskrit into Telugu.

Thalanamavali—5 Olas—The author of this part seems to be one Venkatadri (or Venkatendra) as suggested by the opening stanza of this part. The fifth ola is completely unwritten.

The word “*Sri*”—2 Olas—written many times all over the four pages. It is a devotional practice of some orthodox Hindus in India. The word “*Sri*” means “*Lakshmi*.”

Adithala Sabdalu and others—5 Olas—including also *Rakthi sabdalu*, *Misrajathi sabdalu*, *Dhruvathala sabdalu*, *Roopakathala sabdalu* and *Jampethala sabdalu*—all addressed to and praising the qualities of head and heart of the *Simhala Rajendra*.

Dharuvu—5 Olas—a type of musical composition. There are in this part *Salamdaruvulu*, *Lakshanadaruvulu*, *Panchajathidaruvulu*, *Sapthasooladidaruvulu* and *Simhasanamdaruvulu*. The *Salamdaruvulu*, wherein the musician prays for the King’s long life and good rule, are addressed to the *Simhala Rajendra* of *Kandy*.

Thillana—2 Olas—another type of musical composition. Various compliments to the King occur in every stanza and the latter part of each piece contains the dance-swarams also. This part ends with “*Swarajathi*.”

Varnams—4 Olas—also a type of composition in various ragas.

Atathalampadhalu—8 Olas—“*Padha*” is another type. This part contains very passionate addresses to the King, put into the mouth of the dancing girl-artist. The latter part is marked “*Pancharathnas*.”

Savithi-Kotlata-Navarathnamulu—2 Olas—describing the bickerings between the wife and her rival to her husband’s affections. This part rather curiously ends with a *mangalam* in *Boopala* ragam.

Purusha-Viraha-Padyalu—3 Olas—stanzas in Telugu describing the plight of the lovesick male longing for his sweetheart.

Sthri-Viraha-Padyalu—4 Olas—describing the similar plight of a female lover. These and the previous stanzas embodying very passionate sentiments and moulded in a Telugu metre called “*Seesa Padyam*” also eulogise the state of the King.

II. OLA MANUSCRIPT No. 6/G-3—90 Olas—Size 18½ in. x 2 in.

This manuscript is in the same hand-writing and appears to be of the same age as No. 6/G-2 and probably the same man copied it. It deals with matters purely musical, exactly like the previous manuscript and chiefly with dancing modes and necessary adjuncts. It has a verbatim translation throughout from Sanskrit into Telugu. The contents of the ola are as follows :—

Ola No. 1 is unwritten.

Thalamanjari—7 Olas—begins exactly in the same way as the corresponding part in the manuscript No. 6/G-2 and with the same word by word translation.

Thalanamavali—4 Olas—same as in the previous manuscript.

Thalamulaku Padhyalu—17 Olas—being stanzas for the 108 thalas and also giving various practical details about them.

Bharatham—21 Olas—same as in the previous manuscript and with the same word by word translation.

Sukla-Bharatham—40 Olas—of which two olas are completely unwritten.

The manuscript ends with “Srirasthu.”

III. OLA MANUSCRIPT No. 6/G-4—146 Olas—Size 14 in. x 1¾ in.

This manuscript is very old, dog-eared and worm-eaten with tiny holes. The latter part seems to be imperfect. Some olas are missing and some are wrongly arranged. The blank ones are very carelessly scribbled. The writing is fairly legible though it is difficult to read at certain places. The copyist may have been a Sinhalese who had learnt Telugu. This is suggested by the free use of Sinhalese language written in Telugu characters and also by the free notes here and there in Sinhalese characters. The contents of the olas are as follows :—

Three Kandas of Amarakosa—84 Olas—the famous Sanskrit lexicographical work of Amarasimha called “Namalinganusasanam.” Two olas are torn half-way cross-wise and the subscription is therefore mutilated in one place. This part ends with “Sri Gurubyonnamah,” and “Buddhaswamigathih,” (*i.e.*, Respects to the Guru and Refuge in the Buddha)—the latter suggesting that the copyist may have been a Buddhist.

Aksharaprapancham—19 Olas—in a Telugu metre called “Seesapadyam”—a work on lexicography. The latter part probably deals with Chandas (metre). One ola seems to be missing in this part and the last ola is unwritten.

Andhra Samgraha on Namalinganusasanam—24 Olas—in fairly clear script. It starts with an invocation as “Sri Saradambaya Namah.” This seems to be the composition of one Paidipati Lakshmana Kavi (of Koundinya Gothram), the son of Ekambara Manthri (?).

Anthology of Padyas—19 Olas—being a miscellaneous collection of Sanskrit and Telugu verses from various sources. The contents of the last two olas are not very clear. The writing is not very legible and this part ends with the Telugu numerals for 236 (?)—probably the number of verses that were copied. The last two olas of this part do not fit in properly.

IV. OLA MANUSCRIPT No. 6/G-6—177 Olas—Size 14½ in. x 1¼ in.

This manuscript appears to be pretty old and the copyist may have been a Sinhalese who had learnt Telugu (?). How exactly he came to learn Telugu is not possible to say. The hand-writing is very good. That the copyist was a Sinhalese is suggested by the following facts:—

- (a) There is a copious mixture of Sinhalese flourishes in the script along with other minor peculiarities.
- (b) Many pages in the ola are in the Sinhalese language though in Telugu characters.
- (c) He might have been a Buddhist because he uses invocations like “Namo Buddharam” and “Buddhaswamisahayam.”
- (d) The stanzas are all written in the Sinhalese fashion, *i.e.*, the last letter of each line is written separately at a distance.

The date of the manuscript must have been certainly after 1749, as can be seen from the contents given below. The contents of the olas are as follows:—

Medical Recipes (?)—1 Ola—Sinhalese matter in Telugu characters.

Musical Miscellany—17 Olas—begins with marginal invocations as “Sriramajayam,” “Subhamasthu” and “Avignamastu,” and contains 4 Padhas (? Keerthanas), 9 Ashtapadhis, 27 Dharuvus with swarams and 27 Kshethriya padhas. The composer of the padhas seems to have witnessed the coronation of Pratapa

Simha Raja (crowned 1749 A.D. and died 1765 A.D.) at Tanjore, whom the author eulogises in certain songs. The names of various South Indian Padha composers, like Thalapakamvaru, Jettymudalarivari Koothuru, Sivaramapurivaru, Yuvarangadu and Bukkapatnamvaru, are found scratched off at different places in the margin of some olas. Obviously the copyist had later given up the intention of copying them.

Astrological Miscellany—10 OIas—Starting with a fresh invocation as “Namo Buddharam,” it treats about various Grahas and their dasas, etc.

Neethisaram—12 OIas—being a treatise on the rules of moral conduct and other miscellaneous matter in Sanskrit verse.

Dasamahadhesaya—50 OIas—Sinhalese matter in Telugu characters. The earlier part seems to deal with medicine while the latter part is distinctly astrological in contents. This part is profusely illustrated with human figures and various chakrams.

Navaratnasilpikam—6 OIas—probably deals about the working of gems.

Medical and Astrological Miscellany—44 OIas—miscellaneous matter containing treatments for various diseases.

Nakshatra Deepamalava—14 OIas—Sanskrit matter which ends as “Abhimadhartha Siddhirasthu”—These olas are marginally numbered in Tamil numerals.

Astrological Tables and Calculations—3 OIas—giving also the horoscopes of one Punchi Menika and of the “eldest daughter.”

Sanskrit and Grantha Alphabet—2 OIas—very carelessly scribbled in an attempt to learn the scripts.

A Padham in Kedaragowla Raga—1 Ola

A Manthram—1 Ola—probably deals with the exorcising of devils.

Some Stanzas—1 Ola—some of them seem to be from Prathyasataka. Plenty of Tamil and Sinhalese letters are found interspersed in this part.

Illegible—2 OIas.

A Manthram—2 OIas—evidently to invoke an evil spirit. Begins with “Namo Tassa Baghavato, etc.”

Astrological Matter—10 OIas—containing tabular calculations of the horoscopes of Subbayya, Perumal, Muthayya, Chinna Rangayya and grandmother, and so on.

The British Monopoly of Cinnamon.

BY

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(Contd. from page 174)

Reorganisation of the Cinnamon Department.

Sir Edward Barnes, and Sir Edward Paget during his short tenure of the Governorship, reverted partially, but gradually, to North's discarded policy. It was their object so to extend and cultivate the preserved plantations that they could become the sole source of cinnamon. Some £4,000 to £5,000 a year were spent towards this purpose.¹ Consequently, the effect of the drastic enactments respecting cinnamon would be somewhat mitigated. Barnes, we shall see, ultimately even reverted to that very policy of payment which Maitland had so severely criticised North for adopting.

Paget, in 1823, reorganised the Cinnamon Department. The Superintendent of the Cinnamon Plantations, who was paid £1,500 a year, was given five Assistants. Each assistant was placed in charge of one of the five preserved plantations, given powers similar but subordinate to those of the Superintendent, and paid a salary of £300 per annum.² Piece rates, instead of time rates, were introduced for the peelers. They were henceforth to be paid by the pound and not by the month. These rates differed according to the place of collection. If in the preserved plantations, they received two fanams (3*d.*) a lb. for the first and second sorts, and one fanam (1½*d.*) for the third sort. In the abandoned plantations and in the jungles of the Maritime Provinces, the comparable rates were 2½ fanams (3¾*d.*) and one fanam (1½*d.*) per lb. In the Kandyan country they were three fanams (4½*d.*) and one fanam (1½*d.*) per lb.³ Each peeler was expected to deliver 40 lb. a month.⁴ Before this arrangement was introduced, they were

1. C. O. 54. 80 Barnes to Bathurst, 27th December, 1821.

2. C. O. 55. 66. Bathurst to Paget, 25th July, 1823.

3. C. O. 416. 5. B5.

4. Ibid. Also Colebrooke's Report. 39.

paid five Rix Dollars, a parrah of rice and a seer of salt per month.¹ It was the same for a labourer. This scale, which was itself an advance on previous conditions, had been introduced in 1821.² The allowances of rice and salt continued under the new arrangement. The system, it will be noticed, was designed to encourage the collection of the better sorts of cinnamon. Barnes, in his turn, commuted the allowance in kind for a monthly payment of $2\frac{1}{2}$ Rix Dollars.³ This was in 1825. In the case of the peelers no increase seems to have been made through their allowances too were abolished.⁴

Barnes, who was actively cultivating the preserved plantations, also introduced a new system for calling out labourers. After a month's labour in the plantations, a workman was supposed to be unfit for the efficient discharge of his duties for another two months. They were therefore called out in alternate gangs or quotas for a month at a time. At the end of the month they were paid their wages and allowed to return to their villages for another two months. On the lapse of that period they had to present themselves once more for work at the plantations. Men coming from beyond a certain distance were paid one Rix Dollar (1s. 6d.) as batta for the journey. The peelers, of course, could not be included in this arrangement, as their work was seasonal. Thus, it was thought, the workmen would have eight months in which to pursue their other occupations and to attend to their private affairs. The number to be called out at any one period was fixed at 750 men.⁵

The Superintendent of the Cinnamon Plantations having pointed out that, when the system of paying the peelers by the pound was introduced, it had not been intended to abolish their allowances in kind, their scale of pay was revised in 1829. In the preserved plantations it was fixed at $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb. for the first and second sorts, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. for the third. In the abandoned gardens and jungles in the Maritime Provinces, they were $5\frac{1}{4}$ d. and $1\frac{1}{2}$ d., and in the Kandyan jungles $5\frac{1}{4}$ d. and $1\frac{7}{8}$ d. respectively per lb.⁶

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. C. O. 416. 5. B5.

