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Ehelepola and the Regalia of the King of Kandy.

THE Throne, Footstool and Sceptre, of the King of Kandy were found on the same day as the capture of Sri Vikrama, namely 18th February, 1815.¹ On that day "much valuable property belonging to the King is said to have been plundered by the Kandians who seized him."² On 31st July 1815 the King at Colombo "alleged that a variety of valuable articles were given by him and his family to Ekneligoda Nilame at the time of the capture."³ Ekneligoda was a zealous partisan⁴ of Ehelepola and had fled to British territory⁵ with the Adigar and was present at the capture. Through him Ehelepola secured a good share of the booty, especially the King's Jewels, Crown, Sword and other articles.

The Throne and Banner were sent to England, Brownrigg's son, Major Brownrigg Deputy Adjutant General, who took the Governor's despatch on the Kandyan annexation, taking also the Banner. The Throne and Footstool are mentioned in that despatch, but for

1. A Narrative of Events, which have recently occurred in the Island of Ceylon, written by a Gentleman on the spot, (Tolfrey) London 1815; 2 CLR V 47.

2. D'Oyly's *Diary* 213.

3. Correspondence of Board of Commissioners (1815) S. 140.

4. He came to Colombo as Ehelepola's envoy on 2nd March, 1814, to ask British help to resist the King. Brownrigg's Minute, *Proceedings of H. M. Council* 1st June, 1814. Despatch from Aripo 20th March, 1814.

5. *Ib.*

some strange reason the Asiatic Annual Register, which printed the despatch (25th February, 1815), omitted all references to the Throne.¹ The paragraphs thus omitted are:—

“Amongst other articles we are in possession of a rich, Elegant and Curious piece of antient (sic) workmanship and state in the Throne and Footstool of Rajah Singa² an antient Malabar King of this country whose memorable reign is treated in the works of Baldaeus and Vallentine (sic). The King’s seal has also been brought to me and the Royal Banner.”³

Again after mentioning that in view of the “national interest and importance” of the acquisition he was sending his son to deliver the despatch, Brownrigg wrote:

“He will be charged with the Banner or Standard of Kandy to be laid with my most respectful duty at the feet of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent.⁴ The Throne already mentioned and all other insignia of Royalty that can be recovered will be forwarded for the gracious acceptance of His Royal Highness⁵”

By 21st July 1815 “the Throne and Footstool” had been sent to England.⁶ But for a long time there was no trace of the Crown and Sword. Ehelepola meanwhile was gradually assuming Royal honours; and Millawa Dissawa, one of his opponents, informed Sutherland that the remaining regalia were in the custody or within the power of Ehelepola.⁷ They had been brought to Kandy, packed and sent to Uwa. Accordingly on Ehelepola’s arrival in Colombo for the King’s Birthday, Brownrigg inquired about the King’s Crown and Sword. The Nilame undertook to search for them but urged the probability of their being destroyed. Thereupon Millawa who had also come down for the celebrations was questioned and he reiterated his assertions that the articles had been rescued on Ehelepola’s orders. “Ehelepola showed no sign of any intention to produce them.” Millawa thereupon produced witnesses to prove his statements, and D’Oyly also inquired

1. This Despatch was printed in 2 CLR I 202-5 from the Asiatic Annual Register.

2. This is a misunderstanding. Rajasinha was not a Malabar, and this Throne was presented by the Dutch to a subsequent king. Heydt *Schauplats* 275.

3. Colombo Archives, Despatches 1815 f. 17.

4. The Annual Register ends the Despatch with this sentence.

5. L.c. 21.

6. L.c. 131.

7. Despatch, 5th November, 1816.

from Ehelepola, who protested his innocence. He said they might be discovered by Keppitipola, and ultimately in November 1816 they were delivered to D'Oyly, who thereupon communicated the fact to the Governor.

Kandy,
2nd November, 1816.

My dear Sir,

I have much satisfaction in acquainting your Excellency that the unrecovered Regalia are safely delivered into my possession.

Ehelepola to whom I sent a Message on Wednesday excused himself that day on account of sickness and attended yesterday. He informed me that the articles had been brought and that the Disave of Uwa¹ would wait upon me with them in the evening. He added that certain persons² had mined (?) them by Calumnies in the King's time and wanted to do so now if it were not for the goodness of the officers in Authority who do not give credit to them without enquiry nor act precipitately: that he is guilty of no Infidelity towards the English Government and that I should learn further from the Disave of Uwa.

The Disave of Uwa came late in the evening with the following articles:—

A Sword with Gold Hilt, studded with small red stones and a Diamond at the End:

Sheath of Wood covered with blue velvet very much worn—
with some Gold work:

Red Velvet Band with Gold ambroidery (sic), 3 Cloths unfolding (sic) it.

A Gold four-cornered Cap or Crown, with Carved work at top—the four faces and four corners studded with stones, principally red, a few Emeralds and Blue Sapes: thephir centre Ruby is fallen from one face but in the Box:

A large Brocade Cloth

A Gold Crest on Top-Knot

A four-cornered black Beaver Hat, Gold-laced, surmounted with white Feathers all round the Brim;

2 Cloths.

1. Keppitipola, brother of Ehelepola's first wife. He led the Rebellion of 1817-18, was captured 30th October 1818, and beheaded at Kandy on 26th November, 1818.

2. Allusion to Millawa, who was a favourite of the King, at the time of Ehelepola's revolt and flight.

The Disave in answer to my enquiry after the Band or Belt, studded with precious stones, which is said to belong to the Sword, stated that this Band was not in the Box: That there were 11 or 12 *Peti*¹ or Plates set with precious stones which are sometimes attached to the Band but sometimes not, and these Plates he believes are amongst the Valuables delivered up by Ehelepola to your Excellency. He stated further that these Regalia were found deposited in a Cave in the forest between Uwa and Kotmale and were under the charge of Agalekumbure Sattamby,³ who was half inclined not to produce them, and the Disave discovered them by means of other Persons.

The Disave renewed his Expression of Fidelity to the British Government on the part of Ehelepola and himself and stated their Request that these Regalia, which they hold in great Respect, should not be exposed to sale or exhibited to Common Persons or to those Chiefs⁴ who under the King's Government were never admitted to see them. I promised that they would not be exposed to sale, and in general terms that they should be treated with every Respect by the British Government. I propose, with your Excellency's Permission, to notify to the Kandyan Chiefs the Recovery of these Valuables, and to assure them that Government is well aware of the high honour and Esteem in which they are held by the Kandyan Nation, and that having become the property of the King of Great Britain, they will be preserved with the same Respect as the Regalia of the British Crown.

I have the honour to be

Your Excellency's Obedient
and Humble Servant,

Sgd. J. D'OYLY.⁵

1. Sinhalese *peti*.

2. D'Oyly's *Diary* 232.

3. A Sattamby was an officer of the *Patti* caste, attached to the Royal Bathing and Palanquin establishments.

4. Allusion to Millawa, who, though a great favourite of the King and one of the principal chiefs at the Convention, did not belong to a family that had held high rank (Despatch 5th Nov.) and was greatly disliked by Ehelepola (D'Oyly's *Diary* 207). John Davy's Account of the ceremonies of the Court of Kandy was from the informations of Millawa.

5. Annexure to this Despatch.

On receipt of this letter Brownrigg was naturally much vexed by "a transaction so mean and fraudulent" on the part of Ehelepola; but after reporting the incident to the Secretary of State on 5th November, he actually entreated that the Picture of the Prince Regent asked for him should not be withheld. Ehelepola had indeed been to Brownrigg "a subject of embarrassment." Within six weeks of the Convention Brownrigg received reports regarding the "suspected designs of Ehelepola."¹ His erstwhile companion and fellow refugee Molligoda Junior, Disave of the Three Korales, complained to the Governor² that his authority was being opposed by Ekneligoda and Battangoda on the instigation of the ambitious ex-Adigar. This latter was then endeavouring to obtain Royal honours for himself. He assumed unauthorised dresses, wore a hat with gold *bopat* which he had got made and worn at Colombo; he tried to play the King's part in public ceremonies, appearing on horseback, and getting himself sprinkled with rose water after the public processions, as was done to the King; by secretly securing for himself the King's dresses, jewels and insignia, and by giving out that he was going to be invested with regal honours by the English.

Erauawala Koonam Maduwe Lekam came to Colombo to complain to the Governor that Ehelepola had seized his lands and given them to a favourite. In a letter which he wrote to the Maha Mudaliyar he called Ehelepola "the second king"³ whereupon Brownrigg immediately forwarded it to D'Oyly "for immediate inquiry." Finally when Ehelepola at a visit to Colombo began to wear royal apparel, Brownrigg was so indignant at that "idle indulgence of vanity" that he directed Sutherland and Tolfrey to wait on Ehelepola and demand an explanation. They had three conferences on the 20th, 21st and 23rd August, at which the Nilame recounted his services and asked for suitable honours. But when he was asked what was the honour he wanted he was not willing to state definitively, but when pressed declared that he wanted "honours equal to that of the King." He insinuated that if the Royal honours were not granted to him there would be a rebellion for which he must not be held responsible. He even went so far as to imply that his influence in Kandy was so great that "he had only to say *hoo* and the chiefs would all be put to death."

1. D'Oyly's *Diary* 262.

2. At Ruanwella on the Governor's way back to Colombo.

3. Correspondence of Board of Commissioners (25th May, 1816) S. 72—The Ehelepola Varnanava, MS. poem in the British Museum, calls Ehelepola *Yuvaraja*.

Brownrigg did not believe the Nilame's assertions of power and influence. He knew that he was not at all liked by the chiefs and reported to the Secretary of State that "he had neither the power nor the popularity to make him dangerous." The Nilame expressed a wish to go to England and Brownrigg for some unaccountable reason was quite opposed to the step.

Meanwhile it was decided to send the Crown and Sword to England. "By letter of the 7th instant (November 1816) from the Military Secretary to the Prize Agents an extract was communicated of that part of Mr. D'Oyly's letter to his Excellency dated the 3rd, which relates to some parcels of King's property sent on that day to the Resident by Ehelepola, and it was stated that in consequence of that information his Excellency would authorize the articles alluded to be delivered to the Prize Agents with the exception of the King's Sword which would be classed under the head of Regalia and transmitted to His Royal Highness."

A communication was made to the Committee by letter from his Excellency the Governor that the Baton or Sceptre and the Javelin will be sent to England as appearing to be proper accompaniments of the Throne and Footstool already sent."¹

1. Correspondence of Board (1816) S. 162.

Deportation of Sri Vikrama Rajasinha.

Journal¹ of Reminiscences relating to the late king of Kandy when on his voyage from Colombo to Madras in 1816, a prisoner-of-war on board His Majesty's Ship "Cornwallis".

BY

WILLIAM GRANVILLE²

(of His Majesty's Civil Service).

On Wednesday, the 24th January, 1816, I received my appointment as Commissioner for conducting the deposed king of Kandy, his family and suite to Madras. They consisted altogether of sixty persons³.

