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Root-Words of the Dravidian Group of Languages.

BY

REV. S. GNANA PRAKASAR, O.M.I.

(Contd. from page 12.)

Ultimate Idea-types.

The roots of a language will be seen to be the types of all its words. Or, to put it in another way, all the subsequent words of a language are constructed with the help, or according to the analogy of the roots which are their earliest forms. Now what is the most natural way in which these word-types would have come into being? They would have been called forth to represent the idea-types or the most elementary ideas from which other ideas were developed. It is a demonstrable fact that the Tamil roots we are considering are exactly the counterparts of these idea-types and, therefore, the most elementary words, incapable of further analysis.

We are not concerned here with the vexing problem of the interdependence of thought and language—whether or not thought could have originated without language of some sort. The intimate connection of thought with language, on the other hand, is admitted by all. How are the elements of thoughts or idea-types acquired by the mind? Undoubtedly through the medium of sensation, which is said to consist in a “procession of fleeting colour-patches, sounds and other presentations.” The mind, however, receives the

sensation, in the first place, as a concrete thing, so that it is not impressed by colour in the abstract, but by a coloured "patch," or object, covering a certain amount of space; not by the notion of sound, but by something which impresses the auditory sense deeply or lightly. So too, the sensation of touch reduces itself to an appreciation of hardness or softness. As for motion, this impression, concretely received, is nothing more than that of an object changing its position. Thus, when we analyse our primary impressions, we find that the idea at the back of them all is that of spatial relation, that is to say, we are always taking note of the dimensions of a thing in itself or its proximity or remoteness, etc., to other things. This spatial relation includes length, breadth, depth and height—all of which resolve themselves ultimately into proximity and remoteness, with the correlative aspects of being beneath and above. Thickness and thinness, compactness and looseness, hardness and softness are likewise reducible to proximity and remoteness. So too, being straight, crooked or round, as well as being within and being without are all aspects of the same distinction of proximity and remoteness. I am aware of the teaching of psychology that the most primitive idea consists in the differentiation of the I and the not-I. This idea too resolves itself into that of spatial relation as explained above. The distinction of the I and the not-I is no other than the expression of the relation of within and without, which is the same as proximity and remoteness.

The different aspects of spatial relation, then, constitute our first ideas or idea-types. The Dravidian roots in question are exact counterparts of these ideas. They stand at the head of all the derivatives of their groups and are not capable of being referred to a more original form. They are therefore to be classed as the word-types of the family of languages we are concerned with. A few examples will illustrate this position. The word *ad-u* means to get near; *am-ai*, to be close, to be attached; *ann-u*, to approach. These belong to the *a* class. From the *u* class we may take *unt-u*, to push away, discharge as an arrow; *am-i*, to send forth; *uy*, to drive away, escape. The following are examples for the *i* class: *il-i*, to flow down, descend; *id-u*, to put down; *im-ai*, to diminish. The fourth or *e* class, which is connected with the third, may be illustrated by the following: *el-u*, to go up, rise; *ey*, to shoot up; *ed-u*, to raise, take up. It will be observed that these roots are all essentially monosyllabic, although some of them have a final syllable *u*, which is not properly an additional element of the word, but only an enunciative, that is to say, a vowel suffixed for the facility



of enunciation. *Uy, ey*, etc., are easily pronounced on account of the final semi-vowel. But to say *ad, unt*, etc., is not so easy. Hence the final *u* is added for the sake of easy pronunciation. When the enunciatives have been left out, we have an initial vowel and a consonant as the component elements of each root. And if we examine the vowel elements in the four classes of roots of which examples were here cited, it will be found that they represent the idea-types we have been discussing. All the words which have *a* as their initial member denote the idea of nearness—to get near, to be close, to approach. This deictic has also the sense of gradually receding, as will be seen in its place. This is how it acquired the sense of remoteness in the pronouns of the third person. Again all the words with initial *u* display the idea of remoteness:—to push away, to send forth, to drive away. It will be observed that this deictic also denotes the analogous idea of being hidden from view. The element *i*, in the third class, no doubt refers to the idea of being beneath, an aspect of proximity, in the last analysis:—to flow down, to put down, to diminish. Finally the associated idea of being above is conveyed by the initial *e* of the fourth class of roots:—to go up, to shoot, to raise. Cognates of these Tamil forms are also to be found in the sister dialects. In some of them, however, we find a later vowel-shifting, e.g., *e* for *i* and *o* for *u*. On original vowel-shifting in secondary roots, as a device for sense-differentiation, we shall have to speak in another place.

The final consonants in Dravidian roots are formative elements which serve to differentiate the vague notions of proximity, etc., conveyed by the deictics, into more distinct conceptions. How they seem to have evolved is as follows: The first to be employed as formatives were the semi-vowels *y* and *v*. This well accords with the human tendency always to follow the line of least resistance. More restricted sounds were then gradually introduced as formatives with a view to meeting the ever-increasing demand for greater emphasis in order to form more and more differentiated words. The semi-vowel *y* was thus made to glide into *l* and *r*, and the *v* into *m*. Again, *l* and *r* were further developed into *l, ʎ, d, t, r, n*, and *ŋ*. The formative *v* has a tendency to become *p*, and in some dialects *b*. Similarly *y* as well as *v* incline towards *k* which is changed into *g* in some dialects. But *k* in a lighter form as *h*,—the half-vowel-half-consonant sound peculiar to Tamil—might have been introduced as a separate formative too. This appears from such roots as *ahh-u* (to get near) contract. The stronger, i, e, velar plosive *k* is more often met with as a second

formative for introducing a causative sense. *Y* also stands for *c, j, s,* and *ḍ* in some dialects. On the other hand, *ḷ* occurs only in Tamil, Malayalam and Kanarese and is probably of later origin.

A Rational Explanation.

Before proceeding further, a *rationale* of the functions of deictics and their formatives may be attempted here. We have seen that the ideas at the back of all thought resolve themselves into an act of distinguishing between the several aspects of spatial relation: whether a thing is near or far, long or short, deep or high, straight or crooked, etc. This act of distinguishing deals, in the first place, with the knower and the things known,—the distinction between subject and object—and, in the second place, between the known things themselves. It is noteworthy that the Tamil word for knowledge, *ari-vu*, means 'marking off.' This word is from *aru*, to cut asunder (root *ahh-u*, to contract, shorten). The English *distinguish*, itself, means the same (from the Latin *distinguere* 'to prick asunder') since knowledge implies the distinguishing of objects, one from another, there arises the necessity for naming them separately. And how shall names be given to the objects around us? Doubtless through some outstanding quality in each of them. And what are these qualities? They are no other than conditions corresponding to the elementary notions of the mind, which are nothing more nothing less than spatial relations.

The naming of objects, or marking them off, one from the other, might have been done by gesticulations alone. It has been pointed out that, if men had so chosen, they could have perfected a medium of communicating their ideas through gestures and grimaces. Marking off, indeed, implies pointing a thing out, in some way. A hard thing or a soft one, a big thing or a small one, a proximate thing or a remote one, a thing below or one above may be well shown by the action of the limbs and the muscular movements of the mouth, etc. With respect to actions as distinct from things, they can, of course, be *acted* with the greatest ease. But man found in his voice, which he dexterously controlled, a more perfect *gesticulation*, if I may so call it, that is, an efficient means of *pointing out* and *marking off* objects. This is how articulate speech seems to have come into being. Not that bodily gesticulations have been entirely superseded by articulate speech—even in the most polished languages, rhetoric still finds a powerful auxiliary in expressive motions of the limbs.

When once the voice was laid under contribution for naming or marking off objects, it was left to man's ingenuity to adopt suitable sounds for the elementary notions he had to embody in speech. That these sounds were, precisely, the deictics, *i.e.*, 'pointing-out-sounds' is amply borne out by the study of Tamil philology. Man 'pointed-out' by means of his voice, the spatial relations of being near, etc., and that was the beginning of speech. This is a matter of fact, with regard to the Dravidian family and not one of mere fancy. We actually find the sound *a* functioning as deictic or 'pointing-out-sound' for nearness, *u* for remoteness, *i* for being beneath and *e* for being above. I am far from affirming that these sounds have any absolute or innate connexion with the ideas in question. (It is interesting, however, to note the natural connection which is apparent between the various physiological efforts involved in producing these articulate sounds and the spatial relations they respectively indicate.)¹ But these alone were, in point of fact, fixed as standard sounds and the entire Dravidian vocabulary was based on them.

The function of formatives is also capable of plausible explanation. As has been already observed, the deictics are by themselves vague, and in order to differentiate objects in a clearer manner, it was necessary to combine with them other articulate sounds possessing greater emphasis. Vowels are the easiest sounds, as they are produced without obstruction from the tongue, etc. The consonants, on the contrary, are sounds which explode while escaping the obstructions caused by the roof of the mouth, the hard palate, the hard gums of the upper teeth, the lips and the different parts of the tongue. These restricted sounds are well calculated, therefore, to add emphasis to the vowel sounds with which they are combined.

Two examples.

It may be well here to show how primary words or roots have been utilized to make other words. I shall give two examples. The standard sound for nearness, we have seen, is *a*. This sound conveyed but a very vague notion, and did not point out a particular object. Formatives, we know, were harnessed to the deictics for rendering vague notions distinct. Thus the formative *y*, added to the deictic *a*, gave the word *ay* which means a particularized near object, the father of the family, and by metonymy, king and God. A further development of the word was *ay-al*, where the last syllable is another word, *al* (originally *atu*), which

1. See Journal R.A.S., C.B. XXX, p. 4134.

means 'that' and is an equivalent of the English definite article. A separate paper will deal with the laws of word-formation of which that of suffixing another original word is the VIII. By the addition of the suffixing *al*, *ay-al* means 'the near thing,' *i.e.*, neighbourhood, neighbours. This word became *ak-al* by the substitution of the more emphatic *k* for *y* (Law II 'Variation of the formative') and means to 'recede from neighbourhood,' to expand, spread. *Ak-al-am* represents 'the thing expanded,' breadth, and, by metonymy, the chest. Here the final *am* is another form of *at-u* and means 'the thing.' Again, *ak-al-i* is a 'place expanded' in some other way, *i.e.*, deepened and stands for a moat. The final *i* here represents another word, *il*, which means 'what is beneath,' place. The same *ak-al-i*, turned into *ā-l-i*, (Law VI 'Lengthening and twisting of radical vowels') designates the 'deep' sea; while *ak-al-ān* means 'maker of moats,' *i.e.*, the field rat which digs its dwelling deep into the earth. The final *ān* is another word (from *ā*, to move), meaning 'maker.' To give but one more derivative among the hundreds from the root *ay*, *āl* is another form of *ak-al*, to spread, that marks off the remarkably spreading banyan from other trees. We thus see how the first notion of nearness was gradually transformed into that of expanding or spreading and how, from that one idea of spatial relation, such divergent objects as father, neighbourhood, breadth, moat, sea, field rat, and banyan tree have been named.