4. B14. Walbeoff to Boyd. 24th July, 1829.

5. C. O. 416. 5. B5.

6. Colebrooke's Report. 39.

Finally, in October, 1831, immediately prior to Barnes's departure from Ceylon, an important reform was instituted. By that period, the cultivation of the preserved plantations, which Barnes had so urgently pursued, was nearly complete. Workmen were needed more for upkeep and clearing purposes than for extensions. A smaller permanent labour force would therefore suffice. In the circumstances, Barnes expressed himself "determined to abandon the system now pursued of compelling certain classes to labour in the cinnamon plantations, and to trust altogether to Mr. Walbeoff's exertions in *hiring* labourers."¹ In other words, the voluntary principle was introduced—the very consummation that North had so ardently desired. The cost of labour hitherto had worked out at about $5\frac{2}{3}d.$ per man per day. Barnes therefore established a standard rate of $6d.$, thus to ensure the success of his measure.² Walbeoff was ordered to dismiss his existing labour force and immediately to re-engage 550 men and 100 lascoryns, *without reference to caste*, at $6d.$ per day.³ "The Governor hopes," wrote Barnes, "that he (Walbeoff) will then find it unnecessary to resort to the corporal punishment of such labourers for neglect of duty."⁴ This was the first serious breach in the system of obligatory service based on caste.

The peelers, however, were expressly excluded from the benefits of this concession, and it was further affirmed that "the Governor does not now relinquish the claim of the public to the service of the Chaliyas, or other classes of people liable to serve as labourers..."⁵

Barnes expected by this measure to diminish the influence of the Chaliya headmen, to weaken the prejudices of the caste, and to increase the efficiency of the department, with, perhaps, also a decrease in expenditure.⁶ So successful was it that in 1832 Horton was enabled to reduce wages to $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ a day without making any appreciable diminution in the numbers who volunteered for work.⁷

The death of Walbeoff, Superintendent of the Cinnamon Department, on the 13th January, 1832, gave Horton an opportunity of further reorganisation. The combined post of Superintendent of the

1. C. O. 54. 113. Barnes to Bathurst, 11th October, 1831, enclosure Chief Secretary to Council of Revenue.

2. Ibid. enclosure.

3. Ibid. enclosure.

4. Ibid. enclosure.

5. Ibid. encl.

6. Ibid.

7. C. O. 54. 118. Horton to Goderich, 26th October, 1832.

cinnamon plantations and Sitting Magistrate of the Mahabadda was abolished. The Assistant Superintendents were given full charge of the plantations, and granted increased salaries. The Judicial duties devolved on the Sitting Magistrates of the respective districts where the various plantations were situated. A reduction in the number of native headmen was taken in hand. In all a saving of £1,294 was made.¹

The Policy of Sir Edward Barnes.

In pursuance of this cinnamon policy, Barnes had not forgotten the plants that grew on private property. His categorical pronouncement with regard to their ownership has already been noticed. But he endeavoured to mitigate its pernicious effects. Again he returned to North's ideas. A policy of transplantation or destruction of such plants was set in train. The following advertisement appeared in 1824 in the Government Gazette.² As it outlines his motives and objects, it is here reproduced in entirety.

“It being the desire of Government gradually to remove from the gardens of individuals the cinnamon plants growing therein, by transplanting them, wherever it can conveniently be done, into the regular cinnamon plantations of Government; by which means the individuals will be exempted from visits by the Commissioners of the Mahabadda, and from prosecutions for destroying the plants in their gardens; His Excellency the Governor hereby directs owners of gardens or other lands within the District of Colombo, in which cinnamon plants may be growing, to send to the Superintendent of Plantations, on or before the 15th of March next, a report showing the name of the garden or land, the village, Corle, and Pattu it is situated in, and the number of plantations therein; and when the Superintendent is able to submit a report to Government as to the practicability of transplanting the same from all or any portion of the gardens, the decision of His Excellency will be communicated to the parties, and after the plants are removed, a certificate thereof will be issued to the owner of the garden.”

This advertisement demonstrates that the old Dutch system with regard to plants on private property still persisted in entirety.

1. C. O. 54. 117. Horton to Goderich, 16th January, 1832.

2. C. G. G. 14th February, 1824. Government Advertisement, 9th February, 1824.

By a subsequent advertisement of 17th May, 1825,¹ notice was given to the persons who had submitted lists, that the Superintendent was directed to take early measures for having removed into the plantations such plants as grew in private gardens sufficiently near to such plantations. But no plants growing in private property within the limits of the preserved plantations were to be so removed. The removal was to be at the expense or by the labour of the proprietors. Chaliyas would attend at an appointed date to uproot the plants, which were then to be removed "To such places in the plantations as the Superintendent might direct." Should this not be accomplished within twenty-four hours of uprooting, the Chaliyas would re-attend to re-plant the bushes, which would continue to be subject to the usual regulations. Certificates which exempted proprietors from all liability and interference were granted on removal.

A great number of plants was thus removed, but some 15,000 plants are supposed to have died on transplantation.² At a later date Barnes permitted the destruction of cinnamon in all gardens containing less than fifty trees.³ The benefits of these measures were incalculable. A perpetual source of irritation was removed, a permanent obstacle to cultivation was overthrown, and men could turn to the use they thought best what was their own.

Kandyan Cinnamon

Kandyan cinnamon has a special history. The part it played as a diplomatic weapon in Kandyan-Dutch relations has already been noticed.

Prior to the first Kandyan War, the British had little or no difficulty in collecting cinnamon in Kandyan territory. That it retained its diplomatic importance, however, was shown by the repeated inclusion in every treaty of a clause designed to facilitate its collection in those regions.⁴ The British always sought the privilege of collecting at will in the country West of Balana Mountains; and also to ensure the ready grant of permission should they need to send peelers further inland. North was not unaware of the difficulties that could arise. The desire to be independent of Kandyan supplies was one of the motives of his cinnamon policy.

1. C. G. G. 18th May, 1825.
2. C. O. 416. B5.
3. C. O. 416. B13.
4. Cf.

With the outbreak of hostilities, the presence of armed Kandyan on the frontiers almost altogether cut off this source. The undertermined relationship which Maitland established, and continued throughout his Governorship, did not remove or alleviate the difficulty. Permission from Kandy was never sought, and, therefore, never granted. Maitland little realised that the restriction of Kandyan supplies had been a main cause of North's failure to meet fully his contractual obligations.

But the Kandyan supplies were not entirely blocked. Marshall informs Brownrigg in 1814 that "the Kandyan country has continued to furnish annually a quantity of cinnamon. The King did not grant permission to the Chaliyas to enter his territories, but they contrive to make short excursions into it, and by stealth, bribery, or sufferance of the headmen, succeed in obtaining a considerable quantity of bark which they prepare at leisure after leaving the Kandyan limits." "Occasionally," is his naive remark, "they suffer for their temerity, but not often."¹

The acquisition of Kandy in 1815 introduced a different state of affairs. Peelers could freely collect in the Kandyan jungles. These were increasingly availed of, and, for instance, the 1817 investment came entirely from this source.²

No special cinnamon department was set up in the Kandyan Provinces. Certain low-caste Kandyans were employed in the collection of cinnamon, and seem to have been obliged to produce an annual quota; for which reason their land taxes were remitted.³ But they never reached the Chaliya state of privileged servitude, and were under the control of the Revenue Commissioner of Kandy. In general, the cinnamon department of the Maritime Provinces continued solely to attend to the business; and the Superintendent and his assistants exercised their powers and jurisdiction over the Chaliyas even when they worked in the Kandyan country—but over them alone. The only difference was that duty in the Kandyan jungles became more frequent and irksome. Another item was added to the tale of Chaliya grievances.

1. C. O. 54. 56. Brownrigg to Bathurst, 8th June, 1815. encl. Marshall's Memo.

2. C. O. 54. 70. Brownrigg to Bathurst, 12th February, 1818.

3. Colebrooke's Report, 39.

The cinnamon laws were never formally introduced into the Kandyan Provinces. Nor can they be held to have been informally enforced. Of course, trade in the article was not allowed; though even here with a difference. But the maritime laws that protected the plant, etc., were not applied. Kandyans were indeed, encouraged to cut cinnamon and deliver it to Government. Barnes, in 1829, allowed them to pay their land taxes in cinnamon.¹ They procured it too for others. Chaliya peelers averred that they purchased cinnamon from Kandyans, at a rate higher than Government paid themselves, and delivered it to the Cinnamon Department as their own produce.² Kandyans were even permitted to cultivate it for their own profit. A Kandyan chief opened a plantation, the produce of which he supplied to Government at the usual rates.³

The fact of payment for such produce *ipso facto* implied its recognition, as private property. Its acceptance in lieu of taxes was also in direct contradiction of the Maritime system. This anomalous result of a purely opportunist policy furnished Horton with a powerful argument in the controversy over the cinnamon monopoly.

The Position in 1830.