In the course of the same day the train embarked on board His Majesty's Ship "Cornwallis" of 74 guns, R. O'Brien, Esqr., Captain. The royal party left the shore late,⁴ in the boats of the "Cornwallis". They⁵ proceeded to the beach in Sir R. Brownrigg's open carriage,

1. This Journal is first mentioned in the Colombo Journal (February, 1832) on the occasion of the death of Sri Vikrama Rajasinha. "We have been favoured" said the Editor "with the perusal of a journal kept by the gentleman under whose charge he was conveyed to Madras" (2CLR iii, 336). The Journal was printed at the Wesleyan Press, Colombo, and from a copy "supplied by Mr. H. Don David of Mundel" it was reprinted in the Planters Gazette.

2. William Granville was appointed to the Civil Service on 14 March, 1804 (Ceylon Almanac 1833) and had been Second Assistant at the Secretariate and Customs Master, Jaffna, Collector of Customs, Galle, Collector, Matara, Galle, and Kalutara when he was appointed Commissioner to conduct the ex-King of Kandy from Colombo to Madras. Soon after his return he was made Deputy Secretary to Government. In 1820 he married Frances, sister of George Turnour: In 1833 he was Treasurer and Commissioner of Stamps, Accountant General of the Supreme Court and member of His Majesty's Council (Ib. 92, 94, 96). In 1838 he left Ceylon and retired on 1 April, 1840 (Alm. 1846), on a salary of £550. He died at Stoke Poges, 16 January, 1864, aged 76.

3. The king, his mother, mother-in-law, four wives, brother-in-law, dependants and attendants.

4. Left his temporary residence "near the south gate of the Custom House" where he had been staying since his arrival in Colombo on 6 March, 1815, about "quarter after four" says E. L. Siebel in the Christmas Supplement of *The Observer* reprinted in *The Orientalist* I. 63.

5. The four queens were conveyed in palanquins. Ib.

accompanied by most of the civil and military servants¹ of Government together with a crowd of natives, all eager to witness the embarkation.

On proceeding to the beach the carriage had to pass through an archway, on the summit of which was assembled a number of people desirous to see the king. His Majesty stopped the carriage before it reached the archway, and looking out of the window requested that the people above might be directed to descend, as he could not, he said, think of passing the gateway, while any individual was above him.

The king, his four wives, and his brother-in-law,² went in Captain O'Brien's own barge with the awning up. Myself, and a few of the attendants, went in a small cutter.³ The ladies were veiled; the king drew the curtains of the awning close together, to conceal them from the gaze of the sailors.

It blew hard, and there was a heavy sea rolling, which made the boats pitch violently. I requested that the cutter might be kept as close to the barge as possible, in case the king should wish to communicate with us. The passage to the ship was long,⁴ uneasy and hazardous; and our little shallop was more than once nearly swamped on the way. I could perceive, as the curtains blew open, that the ladies were much affected by the motion of the barge: some were lying apparently senseless at the king's feet.

At length we reached the side of the "Cornwallis", and the process of whipping up the royal party took place: the ladies were hoisted one by one, closely veiled; the king watching their ascent with a countenance full of astonishment and concern. He did not leave the barge until all his family were on board: he then suffered himself to be raised, and was speedily deposited, for the first time in his life on the broad and spacious deck of an English seventy-four. An excellent band was playing, and Captain O'Brien at the gangway welcomed the fallen monarch with every mark of proper decorum. The marines

1. Col. Keer, Deputy Commissioner General, and J. Sutherland, Secretary Kandyan Provinces, who "held him by either hand" *Ib.*

2. Son of Gampola Samy, and brother of the first and second queens. He married the king's sister.

3. Two other boats conveyed the suite.

4. There being no harbour then, the "Cornwallis" was at some distance from the shore.

were drawn up under arms, and His Majesty¹ followed the Captain through their ranks into his cabin, where seeing an ottoman in the centre of it, he immediately leaped thereon, and sat on its summit cross legged. The ladies, crouching under their veils, crept together in a corner. Soon after Capt. O'Brien requested to be allowed to shew them to their apartments; and accordingly led them through a small private passage on the starboard side of the ship, made expressly for their accommodation, to enable them to go below without being exposed to observation on deck.

I attended the party, and was much gratified to see the neatness and care with which the captives' cabins had been put up. There were six or seven on each side of the deck. His Majesty selected one on the larboard side for himself, one for his queens, another for his mother-in-law, and a last for his chief naikes: the others were seized on by attendants as they pleased. A boarded partition divided the royal apartments from mine, which was next to the wardroom; and another separated the whole party from the ship's company forward. The space within was about sixty feet in length, and in width the full dimensions of the "Cornwallis" across the beam.

It was now that I introduced myself to the king as his official conductor, which was properly explained through the medium of two interpreters² attached to the mission. His Majesty bowed slightly but said nothing. He looked about him with much apparent uneasiness, and complained of being exhausted by his passage to the ship. The ladies were extremely affected by the motion of the vessel, and could scarcely stand without the support of their attendants. The king did not appear pleased with the scene around him; he regarded everything with sternness and silence, and ultimately withdrew to his own cabin, the door of which he opened himself, and ushering in all the royal females, closed it after him without ceremony, and we saw him no more that night.

The ship was under way, and scudding through the waves at the rate of nine knots an hour by the time the quartermaster struck 8 bells.

1. He was "attired in a red silk cloth wrought with gold thread, and his purple silk trousers, which were baggy, were secured to his ankle with ribbons. He wore an embroidered jacket, and over the jacket a very fine white upper dress with innumerable frills or pleats, and over it he had a green silk mantle edged with gold lace; and a magnificent turban completed the toilette of Rajasingha". *Ib.*

2. The Sinhalese interpreter was Mudaliyar Joseph de Zilva. *Ib.*

Having been a good deal fatigued by my very uncomfortable situation in the cutter, I retired to my cabin¹ with pleasure. It joined the king's on one side, and was contiguous to the wardroom—on the other: it did not open into the royal cabins, but was kept distinct from them, and perfectly private.

If I may judge from the stillness that prevailed amongst them, the royal captives must have slept soundly this night.

25th January.

I arose early to take account of the provisions that had been put on board by Government for the king and his suite. On examining the bags and baskets in which they were packed I found them short of the quantity mentioned in my list, and learnt that the portion missing had been left on shore by mistake.

I was glad to find cooking going on for the royal family. It proved that captivity had not weakened their appetites, though it might have weakened their spirits. I sent a message to say that I was in the royal enclosure ready to wait on the king if he wished to see me. He returned for answer, that he was quite well himself, but that the queens were suffering from sea-sickness, and that he had no favour to ask in which I could be of service to him.

Breakfast in the Captain's cabin was announced: I joined Capt. O'Brien and Mrs. Sewell there. How much their society was rendered valuable to me during their voyage I need hardly mention. It is sufficient, in this brief sketch to say that I found Capt. O'Brien everything I could wish for in a friend and companion, and Mrs. Sewell's mild and amiable disposition, united to her distinguished beauty, placed her in a point of view far above my praise.

26th January.

The ladies were still extremely unwell, and unable to quit their cabins. His Majesty ate heartily, reported himself well, but would not receive any visitors.

1. There is apparently no truth in Siebel's statement that: "Messrs. Granville, Wilson, and Crisp spent a very merry night on board; and kept on dancing till the small hours of the morning, the ship's band playing all the while. Just realize for a moment the idea of a dethroned Kandyan king and his unfortunate queens, confined in a ship's cabin, suffering from sea-sickness and broken hearts; whilst a party of English ladies and gentlemen were tripping it on the light fantastic toe on deck to the lively airs of the ship's band!" *Ib.*

27th January.

Visited the royal cabins; the king being informed that I was there expressed his willingness to see me for a few minutes. After waiting nearly quarter of an hour he made his appearance.

He looked well, but had not yet gained his "sea leg". He wore a pair of high wooden shoes. His pride would not permit him to tread the same flooring with myself. He crept out of his cabin cautiously, closed the door after him, and stood with his back against it, as if to prevent my entering. He was clad in a piece of fine muslin, edged with gold. It was bound gracefully round his waist, wound over his left shoulder, and fell nearly to the deck behind him. He answered the questions I asked without a moment's hesitation, in a loud, harsh tone of voice, but without looking at me. His eyes were fixed on some object above my head. At this time we were but little known to each other, and it may therefore be readily supposed that no familiarity could have been shewn to one whom he regarded with some degree of mistrust, as placed in a situation of control over him.

Our conversation was brief. It chiefly related to his wants and wishes on board; the state of the ladies, and the steps we might take to render their voyage comfortable.

He appeared calm and contented; looked with an enquiring eye at everything around him, and when the door leading on to the deck forward was opened by the midshipman in waiting, and discovered a battery of four and twenty pounders on each side of the ship, with about two hundred tars seated comfortably in their berths, he caught an eager glance at the scene, and viewed it with manifest tokens of pleasure and surprise. After riveting his eyes on the objects before him for some time in silence, he said he was tired of standing and requested to be allowed to retire. He bowed and we parted for the day.

28th January.

Divine Service

No communication took place between the royal captives and ourselves, except enquiries after each other's health. All was reported to be going on well below.

29th January.

I was awakened about 6 o' clock by repeated blows inflicted on some person in the king's cabin next to me. I thought His Majesty was chastising one of his servants, and did not therefore interfere; soon after, however, the officer of the watch knocked at my door and

requested me to go to the king's cabin, as he said His Majesty was beating one of his wives. I dressed in haste, and quickly announced myself at the king's cabin door, requesting to see him. In a few minutes he came out and I mentioned what had been reported to me, the truth of which he instantly acknowledged. I apprised him that I would not permit any violence to be exercised towards the ladies; and explained, that his dignity and character would suffer in the opinion of everyone on board if he gave way to his passion in that manner. I entreated him to promise that he would not chastise them again while on board the "Cornwallis"; assuring him at the same time that, if he did, I should feel it my duty to request Capt. O'Brien to remove them to another part of the ship out of his reach.

After a pause the king said, "I promise to do so no more", and retired: and I must say, that he religiously kept his word.

30th January.

The king complained of being very unwell. I waited on him to ascertain whether he would accept of any medical aid: he declined the assistance of the ship's surgeon. He said his head ached severely, looked extremely languid and heavy, and could scarcely open his eyes. The port was closed, and the cabin rather dark, and very hot. I saw his wives sleeping on the deck, without even a mat under them. The king's bed-clothes were much soiled, and I suggested their being changed. He replied "These will do for me". I asked permission to send for a bottle of smelling-salts, to which he consented. When they were presented to him, he asked how much he was to take at a dose: I told him they were only to smell at; they were very powerful. He applied them to his nostrils, and snuffed them with violence for some time. At length he said he did not perceive any diminution of his headache, and declared the salts had no scent.

I was a good deal surprised at the observation. Though I did not give His Majesty credit for great sensibility of nerve, I thought the extreme pungency of the salts would have made him smart severely for the liberty he took with them, but was mistaken.

He asked me where the ship was going, observing that we had been about a week at sea, and that no land appeared. He expressed an earnest hope, that we were not going to England. I assured him the ship was destined for Madras, and that he might rely on the promise of the Governor of Ceylon to place him under the protection of the Government. He was in a very depressed state of mind; sighed

deeply, and uttered many melancholy expressions which were not interpreted to me. He was more kind and friendly to me on this occasion than he had been before.