Let us take another example: the word *ul* is composed of the deictic *u* indicating remoteness or being hidden from view, and the formative *l* and means inside or within. A secondary form, *ul-al*, conveys the idea of repeatedly turning inwards and hence to whirl. Strengthened by the intensive, *k*, *ul-al* becomes *kul-al* or *kul-ai*, to whirl round. (Law V "Initial intensive consonants"). Now *kul-al* in the nominal sense, means an object with a prolonged circular cavity, *i.e.*, a tube. The same word becomes *kud-al* by a change in the formative, (Law II) and designates certain other things like a tube, *e.g.*, the intestines. By a further change of the formative, it becomes *kur-al*, the throat, another tube-like thing. A new form for the word *kul-al* is *kud-a* which means 'bent,' from the idea of turning inwards. *Kud-a-ku* (Law III "Second formatives") is to bend low, crouch. From this comes *kur-a-nku*, (Law IV "Reduplication and nunnation") the crouching animal, the monkey! There are nearly two hundred derivatives from the form *kul-ai* which will be seen studied, with reference to their Indo-European cognates, in my recent article in the *Jaffna Catholic Guardian* reprinted under the title: 'Rough Sketch of the Treatment of a Specimen-word.'

All Dravidian words with the exception of a few onomatopoeic ones were thus formed. Primary words are quite a handful as already noted and are characterised by an initial vowel—one of the four deictics—and a formative with or without an enunciative. It is remarkable that Mr. Ramaswamy Aiyar, by his independent research, comes very near admitting the deictic origin of the Dravidian vocabulary. 'The demonstrative or directive particles of a language' he says, 'are probably some of the earliest born among coherent speech-forms..... It is only natural therefore to expect that they will have been requisitioned for the ramified purposes of linguistic growth. Though in Indo-European' he continues, "the part played by demonstrative roots has not yet been fully traced on account of the inevitable uncertainty surrounding the history of suffixes, tense-terminations, &c.; scholars are not unprepared to admit the possibility of the activity of the ancient deictic roots in many contexts. Prof. V. Christian has shown¹ recently that the influence of deictic particles could be traced in many of the grammatical forms of the Semitic group of languages.'²

But he is wide of the mark in asserting that 'the only region among Dravidian grammatical categories, where we can now postulate the operation of deictic or demonstrative particles is that of inflexional endings.' The endings are themselves original words formed with the aid of the deictics as will have been seen by the foregoing. Inflexion denotes a later stage of language development. But the deictics had played their part in the formation of all primary words at an earlier stage—not only of those words which at a later stage we see used as suffixes but of the very bases to which they were attached. Indeed Mr. Aiyar himself goes on to show that not only have the deictics (whose original value he states wrongly in respect of *a* and *u*) 'given rise to a number of Adverbs of Time, Place, Manner, Measure, etc.' But that they also 'appear to have served as bases from which words have been formed with the help of characteristic Dravidian suffixes.'³ And he cites quite a number of bases which illustrate 'the undoubted association of common deictic ideas.'

(To be Continued.)

1. "Die deiktischen Elemente in den semilischen Sprachen usw." Vol. XXI of Wiener Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde de Morgenl.

2. Anthropos XXVI, p. 757.

3. Ibid. p. 758.

The British Monopoly of Cinnamon.

BY

COLVIN R. DE SILVA, B.A., PH.D. (LOND.)

(Contd. from page 21)

Preparation of the Commodity.

There were two peeling seasons—the great harvest and the little harvest. The first extended from April to about the middle of August; the second from October to December. These harvests were dependent on the blossoming of the trees, during which periods they were unfit for peeling as the bark adhered too closely to the wood.

Towards the middle of April the peelers were summoned from their villages by beat of tom-tom, and foregathered at the appointed places. Thence they were despatched to the various plantations or to the jungles in ranchos of 50 or 60 men. Each rancho was under an Aratchy and two Canganyes. The Aratchy was general supervisor. The Cangany accompanied the peelers into the various places where they cut cinnamon, and ensured that only suitable trees were cut.¹

Each peeler carried a hooked knife, with which he would make an incision in a branch which seemed suitable for his purpose. If, on withdrawing his knife, the bark separated from the wood, the branch was fit to be cut and peeled. He would thus cut some fifty or sixty slips, of about two or three feet in length, and carry them to the Wadiya or work-place.²

There, the branches were cleaned and massaged with a piece of wood to loosen the adhering bark. Two parallel slits were then made down the length of the stick, and the bark removed entire. The epidermis was then scraped off. This bark, which was of a pale yellow colour, was then dried in the sun until it became a golden brown. It curled up in the process. Several such slips were fitted into each other to form solid pipes or quills of about four feet in length, and about half

1. C.O. 416. 5. BII. P. 50.

2. The description of the peeling process is based mainly on Cordiner I. 413.

an inch in thickness. The quills were bound into bundles with withes of split cane, and delivered at the warehouses in Colombo. Each bundle of 85 lbs. was received as weighing only 80 lbs.—the rest being allowed for wastage.¹

At the warehouses, these bundles were untied, and the cinnamon assorted in various grades under the direction of the Inspector of Cinnamon. There were three qualities, denominated first, second and third. After assortment, the quills were packed in bales of uniform quality. A bale was 92½ lbs. shipping weight.

Wrapped in gunny, the cinnamon was embaled in the ships. A flooring of mats, about four inches in thickness, was laid on the salt-petre or sugar which the ships carried as ballast. On this a layer of cinnamon was placed. A quantity of pepper was then started among the bales until all the interstices were filled. The whole quantity of cinnamon was laden in this manner.² The pepper was supposed to draw the moisture from, and to preserve the quality of the cinnamon. The proportion of pepper to cinnamon may be gathered from the fact that, in 1800, North shipped to the Court of Directors 4,617 bales of cinnamon and 1,215 cwt. 3 qrs. 21 lbs. of Malabar pepper.³ Each bale was marked with its place of origin and its quality.

As the quality of cinnamon depended on its flavour and this in turn on the plant, the peeler's occupation was a highly skilled one. Trees, when cut, should be neither too immature nor too old—in the one case the flavour would be inadequate and faint, in the other the bark would be coarse and thick, and the taste too pungent and strong. Indiscriminate cutting had to be avoided, and the peeling proper so done as to leave few stray pieces, these latter being of little value. Also, after decortication, it was necessary that the epidermis should be carefully removed, as it gave a bitter taste if left on the bark.

The System of Payment.

The system of payment demands notice. In accordance with the general system, both headmen and workmen were granted accommodations in lieu of salaries.⁴ Several of the Chaliya privileges are also to be regarded as a species of payment.

1. Bennett 69.

2. cf. Cordiner 413; and B32. Greenhill to North 25th October, 1798.

3. C.O. 54 2. North to Court of Directors, 4th July, 1800.

4. Bertolacci 252. Cordiner i, 419.

When actually on duty, each workman received per month, besides allowances of salt and fish, $1\frac{1}{2}$ parrahs of rice at 44 lbs. the parrah, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ fanams in cash. Similarly, each cangany, aratchy and mohandiram received 3, $4\frac{1}{2}$, and 6 parrahs of rice respectively per month.¹ The headmen also received a payment in cash for every workman called out by and employed under them. These payments were in lieu of certain allowances called Duraroba and Huwandiram, which had been abolished in 1734 to placate the peelers.² Huwandiram and Duraroba were certain proportionate quantities of cinnamon which the peelers were bound to collect, free of payment and over and above their usual quotas, for their headmen.

The quotas of cinnamon owed by the peelers were, under the Portuguese, known as their Enga-badda. This liability began at the age of twelve years, when it amounted to 62 lbs. The quantity increased gradually till, at the prime of life, it amounted to eleven times as much; after which, it gradually decreased till, in advanced old age, it reverted to the minimum.³

The Dutch calculated the amount in pingoes of about 40 lbs. each. They also stimulated exertion by the grant of presents and rewards. By a resolution in Council of 27th April, 1773,⁴ the Dutch Government offered 60 Rix Dollars each as a reward to the Grand Duraya and his petty Duraya who, with their peelers, produced the greatest quantity of cinnamon each year; 40 Rix Dollars each to the next in order, and 30 Rix Dollars each to the third. "The obligations of the peelers," remarks this resolution, "rise and fall according to custom...but those who shall peel five pingoes without difference, whether their obligations consist in five or more pingoes, shall receive over and above their subsistence, a half piece of guinees or long cloth." Besides the cloth, such peelers would also receive a Rix Dollar reward for every pingo above five which they should collect. In other words, a system of cash payment, for cinnamon delivered above the usual quota, was introduced. Significantly enough, the resolution continues to decree whipping and transportation for those who failed to deliver their annual due. The stimulants were both agreeable and disagreeable.

1. B 32. "Statement of rice required monthly for 500 working people." enclosed in Greenhill to North, 2nd November, 1798. Bertolacci 252.

2. "Ceylon and the Hollanders" 59.

3. "Ceylon—the Portuguese Era" ii. 64.

4. C.O 416. 5. B1.

The peelers were given their advances and allowances on the presumption that the procuring of their quota would occupy eight months. But those who could produce it in less time might do so. For they nevertheless received the allowances which they would have received over the longer calculated period.¹

The Cinnamon Code.

The cinnamon monopoly was hedged about with a code of severe and restrictive laws. Broadly, this code had three objects in view—to ensure an adequate labour force, to secure a steady supply by safeguarding the plant, and to prevent illicit trade.

Pieris says that in 1543 the Chaliyas were declared the slaves of the Crown.² However this may be, under the Dutch, service in the Cinnamon Department was when called upon, the bounden duty of the caste. Abduction of Chaliyas was stringently guarded against.³ Further, the marriage and legitimacy laws were harnessed to this particular purpose.

The general Dutch laws of marriage were calculated to perpetuate the caste system in its purity. Marriage between the different castes was discouraged. If it occurred, the status of the parent who belonged to the lower caste always descended on the children.⁴ But, where Chaliyas were involved, the laws were so framed that as many persons as possible were drawn into the caste; and, of these, it was endeavoured to make as many as possible peelers.

This object was accomplished by the creation among the Chaliyas of a class called Differencikarayas. A Differencikaraya was the off-spring, legitimate or illegitimate, of any two of the different classes of the Mahabadda, of a Chaliya with any of the castes under the Mahabadda, or of a Chaliya with a member of any other caste.

In effect, a series of Dutch Resolutions declared every Differencikaraya a member of the Mahabadda.⁵ The illegitimate children were in every case declared peelers.⁶

1. C.O. 416. 5. B3. Maitland to Deputy Secretary of Government, 25th August, 1814.

2. "Ceylon—the Portuguese Era." ii. 237.

3. Ibid. I. 89.

4. C.O. 416, 5. B3. D'Oyly to Brownrigg, 28th August, 1814; also *ibid*: Resolution of the School Council, 7th July, 1737, and Resolution of Dutch Council, 21st August, 1770.

5. cf. the Resoluton quoted in this section. Also C.O. 416. 5. B3. Carrington to Brownrigg, 4th August, 1814, which gives a summary of these laws.

6. C.O. 416. 5. B3. Resolution of Dutch Council, 23rd March, 1753. Also *ibid*. Carrington to Brownrigg, 4th August, 1814. By a resolution of the 26th June, 1772, the Resolution of the 23rd March, 1753, was made applicable only to illegitimate males. cf. *Ibid*. B1.