In 1829 the annual expenses of the Cinnamon Department, in Ceylon, were estimated to average £25,372.⁴ This compares with the £4,000 on which North calculated in 1800. About £7,000 of this sum was charged for superintendence, and about £13,000 as pay for peelers and labourers. The remainder consisted of costs of packing and other similar contingent expenses, both recurring and extraordinary. Some 20,000 men were annually called upon for work in the department. Of these, 16,489 were registered Chaliyas. The rest were labourers of other castes, both belonging to the department and otherwise.⁵

The total extent of the preserved plantations, at the same date, was some 13,000 acres. Except for 1,279 acres, which were unfit swampy ground, the whole of this extent was in cultivation.⁶ The private proprietors who had formerly existed within their limits were excluded. Maitland, in 1822, had reported that there was much

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Colebrooke's Report 39.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. C. O. 416. 5. B5.

uncultivated land in the plantations, and pointed out that in the Marendahn alone there were included 755 acres of private property.¹ These had been appropriated, the plantations had been extended and entirely cultivated. In a few years, it was calculated, all necessary cinnamon could be obtained from them alone,² the abandoned gardens could be sold and cleared, and the cinnamon monopoly would cease to be a hardship to individual proprietors. There were in 1829 some 11,100 acres of abandoned cinnamon plantations.³

Finally, the result of the cultivation policy may be gathered from the figures of production for 1829, 1830, 1831 and 1832, given in the Gazette of 21/2/35. Fortunately, the sources are distinguished, and therefore these figures will compare with Marshall's figures in 1814. The following table gives the total production of each year, and distinguishes the quantities drawn from the preserved plantations, the abandoned gardens, and the jungles in each year:—

Year	Total Produce in lbs.	From Preserved Plantation	From Abandoned Gardens	From Kandyan Jungles
1829	452,300	138,600	190,200	105,500
1830	472,762	—	49,650	392,100
1831	459,200	361,280	40,800	42,700
1832	304,101	83,520	173,624	42,300

From this table it is clear that despite all efforts, the Ceylon Government had failed to render itself independent of sources of supply other than the preserved plantations. Cost of production averaged about 6*d.* per lb. which compares with the 5*d.* of the Dutch,

(To be Continued.)

1. C. O. 416. 5. Bii. Maitland's Report.
2. C. O. 416. 5 B13.
3. C. O. 416. 5. B5.

Colebrooke's Secret Report on Forced Labour

(Contd. from page 154.)

Report of Lieutenant-Colonel Colebrooke, one of His Majesty's Commissioners of Enquiry upon the Compulsory Services to which the Natives of Ceylon are subject, dated 16th March, 1832.

London,

16th March, 1832.

MY LORD,

In my general Report dated the 24th December, 1831, I attended to the case of certain native inhabitants of Ceylon who in the month of April, 1829, had made open resistance to the authorities when ordered to proceed to Kandy to perform public labour, and which had led to the punishment of the offenders.

From the importance attaching to this case, and from the illustration it affords of the practical effects of the system of forced labour, to which the natives of Ceylon are subject, it becomes my duty to bring the correspondence and proceedings specially under the notice of your lordship, and to enter generally into some details which are necessary to show the disposition of the people, and the hardships to which they are exposed.

When I arrived in Ceylon in the month of April, 1829, my attention was immediately drawn to the system of forced services required of the "Chalias" or Cinnamon Peelers, who were then assembled in Colombo to be sent into the jungles to cut Cinnamon. In the course of this inquiry it was stated to me that the inhabitants of Walapane a Kandyan province had recently resisted the orders of Government to work, and that troops had been sent into the Province. Also that the refractory people had been tried at Kandy and had been flogged and imprisoned.

The complaints of the Chalias I investigated at the time, and on proceeding to Kandy in September, 1829, I made inquiries into the other transactions.

From the evidence of Mr. Downing, the Judicial Commissioner for the Kandyan provinces, it appeared, that about a hundred labourers were required in March or April, 1829, for public work in Kandy, to be furnished from the district of Walapane, and to insure having this number always at work it was arranged by the Revenue Commissioner that the Landholders of the Province were to be formed into two divisions or reliefs. The people refused to obey this order and some who came up to Kandy refused to work. Six of the ringleaders were made prisoners and tried before the Board of Commissioners by order of the Governor. They were sentenced and one of them was ordered out for immediate corporal punishment. There was a disposition evinced on the part of the body of labourers to effect a rescue but this was prevented. A part of the main guard was brought up by the Commanding Officer, and some troops were afterwards ordered to the Province by the Governor to enforce the orders for attendance of the people, and to repress any attempt at resistance.

The reason assigned by the people for refusing to come up was, that the work was out of their province and contrary to the ancient usages of their country. They also objected to the duty from being required to attend in two divisions relieved every fifteen days, so that each division was several days going and coming, during which time they received no subsistence; on working days they received only a seer¹ of rice per day.

From the minutes of the Board's proceedings² it appears that on the trial of the man who refused to work they found him guilty of "disobedience of the orders of Government" and sentenced him to receive thirty lashes on his back and to be imprisoned in the Gaol of Kandy and put to hard labour for two months. When the prisoner had received sixteen lashes the people came forward in a body and consented to work. The prisoner was in consequence taken down and sent to Goal to undergo his punishment of labour, and the people were ordered to commence work the next morning.

In the following week³ four headmen were tried for disobedience of orders in refusing to work and inciting the people to resistance in their own and in another province.

1. A seer is equal to $\frac{2}{3}$ of an English quart measure.
2. Board's proceedings 27th April, 1829.
3. Board's proceedings 4th and 5th May, 1829.

They were also found guilty by the Board of disobedience of orders but acquitted of having taken any prominent part, and they were sentenced to imprisonment and hard labour for one month.

The Board of Commissioners recorded that after a conference with the Governor and having received His Excellency's direction thereto, it was announced to the Headmen and people of Walapane in Kandy that the whole of the province would be exempted from the grain tax, and that they (the Landholders) would be divided into four "Mooras" (reliefs) and the arrangement was announced to the people through the Dessave in terms to prevent any idea being entertained by them, that the concession was made at their demand.

In the month of August following¹ it was represented by the Government Agent in Walapane that some of the people had again refused to repair to Kandy for this work, and in his opinion the service appeared to have fallen heavily upon them.

In January, 1830,² according to the usual practice application was made to the Governor for leave of absence for the people to finish the cultivation of their lands, and it was then directed that they should be employed on the roads within their own district, on which they were accordingly worked.

From the records it further appears that these labourers had been required to level ground round a mansion or "Pavilion" which was erecting at Kandy for the residence of the Governor, that they were drawn from a Province situated about 25 miles from Kandy—that under the regulations by which the Government claims the labour of the Kandyan landholders, the owners of the two hundred "panguas" or shares of land were relieved from the grain tax and employed at Kandy in gangs of hundred men who received a seer of rice on working days valued at about one halfpenny in the province or three halfpence in Kandy, that they were thus worked for several months, and that the amount of the grain tax thus remitted amounted to £166 : 5 : 6.

From other inquiries it appeared that at the same period voluntary labourers could readily have been obtained at Kandy. The Superintendent of the Botanical Garden at Kandy stated in evidence³ that he was

1. Letter dated 4th August, 1829.
2. Letter dated 2nd January, 1830.
3. Evidence of Mr. McKae.

allowed to employ 56 labourers whom he hired voluntarily at the rate of sixpence a day—that he experienced no difficulty in hiring them at this rate, and that he never had met with any difficulty excepting once in the season of cultivation of rice (March and April), that he could readily have procured 200 labourers at that rate, and that there were several instances of his labourers being called on for Government work, who had found substitutes for the sake of retaining the pay of sixpence per day.

Sergeant James Davidson, a Settler in Kandy, also states in evidence¹ “that he employed 30 native labourers that they were owners of land and willing to work from 9 to 11 hours a day for sixpence a day—for higher wages they were not unwilling to work at all times and to leave their own occupations—that the people of all castes were disposed to work, and although preferring agricultural labour as more honorable, they engaged in other work even against their prejudices when he set them the example—and generally that he had met with no prejudice which they were not induced to abandon.” In 1829 application was made to me for work by some discharged Caffres of the Ceylon Regiment, then out of employment, and these men declared that they could not afford to labour for sixpence a day as the Kandyans were able to do, from possessing lands for the subsistence of their families.

The public labour exacted from the natives of Ceylon has been very generally complained of by them, and numerous petitions were addressed to me on my arrival, and subsequently to myself and my colleague.

The pressure of this labour on the Kandyans who were employed on the roads induced the Revenue Commissioner in 1829 when effecting a settlement of the landrents in certain provinces to bring the subject to the notice of the Governor through the Board at Kandy.²

In 1821 when Sir Edward Barnes was Lieutenant Governor, he made the following report to Earl Bathurst:—

“A carriage road is now open between this place (Kandy) and Colombo by Kornegalle, although in a stupendous undertaking of this kind it cannot be expected that it should be completed in all its points but it will be every day becoming more perfect.

1. Evidence of James Davidson 7th August, 1830.
2. See proceedings of Board, 20th Oct., 1829.

“Although this is not the direct line between Colombo and Kandy I was induced to pay more attention to it on account of the aid which might be derived from the great population of the Seven Korles, and also of the resources which the fertility of that province afforded to the supply of Kandy.”¹

For the improvement of this line of road a tunnel was cut with great labour through a hill near Kandy, and an iron bridge was procured from England to be thrown over the Mahavilleganga river.

Another road to Kandy was projected by Sir Edward Barnes to be carried through the province of “Four Korles” which adhered to the British Government through the Kandyan Rebellion. As the people of this province had been employed for several years without payment in making the road, in opening the passes over the hills, and in cutting and dragging timber for the bridges, the following statements were made in 1829 by Mr. Turnour the Revenue Commissioner:—

“The value of the produce of the lands of the people employed on the roads (in the Four Korles) amounts to £5,300. The road party are exempt from work for four months in the year. For the eight months they are employed, if they were paid at the rate of voluntary labour which may be reckoned at sixpence per day the cost would be £2,400, nearly half the value of the produce of their lands. From the remainder they have to subsist themselves during the four months that they are exempted from the roads, and during which period they are required to exempt themselves in cultivating their lands to supply themselves with the means of recommencing the road service.

“This oppressive system the Revenue Commissioner is satisfied would not have been enforced for a period of ten years if Government had been aware to the fullest extent of its rigorous severity.”

“The Revenue Commissioner has to state that in almost every province the inhabitants have represented to him the hardship of being obliged to erect and keep in repair, resthouses, tappal stations, and buildings attached to agents' residences without receiving any remuneration. The Agents continue to exact these services because they found that the inhabitants had been required to perform them by their predecessors.”

1. Despatch No. 87, 19th July, 1821.

Many of the road labourers are stated to have been old men and boys not above seven years old and the number ordinarily employed in this province alone was 400 labourers, but the number had been increased in 1827 to 800 besides a division of the Corps of Pioneers.