I received all his civilities with corresponding respect; and after extracting from me my assurance, upon honour that I was not going to be "treacherous" towards him, I left him to his meditations.

31st January.

The king still continued unwell and declined seeing anyone. He was asked if he would allow the surgeon to visit him; he refused, with thanks, the kindness intended him.

1st February.

This day the king felt better, and Capt. O'Brien proposed that he should come up to his cabin, for the benefit of the air. His Majesty came accordingly, and brought all his ladies with him. This was the first opportunity I had yet obtained of examining their countenances. The eldest queen was past her prime, and by no means prepossessing in her appearance. The two next in rank were younger, though without any pretensions to beauty; the youngest who appeared to be about 18 years of age,¹ was decidedly handsome, and beautifully formed. Her mother had nothing to recommend her. She was quiet and submissive to all His Majesty's wishes. The eldest queen performed all the duties of a servant. The king took his seat on the summit of the ottoman in the stern gallery. Capt. O'Brien, Mrs. Sewell, and myself placed ourselves on chairs beside him; and the royal ladies arranged themselves on his right. Our interpreters were present. His Majesty, looking out of the stern windows, asked how the vessel was steered. Captain O'Brien pointed to the rudder, and then through the cabin window to the men at the wheel, endeavouring at the same time, by the help of the interpreters, to convey to His Majesty's mind a knowledge of the tiller-ropes, and the mechanical powers, which gave the rudder its control over the motion of the vessel. The king listened with the greatest attention, and professed to comprehend everything Capt. O'Brien said. He never allowed any explanation to be repeated, but in all the most intricate elucidations declared his curiosity to be perfectly satisfied, and

1. The first and second queens were sisters, daughters of Gampola Dewiyo (D'Oyly's Diary 152); the two others, also sisters, were daughters of Degal Samy, married to the king in February, 1813, when neither was of marriageable age, the younger "a mere child". *Ib.* 170. The last queen outlived all, and flooded the Ceylon Government with petitions.

all doubts completely removed. The king suddenly asked me why Sir Robert Brownrigg would not see him¹ before he left Colombo. I professed my ignorance of His Excellency's motives for declining such an interview. He said, surely Sir Robert might have seen me once. It could have been no degradation to him to have paid the king of Kandy that mark (I think he said) of respect. I was silent. He asked me where Ehelapola was; and, in uttering his name, he half closed his eyes and averted his face with an expression of strong inward feeling. I explained to the best of my knowledge where the Nilemy was lodged. "Ha!" said he "you had better take care of that man: he has betrayed me, who was a father to him; and will some day deceive you too. His soul is a compound of ingratitude and ambition." I asked His Majesty what circumstances had induced Ehelapola to abandon his allegiance, to which the king replied, "He owed me a debt of gratitude he never could repay, and therefore took up arms against me. I ought to have known that this was the natural consequence of a sovereign placing a powerful subject on a level with himself. I twice² gave him his life when he ought to have forfeited it to the laws of his country. It was impossible for him to love me afterwards, and I ought not to have confided in his professions of loyalty and attachment."

I asked whether the first adigar, Molligody, was a favourite of his. He said, "Yes, Molligody is a good man,³ but not a clever one. He has sworn to serve the English, and you may depend upon him, because he is a man of his word. He never would have abandoned me if he could have helped it; but he has not much power, and will not be useful to you, because he has many enemies." I did not ask who those enemies were, as he seemed thoughtful and uneasy at the reflections that were crowding upon him.

1. From the day of his capture, 18 February, 1815, the king was anxious to meet the Governor. "I saw the king yesterday evening" writes D'Oyly on 24 Feb. 1815. "He expressed a Desire to see Your Excellency for the purpose of communicating the Deposits of Treasures known only to himself and wished to know what Assistance he should receive. I told him that there was no probability of seeing Your Excellency before he reached Colombo; that I am authorized to assure him from Your Excellency that himself and the Royal Family will be treated in a liberal manner, but if he meant to condition for the Discovery, we altogether reject the Overture. He replied that he did not intend so, but seems disposed to preserve the Discovery till an Interview with Your Excellency" Diary 221.

2. First in 1811 when he was involved in the conspiracy of Pilima Talauwa afterwards when he was charged with the murder of two korales Ib. 34, 39, 40.

3. According to Marshall the king once said, "Take care of Ehelepola and Molligoda; they deceived me, and they will deceive you" (Description and Conquest of Ceylon, 170).

He soon after arose, and desired to retire; and in doing so told me that by the manner in which I discoursed with him I showed myself a perfect stranger to the forms of the Court of my country. I smiled at the conceit, but made him no reply: the whole party then withdrew. I visited the king's apartments in the evening, but did not see His Majesty.

2nd February.

I was too unwell this day to leave my cabin. I, however, heard from the officers in attendance that the royal party were well. Capt. O'Brien with his usual kindness and attention, sent to offer the king anything the ship afforded to improve the comforts of his table, or to promote his amusement. His politeness was received with thankfulness by the captive king, but all the Captain's tenders were civilly declined.

3rd February.

This day there was a general cleaning of the royal apartments. In truth they were in a sad condition. The provisions were heaped up in the centre of the deck, without regard to cleanliness or preservation. A portion of them was consequently spoiled. It would be impossible to describe the confusion this salutary abstersion made amongst the Kandyan captives: the free ingress and egress of the tars with their buckets of water, scrapers, and swabs, almost frightened the females out of their wits. The sailors were by no means scrupulous in eyeing the ladies, or cutting their quiet joke on them, though I must say they took no other liberty. In fact, they volunteered by turns to serve in the royal apartments for the sake of shewing the kindly feeling they entertained towards the fallen monarch. This sentiment was encouraged by Capt. O'Brien, and I cannot reflect upon the complete subversion of the rules generally so strictly adhered to on board of *Men-of-War*, which the royal family, and their train, created on board the "*Cornwallis*", without eulogizing the kindness and forbearance of Captain O'Brien, as well as the gentlemanly and courteous conduct of his officers during the entire voyage; all of whom appeared to be impressed with similar sentiments of compassion, towards the captive and his suite.

4th February.

Divine Service.

The king did not appear this day. I sent as usual to enquire after him, to which he returned thanks, stating he was well.

5th February.

This morning the king sent to Captain O'Brien to request that he might be allowed to be present when our little party sat down to dinner, to which the Captain cheerfully assented. His Majesty did not make his appearance till we were all seated. He would not come into the same apartment with us, but ordered the ottoman to be placed close to the panelling, which divided the stern gallery from the cuddy and viewed us through one of the windows which was lowered for the purpose. We could only see his head and shoulders while he was able to discern the whole of our cabin. We arose on his making his appearance, when he desired us to be seated, begged we would begin dinner, and requested we would eat our meal as though he was not present. Our appetites being excellent the ceremony was soon despatched. After the cloth was removed Captain O'Brien proposed His Majesty's health in a bumper. On our compliment being interpreted to him he appeared much pleased with it, and returned thanks in a loud voice, laughing heartily. He at the same time inclined his head slightly to each of us, and wished Mrs. Sewell health and happiness: I observed that during the dinner the ladies did not enter the stern gallery in company with the king, but that he intentionally closed the door upon them, and bade them stand in the passage leading to their apartments below. They peeped through a glass door at us, which opened from that passage to the cuddy.

His Majesty made few remarks, but watched attentively every dish as it was placed on the table: our mode of using knife and fork, etc., etc.

Sometimes he thrust his head and shoulders through the aperture to regard more distinctly the materials of which the dishes were composed. After we had taken our second glass of wine he retired, and continued looking through the stern windows for some time observing the ship's track as she moved through the water. At length he abruptly withdrew to his own apartment, taking the ladies along with him.

6th February.

The king kept his cabin this day. I was myself not a little pleased to pass a few hours alone. The daily report was brought me that all was right in the royal apartment.

7th February.

This morning the king sent to acquaint me that he felt offended that there were no more than five sorts of vegetables served out to him for the day; I consequently hastened to a spare cabin (which with Captain O'Brien's permission we had converted into a storeroom) to examine the state of the king's provisions, and I found that there really were no more than the number mentioned. Some had been spoiled by the wet and dirt of the deck, and thrown overboard; and a portion had been left on shore at Colombo by mistake. This was a sad circumstance to relate to His Majesty, possessing as he did a temper far from placable. I, however, endeavoured to appease his wrath as well as I could by an explanation of facts; but he was not to be pacified, and made use of many violent expressions in a clear tone of voice, with the meaning of which the interpreters were afraid to acquaint me. I made known to Captain O'Brien what was passing below, who immediately joined us, and he informed the king that whatever vegetables the ship contained for the use of himself and his crew were entirely at his command. The king seemed somewhat content at this assurance, but without taking any notice of either of us, walked silently into his cabin, and closed the door after him. We saw him no more that day, but frequently heard his loud angry voice afterwards, while we were sitting in the Captain's cabin above.

8th February.

The king recovered his good humour today, and sent to acquaint Captain O'Brien that he would take the air in the stern gallery at the usual hour.

He came accordingly. We now began to be accustomed to his society, and the king on his part did not think it requisite to stand on ceremony in dispensing with our attendance upon him if he wished to be alone. The Captain went on deck, while I occupied myself in reading in the king's presence. The royal captive sat silently on the ottoman, contemplating his altered condition, with his females around him. He appeared gratified at being left to his own meditations. He fixed his eyes on the ocean before him, an element altogether new to him, and seemed to think on the mutability of power, and his own irreparable misfortunes. We did not intrude upon his reflections, the Captain being engaged in visiting the ship below and Mrs. Sewell in the next cabin with her children; while the ship like the sea through

which we were gently gliding, was perfectly tranquil and noiseless. Time stole swiftly on, while the deposed sovereign thus, perhaps for the first time since his sceptre left him, enjoyed an apparently calm moment, in which it was evident his fiery temper was partially dormant, and the kindlier feelings of his heart under some degree of active operation. He sat until the usual six bells struck when he hastily rose and retired to his own cabin.

9th February.

I did not quit my cabin this day, chicken broth and a bread pudding formed the materials of my dinner on the 9th February.

10th February.

The king's apartments washed and cleaned; of course there was a general turn-out upon the occasion. His Majesty came to the Captain's cabin with the ladies. He asked Captain O'Brien and myself many questions about England. He again told me that he perceived I had no knowledge of the forms of the Court of my country. I asked him if he understood these forms: he said he did. I enquired how he had attained this information. He said, "by history and investigation". I asked him if he often read, he said sometimes, but that he generally made others read to him. I asked if he ever wrote; he replied, "That it is the occupation of a secretary". I do not pretend here to offer my opinion as to the state of the captive monarch's learning or acquirements. He appeared to me to possess a very acute intellect, and could penetrate with wonderful precision into the characters of others. His mind, in some respects, was lofty, and he could sometimes hold uncommon control over his feelings. The high notions he had formed from his infancy of his own importance could not in him be impaired or be dismissed by adversity. He never forgot his birth and former dignity or station, nor asked a question, which could betray ignorance, except in regard to things which he had never seen before. Even in these cases he quickly repaired any error he made by the rapid introduction of fresh observations, full of prompt sagacity and discretion.¹

The cabins being reported dry and fit for the reception of the captives, they retired for the day.