The legitimate children were provided for in various ways, according as they were born of the marriage of individuals of different sects within the caste, or of Chaliyas with persons of other castes. "Everyone," declared a Dutch Resolution in Council, "shall marry his equal—Ilandariya with Ilandariya, Lascoryn with Lascoryn, cooly with cooly, and peeler with peeler; and in case an Ilandariya or Lascoryn procreate children in wedlock by a woman belonging to the cooly or cinnamon peeler's sect, the off-spring shall follow the condition of the Mother....; on the other hand, should a cooly or cinnamon peeler procreate children in wedlock by an Ilandariya or Lascoryn woman, their children shall follow the occupation of their Father..."¹ A further source of peeler increase, it will be noted, was thereby secured. In the case of marriage between a Chaliya and a member of another caste, the off-spring always belonged to that sect of the Chaliyas from which the Chaliya parent (male or female, as the case may be) came.²

The Chaliyas were bound to procure a certain quota of cinnamon from the plantations in their charge. The peelers paid their taxes in cinnamon, which was received at a fixed rate.³ Failure to produce these quotas was punishable with whipping and ensnacklement.⁴ For the same reason, the supervising headmen, in accordance with the number of peelers in their charge, might be transported to Tutycoryn.⁵

But all other cinnamon laws were surpassed in cruelty, severity and oppressive nature, by those which safeguarded the cinnamon plant. Every such plant, wherever it grew, whether on public or on private land, was declared the property of the Government.⁶ The Portuguese had decreed banishment as the penalty for the unlicensed collection of cinnamon.⁷ The Dutch went further. The cutting, the peeling, the extraction of oil either from the bark or the leaves, or camphor from the roots, or even the injury of the plant, except by the servants of Government and by their order, was made punishable by death.⁸ Even

1. Ibid. B3. Resolution of 23rd March, 1753.

2. Ibid. B3. Carrington to Brownrigg, 4th August, 1814.

3. C.O. 416. 5. B1. Mandate ola addressed to all Cinnamon Peelers respecting their services. 9th May, 1739. Cordiner i. 419. "Ceylon and the Hollanders" 147.

4. C.O. 416. 5. B1. Res., 27th July, 1773.

5. Ibid.

6. De Meuron's Report; Wellesley Mss. 13,865. North to Mornington, 2nd July, 1798.

7. Ceylon—the Portuguese Era. ii, 60.

8. Bertolacci. 241. "Ceylon and the Hollanders." 51, 99.

the King of Kandy was persuaded by them to promulgate a similar decree.¹ No bill of sale would be registered unless it was accompanied by an abridgment of a report of an *ad hoc* commission, which inquired into and set out the number of cinnamon plants growing on the land involved.² These commissions were composed of Vellalas and Chaliyas. Waste lands might not be cleared nor chenas fired, prior to inquiry and report by similar commission.³ Should the permission be granted, the clearing had to be done with proper regard for the safety of the plants thus detailed. The very crows, who served to distribute the seed, might not be killed, despite all the damage they caused.⁴ Chaliyas might, [at any time of the day, enter private gardens to cut the cinnamon therein—a vexatious privilege productive of much discontent.⁵

The trade monopoly was no less stringently protected. The sale, in the Island, of the smallest quantity of cinnamon was a capital offence.⁶ So, too, its export.⁷ Ships coming into, or leaving the ports of Ceylon, could be searched for illicit cinnamon, and to prevent the abduction of Chaliyas.⁸ All cinnamon produced in the Island had to be laden in the annual ships. What was not so exported was to be carefully preserved in the warehouses of the Company or destroyed.⁹

Considering the severity of the restrictions, and the barbarity of the penalties enacted by these laws, it is not to be wondered that “everyone . . . took a delight in destroying the hated plant whenever they could do so with safety,”¹⁰ and that “the name of cinnamon was loathed”¹¹ in the Company’s territory.

(To be Continued)

1. “Ceylon and the Hollanders.” 51.
2. De Meuron’s Report.
3. Ibid.
4. “Ceylon and the Hollanders.” 99.
5. “Ceylon and the Hollanders.” 99. De Meuron’s Report.
6. Bertolacci. 241. Wellesley Mss. loc. cit. “Ceylon—the Portuguese Era.” ii. 61 and 62.
7. Bertolacci. 241. Also. B26 Bd. of Rev. and Commerce to North, 28th August, 1801. “Ceylon—the Portuguese Era.” i. 89.
8. “Ceylon—the Portuguese Era.” i. 89.
9. “Ceylon and the Hollanders,” 38.
10. Ibid. 99.
11. Idem.

Remonstrance of Marcellus de Bochouwer.

Documents bearing on the Transactions between the Dutch and the King of Kandy, 1609-1617.

TRANSLATED BY

D. W. FERGUSON.

(Contd. from p. 27)

In the year (16)13 there uprose in Ceylon a very unruly person named Serwekary, who (sought) to implant among the peaceable commonalty, the lords and potentates of his imperial majesty's territories and dominions an erroneous impression of the missives and sincere (gap in ms.) of their honorable mightinesses aforesaid, as the assistance was tarrying, and giving out that in reality the missives of their honorable mightinesses the states general and his princely excellency were clearly and evidently false and the contract and peace made by fraud, since the same had not been complied with, because before that a contract was concluded and assistance promised against the Portuguese by the missives brought by one Caroles de Lanoy from the same honorable mightinesses aforesaid, in which it was stated that in case the *trèves* that was on hand made no progress, on its making progress they should all be included therein; saying that it was quite true that these last stated that they were included in it, but that it was appearing otherwise by the facts, since assistance was also promised, in case the Portuguese should injure his majesty's territories or people, to help avenge the injury done, by which means a contract was obtained, but was not yet fulfilled, they awaiting year after year in vain; that it was better to unite with some others for help, or to enter into some agreement with the Portuguese, and thus to cause the war, which had lasted so many years, to cease; as well as thousand other things; disseminating the same among the commonalty, thus stirring up mutiny and causing rebellion among the territories and inhabitants of his imperial majesty. I dealt with the aforesaid vigorously, for the honor and reputation of the fatherland and the profit of their honorable mightinesses aforesaid and your honors, his majesty and council examining into and maturely considering the facts, having a good

opinion and firm belief that the missives of their honorable mightinesses aforesaid were genuine and not forged, and that the promises would also be fulfilled. That the same tarried was due, in the opinion of them all, to the fact that they were delayed by some turbulent persons in India; and in order to give all in general and also each one in particular a correct idea of the aforesaid, as well as to prevent all riot, alteration and rebellion, which might easily have resulted from the same, as also by other acts committed by them, therefore he was sentenced by the council of his imperial majesty to be punished with the sword, as your honors can better see by the sentence and proclamation dated 20 April, 1613, No. 8.

On 8 April there was handed to me a note from Jakop Mattijsz Buys from the ship *de Groene Leeuw* dated the 2 post, as you can learn by No. 6 and by No. 7 my answer to Roeketie dated 9 April and No. 13 reporting the same to van Berchum, whereby the honorable the governors can see, learn and judge of what has passed.

At the time of my residence in Ceylon the Portuguese Ao. 1614, sent their commissary on embassy on behalf of the king of Spain, which person was named Don Francisko de Meness, bringing two letters, one from Don Geronimo de Govede, viceroy in Goa, of 22 February, 1614, the other dated 27 May, of the same year from their governor-general in Ceylon named Don Nuno Alvous Pereyre, in which they stated that it had seemed good to the catholic king to enter into peace and agreement with his majesty of Kandy, the rest of which the honorable the governors can see and understand from No. 14 and 15.

And when the aforesaid Portuguese had arrived in Candy and had delivered their letters his imperial majesty delivered the same into my hands after reading them. The council of the territories and the high council were convoked regarding the same, and the letters laid before them, over which much passed, and it was at last resolved to hear from the Portuguese or ambassadors their request and to put the same in writing, which the envoys did, and on the 18 ditto handed it in, which consisted of nine articles, as is to be seen by No. 16.

Thereupon on the 20 current they were answered verbally as per ditto No. 16 and refused, because everyone of them all both in particular and in general exhorted never more to enter into peace, contract or armistice to eternity with the Portuguese; they also wished to stake goods, blood and body for his majesty and the truce made with the

Hollanders for the subduing of the Portuguese. And so the Portuguese envoys were dispatched, and their missives answered by his majesty on 27 June, 1614, as is seen by No. 17, and left on the 28th.

I saw what had been sought by our hereditary enemies, and that other matters as aforesaid had been brought into dispute, and that many things also were passing to the hindrance and prejudice of the contract and eternal peace, and also that their honorable mightinesses' promises would be false, the which affected the honor, authority and reputation of their honorable mightinesses the states, his princely excellency and the honorable the governors too nearly to thus attempt and seek to make them infamous with his majesty and the Cingelesse lords and vassals, and in the end to hold me as traitor and cheat, to which aforesaid Wemmer van Berchum was a support, as per his missives delivered to de Hæsse. By the remonstrance No. 18 to the said vissitator Hans de Haesse is shown how I was sent with letters to his majesty to betray me with false reports and calumny in the guise of justice to the injury and prejudice of their honors the governors, as appears, though I was afterwards informed that your honors should be made cognisant of everything, which seems credible, since the letters of such a private person in my opinion should not of themselves venture to attempt it, having no consent or commission for such from his maters, though I myself cannot credit it.

And although I might well have taken in bad part all that had passed, as an excuse for no longer undertaking all my well begun affairs and dealings, since it appeared I had done my devoir, nevertheless, in view of the great injury and difficulties to the loss of profits for the governors, which could not afterwards be got since if I stopped all would go to ruin, and in order to obviate everything, in regard to both the peace and contract and the welfare of the fatherland, though alone I did my utmost for his majesty as all honorable, honest persons would wish, paying more heed on principle to the service of the Company than otherwise, being contend to risk myself in all difficult and alarming perils, taking part in the wars with his majesty, and otherwise, in order to do the best service that was possible to me for your honors, though many in a similar situation as my person at that time was in might easily have given way to despair. But I always rendered help to everyone with advice, action, example and conduct, so that his imperial majesty and his subjects have found by experience of me, I thank God, that hitherto all has remained and shall continue well. I further

implanted in them favor towards their honorable mightinesses the states general and their promised help to them, and in the same they have always persevered and will still persevere, if the assistance according to the evidence of the letters be carried out.

Finding myself always alone, and continually very maturely considering as before stated and moreover reflecting that the well being and welfare and profit of the honorable the governors might be ruined (?) by any turbulent private person, as has been sufficiently evident, who ought to have rejoiced in your honors' service to your honors' profit and to attend to affairs, but (God better it) have done right contrariwise, I found good for myself to employ all possible diligence and application to be able to leave, as I also many a time before that had done and begged for my dismissal, in order myself personally to give a report and explanation for everything to your honors and their honorable mightinesses the states general and his princely excellency, so that the honorable the governors should be able to derive the great profits from Ceylon and everything according to the purport of the eternal contract to the subduing of our enemies and the conquest of India, ere any other nation took matters in hand whilst no assistance was afforded to his majesty, which would afterwards be to the great injury and loss of the Company in the trade in India and on the Coast as well as elsewhere. Wherefore, well considering, and in order to prevent this, so that the honorable the governors should be preserved from such and many other injuries besides, I daily begged of his majesty and his lords my dismissal, in order to put the best to the best use.