In consequence of these discussions the number was reduced in 1829 to 400 labourers daily, and in 1830 to 200 daily for the road through Four Korles, and the Governor having stated his views in opening the roads recorded the following observations:—

“The Government had to look to the proportion of working people to be found in a population of 33,000 (after deducting a reasonable number for the other services) to open the two roads already sanctioned, and a general call was made upon the district during the periods of their services not being required for agricultural purposes and His Excellency was sanguine enough to expect the work would be accomplished in a year. All experience however has proved how very fallacious all calculations are as to native labour. Suffice it to say that on His Excellency's return to the Island in the beginning of 1824 he was much surprized and disappointed to find that the road through the Four Korles was not even opened for carriage though the road to Kandy by Kornegalle (a distance of eighty-three miles) was practicable for carriages the year after it was commenced. But little aid from the Pioneer Corps had certainly been given to the Four Korles as it was considered an object of great importance to open the communication by the Seven Korles with both Kandy and Colombo. As the people however of the Four Korles had been working for some time and there was still a very great deal to be accomplished and consequently but little prospect of a speedy termination of their labours His Excellency limited the number of the people to be called out to four hundred and threw all the disposable force of Pioneers into the district.”

“With respect to that number being increased in 1827 to 800 it was found that no gravel would stand the washes in the hills, and that nothing could prevent a great and constant call upon the people for this purpose but stoning *alias* macadamizing the hill roads.”

“The upper division of 400 men has been dismissed (1829) and the work of the lower division has been retarded by the extraordinary floods in June last year, which carried away the Warakapoly bridge besides several other smaller bridges.”

“At the time the number of labourers were increased from four to eight hundred the people had a remission of the grain tax in the principal harvest.”¹

“Taking into calculation the period allowed the people for their cultivation, and the number of absentees at other times, the average number throughout the year has been as nearly as possible 400 men daily, and a considerable proportion of them old men and boys.”²

As to the effects of this mode of labour for public works the Government Agent in the Four Korles has stated in his evidence “that the road service is felt by the people as oppressive, that it interferes with their occupations, retards every little project of improvement and limits their industry to cultivating only what is requisite to satisfy their actual wants, that it deters people from settling in the province and that to many of the Headmen the road service is a source of considerable emolument in conniving at the absence of those who can pay for the indulgence and which from the difficulty of getting evidence to prove it the Agent finds it out of his power to check.”³

In a conference which I held with several of the principal chiefs at Kandy in 1830, the following representations were made by them:—

“That the late King of Kandy employed the Temple people in making the Lake in Kandy, which he did on the plea that the construction of tanks was a work of piety.”

“That the Temple people in common with others labour on the roads in erecting Bungalows and in any other work required by Government. That the Kandyan people are not paid for their work upon the roads nor do their lands benefit from the roads except when passing directly through them—that besides the roads are never finished and the people would rather be at the labour of erecting a shed over the road from Colombo to Kandy than be subject to the constant recurrence of the repairs necessary after the rains. The cutting and carrying of timber for the bridges is also a severe labour falling on the Kandyan people. That the rents they pay in a year are as large as the contributions to the late Government in ten years besides the services they perform which are also heavier than those formerly exacted.

1. There are two harvests in the year.
2. Letter of the Deputy Secretary to Government, 28th Dec., 1829.
3. Evidence of Lieut. Tayler, Govt. Agent for the Four Korles.

“Under the Kandyan Government when the people were employed on public works, they were allowed to return to their homes some time before the Cingalese New Year which falls in April and is a festival which they usually celebrate with their families but this indulgence is not allowed to them under the British Government and they are worked throughout the whole month of April. There are two intervals allowed them in the year for the cultivation of their grounds, and it sometimes happens that they are not released from Government work till the season of sowing is passed. The leave is not granted at any fixed periods and their lands have sometimes been left uncultivated or partially so.

* * * *

“The people are called on to serve in Panguas,¹ and if a man has a separate pangua he must serve for it if called on throughout the year. Such persons if they can get time cultivate ‘Chenas’ (commons) and grow ‘Coracan’, etc. (dry grains) for their subsistence, but if they cannot get time they employ themselves as they can in day labour in the lands or houses of the Chiefs, Headmen, or others. Their wives do the same, employing themselves in pounding paddy, and in some cases the labour of the wife subsists the husband.”

* * * *

“It is their practice when relieved from work daily to go to the neighbouring towns to earn their meals.

“If they do not attend the Government work regularly at the stated hours they are flogged by the Korale (a native overseer) under whose superintendence they work. They are kept out thus for different periods sometimes for several months at a distance of 20 miles from their homes and are obliged to reside in houses in the neighbourhood of their work or to make sheds for themselves.”

“The people in general undergo many injuries. The tenants of Temple lands, Dessavonies and Ratta Wassame are all subject to road service, and if the people should owing to some accident fail to attend to their services, the headmen and the people are fined, and if a headman should thus be fined he returns to his village and in order to reimburse himself the amount of the fine, he takes a bullock or some other part of the property of the people under him on the plea that the Headman had suffered owing to the neglect of the people.”

1. The Rice lands are divided into shares or panguas.

The people thus pressed for the road service and prevented from cultivating their lands cannot therefore augment their resources or relieve themselves from their poverty.

* * * *

“They have become poor and in debt to others—a fact that may be proved by reference to the Chiefs and people in all parts of the country.”

“The people being subject to pay tax ought to be paid for the labour they perform on the roads, and they should have time to cultivate their lands.”

* * * *

“Inquiry should be made from the people themselves as we (the Chiefs) are exempted and have no direct interest in the question.”

* * * *

“It is true that many countries are under the dominion of the British Government but the King may still be desirous of knowing the means of securing the attachment of his Kandyan subjects. The people are well aware since the arrival of the Commissioners of Inquiry that the King concerns himself about their interests.”¹

(To be continued.)

1. See Minutes of Conferences with Kandyan Chiefs and Priests at Kandy, 20th and 26th August, 1830.

Macdowall's Embassy to Kandy

KANDYAN AFFAIRS UNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF FREDERIC
NORTH, 1799-1800.

(Continued from page 178)

D. 121.

Hay Macdowall to Frederic North

Attapitiya, 28th April, 1800.

SIR,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's letter of the 26th instant. Had I for a moment supposed that Your Excellency would have been satisfied with the treaty as proposed to be altered by the Court of Candy, in which the principal object, the security of the King by quartering a respectable force in his Capital are to be relinquished, I should have endeavoured to meet your wishes, but even then without any very sanguine hopes of success, being confident that it is not the intention of the Nobles to advise His Majesty to enter into an alliance with your Excellency's Government at present, should the terms be more favourable for them than they are, for notwithstanding the apparent dejection of the Adigar at parting, he is so consummate a hypocrite, and has proved himself so devoid of honor and integrity that little dependence is to be placed either on his words or actions, which have all tended to deceive since the commencement of his intrigues when he made such splendid promises, none of which, it now appears, he even meant should be realized. The Dessave of Ouva is no doubt his implacable foe, but still the Adigar's power and the ascendancy he possesses over the weak prince, could instantly have removed every obstacle to the accomplishment of Your Excellency's views had he been seriously inclined to support our cause. Had he even intended to conclude the treaty, it is not reasonable to suppose, after all that has passed, that he would have made some attempt to remove the bad impression made upon me by the ridiculous proposal of the Dessave of Ouva, but he constantly avoided coming to any explanation, respecting the treaty or stating fairly what would be agreed to.

Although I have been led to fix my opinion of the unwillingness of the Nobles to form a closer connection with the British nation from a personal observation of the disagreement and knavery of their conduct, I most fervently pray that I may be mistaken and that the sincere and generous advances again made by Your Excellency may be the means of renewing the negotiation and of bringing it to a happy termination. To accelerate this design I have in some degree deviated from Your Excellency's instructions, and in place of forwarding your whole scheme at once to the Court, I took the liberty to substitute the enclosed paper (which employed the interpreters five hours to translate) which was dispatched last night at 11 o'clock. If they are cordial in the purpose of accepting the friendship and alliance of the English, a person of consequence will probably be sent immediately to this place, but if on the contrary they despise all connection with us and reject the proposal I have made to them, Your Excellency will be fully warranted in fulfilling your intention of affording protection to the legal heir to the Court of Kandy.

I shall in the course of this day prepare drafts of the proposed alterations, but from the extreme slowness of the translators, they will not be ready before tomorrow or next day, either to forward to Candy or to lay before the persons who may arrive.

Your Excellency may perhaps think that I have acted with too much precipitation in not yielding to the suggestions of the Ministers and Nobles, and for quitting the Court without having obtained your permission after the treaty had been refused, but I have to say, that I considered myself as the representative of one of the greatest and most powerful nations in the world and I was little disposed, while holding so respectable a situation, to suffer myself to be defied by the scandalous artifices and mean evasions of a set of men who having broken their solemn promises to me, that the treaty should be signed on the 23rd, I could only treat their subsequent observations with contempt and indignation.

Should we again come upon the business of the treaty, Your Excellency's very just remarks upon the 8th article shall be paid due regard to.

Influenced by no personal or interested motives I have been solely actuated by a desire to do credit to Your Excellency's Government, and to perfect what I conceived to be a great national object, if we fail

now, you may rest assured that the day is not far off when the British will have weight enough at the Court of Candy to prevent the machinations of individuals from disturbing the tranquillity of the Empire and which will so essentially contribute to secure us the possession of this valuable Island.

I have the honor, etc.,

HAY MACDOWALL.

Attapetti,

April 28th, 1800.

D 122.

Enclosure—Message from the Ambassador
to the Nobles of Kandy.

His Excellency the Governor notwithstanding his displeasure at the evasive conduct of the Candian Court and the want of confidence they have shewn His Excellency during the late negotiation, yet wishing to prove to the King and his ministers that however much he is dissatisfied, he still most ardently desires to enter into an alliance with them, His Excellency has furnished fresh credentials to General Macdowall, who is authorized to alter and amend the treaty which His Majesty did not think proper to conclude while the Ambassador remained near the royal person: and to effect this desirable end, General Macdowall will halt at Attapitti, till such time as the King shall send one of his confidential servants to the place who shall be authorized to make such alterations in the 3rd or other articles of the treaty as may be mutually beneficial to both parties. But after this fair and honorable mark of His Excellency's friendship, should the ministers decline to advise the King to sign the treaty the Governor will have just reason to suppose that he has been deceived by false pretences and will consider himself as entirely separated from the King and nobles of Candy and avoid all connection with a nation which has treated his candid and liberal proposals with such want of respect.

A true Copy,

(Sgd.) Wm. MACPHERSON,

Secretary to Embassy.

Attapeti,

April 27th, 1800.

D. 123

Frederic North to Hay Macdowall

Colombo, 30th April, 1800.

SIR,

I saw yesterday morning the person whom I mentioned to Your Excellency.

He informed me that he was intimate with the Dessave of Ouva from whom he has lately received a message by a Vidan whom he had sent down hither to inquire of him whether Boodha Samy was at Colombo.

He says that Ouva is certainly a friend to Boodha Samy but very willing to adhere to the present King and that what actuates him now is fear of the Adigar.