1. Marshall, Deputy Inspector General of Army Hospitals, who visited the ex-king professionally, "found him frank and affable, and willing to converse upon any subject which was started".

11th. February, Sunday.

Divine Service.

After prayers, Captain O'Brien proposed my making a tour of the ship with him. We were accompanied by Mr. Bague, the 1st Lieutenant, and most of the officers of the wardroom. The seamen were paraded in their berths, neatly dressed. The Captain's band played during the excursion. Nothing could exceed the cleanliness of the ship, nor the good order, and discipline observed in every service on board, which proved how much Captain O'Brien was respected by his officers, and readily obeyed by his men. We visited the hospital and the schoolroom. The former contained but few invalids, and was remarkable for its cleanliness, the latter which was almost entirely established by Captain O'Brien was well stocked with young scholars, whose instruction and good behaviour seemed to form objects of deep interest to their excellent Commander. To a mind so amiable and well cultivated as Captain O'Brien's, nothing could be more pleasing than the progress these lads made in the rudiments of learning. An intelligent person superintended their education. Prayers were read in the schoolroom morning and evening.

Swearing was prohibited and oaths were seldom uttered amongst the sailors. Those who swore were fined a penny for each oath, and when we anchored at Madras a very few shillings indeed, comprised the whole fund raised for the benefit of the school, by this tax upon the tongues of upwards of six hundred men.

From the hospital and school we proceeded to the lower deck and thence descended to the powder magazine. Every part of the ship appeared in a beautiful order; we lowered ourselves to the keel, determined to see as much of her as we could. The timbers were perfectly dry not a gallon of water being found in her bottom, we then re-ascended, saw the bread room, etc., etc. and regained the free air after having been occupied nearly a couple of hours in our excursion.

12th February.

The king and his ladies visited the stern gallery and he, as usual, took possession of the ottoman. I told the king of our tour of the "Cornwallis" and asked if he would like to see himself. He hesitated at first, but at length said he would fix a day for the purpose. I remained sometime with him, amusing him with light questions, which he answered freely, and laughed a good deal in returning his answers.

An old woman who accompanied the captives sat at His Majesty's feet, and kept up a constant prattle, which the interpreters had no time to explain the meaning of. It appeared that she filled the honourable office, well known in the earlier period of English History, by the name of the king's "jester". His Majesty laughed loudly at everything she said, and the queens could not repress their inclination to do the same, though they made many efforts for the purpose by thrusting part of their muslin robes into their mouths, and pinching themselves smartly to counteract the irresistible effects of the old lady's humour. The good creature's remarks I found were made chiefly upon me; but I could not prevail on the interpreters to explain what she said. They merely observed that she was "a fool," and meant no harm. I begged them to understand that I could take a joke as well as anybody, and entreated to be favoured with a specimen of her wit, though it were at my expense; but they would not gratify me, for they assured me it was impossible for them to turn what she said into English. Her tongue, therefore, was allowed to run on, without let or hindrance, till at last, as I expected, her fancy became exhausted, and she reclined her head on the edge of the ottoman fatigued and panting from her exertions. The king having himself grown tired of her, gave the signal, and the hag jumped up and trotted off as fast as her aged limbs could carry her, without taking the smallest notice of any person in the room. Just as she was quitting the cabin, she turned round and shaking her head uttered something through her toothless gums, which made the whole of the royal party burst into repeated peals of laughter; she then disappeared. I believe this is the first instance on record of a king's jester being of the feminine gender.

13th February.

The king, his queens, etc., in the Captain's cabin; Mrs. Sewell at her needlework, with her little boy beside her. Captain O'Brien on deck. I remained with the king.

I was anxious to speak to him on subjects connected with his late Government but the history of the past was so involved in horror and bloodshed, that I feared giving offence, which I felt it my first duty to avoid. While thinking how I could best introduce the matter which engaged my mind, he started the old question why Sir Robert Brownrigg would not see him before he left Colombo. I again assured him that I had not the power of answering that question. He was thoughtful for a time, when he said he had something to impart to Sir Robert,

which pressed heavily on his mind: in the language of the interpreter, "which made his heart ache." He professed to be very solicitous about some treasure, which he wished to put into Sir Robert's power, and feared Ehey·lapola would take possession of it. I said, that if he would disclose the place where it was to be found to me, I would make it known to the Governor, who would take effectual steps for securing it. He fixed his eyes keenly on the interpreters for a few moments who actually trembled under his gaze, and then shaking his head said he would not let me know where it was concealed.

In all my conversations with the king I felt much embarrassment from the manner in which the interpreters construed the king's answers to my questions. No strain of language was sufficiently reverential to clothe their interpretation of what he said. I adopted no form of address beyond that in which I accost a friend, or an acquaintance of my own rank. The interpreters however, so bewildered themselves with honorific terms in addressing the king, and in repeating what His Majesty said, that I could sometimes make little or nothing of what they endeavoured to explain. The Malabar interpreter in delivering my question or answer would say, "The Commissioner humbly craves permission to acquaint His Majesty's sacred feet." This I endeavoured to check at first, but observing the awe in which these persons stood of the king, and the effect his presence produced upon their minds, I ceased to feel any scruples on the subject, and allowed them to go on in their own way. It often took me a quarter of an hour fully to understand a question the king put to me. The idiom or form of speech they used in delivering the king's answers were as lofty as can be imagined, and always in the third person. Whenever the Malabar interpreter was directed to put my question to the king it was some seconds before he could muster courage for the task. He trembled in every limb, cast his eyes on the ground, put his hands together as in prayer, and bending his head and knees almost to the deck, expressed what I ordered him to say in sounds almost inarticulate. The Sinhalese interpreter was less affected by timidity than his colleague. But as the king spoke the Sinhalese tongue less fluently than the Malabar, the latter required time to gather the substance of His Majesty's meaning, before he ventured to render it into English. With such impediments to conversation it is not surprising that much time was lost when in the king's presence, and that if he had really any secrets which he might have felt disposed to have entrusted to me, he should

rather have been silent upon them, than have hazarded information which he evidently thought might be either misinterpreted or misunderstood by all parties.

14th February. ••

The royal party came upstairs at the usual hour. His Majesty, for the third time, expressed his regret that he had not seen Sir Robert Brownrigg previous to his embarkation. He repeated his fear that Eheylapola would get possession of the treasure he had before alluded to. I again assured him that if he mentioned the place of its concealment to me I would acquaint the Governor thereof immediately after we reached Madras. There was great difficulty in obtaining a clear interpretation of what the king wished to make known to me on the subject. He evidently disliked opening his mind before the interpreters. I felt assured that if I had understood the Malabar tongue he would have declared himself more explicitly.¹ I believe him to have been sincere in what he said about the treasure. He had no apparent motive for talking of it, unless it really existed. Falsehood on such a subject and at such a moment was unnecessary. I made many attempts to extract something more on the subject from him, but unsuccessfully; and from this day forward he never reverted either to Sir Robert Brownrigg not visiting him, or to the treasure which appeared to engage so much of his mind. The king sat about an hour longer in deep meditation and then retired.

15th February.

The king visited the apartment above; he was in good humour, asked Captain O'Brien if he was married; to which the Captain replied in the affirmative, adding that he was the father of six children, and showed His Majesty the miniature portraits of Mrs. O'Brien, and his two eldest children. The king examined them attentively for some minutes, and then returned them without making any observation respecting them.

1. He had made the same offer to D'Oyly who understood Sinhalese. "The King having desired to speak to me the Night before last" writes D'Oyly on 22 Feb. 1815 "took me by the hand and requested my Assistance, and said, that he would Discover to me Places, where Royal treasures were concealed, unknown to any but himself, intending, as I understand, to offer them as a Douceur. I told him that any Account of concealed Property, which he gave, would be laid before Your Excellency, and that all Royal Treasures will of course belong to Government. He promised to give me in writing such an Account and seemed to hope, but I gave no Encouragement of that kind, that the Discovery might entitle him to the Favour or Indulgence of Government." Diary 218.

The king with a smile (which I perceived was only assumed to conceal his royal feeling) told Captain O'Brien that he was sure he was not going to Madras. The Captain smiled and said he would show him the situation of the "Cornwallis" in a map of the Bay of Bengal, and that His Majesty should judge for himself. The chart was accordingly produced in which our daily track was marked off by the Master. The situation of Madras was shown to him, as well as our position at sea, and the course we had taken from Colombo, the port of our departure. The king said he perfectly comprehended all that Captain O'Brien had described, though from the situation in which His Majesty was placed, the map being almost upside down to him, I was disposed to doubt his assertion, unless he really did know something of Geography. He expressed his regret at the length of the voyage and soon fell into low spirits. His sensibility on this subject became quite painful at last, and he sunk into profound silence, during the rest of the morning. We had before discovered that he was very liable to sudden elevations and depressions of mind, the effect of long possession of unlimited power, in the exercise of which he had so deeply indulged, that the consequence was the loss, both of his liberty and his crown together with a sad train of reflections, which yielded him no other images to dwell on but past cruelty, treason and ruin.

16th February.

The king sent to say that he would be happy if Captain O'Brien and myself would accept of a dinner from him today at our usual hour of dining. Our assent was given of course with thanks for the favour intended us. His Majesty did not come upstairs all the morning, but remained below superintending most anxiously the cooking of the various dishes.

He really busied himself in the most condescending manner on the occasion, and I was informed that he actually saw every dish made himself. There was consequently great bustle below, and no end to the demands for sugar, vinegar, butter, oil, pepper, etc. It was not without some apprehension that we contemplated the approaching feast when we considered the strange materials of which and by whose orders it was composed. At length it was announced and the king took his station as before on the ottoman in the stern gallery, and viewed us through the centre window, which was let down for the purpose. Mrs. Sewell and three of the officers of the "Cornwallis," besides Captain

O'Brien and myself were present ; the king's own domestics brought in the dishes through the private passage leading to the royal cabins they were then delivered over to, and placed on the table by the Captain's servants.

The king himself directed where every dish should be deposited, and seemed very particular about the proper position of each. Scarcely was one dish tasted by us, before the king like Sancho's physician, ordered it away and another to be brought. In this manner they were tasted and renewed without end. The anxiety His Majesty felt that we should partake of what he called his favourite dishes, his energetic manner of recommending them, together with the fear of anything going wrong, or contrary to his previous orders, threw him into a violent heat and agitation, which served as salutary exercise to his unwieldy frame. I must own that I was happy when the things were removed. The greasy slops, and other nausea spread before us, almost overcame me, and produced divers sensations of a tendency which I need not expatiate upon. The variety of dishes produced on this occasion was surprising to us ; for on referring to my list of the king's provisions, no mention was made of many articles we met with at the entertainment, whence I concluded they had been put on board privately, and that he was better furnished than we were aware of. Soon after dinner we retired to the stern gallery, when the king asked us if we had been pleased with our dinner. He laughed loud and heartily, and seemed to think he had accomplished a great undertaking, and one of uncommon merit. At length he withdrew looking more cheerful and contented than I think had ever before seen him.