To all my earnest entreaties and continual pre-severance in the furtherance of affairs to bring them to a good end to the well being of all, persuading his majesty, his lords, and councillors with reasons for such persuasion, his imperial majesty and council, through long and continued importunity, consented to my entreaty, and recommended that I should by the first opportunity leave Ceylon for this or (other?) quarters in India in order thus to reveal everything and to manifest the probity exercised according to due pledge and oath.

The time of the monsoon for leaving having come, his imperial majesty, his lords and councillors, raised difficulties to my departure; but I showed them that my departure was useful and necessary for demonstrating to everyone the present state and condition, and also to give a verbal report of affairs, as to what was true, as also to further his majesty's succor or assistance; so that he and they exacted from me an

oath of fidelity to deal uprightly without dissimulation towards both sides, as I had thitherto done. And as the same had always been and was my sincere intention, I was satisfied with that, and gave them the oath. Further, after receiving the missives from the hands of his imperial majesty I took my last farewell and departed, and arrived at Masulaputan on the Cormandel coast, where was the vissitator Hans de Haesse with two ships, the *Leeuw met Pijlen* and *der Goes*. Having handed over to him the letter addressed to him by his imperial majesty and the books, I had with him many discussions, setting before him the whole of the matters for the service and profit of the Company, and delivering into his hands a small parcel of precious stones, consisting of white sapphires, possporagen, tormalies, cinnipaddy, cokossellys, roste, possporagen, and many other sorts of precious stones one with another, for the Company, which without any expense to the Company, had been brought by their servants there, having been taken out of the great river Mauwelegange. Further, seeing that the aforesaid was accomplished with but little, therefore he sent a yacht to Arakan and Bengale, meaning to earn great honor by his conduct. I tried him in order to further everything for the service of the Company and the profit of the governors: I gave him my medal which I had received from his majesty and intended to hand to the governors, very handsome and eminently valuable, set on both sides with rubies, cats-eyes and sapphires, so that by means of it he might further the service and profit of your honors; having taken the same, he convoked the council on the subject of Ceylon, and having heard my statement in the full council, they resolved and found good, as there was no money in the factories, and little merchandize or men for the assistance of his majesty, that I should go with him to Bantam in order there to report matters and the situation to the general Renst and the Indian Council, so that the same might be provided for and assistance afforded to his majesty.

After I had arrived at Bantam the general Renst died at Jakatra, wherefore I was not able to bring before him the same subject of Ceylon to the service and profit of the honorable the governors; but as it did not please God to spare him in health, I nevertheless did my devoir and very best, as appears by the letter dated 8th December, 1615, No. 19, to which I had the verbal answer that at present it was not possible to assist Ceylon whilst so much had to be done in Banda and the fleet must be sent to Poelway for the conquest of the same; but that if I desired to go thitherwards first with ten or twelve men they would send me there for the establishment of a factory.

I answered that I was not desirous of going thither; nor did I intend to, as I had been a long time away from my fatherland, my time having evidently long expired, and that I was desirous of leaving for the fatherland, which I proposed to do for the service and profit of the Company, so that matters might be attended to ere it was too late; and that I had quitted myself in everything as bound by honor and oath, so that hereafter it should not be said that I had not observed the profit and service of the Company: begging them to be pleased to order me in what ship I should leave for the fatherland. Upon the aforesaid vissitator Hans Hasse said to me that I should again hire myself, and that he would help me, and I should be able to stipulate for a large salary. I answered him that I intended only to perform service and voyage for the Company, in which I knew for certain that the Company could get profit; as regarded Ceylon, I did not wish to sneak away and leave the matter to their discretion, after the profit and service that I should then have done for them; with the condition of leaving for the fatherland by the first ships according to the agreement made, but that I did not intend in any way to bind myself again.

And as there was no force for assistance in ships and men for Ceylon, I was ordered by the Council and at my request to go in the ship *de Witte Beer*, in order thus to go to the fatherland, in order thus to report everything to your honors, as it was better and more convenient to assist Ceylon and take matters in hand from the fatherland than from Bantam, as at Bantam the men and ships had business in the Moluyken and Banda.

I forthwith transferred myself to the ship *de Witte Beer*; and I acquainted his imperial majesty of the death of the general Renst, and also that at present it was not possible to assist him, wherefore I was betaking myself to the fatherland to lay all the matters before their honorable mightinesses the states general, his princely excellency and your honors; exhorting him in the same missives always to continue as he had before this begun; that he might also very firmly trust, as he had hitherto done and confirmed with his actions, that the promises of their honorable mightinesses aforesaid as shown in their missives sent to him and delivered by me, should be certainly fulfilled, and that I should put the departure of the same at about a year or a year and a half from now; giving also other reasons to encourage him to continue as before; yea, that his imperial majesty, his lords and subjects might fully trust and believe that their honorable mightinesses would certainly

fulfil what was requisite according to promise, if his majesty and all the Singelesse always as hitherto I had observed, continued to maintain a like good zeal and correspondence with our people as bound by promise; also that from here should not be lacking to fulfil the same: the which I delivered to de Hasse on his departure by the ship *der Goes* to forward to his imperial majesty; and at parting the said vissitoor presented me, as a recompense for the aforesaid jewel or medal, with a piece of fine linen; and as all presents belong to the Company I deliver it into your honors' hands.

Further, as I have before this described the condition of Ceylon it seems to me unnecessary in this remonstrance to remonstrate of the same.

Thus done for the service of the honorable the governors of the United East India Company this 15 January, 1616, in the ship *de Witte Beer*. Farewell.

MARCHELIS DE BOSHOEWERS.

(To be Continued)

The Kandyan State Trial

EDITED BY

FATHER S. G. PERERA, S.J.

(*Contd. from p. 33.*)

2nd Day—Tuesday, January 13, 1835.

At the opening of the Court this day, the Fiscal brought to the notice of the Bench that a complaint had been preferred to him by the Witnesses for the Crown in this trial, that when they attended at his office to answer to their names, they had been publicly insulted and threats had been used to them by Tikiri Banda, the brother of the 2nd Prisoner, who had been seated during the trial by the Counsel for the Prisoners.

The learned Judge reprimanded Tikiri Banda, and stated that he had himself observed that his conduct during the proceedings of yesterday was highly improper, and that if he did not conduct himself with more propriety in future he should be committed; and directed him to take his place on a side-bench.

The Counsel for the Prisoners also deprecated the conduct of Tikiri Banda, and disclaimed all knowledge of his having so conducted himself.

Here the discussion dropped and all the Witnesses were ordered to withdraw.

5th Witness.—Hettigedere Korale—I am a Korale of Harrispattoo; I remember the return of the 1st Adigar from his pilgrimage, Mulligamme, 3rd Adigar, and Madduma Banda met me at the river, having sent for me to come there. I received a message to go there before the return of the 1st Adigar; I think about 3 days before, am doubtful of the time—they proposed to me that about the time of the Chief's return, we should pay them some attention. Accordingly we assembled at the time and paid the same regard and attention as was usual on such occasions before—and let the Chiefs pass—they came to the place of worship (Bannegey). While I was waiting the arrival of the Chiefs I received a message from Watterantenne Rate Mahatmeya to go to

his house—I had not an opportunity of going on that day. On the second day after the message I went to the house of the said Rate Mahatmeya—I was treated with food at his house and there he spoke on different subjects—after he had presented me with food he gave me 100 Rds.—after he paid me the 100 Rds. he said we have no means of keeping up our respects in this Country; it is therefore necessary to change the present Government and have a Cingalese one. You must join and assist in anything that is done to attain that object though we have situations under the present Government they are not recognised now - we benefit nothing by them. We ought to try to have a Kandyan Government substituted, and whatever is done with that object you must assist in it. I replied, it is not possible for you and me to do anything like that. It is not a thing that persons in our positions could do. Former attempts have been made and failed. He said in answer that it was not *his* sole intent but that of all the principal Chiefs, including the Maha Nilleme and other Chiefs in the Country I am not connected with Gonnegodde, nor am I connected with Watterantenne Dessave. The Rate Mahatmeya told me it was known to him also and to all the Chiefs including our Dessave (Gonnegodde.) Thus we conversed and I came away. The Rate Mahatmeya did not say by what means—those was to be explained in Kandy. I could not help joining a thing I was asked to do by our Chiefs. The Rate Mahatmeya told me when he went to Kandy he would let me know. He said he had to go to the Walauwe of the Maha Nilleme and speak to him. He said he could not know the final determination until he went to his Walauwe. He did not tell me that anyone was to accompany me, but that when he went he would let me know. It did not come to my notice that he went—when I left the Rate Mahatmeya's house I came to Kandy, having business. I went to see the Farrier who shoes horses near the house of the 2nd prisoner; it is the house next to the 2nd Prisoner's Walauwe and belongs to Ganhette Mohandiram. I am doubtful whether by his own right or by purchase. After I had spoken to the Farrier, which was in his house, I met 2nd Prisoner near the shop, as he was going from the lower part of his Walauwe to the upper he called me and asked me to assist him in putting up a tree which he had cut down. I answered that 50 or 60 persons were necessary to do it—that I was not able to get so many men at present. He answered and told me, you must try by any means you can—He said that he was not then in circumstances to

supply men himself, at this time it was difficult to get the assistance of men—I must furnish them—I answered, “if you can’t, it is more difficult for me to collect people.” He observed that we hold the situations of Chiefs in the pay of Government and still we have not as much authority as a Vidahn had formerly in getting assistance—so it is altogether vanity, the idea of our holding situations it is quite different now from former times—if it were to continue in this manner we should not be able to get the service of a man even for hire—And then he said, whatever we do we must have the assistance of all the people in our Country to subvert this Government and substitute a Kandyan Government; therefore you must do with zeal anything the Chiefs ask for that purpose, who, he said, had agreed about it—he said the English Government should be destroyed and a Kandyan Government established. I told him that it was not a thing we could attempt—it had been attempted in former times and the Country was destroyed, and the people had suffered much evil on that account—and that if what he proposed were to be attempted, the consequences would be similar. He then told me that this time it would not last so long, that this time there was the necessary aid for it, and that notice would be given to me on the day that assistance would be required and that I should give my co-operation to it when called upon—Dunuwille (2nd Prisoner) then said, that assistance was to be had in Kandy itself—He did not tell me what, neither did I ask for the particulars. When I returned home I understood that the Rate Mahatmeya (Watterantenne) had sent a message to say he was going to Kandy the next day and that I should go on that account. I waited at the ferry in the expectation of meeting him. I waited some time until noon, and then went into Kandy. Having heard that he had gone to Kandy I went late in the evening to the Temple at Kottugodella. The Rate Mahatmeya told me he was to have arrived in the morning but could not come until evening, and that if I had not come he would have sent for me. He took his rice and told me to do the same. After night-fall the Rate Mahatmeya went to the 1st Prisoner’s house with me. The Rate Mahatmeya had a red cloth and cap made of common cloth. He used to dress on other days in that way, he had these clothes when he went to the Adigar’s, when I went to the Temple he had another cloth on. When we went to the 1st Prisoner’s house the Rate Mahatmeya went in, leaving me outside; after a short time they both came out to where I was standing in the outer verandah; the Rate Mahatmeya called me, I showed myself before the 1st Prisoner who told me I intended to send for you and

had already asked the Rate Mahatmeya to do so.—He said, it is good that you came and then he added—the customs and usages and respects that prevailed in this country have disappeared, therefore it is now necessary to have the Government changed and a Kandyan Government established—we have spoken on that subject to everybody, and they have all agreed—you must mention also to the people and agree to it. I mentioned there were arms in our country formerly and at present there was no such assistance; that on one or two former instances similar attempts were made and the country had suffered a good deal, and this project would produce similar results and I doubted if such a thing could be attained. He told me that this was not a thing that would meet with disappointment, having had experience of what passed before, and there was no chance of being disappointed. I told him then—you desire the assistance of people who possess no necessaries suitable to such an object—The 1st Prisoner then said we have the necessary assistance in Kandy itself, and those who do not possess them will be provided in Kandy at the time required—either by day or by night when you receive notice you must get the assistance of as many people as you can. He said he could get the assistance of Malays. I asked “ what assistance can you get in Kandy?” He said “ that of armed Soldiers ” (Hewapanes). I am Chief of the Pannea villages; it was Panneas that he asked me to get the assistance of.—He said the people of those villages were stronger people than the Vellales, and that I must get them to assist—this conversation was in private. I was not to give it out until some announcement was made, but he said it had been communicated to the Chiefs. I received 100 Rds. in full, £7 in Notes, the remainder in Silver, which was paid at the Walauwe. He offered it to me once or twice, I told him that no present was necessary for me. He brought it from his room; a shilling was wanting; he went and spoke to his wife and brought it out.