I told him that Ouva had in that case acted very imprudently in persuading the King not to accede to the treaty I proposed to him as the troops which would have been stationed near Candy would have been under the King's orders and placed both the King and himself out of danger from the Adigar. Indeed that it was not yet too late for him to repair the error he had committed by persuading the King to sign the treaty as originally proposed.

The more I consider the events that have taken place, the more I am satisfied with the entire independence in which the failure of the proposed treaty has placed us with regard to the Adigar whom we should have otherwise been obliged to support against the words and spirit of the treaty itself, and certainly against the right of nations—which points out the King actually reigning as the only power in the country with whom we can form an alliance. Though he, as it seems, is cordially supported by neither of his ministers his existence and dignity are at this moment essentially necessary to the safety of both, and the weaker and more favoured of the two may find it advisable to strengthen his authority with the Force of an irresistible foreign protection.

Should the Dessave of Ouva reject the proposal of persuading the King to sign the treaty, or not be able to persuade him to it, that unfortunate prince must be left to his fate and we must wait to see the issue of affairs in the Capital, for I certainly cannot disallow the King's claim to the Crown nor can I invest any other person with it.

As to the Adigar, whatever reasons we may have to complain against him, I do not think that they are sufficiently strong to make us break with him, nor would it be prudent to do so if they were.

The King's life is preserved, which is one point gained, his power may still be so, and they may both be endangered by a precipitate quarrel with that minister whose power is certainly considerable both in the Court and the country.

Whatever may be our power I cannot help thinking that it is not time to hazard it in espousing too entirely any one of the parties of the state.

While it is known that we shall act merely for the prevention of excesses, we may always be sure of commanding respect and no party will attack us, and we may be sure that habitual confidence joined to fear will procure us in time all that we can want from the country, which is influence enough to prevent mischief from it.

I have the honor, etc.,

Colombo,
30th April, 1800.

FREDERIC NORTH.

D. 124.

• Frederic North to Hay Macdowall
Colombo, 30th April, 1800.

SIR,

The Candian priest *Ganarouwa-Odanee*, will set out this evening to receive Your Excellency's directions concerning what he is to say to the Dessave of Ouva.

My wish is that he should inform that minister of the surprise and concern which I feel at his opposition to my proposed treaty. That my object in sending the troops to Candy is to preserve everyone in his proper situation and to prevent those disturbances which the jealousy existing in that Court will inevitably bring upon that country. That all I wish is, that all the Nobles of the Court would consider me as a mediator between them and as one desirous to preserve the King and all his servants in the enjoyment of their authority according to their several situations. That I therefore should see with pleasure a sincere reconciliation between him and the Adigar and will undertake to procure a continuance of safety and honor for him beyond the reach of danger.

This line of conduct I am convinced is by far the most prudent that we can take, for besides the Odium which we must incur by adopting the crimes and interests of any of the parties, our real power will render it more advantageous for us to be in ~~no~~ manner dependent on the success of any of them, and to hold as we certainly shall, the entire control of the whole country without difficulty or danger.

The Adigar will certainly not be satisfied, but he must submit to these terms that he may not throw us into the arms of the adverse faction, and will have at least as much reason as we have to avoid an open rupture.

I should therefore wish that any proposals of reconciliation from him may be received with kindness and that he may be exhorted to a pacification with the King and the favourite, and that all parties may be given to understand that the preservation of their present power is what I wish for, and what my influence will be exerted to maintain, if the King will allow it.

I have the honor, etc.,

Colombo,

FREDERIC NORTH.

April 30th, 1800.

D. 125

Hay Macdowall to Frederic North
Attapitiya, 29th April, 1800.

SIR,

I had the honor to address Your Excellency yesterday to inform you that I had dispatched a letter to the Court of Candy proposing to renew the negotiation, but that I had not forwarded your plan, in the first place, because the translation of a long paper would have occupied too much time and secondly because I wished the Maha Mudliar's intelligence might reach the Nobles for whom it is intended, before your fresh proposals should be known.

This morning I received the enclosed note from the Court signed by the first Adigar and in consequence of the request made, I have communicated your proposals to the Nobles which are so extremely reasonable, that if ever it was their intention to enter into an alliance with us, they will throw no farther obstruction in the way, but readily send a confidential person to conclude the treaty with me at this place.

A copy of what I have written to the Court accompanies this and the day after tomorrow I shall probably have their reply and nothing will make me so happy as to find that my opinion respecting their sincerity communicated in my letter of yesterday may prove to be founded upon false premises.

I have written to Lieutenant-Colonel Torrens to let everything remain in Camp and to be ready to move at a short notice.

I have the honor, etc.,

HAY MACDOWALL.

Attapetti,

April 29th, 1800.

D. 126.

Enclosure—Court of Candy to Hay Macdowall.

Answer to the Ambassador's letter of the 29th instant translated into French by Mr. Jonville and from French into English by the Secretary to the Embassy.

Received at Attapetty, 29 April, 1800. From the Grandees of the Court of Candy to His Excellency the Ambassador Major-General Macdowall.

We have received the letter which Major-General Macdowall the Ambassador has written to us. It is therein said, that His Excellency has received new orders from the Government respecting the treaty and the 3rd article of it which was not concluded.

If the Governor has sent any orders upon this subject and they are sent to us here, the Nobles will consult together upon them there, and they may afterwards confer with the Ambassador.

(Sgd.) The Nobles of the Court of Candy
and Lowie (sic) Pilimetelawe.

A true Copy from the translation of the French,

(Sgd.) WM. MACPHERSON.

Secretary to the Embassy.

D. 127.

Enclosure—Hay Macdowall to Court of Candy.

From the Ambassador to the Court of Candy.

The Ambassador has received a letter signed by the 1st Adigar and forwards His Excellency's proposals.

The Governor would propose to station near the Candian Capital one thousand men, four hundred of which only to be paid for by the King in the produce of the country, viz.: Areka nut, rice, pepper, cinnamon, ivory, elephants, wax, etc., etc. But if the Nobles persist in declining to recommend the above measure to the King then His Excellency would propose that the English Government should have a force always ready for the defence and protection of the King and which are to be subsisted when actually doing duty in the Candian Dominions. But while those surplus soldiers are quartered at Colombo and Trincomalee, as it is but fair that the King should in part defray the extra expense His Excellency should be given up, or that the English frontier should be extended not less in any part than 5 or 6 Dutch miles round the Island in such places as His Excellency's limits do not reach so far at present. That should the King and Nobles reject the offer of Military assistance His Excellency will then wish to form a commercial treaty with them, by which he would desire to establish places of trade and have small guards to protect the Merchandize, but that the Guards in the different parts of the Island shall never exceed four hundred men and that His Excellency would assist the Candians in making their rivers more navigable than at present for the ready conveyance of the articles of commerce. And as His Excellency has by the above evinced his sincerity of being on good terms with His Majesty and the Nobles of his Court, he expects that one or more persons may be sent to the Ambassador at Attapetty to converse on the subject, and to bring the treaty to a speedy conclusion. When the treaty is signed His Excellency will send to the Coast all persons disagreeable to the Candian Court.

A true Copy,

WM. MACPHERSON,

29th April, 1800.

Secretary to the Embassy.

(To be Continued.)

The Kandyan State Trial

EDITED BY

FATHER S. G. PERERA, S.J.

(Contd. from p. 191.)

1st Witness,—Mr. Anstruther, recalled,—produced some minutes of Council, signed by the 4th prisoner Tibbotowewe.

2nd Witness,—Mr. Turner, recalled,—*I took down a statement of Tibbotowewe Unnanse (the 4th prisoner), the whole is in my hand-writing.*—Before reading that statement I wish to say a few words in explanation. The 4th prisoner was arrested at daylight on the morning of the 19th of July; as soon as apartments were provided for the prisoners and each lodged, I visited them. Tibbotowewe asked me on what ground his arrest had taken place; I told him on ample evidence before his arrest, and that subsequently to his arrest, the Malay Captain had admitted he had been asked by certain Priests to join the conspiracy—*He denied any knowledge whatever of the conspiracy, and entered into a long detail of the measures he had taken to assist Sir J. D'Oyley in detecting the former rebellions in Matale*—I told him that he as well as the rest would be called up before Council—and he was accordingly brought up on the 20th of July.

The first statement is in my hand-writing, the first page of it contains his statement before the Council on the 10th—(First statement dated 20th July was read to the Court)—*He was warned 'as before,' viz., that anything he had to state must be voluntarily given as it might be brought against him.* The Guard had orders to bring any prisoners who expressed a wish to that effect to the Council.

1st Statement made before Council on July 20th.

Tibbotowewe Unnanse, warned as before, denies all knowledge of the alleged conspiracy—He has heard that the Priests are accused of giving the Malays an entertainment—about four days before he was arrested, Mawatapola Unnanse brought some cakes from Matale for his preceptor Welasse Annu Nayaḱe Unnanse.¹ He sent deponent also some of the

1. Wellassa Anunayaka was arrested.

cakes. On the same day, Obbokotuwe Unnanse,¹ a pupil of Wellasse Annu Nayake Unnanse, came and said that he wanted cakes for a certain purpose—and Deponent gave him what remained. Deponent does not know what he did with them. He fears that this circumstance may have been construed into a contribution to a Malay feast.

Deponent has recently been at his temple Welligalla Wihare in Matele, and stayed there about eleven days. About three days before Deponent came away, which he did on Thursday last, Obbokotuwe and Embilmeegame came to Deponent there; on asking them what had brought them there, Embilmeegame said that he had come to Halmilla-petiye to visit Mawatapola, as he had lately been ordained Upasampada, and Obbokotuwe said that he had come to get some coconuts from Mawatapola and the Deponent, and that Embilmeegame came there to accompany him. Deponent had not seen Embilmeegame for ten or twelve months before that which made him ask what had become of him so long. He replied that he had been inconvenienced of late by the necessity of going about a good deal—he did not say for what purpose.

Deponent has heard vague rumours of princes being in the Wedda Rates; he has also vaguely heard that Gonigoda² Dessave of Bintenne was in the habit of going into the jungle for a week or ten days together, taking provisions with him, on the plea of hunting, which made people suspect that he was communicating with the princes.

Deponent has not spoken to the second Adigar these three years, and has only seen him once during that period.

Deponent returned from Matale on Thursday week; on Wednesday last, *Deponent called on the first Adigar*—he could not see him; Deponent called there again the next day with many of the Priests of the Malwatte, Deponent stayed behind after they went, and some general conversation on religious matters commenced; at last the Adigar asked what the object of Deponent's visit was—Deponent replied that he wanted to get some buildings erected at Welligalle, and as that village belonged to the Adigar, he said he wanted to be allowed to employ the people. The Adigar replied that he did not leave Kandy till Sunday, and Deponent might call again. He did not in any respect speak disloyally respecting the Government.