(*To be continued*).

Dutch Retreat from Kandy, 1765

II.

Justification of Colonel Feber

(*Tweede Deel der Brieven en Papieren van Ceylon overgekomen*, 1766
Vol. XIV, Kol. Arch. 3030, Rijksarchief 'sGravenhage).

Explanation made and presented by me, the undersigned Jan Jurgen Feber, Colonel in Chief of the Company's militia in the Island of Ceylon, to His Excellency Mr. Iman Willem Falk¹ Governor and Director of the Island of Ceylon and its dependencies, of what happened after the departure of His Excellency the late² Mr. Lubbert Jan van Eck from Kandia, during the time I held the command there, namely from the 4th to the 18th March, 1765.

On the 4th of March, at 7 o'clock in the morning H. E. the late Governor van Eck left Kandia without delivering anything to me—except the money which the Secretary van Angelbeek³ gave me and which I afterwards accounted for—but with the intimation that H. E. hoped to meet Mr. Rein on the way and would speak to him at length about different matters, and that when the aforesaid Mr. Rein arrived I could depart at once without danger of being overtaken by the rainy season. Therefore on the next morning first of all I caused the Maha Mohotiaar to muster all the coolies that remained, both hale and ill, Sinhalese and Moors, the oppermandoor Wits to muster the Company's slaves, and Lieut. Hounold to muster the *komatjes* who had been entrusted to his command at the departure of H. E., a thing of which I had not been informed.

By this muster of coolies it was found that their number was of Sinhalese and Moors, 371 hale, and 108 sick

Company's slaves,	261	„	„	60	„
Kmatjes,	60	„	„	40	„
Total	691 ⁴	„	„	208	„

1. See ante I 18.

2. Van Eck died on 1st April 1765.

3. Johan Gerrard van Angelbeek, afterwards Governor (1785-1794).

4. Should be 692.

This number was distributed by me as follows :

25 to 30 daily under the Commissioner of Stores to pound *nely*¹ for the men ; 10 in the Arrack distillery which had just been set up at the time ; 40 to 50 in the fort (castle) under the provost-sergeant and some *Mocquedons*,² to cleanse the same lest some sickness break out among the people owing to the great stench and dirt ; 40 to 50 daily in the batteries to clean them as quickly as possible.

The rest were sent under the native commanders to bring *nely*, cattle and salt, for provisions, as neither *nely* nor cattle were to be found around Kandia because the one and the other had already been brought to the camp in the time of H.E. I had therefore first to send spies a distance of one, two, and three miles inland to find but whether there was any *nely*. I even caused the coolies to bring even the *nely* that had been hidden in the ground by the enemy ; while the reserves and the sick I employed in cutting *nely* in the fields and in bringing them to be threshed by cattle. Thus I can conscientiously say that I was not quiet or idle, but have done even more than I could. What I had caused to be brought measured at least 4000 *parras* of *nely* and 500 *parras* of salt.

As for the arrack distillery there were no distillerers because those whom H. E. the late Mr. van Eck had brought had gone back sick on his departure. But two Europeans turned up who claimed to have some knowledge of the process and I first made them prepare the oven and get the kettles ready and do everything that was possible to get the distillery into working order. I made the *oppermandoor* Wits summon the toddy drawers and found that there were not more than three left, who were sick, the others having returned to Kolombo with the crowd that went with H. E. Mr. van Eck, and the aforesaid three men would doubtless have taken to flight had they not been kept behind by sickness. The work, therefore, was done by four of the Company's slaves ; but in the morning when they climbed the toddy trees they usually found everything damaged by the monkeys or the so-called *Rollewais*³ and the toddy gone, so that it was only now and again that

1. Paddy cf. Tamil *nellu*,

2. Mocuddam. Hind. from Ar. *mukaddam*, headman.

3. *Rilawa* Sin : Knox (*Hist. Rel.* 26) " There is yet another sort of Apes, of which there is great abundance, who coming with such multitudes do a great deal of mischief to the Corn, that groweth in the Woods, so that they are fain all the day long to Keep Watch to scare them out ; and so soon as they are gone to fray them away at one end of the Field ; others who wait for such an opportunity come skipping in at the other ; and before they can turn, will fill both bellies and hands full, to carry away with them ; and to stand all round to guard their Fields is more than they can do. This sort of Monkeys have no beards, white faces, and long hair on the top of their heads, which parteth and hangeth down like a man's. These are so impudent that they will come into their Gardens, and eat such Fruit as grows there. They call these Rillows."

they brought a bottle of toddy. I therefore got a supply of *nely* distilled, but even after two or three distillations the stuff was very bad and unfit for use.

For the appraisalment of the *nely* Mr. Commander Rein directed the Maha Mohotiaar Don Simon de Silva to get it done by the following chiefs, namely the Modliaar of Dandoegam, the Coraal of Hapittigam Corle, the two Mohandiramms of Hina Corle, the Mohandiram and Interpreter of Hangwelle, the Maha Vidan of Kaliture and the other lesser headmen that came from that district, who after examining estimated it at about 29000 *parras*,¹ whereupon Mr. Rein maintained that it would be quite enough.

As for the removal of the posts, H. E. in consultation with Mr. Rein gave order both by word of mouth and by writing, to remove the posts from Kandia to Gonawiele after my return, and the said writing will be found among the papers left behind by Mr. Rein.

During Mr. Rein's stay in Kandia the coolies were constantly employed in bringing his belongings from Wisnave as well as in bringing a supply of arrack from Weweede. When that was done the aforesaid Mr. Rein thought that they were in a position to maintain themselves there till the end of August or middle of September. And as the rainy season was about to set in, according to the Sinhalese saying that there is no relying on it and that it may come a month earlier or later, Mr. Rein thought it good to let me depart from Kandia, leaving about 1700 men to garrison the place as may be seen in the annexed Summary of the Strength of the Garrison, over and above the Maha Mohotiaar and his men and the Modliaar of Hapittigam Corle with some of his, and some servants of the Commanders and of other officers, so that there were about 1800 mouths to feed, not counting the multitude of women and children of the Easterners² and Sipahis.³ Although the number of the garrison was reckoned at 1200 in the Instructions left behind by H. E. the late Governor van Eck yet it was reported to Mr. Rein as more or less complete.

I hope I have now satisfied Your Excellency's demand.

Your Excellency's humble and obedient servant.

Colombo,
12 November, 1765.

(Sgd.) JN. JN. FEBER.

1. Sin: *bera*, a measure of capacity.
2. Malays.
3. Sepoys.

Summary of the Strength of the Garrison of Kandia.

Name of Company	Majors	Captains	Lieuts.	Ensigns	Sergeants	Surgeons	Writers	Drill Masters	Cadets	Trumpeters	Corporals	Pipers	Drummers	Men	Total	Grand Total
Major Medeler	-	1	1	2	9	1	-	-	-	-	9	2	2	69	96	
„ Frankena	1	-	1	3	8	1	1				9	1	2	74	101	
„ Dufflo	1	1	2	1	5	1					9	1	4	85	110	
The Rifles			1	2	2	4	1	1	4	4	7			99	125	
The Marines			1	2	1	7	1	1			8		2	98	121	
Total European	2	4	8	9	33	5	2	1	4	4	42	4	10	425		553
Capt. Mandoe		1	1	2	6			1			8			89	108	
„ Boassa		1	1	2	5			1			6			62	78	
„ Kepping		1	1	2	8						8			88	108	
„ Aboe		1	1	2	6			1			10			100	121	
Total Easterners		4	4	8	25			3			32			339		415
Capt. Fegtheim		1		5	9			3			16			159	193	
„ Secuzem		1		2	5			1	1		6			54	70	
„ Ramogirouw		1		2	4			1			9			58	75	
„ Abdaraman		1		2	5			1			6			53	68	
Total Sipahis		4		11	23			6	1		37			324		406
	Captains	Ordin. Lieut.	Extraord.	Bombardiers	Cadets	Gunners	Handels	Smiths	Carpenters	Kuippers	Quarter-mast.	Men	Total			
Artillery	1	1	1	3	2	3	18	2	1	1	2	23	68			
Company's Slaves													150			
Komatjes													60			
Train Bands																
1	Captain and Commandant of Sipahis															
1	Lieutenant Commandant of the Easterners															
1	Lieutenant and Adjutant General															
2	Undermerchants															
1	Second Lieutenant and Engineer															
1	Surgeon Major															
2	Sub Adjutants															
3	Book-keepers															
6	Assistants															
3	Third Masters															
2	Arrack distillerers															
12	Sinhalese smiths and carpenters															
7	Toddy drawers of whom 3 Sinhalese															
Grand Total													42			

A. Colombo Letter of 1552

BR. ANTONIO DIAS, S.J.

To the Fathers and Brothers of Goa and Coimbra.
Colombo, 15th December, 1552.

(MS. in the Archives S.J. Goa, 10 ff. 231-238; text printed in Schurhammer *Ceylon zur Zeit des Königs Bhuvaneka Bahu und Franz Xavers, 639-659*).

The following letter, written by a Jesuit Laybrother who came to Ceylon with Fr. Manoel de Moraes S.J. in 1552, is interesting on account of the many allusions to historical personages and the frank comments on men and events of the time. It has been written with many interruptions and concluded on 15th December, 1552. The writer's many and long spiritual reflections and salutations are here omitted.

.....Our Lord has deigned to give me the special favour of being the companion, though not of the labours and virtues, of our Father Manoell de Morais,¹ in whom I have a great model for imitation as his labours bear testimony, for Our Lord has granted, and is granting us so many favours by deigning to work through his creatures such works as give to all that spiritual joy which all feel in the works of the Lord. I am now going to relate to you, my Brothers, the things which Our Lord has wrought by means of our Father Manoell de Morais.

I have already written another letter to the College about some matters of this land, but as I am writing this so that my beloved Fathers and Brothers of the College of Coimbra may see it, I wish to narrate at greater length than in the other, because after the former letter was written our dear Lord was pleased that other works should be wrought, and we are daily hoping that he will work others still, by means of his creatures, in greater quality and quantity than those I have previously narrated.

Know then, my Brothers, that from the time we were left in Cochin by Dom Afonso de Noronha, who by his other name is called Pamdita,² Ambassador of the King of Ceilam, in the lands of which

1. Born 1521; entered the Society of Jesus in 1545 and arrived in India in 1551. In October 1552 he came to Ceylon and left ill in 1553: died Goa 1553.

2. Sri Radaraksa (or Ramaraksa. See 3 CLR II 46) who went to Lisbon as ambassador of Bhuaneka Bahu.

King we now are, which said Dom Afonco they made a Christian of in the *casa* of the College and instructed in the things of Christianity, whose baptism was conferred with as much ceremony and charity as was possible to us, and the same [was done] when we came with him to Cochin, where I said he left us, we remained without any message which caused us great grief; but as Our Lord had ordained his works with eternal wisdom, He wanted us to be so, and so He permitted it, in order to cause us fresh joy after our grief.