Cross-examined by Mr. Staples.—No one told me of this; I heard it with my own ears. I have mentioned the persons from whom I heard it. If I was such an intimate friend of the 1st Prisoner, he would not have mentioned it through the interference of another—He mentioned it when I came to the Walauwe with the Rate Mahatmeya; I have not added anything to it. I have mentioned as much as I was told—There was no one outside at the Walauwe when this conversation took place—no one was present when I spoke to the Rate Mahatmeya—He was present when I spoke to the Maha Nilleme. There are similar men to myself in the Pannagamme villages; when anything of this sort

occurs it is those people that are engaged in it. I was engaged in the last Rebellion. I only joined the Rebels—was not in office. I held office formerly, from which I was once removed by the Government and reinstated—According to the rank of my family I do not expect any higher situation—I did not hear that those who gave information would obtain situations—This conversation took place after the return of the Chiefs from Anooradhapoorra—I do not recollect the month; it was near the expiration of the Cingalese New Year. The Rate Mahatmeya sent for me, when I was expecting the arrival of the Chiefs—I received the 100 Rds. before I saw the Adigar; I am doubtful of the time; I don't know if the Adigar was alone when I went to the Walauwe; we do not go in on these occasions—the Rate Mahatmeya went; I was in the outside verandah—he came from the inner verandah to where I was. The 1st Prisoner was at the door and the Rate Mahatmeya in the verandah; he spoke loud enough to be heard at this distance (about 4 yards) but not to be heard farther. He spoke in the tone necessary to be heard by me and the Rate Mahatmeya—I saw no one else in the Walauwa; I do not recollect the day or the month—It was after 6 p.m. the same day that I came to Kandy. I saw other people whom I usually meet, but not these people. I was told that this had been mentioned to everyone. I mentioned it to a few people in office in our country—I mentioned this, after the Adigar was arrested, to Mahawalentine Dessave. After the arrests took place a certain proclamation was made in the country. I was therefore apprized that those who gave information would be pardoned; after that I came to Kandy, where I happened to see Mahawalentine. He asked me if I happened to know anything about the circumstance which had caused the arrest of the Chiefs? I mentioned that I knew nothing that had been done, but knew what had been spoken; he advised that if I knew anything about it I should rid myself of it by giving information; I said that I was afraid to go alone and on that account he took me to the Government Agent—I also said that the Korale knew something about it; I did not tell him at his house all these particulars—when I went to the Dessave he asked me if I knew anything of this rebellion; I answered I only heard what the Chiefs had said, not what they had done, and nothing else; he took me to the Government Agent, he said nothing else to me that I recollect. My object in mentioning this is not to obtain a reward, but to obtain my own exemption; I did not hear of any report of any reward being given. Watterantenne did not give me any other money, I have the 100 Rds. I put it in my box to take care

of. I might have met the Rate Mahatmeya, as his village and mine are near. I am no relative either of the Rate Mahatmeya or Mahawalatenne. I do not recollect the time, it was after the new Cingalese year was passed. It is now several months ago, and I had no necessity to keep account of it. I can't mention the day of the week on which I received the money, I was sent for by the Rate Mahatmeya just before their return from Anooradhapoorra and the money was given to me the next day but one after their return; kept no account of the money, this was not like a common debt—I have no transaction of this sort with anyone else. I am not in debt nor is anyone indebted to me. It was dark and I did not take notice what dress the Adigar had on. I can tell what the other had on, I came all the way with him, though it was late, I saw him put his clothes on at the door by the light in his room. No light was brought to the verandah at the Adigar's (1st Prisoner)—there was light inside. At the Temple, where the Rate Mahatmeya dressed, there was no verandah as at the Adigar's—I could see as much as that he was covered with cloth. We don't take notice of the dress of such Chief's, though I did not look well at his face, I could tell what he said. I am not intimate with the 1st Prisoner—I only know he is the principal Chief in our Country. If he was not known to me before, how could I pay so much attention when he went to Ancoradhapoorra? I do not recollect if he ever spoke to me before—I was not on such intimate terms with him—the Rate Mahatmeya went inside, and it was after he came out that this conversation took place—the Chief did not speak in this way before—Being sent for by the Rate Mahatmeya I came and it took place—it was in the verandah—the door was open and the Rate Mahatmeya went in—the 100 Rds. were paid at the Rate Mahatmeya's house. I came to Kandy to give information before going to the Dessave Mahawalatenne's house—I mentioned this to some of the Chiefs—There is a Government Agent there; I did not like to give him the information as he always reproaches me—there were formerly several gentlemen there who never reproached me. I was not asked by him whether I knew anything of this. I recollect about a Proclamation—I was never sent for and asked about this matter—On the day the Proclamation was read I was present. I did not see that anyone was asked to give information—I was only sent for to receive the Proclamation—the only thing that was done there was to read it—we were not asked by Mr. Rodney to give any information but to publish the Proclamation—The Chiefs I mentioned this to were present—Meddesia Pattoo, Ratnayekegedere Korale, Harankawe Korale—I

mentioned it to those two and they said they had also been told of it by other Chiefs—they did not say what Chiefs—I mentioned this at different times to each—they did not say anything to the Agent when we went to him. I do not know what terms the 2nd Prisoner is on with Watterantenne; I don't know of any dispute in these times between them. I do not remember any. It is in Molligodde that the Adigar's house stands—I never heard any dispute, don't know that they have been litigating about lands.

Examined by Mr. Perring—I can't speak in positive terms of having spoken to the Adigar before going to his Walauwe. I might have met him—I do not mean to say that I never spoke to him—It is impossible that I could be mistaken in the man—it was not so dark, it was star-light.

By the Jury.—When you received 100 Rds., did the person who gave it to you say that it was sent to you by the Adigar? On the occasion he gave it to me he did not say what for—I thought it a present. I knew what it was for from the day I came to Kandy. The Rate Mahatmeya told me what it was for, and that it was given by the 1st Prisoner. The Adigar did not say anything about it when I came to Kandy. The Rate Mahatmeya is no relation of mine—never made me a present before—it was after he paid me the 100 Rds. that he told me.

6th. Witness—Wellegedere Rate Adigareme—I am Adigareme of Kandypalley and Wagapallale Korales in Matale—know the 1st and 2nd Prisoners—I was in that office. I received a message from my Maha Nilleme (2nd Adigar) to prepare lodgings for the 1st and 2nd Prisoners at Nalande—I attended to them when there, supplied provisions and food which were not paid for—this was on their way to Anooradhapoorā. Both 1st and 2nd Prisoners were at Nalande in the lodgings I provided—I saw the 1st and 2nd Prisoners at the 2nd Adigar's Walauwe on their return from Anooradhapoorā to Kandy. They arrived at the 2nd Adigar's house in the afternoon, they took their food in the hall—two or three hours after night-fall, the 2nd Adigar's servant came and called me into the room where the 2nd Adigar was—a private room—his bed-room—1st and 2nd Prisoners were there when I went; they and the 2nd Adigar were sitting. The 2nd Adigar said, there is a certain subject that I have to mention to you—don't tell anyone. I said I would not tell anyone. He then said, we experienced

difficulty in the Payment of Tithes and other Revenue, and that we were going to lose our Religion also and consequently among us two or three persons, there was a certain act to be done—we must assist in it. He afterwards explained what this act was. The two 1st Prisoners were sitting on two chairs and the 2nd Adigar on a cot. He then said, it is our intention to subvert this Government to make war and establish a Kandyan Government. He told me, to assist in that object. I replied it was not in our power to render assistance in such an affair. They then all three told me, we will render assistance in everything necessary. I then said, “Very well, I will obey any direction I receive.” About a month after that, a few days before the arrests took place, I received an *ola* from the 2nd Adigar. (The evidence was here stopped by the order of the judge.)

A long discussion here took place respecting the legality of admitting as evidence a subsequent conversation which Witness had on the above subject with the 2nd Adigar.

The King's Advocate maintained, that as it had been shown that the 2nd Adigar had joined in the conspiracy and attempted to reduce from his allegiance one of the King's subjects, any conversation by him subsequently, with the view of furthering the objects of the conspirators, *was* evidence. The counsel for the Prisoners contended that a conversation with others was not evidence against the Prisoners; that words did not constitute treason, and in support of his opinion read the following extract from Blackstone's Commentaries: “But now it seems clearly to be agreed by the common law and statute of Edward III. words spoken amount only to high misdemeanour and no treason. For they may be spoken in heat, without any evil intention, or be mistaken, perverted, or misremembered by the hearers; their meaning depends always on their connexion with other words and things; they may signify differently even according to the tone of voice in which they are delivered; and sometimes silence itself is more expressive than any discourse. As therefore there can be nothing more equivocal than words, it would indeed be unreasonable to make them amount to high treason.”

The Deputy King's Advocate contended that it was only through the medium of words that a treasonable conspiracy could be propagated—that a conversation with a treasonable intention was treason, and the extracts from Blackstone read by the counsel for the Prisoners only

applied to words spoken in the heat of passion and without premeditation (sic), and in support of his opinion the learned Gentleman read the following extract from Archbold's Summary of Evidence: "So words of advice or persuasion are sufficient overt acts of this species of treason, if they advise or persuade to an act which would of itself (if committed) be a sufficient overt act. But loose words which have no reference to any act or design, or which are not words of persuasion or advice, cannot be deemed over acts of treason."

The learned Judge over-ruled the arguments of the law officers of the Crown, but reserved their right to examine this witness on the above points, if on consideration his Lordship should find reason to alter his opinion.

6th Witness continued.—I saw the 2nd Adigar again subsequently. He saw me once or twice —after that I called the Arachy and told him, I had received a writing directing me to assemble the principal inhabitants. After I received the writing I directed him to assemble the people at Nalande. On Wednesday after this I went there myself and found about 20 people—they said they had assembled by order of the Arachy. I think it was 4 or 5 days before the arrests—they were not assembled again.