1. Obbekotuwe was arrested.

2. Gonigoda Senaviratna Goonaratna Wahala Pandita Mudianse, Disawa of Bintenna and part of Wellassa, Vidan of the Gabadagam of Bintenna.

No Messages of any kind were sent either by the Deponent or by the two Priests Embilmeegame and Obbokotuwe to the second Adigar—Deponent never heard of any treasonable communications between those Priests and the second Adigar.

Deponent has never heard any suspicious conjectures made regarding the object of the first Adigar's visit to Anooradhapoorā. Before the Adigar went, Deponent did hear that the Relic, either by supernatural or otherwise, had been transferred to that place, and that the Governor and other Gentlemen had gone to satisfy themselves on this point—Deponent had no conversation with the Adigar regarding his pilgrimage to Anooradhapoorā, nor regarding the inspection of the relic.

On the 22nd July, *Tibbotowewe came up of his own accord*, and made a further statement. (This was read to the Court.)

Tibbotowewe's Statement before Council on 22nd July.

Tibbotowewe Unnanse, having signified his wish to make some further statement, is brought up. *He states as follows:—*About a fortnight ago Kaluwelle¹ Ralle came to Malwatte, and said to me, *there were indications of another rebellion*. I asked the particulars, and he replied that he only knew a little, and that Embilmeegame was exerting himself to bring it about, I told him to make all manner of inquiry. I then went to Matele to get some books from my temple there. I mentioned the object of my trip to Matele to the Maha Nayake to Dembewe, and to the Wellasse Annu Nayake. The Maha Nayake told me to return soon that I might keep the lent in Kandy—while at Matele, Embilmeegame and Obbokotuwe came to my temple at Welligalle I mentioned yesterday what they said—one of the things said by Embilmeegame was, that he wanted my favour and asked when I would return to Kandy; I told him in two or three days; they returned to Kandy and I came a day or two afterwards. Three days after my return to the Pansela at Malwatte, *Kettakumbure*² (5th prisoner) and Embilmeegame came to me, and said that as I was a very good man, they wished to confide an important matter to me, which was the object of his (Embilmeegame's) visit to Matele, but which he had no

1. Kaluwala.

2. Katakumbura Unnanse was arrested.

opportunity of disclosing. I asked what it was. He (*Embilmeegame*) said that they were exerting themselves to raise another rebellion, that they had spoken to the Malays also, that what they wanted with me was to arrange for the removal of the relic: I replied that the undertaking was a difficult one; moreover that I was not one of the priests who were to come on duty at the relic temple, that *Wattegedere* and *Parakoombera*¹ *Unnanses* had been selected for this duty at this next change, that they should speak to them. *Embilmeegame* said that it was an easy matter to speak to these two priests, but nothing could be done without speaking to the first *Adigar*; that I should therefore speak to the first *Adigar* and bring about some means of inducing the *Adigar* to get the Commissioner to allow the *Karandoowe* to be opened. I agreed to speak to the *Adigar* about it, and accordingly when I called on him next day to ask for the services of the people of his village *Welligalle*, I mentioned this purpose of getting the relic. He disapproved of it.

At the forgoing interview with *Embilmeegame* and *Kettakumbure*, I asked where they intended employing the Malays; they said they intended taking them to *Bintenne* through *Matele*. I asked what would become of the wives and children of the Malays? they said that the women and children were to remain in Kandy as the Government did not punish the families of delinquents. I told him that the results would be calamitous, and asked if cows could be induced to go away when their calves were tied up, and said I was sure the Malays would give them up.

Since my return from *Matele* I have seen *Kaluwella Ralle*, it was before *Embilmeegame* and *Kettakumbure* came to me. He asked if those priests had come to me at the *Malwatte*. I said yes, they had; he said they had gone with his knowledge. He also said that he knew the understanding between the two priests and the Malays.

The year before last, my brother-in-law *Weptawe*² *Rate Mahatmeya* told *Kadowelle Kuda Unnanse* that I had gone to *Laggulla* to the Prince who was in disguise in that part of the country; the same *Rate Mahatmeya* came to Kandy a few days ago. I asked him what he meant by spreading such lies and where he had

1. *Parakumbura Unnanse* was arrested.

2. *Wettewe Ratamahatmeya* was transported for treason in 1823, but was pardoned after the death of *Sri Wickrama*, Law 953, and was living in *Tumpane* at the time.

heard them. He said that he only suspected it. We then entered into a conversation ; I said to him, that there was a talk of collecting money to be distributed to the Malays, and that I had heard it from Embilmeegame, but the Rate Mahatmeya replied that he had not a pice that he could give ; after this I met Embilmeegame, and asked him if he had imparted this matter about the Malays to Weptawe Rate Mahatmeya, he said that he had. I told him that the Rate Mahatmeya was a great liar and not to be trusted.

At the same time that I spoke to the Adigar about purloining the relic, I also mentioned about the Malays. I told him that it was not I, but some other people had gained over the Malays, and intended to effect their object by means of the said Malays. The Adigar said that it was not to be done by this means on the Island. If anything was done, it must be done by foreign means. There was no other person there, and nothing more was said on that occasion.

About thirty days ago Reddagodda Lekam did come to me about redeeming an estate of his which is mortgaged to my temple, the Ridi Wihare. I do not recollect any particular conversation with him regarding this conspiracy. *However there is not a Chief or Headman who is entitled to wear a cap who does not speak with dissatisfaction of Government and the late changes.*

Kettakumbure asked me to subscribe for the Malays ; I told him I had money at Ridi Wihare which I could not use without the consent of Wattegedera ; he said nothing more about the money.

I am willing to answer any question in exculpation of any accusation against myself, but I do not wish to say if Mahalle knows anything of this matter, or who could give information regarding the 1st Adigar's conduct or proceedings. I did not make any confession yesterday, as I was warned not to say anything which would criminate myself. I had however been told on the day of the arrest by Mr. Turnour that we had been arrested on information given to Government, that since the arrest the Malay officer had confessed, and we were not therefore to suppose that there was no evidence against us. *On reflecting on this, I have thought it best to come to confess I acknowledge myself guilty of having joined the traitors who were plotting against the Government. I have*

not however done any material service to the cause. I trust, therefore, that Government, through the intercession of Mr. Turnour, will rescue me from the punishment of death.

It was this statement that I mentioned to the 1st prisoner on the 22nd July and which led to the confession made by the 1st prisoner on the 23rd. As the 1st prisoner's confession implicated one of the informants, Mahalle Unnanse, and that Priest persisted in his denial of having communicated with the 1st prisoner, the 4th prisoner was then brought up on the 24th and confronted with Mahalle—what 4th prisoner stated on that occasion was recorded.

Mr. Turnour then read the 3rd statement—and at the conclusion of it *he most distinctly denied having ever said to the 1st prisoner that he must state all he knew*—He said that what he did say to the 4th prisoner was correctly stated in the declaration of the 22nd July.

Tibbotowewe's Statement before Council on the 24th July.

Tibbotowewe Unnanse called in. I know Mahalle Unnanse (with whom he is confronted.) *I remember having a conversation with the 1st Adigar relative to this conspiracy when Mahalle Unnanse was present; it was before the Adigar's pilgrimage to Anooradhapoor.*

Repeatedly, I, Mahalle and Dembewe, visited the Adigar; sometimes without the other priests of Malwatte. On these occasions the Adigar used to observe to Dembewe that he was leading an unprofitable life. He said this significantly though I did not understand his meaning. *I then asked Dembewe what it meant. He said that they had already talked of matters with Dunuwille Dessave with the view of raising a rebellion; this was the first time I heard of it.* I was alone with Dembewe on another occasion. Dembewe then proposed that I should some day go to the Adigar. I did so with him and we seated ourselves on a bed. The Adigar approached us and Dembewe said: "this junior is in our confidence"—The Adigar replied, there was no want of good feeling towards me either. Dembewe then said: "I have admitted this junior into my confidence, as we can get much assistance from him." The Adigar then said, that the people of Ouwa, 7 Korles, 4 Korles and the district of Udaratte were all favourable to raising a rebellion, but he did not know the feelings of the people of Matele. *I replied: "In my Dessavony (meaning Matele) there is no want of good feeling towards you, for which I will be responsible."* I only meant by this, that Matele in

particular was not unfriendly to the Adigar, not that they were disloyal, but that they were contented and well off—Dembewe also asked the Adigar “whom do you propose to raise to the throne?” He replied: “it is certainly not myself, I shall only be Minister—the person whom I shall set up will be one whom the rest will acknowledge.” *Dembewe rejoined*, “If you approve of him we shall also.” This occurred before the last Buddhist Lent, for I kept the next Lent in the Seven Korles. I do not recollect the precise period, but after the Lent which terminated in October, we went to the Adigar again at his house in Kandy. The persons who went were Dembewe, Mahalle and myself—Dembewe said he would call at the Cutcherry, we two went to the Adigar’s direct. The Adigar was not upstairs, we were looking about for him, and it was becoming dark when the Adigar made his appearance—while he was enquiring whether we had been waiting long, Dembewe Unnanse came, we were still opposite the stone steps. The Adigar said he had been considering of our scheme, and that he saw no chance of our success without the aid of a foreign power and the co-operation of the Malays—This is what took place in the presence of Mahalle, I do not know when he was admitted into the secret. The Priests made no reply to this remark of the Adigar’s.

After this the Adigar went to Anooradhapoorā. I do not know what for, some say on a pilgrimage, others to see the relic.

The above is the only occasion on which I met Mahalle at the Adigar’s.

After this, fearing that the Chiefs, among whom there was great unanimity, would get up some other scheme prejudicial to me, I abstained from any further steps, and I heard nothing further. On my return to Kandy Baluwelle Ralle mentioned what I stated yesterday.”

(Here he admits the accuracy of his former statement.)

He now states: “Mr. Turnour came to me and said you must state the whole story and not imagine that Government does not possess any evidence—If you are convicted upon the evidence that Government possesses, do not reproach me with having concealed the possession of that evidence from you—I have made this declaration in the hope of obtaining a pardon—Had it that the record of what passed when I confessed on the 22nd of July is correct.”

(Signed) TIBBOTOWEWE.

Mr. Turnour was not cross-examined.

24th Witness.—The Hon. W. O. Carr, Esq., King's Advocate, sworn,—Stated that he was present in Council on that day, and wrote the first four lines of that statement which Mr. Turnour interpreted; *could say that the prisoner was repeatedly cautioned.* The remainder of the statement was taken down by Mr. Turnour.