We were, I say, relieved, so that then we knew for certain where he was, for he himself wrote to us an *hola*, and it was brought by the very servants of his who came with us from Goa to Cochin, whence they came by land. We were expecting him daily, and soon by God's grace we shall see him; and this makes us believe the more that His Divine Majesty wishes to do great things in this island for Christianity, since He brings us Dom Afonco so opportunely, for through him we hope to make all the principal persons of the land understand the things of Christianity, for he is a very good *topas*¹ and is discreet, and is moreover already well instructed in the matters of Christianity, and he can not fail to be of great use to us in declaring the truth which he well understands for he is a person who among these gentiles is noted for his knowledge of the matters of the pagodes, and being now as it were against them, he shows himself so constant, according to what he has written to us in his *hola*, that he will give them assurance to follow the things of Christianity since he follows them himself.

Thus, my Brothers, to describe to you our arrival in this land and island of Ceylam.—Know that at once we went to the Fathers of St. Francis and the Vygayro of the country,² by whom we were received with great charity; and by deeds they showed it, for the Friars forthwith washed our feet, and with them we remained some days till it was settled where we were to remain, for there was no *Espritall*. And the Father asked the Captain of this land to set in order a house where the sick might be treated and in which at the same time we might lodge also; and as this place was put in order, we went there, where we are up to the present in the *casa* of the *Espritall*. The Vygayro of this land gave us, besides other charities, a cassock which the Father gave me to wear. We were also received by the Captain

1. Interpreter.

2. Joao Vaz de Monteiro, who did not die in 1536 as his tombstone has been made to say.

and other people with the same pleasure and charity. And as soon as we arrived the Father began to preach with great fervour, and likewise with the same fervour the Father promulgated the Holy Jubilee which the Holy Father granted to the King of Portugal, and which the lord Bishop entrusted to the Father to preach in this island: and from this promulgation resulted so much good to souls which were in great need of being helped by such a mercy of the Lord, that the devotion was so great that all wished to gain it, and the Father is continually shriving from morning and goes on till one or two in the night without taking, during all that time, anything more than the necessary human sustenance.

There was in this land, beside many other evils, a sin which had become general, namely eating flesh on Fridays and Saturdays; and what was worse, owing to the bad habit that had grown, they did not even consider it a sin, and the reason why this custom reigned in this land is because there was really no one to be surprised at it, or to rebuke it; and when the Father knew this, that in this matter there was such ignorance of sin, he began at once to preach against this great evil, and against another which was that the bakeries baked bread on Sundays and feast days; and our sweet Jesus was pleased to give such efficacy to his holy words that, the Lord be praised, these two evils were remedied and many others put a stop to, as, for instance, some persons living for a long time in concubinage were married, and many other good deeds were done, and many evils ceased as a result of the sermons, confessions and catechisings.

And in order that the gravity of sin might be understood by all the Father began to teach catechism every afternoon on Sundays and feast days, an instruction very necessary, considering the evils that were in this land, which instructions are to go on always as long as our Lord is pleased that we remain in this island. Up to this time, from the time the Father published the Holy Jubilee, there was a large concourse of people for confession, which I say made me wonder how the Father could do it amidst labours of such value both in this and other matters.

After the Father had promulgated the Jubilee in this Columbo, which is the port of this land, he at once went to promulgate and publish it in the city of Cota where the King abides, where also Our Lord wrought His usual mercies. And if the Father laboured hard in in Columbo here too he continued the same kind of occupations, and

to the first sermon, which the Father delivered in this city, there came two principal men, pagans, and they had by their side a *topas* to declare to them the words in their language. And one of them is the Chief Chamberlain¹ of the King, and the other is called ~~the~~ *black captain*² who is the Captain of the Field in the hills, and they were glad to find that there were among Portuguese men of letters and persons of great wisdom and knowledge. And as the object of our visit was that the Father should show the King³ the true way of salvation and bring about his baptism, the Father determined to send me one day to speak to the King and to ask him through me that His Highness should give him licence to come and see him, and declare to him the reasons for his coming to this land, and how much the Viceroy had begged the Father Mestre Gaspar⁴ to send him to this land solely because he desired to see him a Christian, which would give the King of Portugall great pleasure.

Among the things I did before this King, when I went to speak with him, one was that he asked me the difference there was between the Friars and the Clerics, since the one went about in one habit and the others in another, and the difference between the others. I replied to him according as the Lord gave me to understand at the time, and I declared to him moreover the difference between us and the Friars, between us and the Clerics of the habit of St. Peter,⁵ and I answered him what an order was, and how one differed from another; and all these things were asked me through the Chief Chamberlain of the King, and in his presence, for the King is a boy who does not rule but this his Chief Chamberlain is the one who rules. But the King, however, spoke some words to me, and at the end of it all, he appointed the day when the Father should come to speak.

And when that day was come we went to speak to him and several times afterwards did the Father speak to him, and as the work which brought the Father to this land was coming to an end, he begged to have speech of him at a convenient time in private about the important matter, namely about his becoming a Christian. To this he answered many things, and one of these was that he said that at present he was

1. Tammita Sembahap Perumal, the Regent in succession to Vidiye Bandara.
2. See Couto JCBRAS XX.
3. The young King afterwards Don Juan Periapandar.
4. Fr. Gaspar Barzaeus, the Superior of the Jesuits in India.
5. Secular priests.

engaged in preparing to make war on a certain Lord of that island who is called Madune pandar,¹ because he had taken many of his lands, and that for this reason he was not able to have the leisure for things of such great moment, and that when the war was over he would at once place the matter for discussion before his Fathers and ours, and he said this because the Father said that in that way he wished it to be done for greater clearness that they might understand that our religion was right. Then the Father spoke with the attendant who is the Chief Chamberlain, privately, because all the harm and obstacle against the King becoming a Christian comes from him. He said that many reasons, though human, prevented the King from becoming a Christian. However, he said that after the war, when the people were quiet, he would then treat these matters of Christianity. So it stands at present. May Our Lord enlighten them all for they are quite blind in their false beliefs, and may the result be an increase of our Holy Catholic Faith.

So far, the Father did not attempt with any earnestness to make Christians, because of his many other occupations of shriving and preaching and other things in the service of God; but when the time for the end of the Jubilee was at hand, the Father determined to occupy himself with the things of the Christianity of the people of the country, and Our Lord has already begun to give signs that a large Christianity will be made, because without the Father taking any great pains he began to reap a harvest in this Christianity, about which labours I wrote these past days, how the Father baptised a principal man, Lord of many people and of the highest lineage and blood of all this land, and next to the King there is no higher lineage. And along with him the Father baptised one of his nephews, son of a brother who died some years ago. These two with another were baptised one day; on the following day were baptised many of his people. The names of those I spoke of—to one they gave the name Duarte,² and to the other Pedro, and they are called Don for they are chief men. And the wife of this Dom Duarte was not baptised then, though he said he would send her some days later for baptism; but we had some doubts of its being so, and much more did we doubt when the time went on lengthening, especially as the worst impediment we feared was that she would give up doing this on account of a great error which holds sway among the

1. Mayadunne Bandara, King of Sitawaka.

2. After the Captain of Colombo Dom Duarte Deca.

women of quality in this country, which the devil has sown for the greater perdition of souls, which is that no one may see any Portuguese whoever he be, so much so—and they hold so much to it, that they say in this land that they have already killed women with poison merely because they were seen by Portuguese; and there are in this land elderly men, and others resident therein for many years and familiars of the King, both pagans and Portuguese, who have not set eyes on the Queen or on any other lady of quality.

See now, my Brothers, how our souls were on seeing these laws which this lady can allege; and I may say that this is one of the chief things that must be overcome in this land, and it seems that all others can, though with difficulty, be destroyed in time, but this error alone, which I have mentioned, there is no means of removing, especially as long as the Portuguese have little power to do anything of moment. Though this lady was destined to be the first to do it, you can see in her case how difficult it was, though her husband wished her to be a Christian and the King ordered it to be said to her husband that since he had become a Christian he should not mind his wife doing it and he is a King who would do many favours; the relatives also opposed her becoming a Christian, and Our Lord knows what other difficulties the devil brought placing before her the disgrace of doing a thing never before done by her kith or kin, so that it cannot be explained in words what a difficult thing it is in this land to turn aside from the devil this law of his. It would seem that the devil, when he sowed this, already saw that one day it would be useful to him to have this to prevent the salvation of those under his dominion.

I tell you, my Brothers, that Our Lord wrought this work of His divine power, and wished that it should be broken, because it was a thing which is of much importance. He wished in His mercy that this prison of Satan should be opened, and He wished that this lady should one day make up her mind to come to become a Christian. However she failed on the day for which it was arranged, because they said that now she was going to become a Christian it should not be done by day, nor even in the place where we wished it to be, lest there should be many Portuguese people and lest her baptism might be celebrated, but that it should be at nightfall for many reasons, one of which was that the baptism might be more secret from pagans and less seen by Portuguese. The Father, seeing that if he did not consent to her becoming a Christian under those circumstances there might be risk of her not

becoming so at all, decided to begin so great a work, and a matter of such importance, both for her soul as well as for others who might do likewise once they have a trodden way and not be kept back by such impediments to salvation coming from the devil, accepted and consented to make her a Christian with all the things she wanted.

Seeing the matter in this state we determined to do it in such a way that, though at night, it might be seen and provided with all the means we had for it. And we caused many *camaras* of bombards to be fired, and afterwards many firelocks, so that the pagans and the King might know it. And likewise we lit torches and many candles in the Church, so that it might be seen by all. And after making her a Christian the Father straightway married her to her husband; and as soon as they received [each other], they let off the things I mentioned. And in this way it ended to her great pleasure and to that of her husband and of the Portuguese who marvelled that the time had come to see in Ceylam a deed such as this. They gave her the name Lucrezia because her godmother was so named, who was the wife of the *feitor* and *alcade-mor* of this island; and he himself and other honourable Portuguese were her godfathers; and now using Don she is called Dona Lucrezia which is the same as that of her godmother.

There now, my Brothers, such are the works of the Lord which He works through the members of the Society of Jesus on earth. Come therefore and tarry not, and you will see the works of the Lord, and we shall sing canticles of praise. And, my Brothers, if you are not able to come in body do not give up hope of being able to see, and continue your prayers, for the things we pray for go on well, for there are so many souls perishing for want in spite of all the piety and so many sermons in this heathendom.

A few days hence, we hope, as the Divine Lord promised in his divine might, to make Christian a daughter of those whom I have mentioned; but as her husband is absent we have [no admittance] to the house to speak about it. The same will soon be done to a son of those whom we said we baptised, since his father and mother are Christian and he is six years old.

We are hoping in the Lord that a way will be opened whereby it will be necessary to have a College in this island. The land is singularly fitted for it because it is temperate and tinged with cold. The forests of this land are full of cinnamon, and many fruits both of

Purtugal as well as of the country itself. There is much game in the forests both of hares as well as other things as in Purtugal. There are many birds and many animals of more different shapes than in Purtugal. There are many other things in the forests which are wont to kill people. In this land there are many and various things to narrate. There are here many seasons different from those of other lands. Here one does not know when there is winter for there is such a great change in the seasons that it rains a great part of the year and even continuously.