(The right to recall this Witness was reserved on the part of the King's Advocate.)

Cross-examined by Mr. Staples.—One Appoo in the Walauwe called me and then went out, there was no one in the room besides. I am a man of some importance, being Rateadikareme. I said that I thought it impossible to subvert the Government. The 2nd Adigar spoke first—the three Chiefs only were in the room when I said that I was not in such circumstances; they then said we will assist you in anything necessary. I once before said that they said this—Yes, it was said to me — all three said it—they all three said, "each of us will assist the best we can"—they all spoke about the same time. The Appoo after calling me went in another direction. There were several persons about the place—they could not go into the room where the Chiefs were. There are several persons dispersed about the house—No one passed through the apartment in the maddoo in front—I can look in any direction you wish (looking at the Prisoners)—this took place on the day in which the 1st Adigar arrived at Asgiri from Anooradhapoorā—I do not recollect when it was—I think a few days after the new year

had expired—Ellepate¹ took food with them, but he was not present when this conversation took place. There was a large party; Dunuwille Tikiri Banda was there, but not present at the conversation. About eight Chiefs took victuals together - The 2nd Adigar was sitting on a cot—The house has several rooms. I have mentioned this to Maniangamme Ralte Ralle and Heyne Comborre Ralte Ralle—I mentioned this conversation to them—they said it had also been told to them—I mentioned it I think about 16 days after. Heyne Comborre Mohottale first came into my house and enquired of me if I knew about this. He called at my house as he was returning from Asgiri Wihare. Maaniangamme Ralte Ralle told me of this at Nalande when I went there to construct a Bungalow for the accommodation of the Governor. I did not go to him; they said it had been mentioned to them and asked if it had to me. I told no one else. I mentioned it to the Government Agent in Kandy. I live in Wellegedere. The present Assistant Agent at Matelle is my Agent. I go very often to the Assistant Agent on business, but I could not mention this to him in the proper manner; there were people about the place and I had doubts whether it would be properly interpreted. The Agent's name is Captain Forbes; He speaks Cingalese a little, not much—I first told the Government Agent 4 or 5 months ago—after the 1st and 2nd Prisoners had gone to Colombo. I came to Kandy bringing a quantity of Paddy carried by cattle—I happened to meet one Mohottegedere Korale, I told him I had such information and asked what I was to do about it. I went to the house of Mahawaletenne Dessave; when I went there I told him that Mohottegedere Korale was about to present certain Petitions. I had read the Proclamation before leaving my village. I also received it: we were all asked if we knew anything about it. I did not tell him (the Assistant Agent) anything about it for the reason I have before mentioned. There is no difficulty in communicating with him on other subjects. I did not tell him I did not know anything about the matter I did not know that those who gave information would receive a reward, but that they would receive pardon. The Dessave told me that I had better give information of this before those implicated should have their Petition presented. I went the same day I came to Kandy. I went with Mohottegedere Korale whom I met. The Dessave did not tell me anyone had given information. The Chiefs did not come on the Wednesday to Nalande as

1. Ellepatta Jayatilleke Gooneratna Tennekoon Mudianse, Basnayaka Nilame of Embokke Dewale.

expected. While the conversation was going on no Chiefs passed or repassed. I did not say that the 2nd Adigar went with the Prisoners to Nalande. He did not go, neither did I mention it. The conversation took place between 8 and 9 o'clock.

Questioned by the Jury.—The people were assembled on account of the order in the writing (ola); the purpose was not stated, but they were only ordered to come.

7th Witness.—Nugaliadde Korale of Hewahette—I know the 1st prisoner; met him in the street and he asked me to come to his house before going to Anooradhapoorā. He told me (I am Vidahn of the Cinnamon peelers) “I must get some cinnamon peeled.” He said “If you can get some good cinnamon peeled you will be paid better than others, and I will assist you in return.” He also asked me what other persons in office could get cinnamon peeled besides me. I told him that other Korales had Cinnamon, but were not Vidahns in charge. He spoke of Anooradhapoorā and that he was going on a pilgrimage, said nothing about his return. I recollect speaking to Hettigederē Korale—did nothing in consequence—attended a Pinkama at Unnamboowe; we attended the Pinkama—we finished the ceremonies of worship. We passed the bridge at Peradenia—I met 2nd prisoner there, he went in advance while we followed him. The procession was first formed at the Gailli-Oya and then we went to the Temple at Unnamboowe—There was a large collection of people, about 5 or 600; we carried certain cloths which I offered. We adored the Buddhoo; after that I went to the 1st prisoner to take leave, then he told me, “you all come from Hewahette on account of our religion and of us, which is very good, and we must exert ourselves to propagate our religion in this manner, that we must keep up our religion by compulsory measures against the Government or by permission; we must take care to keep up our religion.” The first thing he said was “you came all this way from Hewahette on account of our religion and *word*; it is very right you came and we must exert ourselves to keep up our religion, and if it cannot be done in any other way, it must be done by compulsion against the Government.” I have said all I recollect. I did not mention anything about the Kandyan Government to the Government Agent; the Adigar did not say anything about the Kandyan Government. He said before the religion is destroyed it must be kept up, even by compulsion against the Government. I have a bad memory. It is about seven months since

this occurred, not since the conversation was repeated. I said "Yes" to his request. He spoke of no one else. He said also that when our religion was to be restored the Rate Mahatmeya would instruct me about it. Quite sure no one else spoke about it. The Adigar did not say that the chiefs were unanimous. I mentioned to Mr. Turnour what was said to me. He wrote down in my presence as much as I said it was read to me—the first Adigar did not tell me the chiefs were unanimous; I might have said so from *want of recollection*, not from recollection. I have no recollection of having said so except from mistake. If I said so it must have been from want of recollection. I cannot recollect whether I said that word unanimous, or not. The Adigar said that we were degraded. He said it was degrading us and our religion: we can submit to this no longer; does not recollect his saying he would subvert this Government; said I was asked if I would consent, and I said "yes! very well"—that I agreed to it.

8th Witness—Kandewelle Korale—I am from Hewawisse Korale. I was at a Pinkama in Udapalata. I went there at the request of the Dessave of the province (2nd prisoner). I know the 1st and 2nd prisoners; saw them there; saw the 1st prisoner at Peradenia. I did not hear him say anything there. He appeared pleased as people came to the Pinkama—He said "it is very well, my relations, that you have come." He addressed the people as his relations. He said it was very good I came, and said that he did not expect that they would all come—does not know if a Chief would usually call the people his relations. I went to the Vihare where the pinkama was held. There was a great crowd of people at the Vihare; I went myself to the Vihare. It got dark; consequently we remained in that part of the country. I saw 1st prisoner there; he was outside the verandah of the Vihare. I did not see the Adigar speak to anyone. I did not see him speak to anyone. Yes, I heard the Maha Nileme say he wished to see me before I started; we thought before we went we were to take leave. After the offerings had been presented, we took leave of the Adigar who was seated in the verandah at this time—he was not far from the door, he was alone, he said a Pinkama was to be performed, and I was not to be absent from it, did not say when it was to be, he said "as the Government is degrading us we must shew some coercive measures towards Government." I then took my leave; don't know whose Pinkama it was; said nothing of another Government, did not say what the coercive measures were to be, was not

to see him again, was not to do anything. I was to go to the Pinkama, but was not told at what time—I said such an attempt had been formerly made and without success, an attempt against Government which had failed, an attempt to remove the authorities (Government). Formerly a rebellion broke out by which we ourselves suffered. Then he said, “when we join in such a thing, it will not be in vain.” He asked for my assistance but I was not told at what particular time, notice was to be given to me. What I said before was into true. He did say I was to afford assistance, but not at what particular time—He said it would be made known to me, don't know how it was to made known.

Cross-examined by Mr. Staples—This occurred at the time I went to Pinkama, I am not sure as to the time, I believe in the month of June, no one was present at the time—It occurred between us when no one else was present—he said so. It was a private conversation between him and me. I live in the village of Kandewille in the Province of Hewahette. I never went to the Adigar before, never spoke to him before. He called me and entered into this conversation ; never engaged in this business before ; I am a Korale, no one knew of this conversation, quite sure, I thought it improper to keep it secret—It is impossible to say when my conscience first induced me to mention it—It was after the prisoners were sent to Colombo, know about the Proclamation, we were all invited to give information—the Proclamation was received by everyone. First gave information to the Government Agent about 7 days after the Proclamation—went alone, no one was with me, did not mention this conversation to anyone. When I went to the Agent I said I went to Udapalata to attend the Pinkama, did not inform anyone, nothing else took me to the Agent, I live about 8 miles from Kandy, read the Proclamation, got it in the Walauwe, it was forwarded to our Province. I informed the Chiefs of my Province of the contents of the Proclamation, did not inform them that I knew anything of it, was two or three times examined by the Government Agent, the first time about one month ago. I first saw the Adigar on the other side of the bridge near Gampola, I first met 2nd prisoner at Peradenia, there was no one in the Adigar's company the day he spoke to me, did not eat there, did not drink water, I remained until the offerings were made, can't say how long—I did no remain until evening : many people went, two boys were with me.

9th Witness—Owisse Pellangey Korale—I was here when this bench was put up. I passed the Adigar's house on returning from the Court—I was formerly Kattupulle Korale, but am now only Attapattoo Korale; after I was discharged I did not come into Kandy for a long time. I made my appearance before the Adigar, I was asked the object of my coming, I said in reply I was induced to come and see the Supreme Court, and on returning I thought it proper to call and see the Adigar (1st prisoner). Then I was asked if the putting up the bench was completed. I told him I did not understand the way in which the benches were put up, that there was one high and one low for the jurors; the first prisoner then told me, the first and lower bench was for the Chiefs, and the rear and higher bench for the inferior Chiefs. Then he said, we have only yet seen a little of the Government. When I was preparing to take leave of the Adigar, he told me tho' I had not the office of Kattupulle Korale, I was now Rate Korale; the first Adigar asked me what was my office now, I said Korale; he said there is a Pinkama to be held, and though you are not Kattupulle Korale, you must not refuse to come. In former instances, he said, when I came it was with a number of people—and that I was to do so in this instance also. I said I did not know what sort of a Pinkama it was. When it is to take place, you will be apprized of it. He said it would be made known to me at that time—a pinkama is always public—there are pinkamas of different sorts conducted under different circumstances. He said it would be made known to all the country and to me also. I recollect coming to Kandy about some privilege granted to the Panneadurayas, several people came with me. A Dureya told me at the village that he had received privilege to carry an umbrella and cakes which he was not formerly entitled to. I made the necessary preparations to go to a festival and to see my child—when I came to Kandy, he (the Dureya) said he had received such a privilege from the Dessave. I came to complain to the authorities at Kandy, came by Katugastota ferry—when I came, the Dessave was at the new bungalow near the river—being our chief I thought it advisable to call on him and mention this matter to him—he then told me you need not complain about it, that privilege was given by Government—you will lose, as when we complained of the Moorish men sitting on the same bench with us—we are about to lose that case—therefore you need not go to complain about it—return to your village. He then called me into the bungalow and told me over again—don't go to complain about this matter—you will be slighted and trifled with—as long as this

Government exists a low-caste man if he has money may do anything, and this privilege has been given to him (the Dureya) with the knowledge of me and the Adigar—and that man is going to give an entertainment to a number of people in the villages—and it will continue as long as this Government lasts. I said then “when will this Government be discontinued?—will it always exist?” He then said he could not fix the time but perhaps in this very year. Nothing was said of the Atbage. He said he was going to assemble everyone of that department, don't you object to it—did not say for what reason, but that permission was obtained for that man (the Dureya) both with his and first prisoner's knowledge. So from what the 2nd prisoner said it appeared to me that he was going to do a thing in furtherance of that man's views. I thought he was going to assist that man in enforcing the privilege that had been granted to him—that was the reason that I came and mentioned the circumstance. He did not say on what account he wanted the interference of the Atbage and Pannea people—therefore did not interfere with those people. I could not satisfy myself. It was a matter of suspicion why those people had been granted this privilege. I have mentioned this before also and do not make any alterations in my statement.