25th Witness.—Ippalagamowe Unnanse—I live in Wewooda, *know the 4th prisoner, I went to his Pansela last year.* He sent me a letter to come to him and I went on that account. I went about twenty days before the arrest of the Priests. *I saw Tibbotowewe, 4th prisoner;* when I arrived there, there was no one else present. *After I arrived Dembewe (3rd prisoner) and Wellasse Nayake Unnanse came there. I know Dembewe Unnanse (3rd prisoner). After those two Priests, came Tibbotowewe (4th prisoner), he said I have sent for you in order to send you on a journey to Wellasse.* I asked why? He said to send you to Palwatte Unnanse¹ in Wellasse. I asked with whom was I to go. He said Obbokotuwe Unnanse and some others are going, and you can go with them. I asked for what purpose are they going. On that he said, you will be informed what it is for at that place. I repeated the question for what purpose am I to go. *Then Dembewe (3rd prisoner) said it is for this purpose—The injustices on the part of Government are so great, that it was to raise a Rebellion, to establish another Government.* Then I asked them, can you do a thing like this? I was then answered it is not we alone. Dembewe said it has been proposed to many also to the Malays. It is not we alone, I refused to go on the journey as I was labouring under illness. *Then 3rd prisoner added, if you cannot go, do not disclose this subject to anyone.* All three Priests said this, they told me not to reveal this subject to anyone. I said I will not tell anyone, so saying I came away. A Proclamation was issued afterwards which was the cause of my giving information; before that I thought it useless giving this information as I should not be able to establish the truth of it.

Cross-examined by Mr. Staples—All three Priests said that it was to raise a Rebellion. Tibbotowewe (4th prisoner), Dembewe (3rd prisoner), and Obbokotuwe Unnanse said it. I did not know that Wellasse Annu Nayake Unnanse was a witness in the case, I do not come from the same place. Wellasse Annu Nayake is not here. I mentioned this conspiracy first to Government. I told no one except the Government Agent, and I mentioned it when the Proclamation was first issued, I did not mention it even to anyone of my fellow Priests, I told nobody. *These Priests*

1. Polwatte Unnanse was arrested.

(pointing to the 3rd, 4th and 5th prisoners) officiate in and preside at the principal Temple. I do not. The privilege was not denied me by the Government Agent. No one told me of this conspiracy, I never heard it by rumours. It did not come to my hearing. I was never told by anyone. It is under no other circumstances than the Proclamation that I gave information, with the expectation of obtaining a pardon I thought that they (the three Priests) would certainly raise a rebellion, I formed no opinion that I should be hurt by it. I formerly lived in Kandy, I now live twelve miles from Kandy. I did also at that time. No one took me to the Agent. Mr. Rodney is not the Agent. The Agent of the Seven Korles is not the Agent of my part of the country, I did not go there, I came to Kandy. I acted as appeared best to me at the time. I live near Harrispattoo at Wewooda; the Government Agent of Kandy is the nearest. I heard of the Proclamation from the Headmen in Harrispattoo, not Seven Korles. I know Mr. Rodney, I did not go there, it occurred to me to come to Kandy, I did not want to see anyone in Kandy. I don't know Mahawalatenne, I know David Modeliar, I did not speak to him either, I have spoken to him before. I am not his friend, I did not speak to him when I came to Kandy. I came to the Government Agent and mentioned it to him, not to anyone else. I spoke to other people about different business, not about this.

26th Witness.—Embilmeegame Unnanse.—I am a Priest of the Poya Maduwa Temple, a son of one Bowalle Banda, and was adopted in the family of Megastenne Adigar. I know Dembewe (3rd prisoner.) I do not live at the Malwatte Wihare. The third prisoner spoke to me about 3 days before the entertainment to Sir E. Barnes, I happened to pass Dembewe's (3rd prisoner) pansela and he called me in. He treated me with betel and asked me to sit down as *he had something to relate to me if I was confidential enough for that purpose.* He said: "At present the Authorities exact a great many taxes from the country as well as from the Temple lands; *that it was better to send people to the Isle of France for assistance that money was to be collected to send them, and a yearly tax would be paid to the French.* He said that Pilimetalawe¹ was

1. Pilima Talauwe, son of the famous Adigar, born c. 1790, was Disawa of Four Korales 1810-11; implicated in his father's plot, was condemned to death but was reprieved. After the Convention he was made Disawa of the Four Korales 1815-16, Disawa of the Seven Korales 1816-18, and Ratemahatmeya of Yatinuwara. He became one of the leaders of the Rebellion of 1817-18, was imprisoned in Colombo till 1825 when he was banished to Mauritius "with instructions that he was to be kept apart from the Kandyan prisoners who had been sent there in 1819" (Lt. James Holman, R.N.). He was released and returned to Ceylon in 1832.

acquainted with the Gentlemen in the Isle of France and asked me to go and speak to him, and get a letter written to send there." I said I would, and let him know. He did not give me the letter which he had written with the aid of several Priests. I was adopted by Megastenne, who was married to Pilimetalawe's sister. Pilimetalawe lately returned from the Isle of France, and is a released State-prisoner. I agreed, and said I would speak to him and let him (3rd prisoner) know; this was all that was said on that day. This was the first time I went to Pilimetalawe. I delivered the message—I went back to Dembewe and told him that this person was afraid, that being a burnt man he even dreaded a firefly. He is a released State-prisoner. Dembewe (3rd prisoner) that day said nothing more; when I was in my village he sent a man directing me to come to him. I can't say where that man came from. This might after the conversation be one or two months—I can't state precisely. So I came to Kandy. *About a week before the messenger of Dembewe came to me, Kettakumbure (5th prisoner) came to my house. He came about three hours before night-fall. I had known him a long time, he is an intimate friend of mine. He said he had something particular to mention to me. He said that Wellasse Annu Nayake Unnanse went to the Wellasse and had returned lately; that there were two princes there, one a Buddhist Priest, the other a Layman, and that they were concealed there by Welasse Annu Nayake Unnanse and several others. That he (5th prisoner) had met the two princes near the house of Wattegedere Nayake Unnanse at Kandy, and he said further that at present the Buddhist Religion was about to be destroyed. That an insurrection was to be raised and that Dembewe (3rd prisoner) had conversation to that effect with a Malay officer; that Wellasse Annu Nayake Unnanse would go to Wellasse about the month of July, on which occasion the Rebellion would be raised. It was after this was said to me, that Dembewe's messenger came.* I gave information of this to the Government, I was not told I was not to have anything to do with it. After the messenger came from Dembewe, I came to Kandy; I did not first go to Dembewe (3rd prisoner) but went to Kettakumbure and asked where the Malay Officer, who was the friend of Dembewe, lived, he told me he would guide me to the place—he took me; but we *first went to the Sergeant's house* where two chairs were presented, and we both sat down in the Sergeant's house; *then Kettakumbure introduced me to him, saying I was one of his friends. He (the Malay Sergeant) said: "Besides the military duty which the Malays have to perform, they have to furnish firewood, and plant gardens, etc., that there were ten or fifteen Malays*

without employment and discontinued from pay. *He said he himself would make an application to resign his office and if he did not succeed would desert and come to us with those Malay people.* I know Mr. Anstruther. I went to him. I said that I had received a message from Dembewe and that in a few days I would go to see him. I told Mr. Anstruther that on a former occasion there was a rebellion raised by Kahawatte Unnanse and that Dembewe had told me that a quantity of Pagodas was subscribed for that purpose which 3rd prisoner had said that he would distribute to the Malay people. *After we had spoken with the Malay Sergeant, Kettakumbure (5th prisoner) took me to the Malay Officer. I was introduced to him in the same way—saying I was one of his friends.* Kettakumbure then spoke to the Malay Officer about the communication he had made him before. There were some children who were told to go into the room. *The Malay Officer said; “we are working for pay, consequently if a quantity of Pagodas are distributed among the Malays, even two to each, I could collect about fifty men.”* He said also, he understood there was a war to be made with the King of Rangoon and that all the Malays were to go to Colombo, except the company under him. After this Kettakumbure and the Malay Officer had some conversation in the Malabar¹ language which I did not understand; no one was present but Kettakumbure and the Malay Officer, *after this I went to Dembewe, the 3rd prisoner’s pansele; he then took me to a tamarind tree in the compound of Wellasse Nayake Unnanse and told me I must go to Matele. I asked why. He said Tibbotowewe (4th prisoner) was at Welligalle in Matele and that when I went there I should get further instructions from him.* When this conversation passed, Obbokotuwe was also present. He told me that he (Obbokotuwe) was also going and I must prepare myself. I have not seen Obbokotuwe a long time. He was present. Obbokotuwe said he would leave this on Wednesday and that I should accompany him to Matele on Monday. So that priest came to me early in the morning with one Rammelhamy who brought victuals. He asked me if I was ready to go; I told him I was, and accompanied him from thence. We went to Welligalle Pansale. Obbokotuwe said as I was not much acquainted with Tibbotowewe he would go first; so I went to bathe and after my return from bathing Obbokotuwe went. In the night we were allowed to sleep in Tibbotowewe (4th prisoner’s) house. *After we returned to sleep, he (4th prisoner) asked me if I was confidential in this*