In this land the forests look like well watered gardens for the trees are as fresh as if they were garden trees. In this land there are many pagodes, some of metal, others of painted wood, some upright, others seated, and as large as men. And the houses, in which they are, painted and gilt, and there are many paintings in the walls and all about pagodes and various other things. And there are in these pagodes, especially in those outside the town, many of their fathers whom they call *Chamgatares*, who live in communities like the Friars. They all go dressed in yellow. Some of them, when the Father meets them in the streets, hide themselves, and they know so little that an intelligent person learned in the things of the Church, even though he may not be learned in letters, can vanquish them, but they have not the ability to recognise their errors by reasoning, and they are also much attached to what their ancestors followed. These are people whose reasons are nothing more than to say that it is their custom and the custom of their ancestors and that they also have to follow it. They greatly shrink discussion and will not come to it.

They live on alms which they go begging from door to door and when they beg they may not speak to anyone. They have great esteem of serenity of countenance, and of the senses and manners, and it seems in their physiognomy that they are very obedient to their prelates and very patient, and they say that they greatly love chastity, and they showed me one who had been made to give up his habit merely because they found him in the company of a woman.

They do not eat from midday forward, but up to midday they may eat as often as they like. They go with one shoulder bare and all the rest covered. They wear a kind of stole on the shoulder, made of cloth of many pieces stiched one to another. They shave their beards as well as their heads.

As for me, know, my Brothers, that my occupation is to teach catechism both to the newly converted as well as others who are in great need of it. There is great want of people to instruct the Christians. If we are to remain here and to make some stay, we shall have some method in it, in order to provide people to instruct in the places where there are Christians, and whither we cannot always go because they are far away. I will not omit to say this to my Father Mestre Gaspar what great need this land has of being frequented by Fathers of the Society, for I think if there had been Fathers here the fruits of their labours would have been seen sooner than now. As for my Father Manoell de Morais I may tell [Yr. Reverence] that they like him greatly in this land.¹

I cannot end this letter here as there are so many things to narrate, and I will omit some details because everything cannot be said. Know, my Brothers, that we live most of the time in Columbo because it is here that the majority of the Portuguese are; but we go very often to Cota, and on the way thither we always meet many pagans whom we urge to become Christians. The Father and I often go along this way unshod, because there are many passes of water to pass, and when the Father is not unshod I take him on my back at the passes, and sometimes I am in danger of dropping him, and if we fall we shall be in danger for there are many alligators which eat men. And a few days ago a slave was drowned at one of the passes, and at another pass [farther] than this, which can not be passed without dhonys the alligators pulled some persons out of the very dhonys. In this pass we found ourselves twice, once by day and once at night, without other rowers save ourselves; and such good rowers we were that we went from one side to the other without reaching the one or the other bank; and once we were in danger of being benighted in the middle of the lake, and we might have remained there the whole night but that Our Lord was pleased that we should reach the landing place.

In the barks we always meet many people who pass continually, but on these two occasions we found none to help us. When we go in these dhonys with other people who are pagans we always talk to them and ask them to become Christians. I went several days from Columbo to Cota only to teach catechism and the Father goes there to preach, to hear confessions and to baptise, for it is for these things that they

1. A long digression exhorting his readers to prepare themselves for missionary work.

retain the Father many times. The good which the Father does to them makes a good impression on the people of this country; but there are in this country some evil customs, [one of] which is that that the King takes the properties of those who become Christians, and does not favour us, just as in the times when they were pagans; they give us great trouble thereby because we have to be their procurators, and if we do not do so there will be no one to become Christian. For this reason we have need to be favoured by the Viceroy for if we shall be so [favoured] great service will be rendered to God Our Lord. But as we are not yet definitively in this land we do not write to Yr. Rev. about the things which in such a case will be necessary for the increase of Christianity, because then we shall have the *pay dos Cristaos* under us, and unless he is such as he ought to be we shall look for another. And because this land lacks many things there are not many Christians who enter by the right door.

To the letter which Yr. Rev. wrote to us about our needs we will reply if we remain in this land. As for a Christian who was made here,¹ who is the father of this King, since he did not do it freely he is now even worse than a pagan. And already when we arrived here he had fled to the forest, and if he is again to submit to Christianity it can not be unless the Portuguese favour him, or at least seek his friendship; and as soon as he sees that he will come to submit. But I think that in this land the affairs of Christianity do not prosper because of self interest.

Finally I may tell Yr. Rev. that the Father's coming here was a divine blessing, because as the people were dissolute by the great evils which the Portuguese had done in this land it was in a state of great danger. May our sweet Jesus remedy the things of these parts of India, especially the things of which Seylam is in so great a need. And already they say that Seilam was Ceylam as regards prosperity, for there are no people now in the place where the Portuguese live, not even [where] the King of this land [lives], save very few, because all are fled to the forests, and the Christians who were there through fear of this Tryvy pandar² turn pagans as before.

The houses of this city of Cota are all demolished and burnt, the which we saw in ruins, which is a great pity to see, and I should have to write these things with tears and not with ink, for we saw the way

1. Vidiye Bandara.

2. Tivuwe Pandar (Vidiye Bandara).

of making many Christians obstructed because the deeds which the Portuguese do here give room to the pagans to think that Our Holy Faith and Law is not so good as we preach, and they forthwith throw in our face the things which the Portuguese did and are doing. They say if our religion is good, how do we break a law so good. A great impediment to Christianity is this communication of bad Portuguese tyrants, for the pagans see how badly they live, and how many violences they do to them. I do not like to continue this point, but only hope that Our Lord will set things right so that with live deeds and good example we may regain them to our friendship and confidence, for it is at least quite lost in this land between Portuguese and pagans; but if the divine mercy should deign that this island should have some members of the Society to remain therein, I trust in the Lord that in a few years much will be done for Christianity both for pagans and for Portuguese. As for what I have recounted to Yr. Rev. how this land was before the arrival of the Father and how it already began to be, those who saw it before can testify.....¹

I do not write to you individually because I have not the time, because as I write this I am on my way to Cota to teach catechism, but I do not fail to remember you all.....

Place before your eyes the Father Mestre Francisco² who is always on the move and is working in the lands not inhabited by the Portuguese, for not content with Japan he has even gone to Chyna. Such is our Captain, always at war, and we the soldiers should be ashamed for not following him. I commend myself to all and carry you in my heart.

Done and in haste in the Island of Seilam, on the way to Cota, on the 15th of December, 1552.

Sgd. AMTONIO DYAS.

1. Here follows a long exhortation and salutations.
2. St. Francis Xavier.

Kandyan State Trial. ••

APPENDIX I.

Address delivered by the Right Honourable The Governor, at a Levee held at the Pavilion in Kandy on Friday, the 13th February, 1835.

I have this day assembled the Chiefs and Priests of the Kandyan Nation to express my obligation, as the Representative of His Majesty the King of England, to those Chiefs and Priests who have been instrumental in the detection of the treasonable intentions of some individuals belonging to their respective bodies. To appreciate the benefit which the Government has derived from their conduct and the consequent acknowledgments that are due to them, it is only necessary to reflect for one moment as to what the state of this prosperous and peaceable colony would have been, had any treasonable designs been permitted to develop themselves in active measures of rebellion.

The miseries of the past periods of 1817 and 1818 might have been revived and the progressive career of Kandyan prosperity checked, if not annihilated. It is the essential duty of the Executive Government of every country to prevent Treason from maturing itself.

The task of a Government, in a personal point of view, might be more easy, if it were merely to watch and wait until blood had been shed, and direct acts of rebellion overtly committed. There would then be no apology necessary for exerting all its engines of power and punishment against such parts of the population as might flock to the standard of treason when once unfurled. In such a case there would be no difficulty or intricacy in proving the guilt of the offenders—but, by this tardy interference the interests of a country might, and probably would, sustain the deepest prejudice—above all, the innocent would be, in many instances inevitably confounded with the guilty in one common ruin. Such a crisis it is the province of good Government to avert.

In reference to the principles which I have just explained, and in reward for his royal conduct, before this meeting separates, I shall invest Mahawallatenne Dessave with the office of 1st Adigar—He was the first individual to awaken the vigilance of the Government to the

existence of any treasonable intentions: In the first instance it was scarcely possible to believe that Chiefs who had been treated with every sort of favour and personal courtesy, could be the parties to entertain such intentions.—subsequent enquiry however ultimately placed that fact, in the opinion of the Executive Government, beyond the power of doubt. It is due to Mahawallatenne Dessave to state, that he did not come forward in the slightest degree in the character of an eager informer—on the contrary, he protested against his name being mentioned and deprecated, in the extreme, any acts on the part of the Government which would awaken suspicion of their having received any such information. His declared object was to put Government on their guard. It was after a long interval, and not till after the arrest of the parties, that he became, as it were, an Agent of Government on this occasion. In the intervening period he gave to Government no information whatever on the subject.

Another individual highly deserving the marked approbation of Government is David de Silva Modliar. As a proof of the high sense I entertain of the loyalty, zeal, and courage which he displayed in endeavouring to avert from his country the possible consequences of rebellion, I shall appoint him Modliar of the Governor's Gate—with an allowance suitable to that rank. Before I proceed to the question of the reward which is the intention of the Government to allot to the Priests Mahalle, Ratnapalla, and Embilmeegama who have on this occasion fearlessly, effectively, and loyally come forward to unmask the pernicious designs which were in agitation, it will be necessary for me to explain publicly, what I understand from Mr. Turnour the Agent of the Central Province, to be the doctrines of the Buddhist Priesthood with respect to the case of Priests giving information of treasonable intentions, or, in fact, of any other crime involving punishment. I cannot avail myself of a more conclusive authority on this point than that of a letter addressed by the Chief Priests of the Malwatte establishment to the Government Agent.

To the Government Agent of the Kandy District, &c.

“The conduct of the two Priests Mahalle and Ratnapalla, in having detected and communicated to the Government the treasonable discussions of certain Priests and Chiefs, with the intention of protecting the people, the religion and the Government, is highly praiseworthy.

“If these treasonable discussions had gained ground, both to the nation and the religion as well as to the Government the greatest calamities would have ensued therefrom.

“The manner in which the Government has suppressed the spread of these treasonable discussions in consequence of the information obtained from these two Priests is most excellent.

“Therefore we shall re-admit the aforesaid Priests into the ceremonies and the rites of our religion on the same footing as formerly—and moreover, in order that it may be held up as an example for the future to all others that these were Priests loyal and faithful to the Government, it appears to be proper that whatever may be the requests of the said Priests, Mahalle and Ratnapalla, that it should be gratified and carried out into effect by Government.

“It is thus reported by the Chief Priest of Malwatte, Galgiriawe Dharmakkhirti Sonangalla Abhedhana.”

Nothing can be more just or proper than the grounds on which it has been decided in this document that these Priests, who have given information, should be re-admitted into the ceremonies and rites of the Buddhist religion. It is conceded that their conduct has been most excellent, which I understand to be the precise meaning of the Cingalese epithet employed—it is conceded that they have assisted in averting the greatest calamities from their Country, and they are re-admitted accordingly.