Macdowall's Embassy to Kandy

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

(Continued from page 45)

D. 107.

Hay Macdowall to Frederic North

Sir, Ganorouwa, 21st April, 1800

The Adigar finding that neither Your Excellency nor myself are (*sic*) at all inclined to favour his views upon the Crown, and being convinced that this is not the moment to succeed in his enterprise, has this morning written a short note to the Maha Modeliar simply stating that the Treaty cannot be signed, that the Candian Court make light of the English and that the King will receive the Ambassador and permit him to depart this evening. I shall not be surprised if in the course of a few months he forces the King by his machinations to commit some act of depredation upon the territory of the English and that Your Excellency may be prepared in every respect for such an event I would advise that the Pretenders both at Jaffna and at Colombo be treated with more than usual attention and that the nature of their claims and the strength of their party be enquired into. Should a war ensue Your Excellency would no doubt reject with Disdain any proffered interference on the part of the Adigar and as the certain conquest of the country must follow the attack, it would, I presume, be Your Excellency's object to place the Legal heir on the throne who would gratefully express his acknowledgment, by granting the British a favourable treaty and which should also prove beneficial to the Candian nation, a circumstance which in the present state of politics we are by no means likely to obtain.

Although from the deceit and perfidy of the unprincipled Adigar no immediate profit will arise from the present Embassy, yet as it was always Your Excellency's intention to send one in the course of this season the difference of the expence from the increase of the escort is fully compensated by the knowledge we have acquired of the face of the country and the state of the roads and paths, which will enable us at a future period to enter the Country with a Superiority we did not before possess, and I am convinced from the unpopularity of the

Adigar and the dissatisfaction of the people at seeing an upstart on the *musnud* (?), in place of one of the Royal Family that a British force would be joined by many of the Powerful Lords in the Kingdom. I have even had it hinted to me that should hostilities commence, the Dessave of Ouwa would be one of the first to range himself under the English flag. On the present occasion this person has shown himself an honest Councillor and faithful subject, the warm supporter of his prince and a friend to the liberties of his Country. However inimical he has proved himself to the British we must applaud the correctness and integrity of his conduct. He has recognised the Pageant and conceives himself obliged to protect him until another revolution shall induce him to alter his sentiments.

Before the receipt of Your Excellency's letter of the 19th I had accepted of the King's message to visit the Palace this evening, as after the Dessave of Ouwa's proposal, I gave up every hope of coming to any conclusion. Were I now to retract and refuse to go it would be equivalent to a Declaration of War, which as Your Excellency seems to desire, in the conclusion of the letter, to avoid for the present, I shall go through the forms of Dismission and quit the place on the 23rd early.

As the weather now appears to be settled and the troops are healthier at the King's garden, there will be no necessity for removing them to Colombo before I join them.

I have written a letter to the Adigar which I shall forward when translated. It is not couched in terms so severe perhaps as his behaviour deserves, but it will answer to excite his feelings until Your Excellency can address him in a proper manner.

I have the honor, etc.,

Ganorouwa,
21st April, 1800.

HAY MACDOWALL.

D. 108

Hay Macdowall to Frederic North

Sir, Ganoruva, 22nd April, 1800.

My letter of yesterday's date will before this reached your Excellency have informed you of my intention to return immediately to Colombo and of my having demanded an audience of Dismission from the King. When I reached the Palace last night at about 11 o'clock I was met by the 1st and 2nd Adigars who said they were sent by His Majesty to conduct me to his presence, at which I testified my satisfaction, but said as this was the last time I should have an

opportunity of talking upon business I requested to know if they had again considered the treaty which I had proposed to them and had come to any final determination.

The Adigar answered that he was glad to hear me mention the treaty for that himself and the Nobles assembled were directed by the King to hold a Conference with me on the subject previous to my taking leave. We then adjourned to an apartment within the first Court and the Dessave of Ouwa having produced the treaty in Cingalese, the same that I had presented to the Nobles at the first interview. The Adigar observed that the King being still extremely desirous to form an alliance with the English had commanded him to make certain proposals to me, that he hoped I would give him a patient hearing and in the event he was almost certain I should be perfectly contented. The treaty was then regularly gone over and everything in it promised to be granted, except three points, which your Excellency will easily perceive may be gained and modified hereafter. 1st The King having it in his power to point out the spot in his Dominions where the troops are to be stationed. (I strongly insisted on Ganorouwa, if there are no places near Candy more convenient). 2nd No fortress to be erected by desire of the King. (This I readily allowed). 3rd That the Revenues should not be interfered with by the British Government. (To this I replied that your Excellency's chief object in wishing to investigate the Revenues, was to ensure the regular subsistence of the troops, and that being complied with, I was convinced your Excellency would be liberal and moderate). 4th The actual number of troops to be sent, as Generally stated in the 3rd Article, they wished to confine to 200 men. (This I positively refused to listen to and after a Conference which lasted three hours and a half, and is this moment broken up, I insisted on 7 or 800 men). The meeting which was composed of the 1st Adigar, the Dessaves of Ouwa and Matule and the Maha Mohottiar, endeavoured to make me believe that the Candian Country could not afford to pay for so large a force, but I treated this as an evasion and expect to hear tomorrow that this also is granted. Although affairs are now in a better train than at any time during the Embassy I cannot congratulate your Excellency in any certain prospect of success.

I shall address you more fully tomorrow and I have the honor to be, etc.

Ganorouwa,

22nd April, 1800.

HAY MACDOWALL.

D. 109

Frederic North to Hay Macdowall
24th April, 1800.

Sir,

I have just now received your Excellency's letter of the 22nd giving an account of your conversation with the Nobles in the Court of the Palace.

The hopes which that conversation give me are stronger than any I have entertained of success in our negotiations but I perfectly agree with your Excellency that till the final conclusion of the treaty no hopes should be indulged as certain.

Whatever success can be commanded from the Conduct of a negotiation, we may be sure of obtaining from the Temper, Prudence and Firmness of your Excellency and neither you nor I can be responsible for the Duplicity or folly of others.

I am happy to find their objections reduced to so small a number and to points of which I will willingly agree to a modification.

If their own objection to the number of troops to be stationed near their Capital proceeds from their dread of the expence, we may make them easy on that score by fixing the retribution either in territory or in produce, at an amount rather below the expence of the troops to be employed there, which will remain fixed and which indeed need not be increased as the troops so employed will be drawn from our own Garrisons. A cession of territory is what I should approve of the most, as the territory so ceded will increase our productions and resources, secure our possessions of the sea coast and improve under our management without increasing our expences. It must, however, as your Excellency justly observed be considerably more than what they proposed, for two hundred men would be of no use to the politics nor the pay of them to the Revenue of my Government. My intention in proposing to them that we should interfere in the administration of their revenues proceeded as you may tell them, from my wish not to overburthen their finances with the entire payment of a considerable body of troops, so expensive as ours.

I have the honor, etc.,

FREDERIC NORTH.

Colombo,

24th April, 1800.

D. 110.

Hay Macdowall to Frederic North
Ganoruva, 25th April, 1800.

SIR,

I have the honor to forward to your Excellency two papers containing the principal part of the conversation between me and the Nobles of the Court of Candy on the night of the 21st and in the Conference of yesterday. By a message from the Adigar this morning I find that they still insist on naming the place where troops are to be stationed (probably Idamalpane) and limiting the number to two or three hundred. As I do not conceive myself authorized by your Excellency to come into such terms I am positively determined to adhere rigidly to both these points (Ganorouwa the situation, 7 or 800 men the force) which in fact the only obstacles to the treaty being signed by the King, as a smaller number than I have insisted on could be of no real service either to His Majesty or to the British nation, nor can I advise your Excellency to abate a single man. I expect to proceed to the palace again this evening, and if I cannot prevail upon the Grandees to induce the King to sign the treaty, I shall demand an audience of leave and depart early on the 25th.

I enclose a rough copy of the treaty which I do not mean to deviate from. Your Excellency will observe that the article respecting houses and forts is withdrawn, the Adigar having declared that whenever the troops arrived His Candian Majesty would furnish Barracks for them built in the English fashion. I was a good deal surprised at his wishing also to expunge the article respecting all pretenders and enemies to the Candian Kingdom being given up to your Excellency to prevent their endangering the established government as settled by the treaty, the Adigar saying that he was convinced, when the treaty was ratified, your Excellency would take the most judicious steps for removing all such people from the Island. It has therefore been done away and the treaty now stands with most advantageous articles to the English if I can but bring the King and Nobles to think that it is equally beneficial to the Candian nation.

I have the honor, etc.,

HAY MACDOWALL.

Gannoruwa,
25th April, 1800.

D. III.

Enclosure—Proposed Treaty.

A Treaty of Perpetual Alliance between His Britannic Majesty and the Honorable United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies on the one part and the King of Candy and the Nobles of his Court on the other, agreed and concluded on the part of his said Britannic Majesty and the Honorable Company by His Excellency Major-General Hay Macdowall, Ambassador Extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the Court of Candy, in virtue of full powers in him for the purpose vested by His Excellency the Honorable Frederic North, Governor of Ceylon, etc., etc., and on the part of his said Candian Majesty by a deputation of the Nobles of his Court.

1. His Britannic Majesty and the Hon. Company their Heirs and Successors and the King of Candy His Heirs and Successors and the Nobles of his Court, mutually agree to a firm and perpetual alliance and friendship.

2. His Britannic Majesty and the Hon. Company recognize the present King of Candy and they shall consider all his Candian Majesty's enemies as their Enemies.

3. In order to secure the Honor and Safety of His Candian Majesty and his Successors H. E. the Governor of the British possessions in Ceylon shall send immediately into his Majesty's territories of between 7 and 800 men, which force may hereafter be increased as occasion may require and as the troops are to be employed for the purpose of securing the King on the throne and defending him from all his Enemies foreign and domestic His Candian Majesty agrees to defray the expences of the said force, that is to say, to pay the usual allowances of Subsistence and Batta and provisions to the officers and Soldiers, which shall be issued by His Majesty's orders, in money, rice and grain of various sorts, Pepper, Coffee, Areka, Elephants, ivory, wax, Cardamoms, and other produce of the Island to be appraised at a fair valuation by persons appointed by both the High Contracting parties. As soon as the number of the troops shall be paid, a statement of the monthly expences shall be delivered to the minister to be laid before the King, and as the English nation desire to prove to the King and Nobles of Candy the sincerity of their present professions and of the great respect and attachment which are felt for the King's Honor and

Dignity, the troops which are stationed in his Dominions, shall only be considered as the Defenders of him and his Successors and to support and maintain them in all their rights and privileges.