1. Tamil.

purpose—and asked if it was not told me by Obbokotuwe. *Tibbotowewe* (4th prisoner) said he had spoken very much to the *Pallegampaha Maha Nileme* (1st prisoner), and there were two circumstances in contemplation before the commencement of the insurrection. He said he had considered the manner in which the relic was to be taken from the Maligawe when the Malwatte Priests came on duty. A relic, resembling the one now there, was to be made of ivory; when it was prepared he was to bring it to the *Maha Nileme* (1st prisoner), who was to say that there was a report that the sacred relic had been removed to the *Maha Wihare* (at *Anooradhapoor*a); and even now there is a report that it is still there; and in order to see the relic, *Molligoda* and *Dunuwille* (1st and 2nd prisoners) were to consult together to see *Mr. Turnour*, who was to open the *Karandu* in which the relic is kept, and before it was to be opened, the prepared ivory one was to be given to the *Maha Nileme*, and at the time it was opened, one of the curtains was to be set on fire, and then all the people would try to extinguish the fire which would create a confusion, this one was then to be substituted for the real one. He added: I am going to tell this proposed scheme to the *Maha Nileme*, but do not know if he would approve of it; and that *Doollawe Nileme* (2nd Adigar) had also said that he would maintain the people for three months. *Tibbotowewe* said that the 2nd Adigar had undertaken to pay the Malay people for three months when the rebellion commenced; and the second proposition was to speak to the *Maha Nileme* to get a quantity of Pagodas to pay the Malays. That *Tibbotowewe* (4th prisoner) was able to assemble the people of these upper provinces, viz., *Doombera*, *Matele*, *Harrispattoo* and other countries for the rebellion, and that the *Maha Nileme* (1st prisoner) had told *Tibbotowewe* that he would leave his village and come to Kandy, and therefore he would himself come on Thursday to Kandy, and that I should also come, and that if this matter was reported to the authorities, the (4th prisoner) would be sent to prison if he was found on this side of the sea. We came on Wednesday, and *Tibbotowewe* on Thursday; the *Maha Nileme* (1st prisoner) came on Monday. The day after he arrived, *Tibbotowewe* went to his (1st prisoner's) *walauwe*; *Kettakumbure* called on me on Wednesday, took me to *Tibbotowewe's* (4th prisoner) house, saying *Tibbotowewe* had returned from the *Maha Nileme*; this was a little before 8 p.m. *Tibbotowewe* said he had gone to the *Maha Nileme*, but had no opportunity of speaking to him as he had an entertainment, and that he was directed by the *Maha Nileme* (1st prisoner) to come on Thursday morning. At noon next day *Kettakumbure* and I went to *Tibbotowewe's* house to see if he had gone; on

this *Tibbotowewe* told *Kettakumbure* that some victuals must be given tomorrow to the Malay Officer ; and directed *Kettakumbure* to go and see if it was convenient for him to come on that day ; he (4th prisoner) asked me if I could get a man to prepare the victuals, as their servants were not fit for it (*sic*). I said my servants were not fit for it either ; he said that I might get some acquaintance in the town to prepare the victuals ; as for cakes we had some which we had brought with us. I was asked to prepare five curries, and one seer of rice ; he gave me twelve fanams ; I then said, by giving this I could not get it prepared, I had no servant to do it ; he again said I would find someone to do it, and that I could get it done ; as he repeatedly requested me, I came to my lodgings at about 3 o'clock and got the victuals prepared as directed. The next day being Friday, about eight hours after sun-set, *Dembewe* and *Tibbotowewe* (3rd and 4th prisoners) went to the house of *Kettakumbure*, the cakes being carried there by *Kobbokotuwe Unnanse*. Just at the time I brought the victuals and took them to *Tibbotowewe* ; *Dembewe* inspected them and said it was very good ; *Dembewe* was there and *Obbokotuwe* and *Tibbotowewe*. *Tibbotowewe* said to *Kettakumbure* (5th prisoner) "the victuals are ready, *Tibbotowewe* and *Dembewe* have to go on a necessary journey, you must exert yourself to send for the Malay officer now, and give the victuals ;" so *Tibbotowewe* and *Dembewe* went away, saying they had to go on a journey. It was I who prepared the victuals, at the request of *Tibbotowewe* ; *Kettakumbure* sent to know whether it was convenient to the Malay officer to come and take the victuals. The object was not mentioned by them ; *Tibbotowewe* told *Kettakumbure* only to entertain the Malay officer with the victuals, not to take them to him ; nothing was to be spoken—*Tibbotowewe* and *Dembewe* went away ; after they started, *Kettakumbure* sent *Obbokotuwe* to call the Malay Officer. He instructed him that if he saw anyone going to the Malay Officer he was not to tell them the real object but say that *Kettakumbure* had given medicine to a Bengal Priest, and that he went to enquire about him. *Obbokotuwe* returned without the Malay Officer, but said he would come after he had done bathing. The Malay Officer came and took the victuals—on going away he said this subject was no joke, that if Government knew of it Government would hang him—that anyone who would undertake this business must expedite it. Then I and *Kettakumbure* went to *Tibbotowewe*'s house to see if he had gone on the journey—this was on Friday evening. We found him in the house—don't know if he had been on the journey or not—*Kettakumbure* asked him where he had been ? He answered "I went to

the house of the Maha Nileme (1st prisoner) and I have mentioned the scheme which had been proposed, to take away the sacred relic"—and that he told him (1st prisoner) that it could not be done in that way. That it was better to perform a religious ceremony (exhibition of the relic) to get the relic, and then *Tibbotowewe answered that it would take up a long time, and proposed to the Maha Nileme to raise a rebellion at Matele—then the Maha Nileme (1st prisoner) said there was Kandy in one direction, Trincomalee in another, Kurunagalle in another, and that if a rebellion was raised in the centre of these garrisons, every one would be seized and taken away. That there was a cave in a rock at Wellasse containing salt-petre—and that it was well if the rebellion was commenced there. The 1st prisoner also said, a lucky hour should be looked for and therefore that people should be sent to Wellasse to prepare a proper place for the accommodation of the Malay people—that the Maha Nileme had told him to send people for that purpose. He said, he (4th prisoner) was accordingly going to Wellasse and asked me to accompany him there. There was much rain at the time and I declined—Tibbotowewe said, that the Maha Nileme had told him this—As he (1st prisoner) was going to the Four Korles, from the grand Temple in Anooradhapoorā, he went and came back to Kandy passing my village. One day about 12 o'clock a Lascreeen¹ came to the village where I live from the Rate Mahameya; the Lascreeen after delivering the message, apprized the petty Headmen, the Korales and others of Yatinuwara in the compound of my Pansela, that the 1st prisoner was coming—He came there and worshipped at my Temple. He said then that the Chiefs of Matele, Hewahette, Harrispattoo and Kandy had proposed to come to his temple at the Four Korles for religious purposes. That it was in that very month that they intended coming. I do not recollect the month. That the people of Bowale and Peradeniya had promised to decorate the road from Kandy to the river, and that the people of Yatinuwara should decorate the road from the river to Kadugannwa, and that they should have young cocoanuts and toddy ready. I went once to Tibbotowewe's and it was midnight when I came away—Tibbotowewe, Kettekumbure, and Obbokotuwe Unnanses were there—Tibbotowewe told me at Matele that when he came to Kandy, he must speak to the Adigar and Dessave (2nd prisoner) to have the pagodas ready—I do not recollect any subsequent conversation. Tibbotowewe said, there were certain monies at the Ridi Wihare—that he intended to go there and exchange the same into*

1. Lascreeen, Singhalese soldier.

pagodas. That money consisted of copper and rupees. Tibbotowewe told me on that day the project had been discussed for seizing the relic, he mentioned about money also—with regard to the plan about the pagodas the Adigar said a place should be proposed in Wellasse, and there was no occasion to give the money to the Malays until then. I recollect the different times I met these people—I communicated it to Government—I had no invitation, I told it because it came into my own mind—I said when I gave information, satisfaction was expressed, and I was directed to make further enquiries about it. I saw Mr. Anstruther once; I told Mr. Anstruther all these circumstances and I was directed to act as if I knew nothing about it by Mr. Anstruther; I met the other Priests Dembewe and Kettakumbure at Tibbotowewe's Pansele. I have no relation in the service of the Maha Nileme (1st prisoner); a servant of his came to my temple one night after his return from Anooradhapoor. The conversations with Dembewe had taken place before that.

Cross-examined by Mr. Staples.—I don't know the name of the Malay Sergeant. I have heard that he is in prison—the victuals were prepared at the house of an acquaintance—there was no other place that I was acquainted with—told David Modeliar to get victuals—when I asked him, he asked me what it was for. I told him that I had been requested by Tibbotowewe to prepare some food for a Malay man. He told me he could not undertake to do it—he must first mention it to Mr. Turnour—I said that it was for a Malay man—He said that if it was for such purpose he could get it prepared—till then he said he could not do it, as he had given certain information. Something had passed between us about this business before—when Kettakumbure first came to me, I had a sore leg, and wrote an account of the circumstance to David Modeliar to tell Mr. Turnour—I cannot say how many days before I was arrested; I think I was arrested nine or ten days after I came to Kandy the last time. I am on oath, I can't recollect the time exactly; what passed I do recollect but not the time—recollect the day on which I went to the Sergeant—I can't say exactly; a month or two before I came to Kandy; I had spoken to Dembewe only once when I wrote this letter to David Modeliar—and the conversation at that time with him was about the letter which was to be sent to the Isle of France. I had no conversation at that time with any one but with Dembewe—I was in Kandy ten or twelve days before the arrest—two or three days after I came from my village I went to Matele and the long narrative which

I have given passed in one night at Matele. It was within that space of time. I knew David Modeliar very well. I went to Matele because Dembewe desired me to go and see Tibbotowewe, Kettakumbure was present, and went with me to see the Malay Sergeant, don't know his name—I only know him to be a Sergeant as Kettakumbure told me so. I wrote to David Modeliar that Kettakumbure came to my village and said so, and therefore he was to shew this letter to Mr. Turnour in order that Government might keep themselves on their guard. Before I sent the letter I had only spoken to Dembewe Unnanse; after I had spoken to Dembewe, Kettakumbure came to my village. Kettakumbure spoke to the Malay Officer and I was there, there were two children present—I did not see anyone else, I only went to the Malay Officer once. Mr. Anstruther spoke to me before I was accused. I can't fix the time exactly—it was more than two days before—Dembewe sent a person to call me to Kandy and it was after I received that message I went to the Chief Secretary—I can't say the exact time—I think it was a month before I was arrested. I mean to say I could not say exactly. The long conversation passed in one night at Matele. I did not say that Wellasse Nayake Unnanse was ever present at the communication with the Malay Officer. I can say he was not present—Obbokotowe was present at that time. The Malay Officer came to take his victuals. It was not a long conversation that took place with the Sergeant—Two different conversations took place at their respective houses. Obbokotowe was not present at the Malay Sergeant's house—he went to call the Malay Officer and when he (the Malay Officer) spoke he was present. Before the Malay Officer came to take food, I and Kettakumbure went to his house—Obbokotowe was only present—only Kettakumbure and I went. I mentioned something about the Princes—they were not in the low-country, but Wellasse. I have known these Priests a long time. There was never any quarrel between us; *the Malay Officer told me this was a hanging matter—that they could not join in this conversation.* Is it wrong in me that I gave information to Government? Though it will not meet with success if it takes place, several times it has been attempted and caused much loss. I did not know that disclosing these would endanger the life of my brother Priests, but in the King's time if the Priests came to any knowledge of these things, they were mentioned.

There was nothing passed in the King's time without Priests being concerned in it; why should I be disrobed for giving information? I have no intention to disrobe myself, why should the Chief Priest disrobe me?—I came once as witness to court and went away, not knowing anything. I have no law-suits here—there are two cases which I have already entrusted to Mr. Beling.

By Mr. Perring—Mahalle Unnanse never told he was threatened to be dismissed—*The reason I repeated the conversation I had with the Malay Sergeant was that I had several weeks previously been in communication with Government, even before Tibbotowewe came to me—I knew of this and communicated it to Government—I recollect it was on Friday because the following day we were arrested.*

(To be Continued.)