I understand that, had the Prisoners been convicted of the crime of Treason and suffered such penalties as the law might have adjudged to them, according to the doctrines of the Buddhist religion, the sacerdotal functions of those Priests would have been superseded—as the evidence given by them might have been considered as a proximate cause of such conviction and its consequences. It is repugnant, I am told, to the doctrines of the Buddhist religion that the Priests of that religion should be the direct cause of the infliction of any penalty however small. But in ceasing to be Priests their character as Laymen would nevertheless be unimpeachable. Their retirement from the Priesthood would not be attended with any moral degradation. It might, however, be observed that the Chiefs and Priests who have lately been dismissed from their public situations have in point of fact incurred penalties, though not judicial penalties—but let me once for all explain, that these penalties have not been the consequence of the information given by these Priests, but of the admission contained in their own statement by a portion of the parties tried; and in the case of the others, from the entire conviction entertained by the Government, that to say the least, they were cognizant of treasonable

intentions being afloat, of which intentions, as public servants, it was pre-eminently their duty to have apprized the Government at the earliest opportunity.

Under these circumstances it is hardly necessary to observe, that the continuance of Mahalle, Ratnapalla, and Embilmeegama in the Priesthood, will depend upon their own feelings and judgment; it is a point on which no hasty decision is required—but whether as Priests or as Laymen, their conduct has equal claims on the favor of the British Government.

It is enough that on this occasion due reward to them is publicly pledged by me. The precise nature of that reward may be the subject of future consideration. But, let me solemnly assure these Priests and other Priests now present that, had the Prisoners been convicted, had they suffered judicial penalties,—had the fact of these Priests having given information disqualified them under the laws of their religion from continuing in the Priesthood, they would still have been considered by Government as Laymen utterly unstained by this conscientious secession from the Priesthood, and entitled to receive a practical acknowledgment of the important services which they had rendered their Country. In fact, if there were a country in which it was not deemed to be the first of duties to denounce treasonable intentions, in that country no liberty could exist. The compact would be broken between those who govern and those who are governed. There could be no rule for such a country but that of unlimited power, in other words of unqualified despotism.

I cannot quit the subject of the Priesthood without paying a merited tribute to the memory of two Priests of the highest order, who have lately demised, the one, a man of extensive learning and cultivation of mind—the other, remarkable for the frankness and mildness of his manner and for the uniform approbation which his conduct had received from Government. I need not explain that I allude to the late Chief Priests of the Asgiri and Dambool establishments. It will be the object of Government to supply their places with worthy successors, in the ordinary course of proceeding on similar occasions.

I have now fully explained myself with respect to those witnesses who came forward prior to the arrest. The other class who came forward after that period, deserve and shall experience the full support and protection of Government, but it is not intended to confer on them any special reward. They do not possess the claims which those

possess, who first awakened the Government to a due sense of the danger with which the Country was threatened. The distinction cannot be too strongly drawn between these two classes.

I am now about to offer some observations upon the presumed exciting causes of these treasonable intentions, and this leads me to the subject of a memorial to His Majesty which was professed to be in preparation. The facts are these:

About a month after the first intimation which the Government had received from Mahawallatenne Dessave of existing treasonable intentions, I received a letter from Mr. Turnour dated the 25th April, informing me that in his second interview with Molligoda, late Adigar, and Dunuwille, late Dessave, after their return from Anooradhapoorra, the subject of a memorial and of sending delegates to England (which had not been adverted to in his first interview) was prominently put forward. On the 26th, 29th, and 30th of April, I received additional letters from Mr. Turnour on the subject; he appeared to be inclined to believe that the parties were in earnest in the preparation of this memorial, and that whether they had or had not dabbled in treasonable designs, they were now at least looking towards a legal mode of redressing any grievances under which they might consider themselves to labour. After this information, and especially after receiving from Mr. Turnour an epitome of the contents of this proposed memorial, I felt it my duty, as Governor, notwithstanding my strong suspicion of their disloyalty, to give every facility to the transmission of this memorial to His Majesty, and thereby to assist in turning their minds from disloyal to loyal courses. With this view, I sent for Dunuwille and told him that I had heard from Mr. Turnour and other quarters of the preparation of a memorial; that I was anxious to have it translated and a copy of it sent to me—that I would give the framers of it my best advice upon the subject. I observed that they would do well to lose no time in sending such a document home, inasmuch as the speech made by himself on the part of the Chiefs in the Audience Hall at Kandy on the 24th January, 1833, could not have prepared His Majesty and the British Government to expect that any such reclamation would be offered. The passages in that speech to which I more especially refer are as follows:.

“The speech which His Excellency the Governor has made to us, the Chiefs here at present assembled, has been comprehended by all of us, and we rejoice at the alleviation which, through affection for the people

of this Country, had been accorded to them by His Majesty, our present British Sovereign.

We, the Chiefs who at present hold the superior offices, are exceedingly few in number, but our relations and friends who are not in office are very numerous, and they having had to perform personal service for their lands, in common with the rest of the inhabitants, did as well as them endure much distress and annoyance.

But now His Majesty the King of England, our illustrious Sovereign, having in the plenitude of his benevolence felt commiseration towards us all, has delivered us and all the other inhabitants of our Country from this species of Rajakariya service, for which we render thanks, and have resolved to continue permanently faithful and loyal to His Majesty."

To continue—Dunuwille appeared to enter entirely into my views. We had a good deal of conversation upon the expediency of sending a delegate to England with the memorial, who might give information in full detail upon any parts of it that were not clearly explained. Between the period of the 26th May when I return from Colombo and the.....of June when I set out on a tour to Anooradhapoorā, I received (in obedience to my urgent request) a translation of this memorial by Mr. Armour.—I told Dunuwille that I was of opinion that the memorial was extremely well drawn up, that of course I could not express my assent to some of the propositions that it contained, but that I would forward it to the Secretary of State for presentation to His Majesty and at the same time call, in the strongest manner, the attention of His Majesty's Government to its contents.

Dunuwille informed me that he must consult the Chiefs, and that he would press upon them the expediency of acting upon my suggestions; but from that period I never heard the subject mentioned. On the 29th June I returned from Anooradhapoorā to Kandy; fresh indications of guilty intentions poured in, and on the 19th July the Prisoners were arrested.

I shall give full publicity to this memorial.

I should here explain that after Molligoda's first interview with Mr. Turnour, and prior to any allusion having been made on the subject of the preparation of a memorial to the King, Mr. Turnour suggested that in reference to the conversation which occurred at the meeting, it would be well if assurances could be given to the Adigar

that his son would be placed on the same footing with English gentlemen in respect to eligibility for public appointments; and I addressed a letter to Mr. Turnour, of which letter the first Adigar has a copy, both in English and in Cingalese, in which I took upon myself the responsibility of pledging the English Government to the following extent—that if the first Adigar would send his son to England and give him an English education, I would guarantee, that if he properly availed himself of the advantages so to be obtained, his son should be considered as eligible to any situation in this Island to which European gentlemen were now appointed, as Europeans themselves. I considered such a pledge to be in strict keeping with the spirit of the expressed intentions of His Majesty's Government, and I wrote this letter in the hope that such a prospect would wean the Adigar from the dangerous course which I was too apprehensive he was pursuing.

He expressed great gratitude for my assurances but there the matter rested. His fatuation prevailed against the dictates of loyalty, the first of duties, of honour, common sense, and personal interest.

I need not remind you that a Proclamation was issued by Government on the 9th August ultimo. That Proclamation announced that the strongest confidence was felt by the Government in the loyalty and fidelity of the Kandyan people. The experience of the last seven months has amply sustained the opinion therein expressed. His Majesty's loyal subjects were also assured in that Proclamation that the Government had taken effectual measures for the protection of the peaceable and industrious subjects of His Majesty—and that they might pursue their ordinary avocations without fear. It is within the knowledge of all persons in this Island that that pledge has been fully redeemed.

That Proclamation declared that the religion of Buddhu would be protected and supported, and that Compulsory Labour would never revived. Has any person detected indications of a contrary policy?—if so, let him step forward and designate them.

In fact, when the blessings which the Kandyan Nation enjoy under British supremacy, are contrasted with the curses which hovered round them when their lives and liberties, their property and their labour were dependent, from hour to hour, on the caprice of a Despot, it is impossible to doubt their loyalty as a Nation—although misrepresentation and hypocrisy might work upon some minds to support the abortive attempts of ambitious and disaffected leaders.

I have done now, and I trust that these are the last words which a British Governor of Ceylon will ever be called upon to utter in reference to attempt in word or deed, to seduce His Majesty's Kandyan subjects from their allegiance to their Patron, Benefactor, and Friend, our common Sovereign, and Master, the King of England.

At the conclusion of this address Mahawallatenne Dessave was duly invested with the office of First Adigar—and David de Silva, Modliar, with that of Modliar of His Excellency's Gate.

(To be continued)

Notes and Queries ..

MEDIEVAL MERCENARY FORCES IN CEYLON.

Since writing my article on the above subject I have read H. G. Quaritch Wales' *Ancient Siamese Government and Administration* (London, 1934), which supplies interesting parallels to the usage in vogue in Ceylon.

1. *Mul-vara*.—At the beginning of each reign, about the time of the coronation, there was a survey known as "Walking the gardens and fields." The officials "not only inspected the area of each cultivator's gardens, to see how much had been changed into padi land, and to measure any new areas cleared of jungle, but also made a new estimate as to the numbers of each kind of fruit tree in bearing, taking into consideration the numbers of trees that had died since the last estimate was made and also those that had been planted since that occasion. Thus justice was done to the cultivators and the amount of tax due from them was marked on their new title-deed, which amount was collected from them each year until a new inspection was made.....The procedure for walking the fields was almost the same" (pp. 218, 219).

2. *Agampādi*.—The "departments" of the military division of the administration consisted of:—

I. The footguards or "front soldiers," so called because normally serving in the neighbourhood of the palace or capital. Among these were the Golden Lance bearers and the Golden Shield bearers (cf. the Ceylon *van siri-ban Agampādi*). The footguards formerly appointed the customs officers on the frontiers of the kingdoms, as it was the duty of these officers to warn the generals of any invasion.

II. The body-guards, whose first duty it was to guard the person of the king.

III. The foreign auxiliaries.

IV. The artisans, originally employed in fortification and the manufacture of weapons.

Of these the first three in war formed the main body of the army, as opposed to the advance and rear guards (pp. 144 ff.).

3. Customs and Inland Transit Duties.—The old customs duties consisted of (1) an import tax, "which was at the rate of three per cent. during the Ayudhyā period [1350-1733] for frequently calling ships, five per cent. for infrequent visitors," this last duty being raised later to eight per cent.; (2) Ships' measurement fees; and (3) Export duty. The inland transit dues and octroi, corresponding to the *śulka* of the *Arthaśāstra*, "were collected at the rate of ten per cent, from boats and carts at land and water customs houses" (pp. 208, 209.)

H. W. CODRINGTON.