4. His Candian Majesty and the Nobles of his court acknowledge the full and entire sovereignty of His Britannic Majesty over all such territories as were in the possession of the Dutch.

5. The English Governor on Ceylon is permitted to send Cinnamon Peelers into all the Districts of His Candian Majesty lying below Ballani hill, whenever he may choose so to do, and His Candian Majesty will upon application from the Governor at all times, grant his permission to send his peelers to the eastward of Ballani should His Excellency the Governor express a wish to that purpose.

6. His Candian Majesty permits His Excellency the Governor of Ceylon to cut Timber such as he may choose to select in His Majesty's forests lying below Ballani Hill and to transport it either by land or water to any place where he may choose to carry it and His Candian Majesty will grant the same indulgence of cutting down timber in other parts upon application made by the British Governor. The English agree not to cut down such trees as may be the property of individuals.

7. It is agreed that a free trade shall be opened between the countries subject to the Governments of both the Contracting parties and that no duties shall be exacted on the common frontier by either party.

8. The native subjects of both or either of the High Contracting parties, being in the territory of the other, shall enjoy the same protection and privileges and be subject to the same laws as the subject of the power in whose territories they are with the exception of the British troops who are to be subject to their own Military Laws. But after this treaty shall have been agreed upon all persons guilty of violent outrages and who may take refuge in the Country of either of the Contracting parties, are upon requisition to be immediately delivered up.

9. The religion of the Candians, their Temples, Pagodas and the lands attached to them, as well as the priests shall be respected by the English and all His Britannic Majestys's subjects shall have the strictest injunctions given to them, not to offer disrespect or insult, to any of the objects of Candian worship under the pain of severe penalties.

D. 112

Enclosure—Extract of the Diary of an Embassy to the Court of Candy.—April 21st, 1800.

About 11 o'clock A.M. three persons came to announce His Majesty's permission for His Excellency the Ambassador to wait upon him that night.

Having set off in the evening with a view to having an audience of leave and having arrived at the palace after ceremonies similar to those described on 9th and 10th inst. upon the first Adigar having joined the Ambassador His Excellency asked the Nobles if they had considered well the final answer they were to make to the treaty he had proposed. They answered that they were glad to hear him mention it, as the King had ordered them to confer with him on the subject. They then led him into a large hall, where the following conversation passed:—

N: We beg that you will listen to us with patience as we think you will not be dissatisfied with what we are going to say.

A: I shall listen to you now as I have done upon every occasion with the greatest pleasure.

N: The King being very desirous of entering into a close alliance with the English and feeling the respect which has been shown to him by the Governor in sending a person of your high rank to his Court as expressed in His Excellency's letter, His Majesty is anxious to please both and thereby to ensure your friendship and he has authorised us to say that he will sign the treaty you have proposed, if you will consent to his having the nomination of the nations of the troops which will however be near the Capital, to appoint no Commissioners and that no fortress be erected in his Country.

A: Upon these conditions I agree to withdraw these three objectionable parts.

N: Will you have the treaty signed now or tomorrow night?

A: I wish to do nothing in a hurry particularly as I have such confidence in you, that I am sure you will say nothing that you will not confirm tomorrow. His Majesty has by his conduct on this occasion shewn himself to be the Father of his people and you his noblemen have proved yourselves the support of your prince.

N: Things have taken this happy turn we beg that you will go and partake of those refreshments prepared for you and when the treaty is ready, bring it here to be signed.

Thus ended the Conference of the 21st—and being dismissed we got back to Ganoruva about half past four in the morning,

April 22nd, 1800.

The 1st Adigar, the Dessave of Ouva and Matule and the Maha Mohottiar waited on the Ambassador at two o'clock.

The treaty as modified by themselves last night was produced and read by the Maha Modeliar, the articles and purport of them being the same as that transmitted to His Excellency the Governor on the 13th instant he will be able by looking at that to see how it stands.

They agreed to articles 1st and 2nd—article 3rd they left to discuss at the close of the meeting. They agreed to articles 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th, and to the 8th with some alterations. The Ambassador agreed to withdraw the 9th and 10th articles. Of the 11th they highly approved, the 12th and 13th articles had been withdrawn before and were not included in the Copy now read, so that the 11th article becomes the 9th and the treaty consists of nine articles only. They said they considered all but the 3rd article to be finally arranged, and now returned to that article.

N: We wish the number of troops to be mentioned in this article.

A: I did not expect after what you said last night to have heard any objection started to this, or any other part of the treaty.

N: We had not closed the business as to the number of troops.

A: You told me you were ready to sign and made no such objection.

N: We can settle the business now. We think two hundred men quite sufficient.

A: Had I supposed you would have talked thus I would not have conversed with you. I am the best judge of what numbers is (sic) necessary.

N: We desire to please you.

A: If you do not admit a proper number there can be none, I would not trust two hundred men in any Country.

N: How many men are in your opinion necessary?

A: Seven or eight hundred men at least.

N: We have given you the advantage of cutting Cinnamon and wood. Although this country be rich in wet seasons, in dry we could not afford to pay so many men.

A: I think that you could without inconvenience pay three times that number. I have seen enough of your country to know that it is fertile and cultivated and rich.

N: Are 700 or 800 men absolutely necessary?

A: The smallest number possible.

N: That number is not necessary now. When we want men we will apply for them. If you knew the state of our revenues you would not wish us to pay for so many troops—shall the number be mentioned in the treaty?

A: They may, but 700 or 800 is the smallest number I can admit.

N: That is a great number.

A: I cannot recede, I relied on your word publicly and sacredly given to me last night and wrote to the Governor that you had agreed to sign the treaty. You place me now in a disagreeable situation, by forcing me to report that you have rejected it.

N: We know that the Governor and you understand each other perfectly.

A: Yes. But the Governor will not be pleased at my deceiving him.

N: Cannot the troops come when they are applied for?

A: The stress which you lay upon a very small force convinces me that you are not serious and that you have not Confidence in us, which makes me if possible the more fixed in my determination that not less than 7 or 800 men shall enter your country.

N: We have objected to numbers on account of the expenses.

A: We know well what riches are accumulated in your country, but we acknowledge that we also are rich and do not desire to deprive you of your money. All that we wish is a share of the productions of your country which you cannot use yourselves.

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N: We beg that the treaty as now agreed to may be copied fair and that a blank may be left for the number of troops until the King's Consent is obtained which may be filled up at the palace, before you present it for signature.

A: That may be done, but I never will consent to fewer than 7 or 800 men. I speak for you as well as for myself. We have got nine or ten thousand men on the Island and expected that you would have asked for two thousand.

A true Copy and Extact,

WILLIAM MCPHERSON,

Secy. to the Embassy.

Ganorouwa,

23rd April, 1800.

(To be Continued.)

Notes and Queries.

CEYLON DOCUMENTS AT THE HAGUE—A LATIN S.O.S.
FROM KANDY, 1765.

BY

FATHER S. G. PERERA, S.J.

The *Rijksarchief* of the Hague contains a complete set of documents referring to the first and only expedition of the Dutch to Kandy. It is one of the most stirring episodes in the dealings of the Dutch with the King of Kandy. The latter was once so exasperated by his failure to bring the Dutch to grant his request that he sought aid from the British in India. Pybus came from Madras and had audience of the King. The Dutch with whom a pretender to the Kandyan throne had taken refuge, thereupon attempted a military demonstration which did not bear fruit. Accordingly Baron Van Eck, the Governor, resolved on making an expedition to Kandy.

The progress of this disastrous expedition, the advance on Kandy, the interviews with the Adigars, the intrigues, the capture and sack of the city, the departure of the Governor and his sudden death, the plight of the garrison of Kandy and its inglorious retreat, as well as the stringent terms which the diplomacy of Van Eck's successor succeeded in imposing on the King in spite of the failure of the expedition, are told in a number of documents. There are copies of all military orders, journals, correspondence, accounts of the sack of Kandy, charges of misappropriation of plunder laid against officers, and of the reports of the expedition sent to Batavia. The originals of all these manuscripts were once in Colombo and are presumably there still, but little has hitherto come to light.

The late Mr. Bultjens published some letters on the subject in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*; Mr. H. C. P. Bell unearthed the Sinhalese text of the treaty and the late Mr. R. G. Anthonisz promised in the first volume of his "Dutch in Ceylon" a translation of the *Journal of Major Frankena*, which, however, I was told on inquiry was missing from the Dutch Archives of Colombo or at least not forthcoming. A copy fortunately exists in the Hague where some of the documents are even found in duplicate.

Among the papers the other day I came across a most curious Latin letter sent by the Commanding officers of the beleaguered garrison of Kandy to their superiors in Colombo. The chief officer at Kandy had died: the troops were ill, provisions were running short, and the garrison was cut off from all communications. The officer in command therefore tried to hire a messenger to take the news to Colombo. Remembering probably the manner in which a lieutenant of Julius Caesar acted on a similar occasion Major Frankena decided to write the

letter in Latin so that in case it should fall into the hands of the enemy there would be little danger of betraying the full extent of his plight. It is indeed interesting to find that Dutch military officers were able to express themselves intelligibly in a classical language. The letter was written in the name of the chief officer and the verbs are in the first person singular though it was ultimately signed by the two chief officers. The messenger demanded 600 rix dollars for the trouble and risk of carrying a message to and from Colombo. The Major paid 200 down promising to pay the balance in case a reply was brought.

The Letter

Tertio nonas Apriles noster Dominus Rein obit. Trahunt aegroti Corpora et infirma multi milites : quotidianis invasionibus hostium pulverem et plumbum totum perdidimus ante dies quatuordecim ; jamque vinum adustum est consumpsum. Servi in hac terra nati maxime erraverunt in numero orisae (et adeo ut omnino necesse sit medio) Julii mense ferre adjumentum. Circa istud tempus omnibus viribus etiam laborabimus ut milites in Ballane montem mittere possimus. Ante istud tempus de Columbo certum expectamus nuntium.

Maxime reverentia sum

Excellentissime Gubernator

servus tuus humillimus

A. FRANKENA

Duflo

Kandia,

Octavo Kalendas Junii

1765

P. S.—Nuntio huic sex centum taleros promisi et jam dedi duo centum attamen cum haec conditione ut responsionem reportet.

Translation

On 3rd April Mr. Rein died. Many of the soldiers are ill and enfeebled. Owing to the daily attacks of the enemy we finished all powder and shot 14 days ago, and the vinum adustum (vinegar?) is consumed. The native servants were quite wrong with regard to the quantity of rice, so much so indeed that it is absolutely necessary to send help by the middle of July. About that time we also will try our best to send troops to the hill of Balana. We expect sure tidings from Colombo before that.

With the utmost respect,

I am,

Most Worthy Governor,

Your most humble servant,

A. FRANKENA,

Duflo.

Kandia,

25 May, 1765.

P.S.—To this messenger I promised 600 rix dollars and I have already paid 200, but on condition that he brings a reply.